National Library
of Canada

Acquisitions and
Bibliographic Services Branch

395 Wellington Street
Ottawa, Ontario
K1A 0N4

Bibliothèque nationale
du Canada

Direction des acquisitions et
des services bibliographiques

395, rue Wellington
Ottawa (Ontario)
K1A 0N4

Your file Votre référence

Our file Notre référence

NOTICE

The quality of this microform is heavily dependent upon the quality of the original thesis submitted for microfilming. Every effort has been made to ensure the highest quality of reproduction possible.

If pages are missing, contact the university which granted the degree.

Some pages may have indistinct print especially if the original pages were typed with a poor typewriter ribbon or if the university sent us an inferior photocopy.

AVIS

La qualité de cette microforme dépend grandement de la qualité de la thèse soumise au microfilmage. Nous avons tout fait pour assurer une qualité supérieure de reproduction.

S'il manque des pages, veuillez communiquer avec l'université qui a conféré le grade.

La qualité d'impression de certaines pages peut laisser à désirer, surtout si les pages originales ont été dactylographiées à l'aide d'un ruban usé ou si l'université nous a fait parvenir une photocopie de qualité inférieure.

Canada

UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

The Royal Fireworks and the Politics of Music in Mid-Hanoverian Britain

BY

James Bohun

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts.

DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY

EDMONTON, ALBERTA

FALL 1993

ISBN 0-315-88273-5

Canada

UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

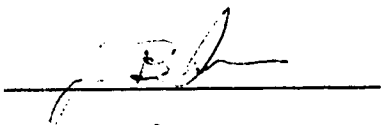
RELEASE FORM

NAME OF AUTHOR: James Edward Bohun

TITLE OF THESIS: The Royal Fireworks and the Politics of Music in Mid-Hanoverian Britain.

DEGREE: Master of Arts.

YEAR THIS DEGREE GRANTED: 1993



James Bohun
#302 10708 79 Avenue
Edmonton, Alberta
T6E 1S3

DATE: Oct 7, 1993

UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH

The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research for acceptance, a thesis entitled THE ROYAL FIREWORKS AND THE POLITICS OF MUSIC IN MID-HANOVERIAN BRITAIN submitted by JAMES EDWARD BOHUN in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of MASTER OF ARTS.

David C. Johnson, Chair

Philip Lawson, Supervisor

Brian Harris, Committee Member

R. Julian Martin, Committee Member

Richard T. Connors, Committee Member

September 29, 1993

Abstract

The relationship between a King and his subjects is complex, and the Hanoverian dynasty came to realize this fact immediately after its accession in 1714. Traditional views of the monarch as divinely anointed were left on uncertain ground when the Act of Settlement (1701) created a new royal line quite removed from the direct Stuart succession, all in an effort to promote a Protestant to the throne. The accession of George I, then, left the Crown in a difficult position. Clearly, the monarch would be subject to public scrutiny, and the fact that the Hanoverian line was German in origin compounded the problems of legitimizing their reign.

Historians have tended to leave the first two Georges in this uncertain position. Unable, indeed, unwilling to actively promote their kingship, they neither gained popular support nor actively pursued it. In reaching this conclusion, however, many scholars have ignored the evidence of efforts in mid-Hanoverian Britain to promote the monarch. Rather than concentrate on dissent, I chose to examine the efforts to create consensual support for the Hanoverian succession, culminating in the ultimate nationalistic and propaganda-laden event of the period, the Royal Fireworks of 1749.

This spectacle, held in the centre of London, attempted to popularize George II among all ranks of Britons, in response to the unpopular Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle. One

element of the event, the music written by Handel, captures this effort perfectly. An examination of the development of music in this period suggests that interest permeated all levels of British society. The commercialization of culture enabled the music of Handel and his peers to leave the exclusivity of its traditional aristocratic patronage, and reach the broad multitude of Britons. Thus, the *Musick for the Royal Fireworks* represents the government's ability to use cultural means to gather support for the monarch and his administration. It was part of a successful plan to dispel protest against the Peace and secure a sense of loyalty to the Hanoverian line which had been flourishing during the War of Austrian Succession.

Acknowledgements

First, I would like to thank my advisor, Dr. Philip Lawson, for his guidance and patience. He, more than anyone, has aided in my development as an historian.

My thesis defence committee also deserves mention, for their helpful comments and recommendations. Dr. Julian Martin, Dr. Richard Connors, Dr. David Johnson, and Dr. Brian Harris--thank-you all.

For my parents, whose interest, concern, and encouragement were always helpful.

Finally, for my wife Stacey, who put up with my frustration and shared in my excitement through the evolution of this project. My thesis is dedicated to you.

Table of Contents

Note: All quotations are left in the original form.

Prologue

On 27 April 1749, a remarkable spectacle occurred in Green Park, London. At approximately 6:30 in the evening a large orchestra of 100 players, led by George Frideric Handel, took up their instruments and began to play. In front of them gathered an enormous crowd--one exaggerated account suggested an attendance of 1 million.[1] Behind them stood a grandiose structure, 114 feet high and 410 feet wide, in the style of a Doric temple flanked by grandstands on either side to hold the nobility, MPs, and guests of the King. As the orchestra played "a grand overture of warlike instruments, composed by Mr. Handel,"[2] George II and select members of the nobility descended from the Queen's Library which overlooked the Park in order to examine the temple-like structure. They lingered for some time, examining the various slogans and allegorical statues representing such qualities as peace, honour, and prosperity, the whole while in view of the throngs below. The King and his entourage then returned to their perch above the masses to watch the oncoming spectacle.

This event was, of course, the Royal Fireworks which were set-off to celebrate the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle

---

[1]"Extract of a Letter from a Gentleman at London ... giving a more particular Account of the *Royal Fireworks* than any yet published," *Newcastle Magazine*, April 1749, pp. 191-94.

[2]*London Magazine*, April 1749, pp. 192-3.

signed the previous October to end the War of Austrian Succession. It was an event of unprecedented scale--over 32,500 individual rockets, flash-pots, and other pyrotechnic contrivances were set off over a period of one and a half hours. The fireworks culminated in the illumination of a giant sun standing over 60 feet above the central arch of the temple, which when lit burned intensely with a diameter of 70 feet. Simultaneously, 6000 rockets were fired surpassing, according to one commentator, "all Imagination in the Beauty and Greatness of its Appearance."[3]

Tragedy almost resulted, when one wing of the structure caught fire and had to be cut away from the main stage. This near-disaster caused quite a disturbance with the organisers of the event:

> While the pavilion was on fire, the Chevalier *Servandoni*, who designed the building, drawing his sword and affronting *Charles Frederick*, Esq; Comptroller of the Ordnance and Fireworks, he was disarmed and taken into custody, but discharg'd the next day on asking pardon before the D. of *Cumberland*.[4]

The fire was contained and allowed to burn out, under the watchful eyes of the fire brigade, while the rest of the show continued, inspiring "the immense Multitude of Spectators with the utmost Transport, and banish'd the Dissatisfaction and Disappointment which the firing of the

---

[3]*Newcastle Magazine*, April 1749, p. 193.

[4]*Gentleman's Magazine*, April 1749, p. 187.

Pavilion had before spread amongst them."[5]

When the fireworks ended, the temple was illuminated, to show off the beautiful paintings and statues contained within, and provide a last attempt for the crowd to admire the edifice. Of particular note was one picture, measuring twenty-eight feet by ten, representing the King giving Peace to Britannia. Like all the paintings, it originally appeared as a marble *basso relievo*, but after the fireworks were completed the original image was removed by machinery, and replaced by the same subject in transparent colour. As the crowd dispersed, therefore, they gazed upon this spectacularly illuminated structure, which only faded with the coming of dawn.

---

[5]*Newcastle Magazine*, April 1749, p. 193.

Introduction

God save our noble King
God save great George our King,
God save the King.
Send him victorious
Happy and glorious,
Long to reign over us,
God save the King.

O Lord our God arise,
Scatter his enemies
And make them fall:
Confound their politicks,
Frustrate their knavish tricks.
On him our hopes are fix'd
O save us all.

It is no coincidence that these lines could be heard echoing through performance halls, and in all probability, through city streets in September 1745. A time of national crisis, the Jacobite threat to the Hanoverian regime kindled a spirit of nationalistic support for the King at a level that had not been seen since perhaps the days of Elizabeth. Such displays of loyalty towards the Hanoverian line emphasize the relationship between popular culture and public loyalty to the King. They were not, however, spontaneous expressions, but were carefully calculated and promoted through the use of royal ritual. Ceremonial events involving the King were pursued in early Hanoverian Britain to foment consensual acceptance of and support for the monarchy and government. Epitomizing such monarchical embellishment was the Royal Fireworks of 1749.

Such a demonstration of the greatness of Britain was

undoubtedly intended to serve some political purpose. The temple itself glorified the King, employing loyal Latin slogans. One slogan, translated in *London Magazine*, dedicated the temple "to the guardian of our safety, the assertor of our liberty, the establisher of our tranquillity, the most gracious sovereign, and father of his people, George II."[6] Hence, the celebration fostered a sense of loyalty to the monarch, legitimizing the Hanoverian dynasty. The fact that the slogans were in Latin was unimportant--all were translated in every newspaper and pamphlet describing the structure which appeared both before and after the event. These descriptions were also circulated throughout Britain, so as to make sure that all could revel in the glory of the monarchy.

Another purpose of the event was to affirm the hierarchical structure of British society. The ruling orders were set apart from the mass of people, and sat above them in private galleries. George II and his select entourage watched from the Queen's Library--overlooking the scene from their exclusive perch. Even the Latin slogans were likely left untranslated on the structure in order to emphasize the rule of the nobility, as it was their rank which was expected to understand this classical language.

The most important aspect of the peace celebration, however, was the attempt to promote consensus among the

---

[6]*London Magazine*, April 1749, p. 192.

people about the merit of the Hanoverian regime. The fact that the Royal Fireworks was a public spectacle, attended by people from all walks of life suggests that the government wanted to promote a sense of unity. All aspects of the celebration were intended to be popular with everyone--the fireworks, the temple-structure, and the music. That the government was willing to plan an event which involved the perceived risk of a huge crowd is itself very significant. In the absence of regular police forces, eighteenth-century administrations in Britain generally feared that such gatherings would lead to mob violence. Yet in this case the risk was warranted to foster loyalty from all Britons to the crown, and in turn the ministry.

To understand the nature of and motives behind such an event, the historian must look back, and provide context for his or her study. Providing an account of the Royal Fireworks in an historical vacuum would be pointless, and would not tease out the subtle and more obvious issues surrounding the event. Our tale, then, will begin much earlier than 1749. As described in chapter 1, celebration had long been used to legitimize the monarchy, and promote consensus amongst the people of England--and later Britain. The seventeenth century was a time of turmoil for the monarchy. Civil War, the Glorious Revolution, and the Hanoverian Succession all changed the relationship between King and subject, and created a need for contact between the

two. The Act of Settlement in 1701 made it necessary for the Hanoverians to legitimize their line of succession, which was far from direct. To this end, royal ritual was pursued, in the form of ceremony, spectacle, and the celebration of royal anniversaries. George I and his son after him were largely successful to this end, yet are often chastised by historians for not 'doing their part' in securing the loyalty of the people.

The study of royal ritual in Britain from the historical perspective was pioneered by David Cannadine.[7] In the best tradition, he created controversy by initiating the study of this field, creating as much uncertainty as assurance. Linda Colley picked up the theme for the Hanoverian period, expanding her recent study to encompass the growth of nationalism and the forging of Great Britain as a nation in general.[8] Ceremonial is an important element of her thesis, yet she concludes that the direct appeal of the monarch to his subjects was not effective prior to 1760. Nicholas Rogers, in his examination of popular politics in the age of Walpole and Pitt, supports

---

[7]David Cannadine, "Conflict and Consensus on a Ceremonial Occasion: The Diamond Jubilee in Cambridge in 1897," *The Historical Journal* 24(1981); and Cannadine and Simon Price, eds. *Rituals of Royalty* (Cambridge: University Press, 1987). A similar theme is explored in Marc Bloch, *The Royal Touch: Sacred Monarchy and Scrofula in England and France* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1973), though for an earlier period.

[8]Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation 1707-1837* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992).

her thesis, generally concluding that the monarchy was not broadly popular at this time.[9] Yet Colley and Rogers overlook numerous efforts by the government to promote acceptance of the regime. As I will show, royal ritual was pursued to popularize the monarchy between the accession of George I in 1714, and the Jacobite rebellion in 1745. After that time, it gathered momentum, culminating in the Royal Fireworks of 1749.

The symbolic nature of the Royal Fireworks ceremony was an important aspect of the event. It involved many elements. The temple-like structure was intended to invoke particular feelings amongst the crowds, employing classical allusions and numerous loyal slogans to promote popular support for the ruling order. Fireworks themselves had been in use for many years on joyous occasions, and their application here, not to mention the scale of the pyrotechnic display, were intended to promote a certain public response. But, in many ways, the music which Handel composed for the event captured the essence of the spectacle.

Such ceremonial compositions had long been used by the monarchy to emphasize their importance and provide a sense of majesty to their appearances before Britons. Moreover, the eighteenth century, being an era of growing commercial

---

[9]Nicholas Rogers, *Whigs and Cities: Popular Politics in the Age of Walpole and Pitt* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989).

activity, marks an increased marketability of music--the appeal of composers such as Handel and Purcell permeated the lesser ranks as well as the traditionally supportive nobility through the formation of local amateur music societies. The broad popularity of music at this time represents the descent of high culture, and makes music an important element in royal ritual. Historians, however, have generally ignored music as an element of popular and political culture, leaving this field of study to the musicologists. Chapter 2 begins to redress this historiographical imbalance.

Finally, in chapter 3, I will examine the success of the Royal Fireworks in forging consensus among the people of Britain, and in legitimizing the Hanoverian dynasty. Comments and criticisms on the event--both before and after the Royal Fireworks took place--were commonplace, encompassing many important themes. On the one side, loyalty to Britain and nationalistic sentiment were exploited by supporters of the Fireworks, while economic management and the rise of luxury and indolence was stressed by those opposed to the spectacle and the peace. The government, however, exploited its propaganda networks to the fullest, promoting the event in order to consolidate popular acceptance of George II, and by association that of the ministry.

Thus, royal ritual was actively and successfully

pursued during a period of dynastic uncertainty and growing national consciousness. The role of King as a symbol of the nation, not to mention the very acceptance of the Hanoverian kingship by Britons, was at stake. One cannot help but draw a parallel to the plight of today's royal family. The Queen must regret that men such as Handel are not available to help rekindle the approbation and respect for the descendants of the Hanoverians. What follows suggests that the Windsors might be well recommended to manufacture a ceremonial occasion such as the Royal Fireworks, in order to solidify their base of public support.

Chapter 1

Dearth of Ceremony? Royal Ritual, 1714-1749.

> ...indeed, for a week before, the town was like a country fair, the streets filled from morning to night, scaffolds building wherever you could or could not see, and coaches arriving from every corner of the kingdom.
> -Horace Walpole, 3 May 1749.[10]

The "country fair" atmosphere described by Walpole, with streets crowded with commoners and coaches, suggests that all ranks of Britons joyously celebrated the end of the War of Austrian Succession, and revelled in patriotic fervour. At the centre of these sentiments lay the person of the King, to whom loyal healths were repeatedly drunk, accompanied by choruses of "God Save the King!" Such loyal expressions by Britons indicate a level of popular acceptance of the House of Hanover as benefactors, and, more importantly, as the rightful rulers of the nation. Yet according to some historians, the Hanoverians were never endeared to their subjects. "Insufficiently grand in its relations with the patrician classes," wrote Linda Colley, "the monarchy was too aloof, too unconcerned and too controversial to be invariably or broadly popular." She is supported by the work of John Beattie and Nicholas Rogers, who identified a dislike for crowds and public ceremony in

---

[10]Horace Walpole to Horace Mann, 3 May 1749; in Horace Walpole, *The Letters of Horace Walpole* ed. Paget Toynbee (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1903), vol. 2, p. 370.

George I and a level of popular discontent with the new order, as well as that of C.C. Tench, who has made similar broad assertions about the reign of George II.[11] If these scholars are correct, the Royal Fireworks celebration was, in fact, an anomaly, and royal ritual was not pursued as a policy to promote public approval of the Hanoverian succession. Closer analysis of popular expression during the reign of George I and George II recommends otherwise. Public celebration of the monarchy, whether ceremonial, involving the King directly, or the popular festivities which marked royal anniversaries, was an important element in the legitimizing of the Hanoverian kingship after 1714.

From the day that Georg Ludwig, Elector of Hanover was proclaimed King of Great Britain, acts of loyalty abounded throughout the kingdom. In London, a ceremonial procession accompanied the heralds of arms, as per tradition, to the "usual places" for the reading of the proclamation, amid crowded streets and joyful acclamations. Lord Bolingbroke, noted for his Jacobite and Tory connections, conspicuously offered his support to the new order by hosting a bonfire and the "finest illumination in town" at his Golden Square abode, undoubtedly only one of many such loyal

---

[11]Colley, *Britons*, 201; John M. Beattie, *The English Court in the Reign of George I (Cambridge: University Press, 1967)*, 257-58; Rogers, *Whigs and Cities*, particularly chapters 2 and 10; C.C. Tench, *George II* (London: Allen Lane, 1973).

demonstrations on that day.[12] Jacobite sentiment was noticeably absent, as Londoners took the opportunity to welcome the Hanoverian dynasty.

Moreover, the reading of the proclamation was accompanied by celebratory acts of loyalty throughout the countryside, where the day became an elaborate and festive holiday. Typically, local magnates, town officials, and clergy would read the proclamation, often from a stage erected at the crossroads for that purpose. By most accounts, large crowds attended these ceremonies, which were followed by general merrymaking and popular expressions of loyalty to George, inevitably involving copious amounts of drink. For example, in Colchester, the gutters of a local friendly society's meeting hall ran with wine, and the High-Steward "distributed to drink King George's Health" a further four hogsheads of wine.[13] Throughout the kingdom, the Hanoverian succession was greeted with loyal healths and huzzas, bonfires and bells.

Loyal observances were not only limited to England; towns in Scotland and Ireland joined in celebrating the new King's accession. Edinburgh and Dublin led the way, being the largest centres, with populations more inclined to

---

[12]*Daily Courant*, 2 August 1714; Nicholas Rogers, "Popular Protest in Early Hanoverian London," *Past and Present*, 79(May 1978), p. 71.

[13]*Daily Courant*, 9 August 1714; for many detailed accounts of such celebrations of the proclamation see *Daily Courant*, 2 August to 7 September 1714.

support the ruling order. In both cities, the proclamation was attended by elaborate ceremony in order to emphasize the validity of the new King over the Pretender. The citizenry appears to have responded favourably, marking the occasion with toasts to George I, general acclamations, and revelry.[14] Smaller Scottish towns such as Kilmarnock, Dornoch, and Irving all held celebrations; the latter erected a grand theatre for the reading of the proclamation, while its citizens drank numerous loyal healths, shot volleys and concluded the evening with "Illuminations, Drums beating, Bells ringing, Musick, and all other Demonstrations of Joy, and with the greatest Harmony, Chearfulness and Concord possible."[15] In Ireland, few reports of such loyal responses to the proclamation are printed, but neither are reports of disturbances. If the town of Fralee was typical, the day was marked in a similar manner as other areas of Britain. Most notably, a large ball was held there for the upper ranks, as well as the usual celebratory measures for the lesser orders. Even the empire rejoiced, with New York greeting the proclamation with trumpet fanfares and a fireworks display.[16]

---

[14]For accounts of the Edinburgh celebration see *Daily Courant*, 10 and 14 August 1714. For Dublin see 14 and 19 August.

[15]*Daily Courant*, 25 August 1714; for Kilmarnock and Dornoch see 25 August and 2 September respectively.

[16]For Fralee see *Daily Courant*, 7 September 1714; for New York, 13 December 1714.

It appears, then, that a consensual mood of support for the Hanoverian succession emanated from all corners of Britain and her empire. All ranks were invited to partake in loyal acts towards the new monarch--whether it be balls or bonfires--and seemed more than willing to enjoy the occasion. In fact, even the ideological gulf between Tory and Whig was momentarily bridged, if the participation of Bolingbroke and the Earl of Oxford in the celebratory atmosphere is any indication. There was, however, a level of uneasiness over possible Jacobite disturbances; after all, it was only in 1713 that the succession crisis had prompted rumours of direct Tory support for James Stuart.

Reservations were evident in the city of Dublin, with its large Catholic population, where a proclamation was read allowing for the confiscation of arms, armour, ammunition, horses, mares and geldings belonging to any known papist or anyone sheltering such. In York, where a large contingent of gentlemen were attending the races, the gates were locked in order to hold and prevent action from any suspected Jacobites. The Lord Justices even went so far as to offer the princely sum of £100,000 as reward for the apprehension of the Pretender should he land in Britain.[17] Despite these fears, or perhaps because of them, few Jacobite disturbances of a notable scale occurred. Celebration was the dominant response to the proclamation. But the new King

---

[17]*Daily Courant*, 14 August, 13 August, 17 September 1714.

had yet to arrive in his dominion, leading to the conclusion that the loyalty expressed was not of a personal nature, but rather expressed popular support for the Protestant succession.

The honeymoon with the new dynasty continued. For the arrival of George I in London, in September 1714, numerous houses and balconies along the procession route were let for the day to provide a comfortable glimpse of the King for the monied ranks. Those without the means for a private viewing spot lined the road from Kent to London. In excess of one and a half million subjects gathered along the route--over one sixth of the entire population! What they witnessed was the ceremony and grandeur of the royal procession--which saw him preceded by a hierarchical ordering of the peers of the realm and accompanied by elaborate music and military regalia--emphasizing the legitimacy of George I's accession and his suitability for the role of monarch.[18] Even the Tory-dominated Common Council of London attempted to join in the occasion, twice resolving that it should appear in the procession, only to be rejected by the Lord Justices.[19] The King's arrival prompted loyal demonstrations throughout Britain, such as the effigy burning of pope and pretender in Portsmouth, and the elaborate illuminations in Ashburton.

---

[18]Tench, *George II,* p. 38-9.

[19]Gary Stuart de Krey, *A Fractured Society: The Politics of London in the First Age of Party 1688-1715* (Oxford, 1985), p. 264.

The crowd in London, however, was somewhat frustrated, as the King arrived in darkness and did not make a public appearance. Nevertheless, the City greeted George I with bonfires and illuminations.[20]

The impressive number of public displays of loyalty to the new monarch--and in the case of the procession the even more impressive numbers attending the display--suggests that a strong base of support for the accession of George I existed in 1714. Although the coronation itself was a rather exclusive aristocratic affair, the generally festive public response to the new King prompted one observer to comment that "there has at no time been seen a more general Joy, Pleasure, and more Dutiful Affections in Subjects nor a more visible Appearance of gracious Favour in a Sovereign."[21] Doubtless many celebrations were prompted by the social and political elites, who had a definite interest in maintaining the new King and his line, but people from all ranks took part in the joyous acclamations of George I. Whether out of genuine support for the monarch or from a desire to partake in spectacle, Britons were willing to join in acts of loyalty which emphasized their general acceptance of the Hanoverian accession. Although he was German, could not speak English, and was somewhat

---

[20]*Daily Courant*, 24 and 29 September 1714; *HMC Portland MSS*. v, p. 495.

[21]*Daily Courant*, 1 November 1714.

uncomfortable in his new surroundings, George I was greeted with broadly based support from his subjects--the popularity that Linda Colley could not find. The question was, would this support continue?

By Spring 1715, the Jacobite threat was beginning to gain momentum. Already in the previous October some examples of disaffection with the new order had arisen, particularly in Bristol where rioters had been brought to trial. Now, in response to the impeachment of the Tory lords, public demonstrations began in London and the midlands, mostly directed at the newly elected Whig ministry. That the King was strongly associated with the Whigs exacerbated tensions, fanning the smouldering embers of Jacobitism. With growing numbers of demonstrations in favour of the Pretender, the ministry responded by rushing through the Riot Act, which made the failure of a crowd to disperse upon command a capital offence, and by suspending *Habeas Corpus*. Finally, on 6 September 1715, the Earl of Mar raised the Jacobite standard at Perth. Despite, government efforts to quell unrest through coercive legislation and the prosecution of disloyalty, public discontent with ministry and monarch had led to open rebellion, and a crisis in Hanoverian legitimacy.

Or had it? The broad strokes of such a picture prove to be somewhat misleading, for many Britons responded to the rebellion by supporting George I, or more commonly with

neutrality and ambivalence. Nevertheless, loyal addresses to the King flooded London in response to the Jacobite menace. In Northern England, the gentry of Newcastle gathered their neighbours and tenants in town, "all declaring loudly for King George: This was very mortifying to the Jacobite Party."[22] In Scotland, considered the stronghold of Jacobite support, the Presbyterian church rallied behind the Protestant succession. For example, the Glasgow clergy led prayers on 20 January 1716, "to preserve and bless our King, and the Prince and Princess of Wales, and the Royal Offspring, and to bless and prosper his Majesty's Arms ... and to give them Success in suppressing the Rebellion." Even the once popular Tory, the Duke of Ormonde, who had been sent to raise Jacobite support in the West country, met with rejection in Devon. As Lord Bolingbroke, who had been exiled for backing the Stuart claim, surmised: "in a word, he was refused a night's lodging in a country which we had been told was in a good posture to receive the Chevalier, and where the duke expected that multitudes would repair to him."[23]

Thus, the Jacobite rebellion of 1715 may not represent a crisis in legitimacy for George I at all. In a sense, it only served to punctuate public acceptance of the Hanoverian

---

[22]*Daily Courant*, 15 October 1715.

[23]*Scots Courant*, 11 January 1716; Henry St. John, Viscount Bolingbroke, *The Works of Lord Bolingbroke* (London: Henry G. Bohn, 1844), p. 148.

succession with the Pretender's inability to attract widespread support. The ministry did not limit their response to military measures: political spectacle was also used to promote loyalty to George I. As a result, the King would occasionally mingle with the crowd while reviewing troops in Hyde Park. Or, as on 13 August, provide the public with the chance to behold their sovereign as he sailed down the Thames amid loyal slogans and illuminations.[24] On a more informal level, royal anniversaries were celebrated with high spirits, often buoyed by the alcoholic variety, and accompanied by demonstrations of loyalty such as pope-burning ceremonies. Although there is evidence of Jacobite demonstrations in London during this period, their appeal was limited. Despite the best efforts of Rogers to downplay Hanoverian sympathies, they are at least implied by the reports of large crowds attending such events as the 1715 Guy Fawkes Day celebrations, where 10,000 revellers attended a performance of martial music and fireworks.[25] It is problematic to conclude that such loyalty was hollow because it was purchased with drink and display, while the violence perpetrated by Jacobite supporters was sincere and principled.

A similar pattern emerges when examining popular

---

[24]Rogers, "Popular Protest," p. 76.

[25]Rogers, "Popular Protest," p. 76.

responses to the Atterbury Plot of 1722. Loyal addresses emanated from the entire kingdom, and the crisis spawned more public appearances by the King and royal family.[26] In fact, the King and Prince of Wales embarked on a royal progress to Salisbury and Portsmouth from his palace at Kensington, accompanied by music and shouts of "Long Live King George!" To exemplify his benevolence, George released prisoners from debt and pardoned others.[27] Even the sceptical Joseph Addison was caught up in the excitement writing:

> O may I live to hail the Day
> When the glad Nation shall survey
> Their Sov'reign (through his wide command)
> Passing in Progress o'er the Land!
> Each Heart shall bend, and every Voice
> In loud-applauding Shouts rejoice,
> Whilst all his gracious Aspect praise
> And Crowds grow Loyal as they gaze.[28]

As the poem and the general excitement in the areas expecting to see the King suggests, royal appearances were invaluable to promoting Hanoverian legitimacy. Public affirmation of loyalty to the House of Hanover was completed when the ministry ordered a nation-wide oath of allegiance in the summer of 1723.[29] Public sentiment to the Crown, it seems, was not simply stirred by rebellion, or fear of

---

[26]*Daily Courant*, 13 June, 7 July, 22 August 1722.

[27]*London Journal*, 25 August, 1 September, 8 September 1722.

[28]*London Journal*, 8 September 1722.

[29]Colley, *Britons*, p. 202.

such. The King and his ministers resorted to spectacle and ceremony to promote and underscore loyalty. Evidently, Jacobite intrigue only broadened the base of support for George I by providing the government with perfect occasions to rouse such sentiments.

As posited earlier, however, the person of George I at this time was not so popular as the security offered by the idea of the Protestant succession. For example, many of the loyal addresses make direct and specific reference to the Protestantism of the Hanoverian line in their expression of allegiance.[30] Whig propagandists had, also, long emphasized the link between the protestant succession and the popular notion of liberty, presenting the Hanoverians as the only alternative to the Stuart brand of papist despotism. But, to assert that the excitement created over the royal progress of 1722 was due to an enigmatic idea rather than the royal personage would be overly cynical. George I could instill loyal sentiments amongst Britons by making such appearances, and demonstrating his benevolence and regal attributes. In all, the deference expected towards the King by his subjects did not come without a price. The relationship between monarch and subject involved expectations from both parties. In return for their loyalty, Britons expected the monarch to act

---

[30]For examples see the *Daily Courant*, September to December 1715.

paternalistically, and protect the interests of the nation. Ceremony was an important aspect of this relationship, as it provided the opportunity to affirm these mutual ties.[31]

Unfortunately, George I did not possess a complete understanding of the workings of such a relationship. His dislike for public events, coupled with his penchant for summering in his native Hanover, did not always help to increase his personal popularity with his subjects. True, in times of crisis he would reach out to his people, dining in public on occasion, and appearing before his subjects in such ceremonial events as royal troop inspections in Hyde Park. But on the whole, George tended to keep to his palaces, where even the courtiers complained of a stifling sameness to court life.[32] Indeed, his subjects at times expressed a modicum of disrespect. George's estrangement from his wife led to charges of cuckoldry from the lesser sort, even leading in one case to a mock *charivari* of the King.[33]

---

[31]On the intellectual notion of deference see J.G.A. Pocock, "The Classical Theory of Deference," *American Historical Review* 81(1976): 516-23; good examples of how this relationship worked can be found in E.P. Thompson, "Patrician Society, Plebeian Culture," *Journal of Social History* 7(1973-4): 382-405; and Frank O'Gorman, "Electoral Deference in "Unreformed" England: 1760-1832," *Journal of Modern History* 56(September 1984): 391-429.

[32]See the comments of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, in *The Complete Letters of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu* ed. Robert Halsband (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1966), vol. 1, pp. 135-6.

[33]Martin Ingram, "Ridings, Rough Music and the 'Reform of Popular Culture' in Early Modern England," *Past and Present* 105(1978), p. 108.

Yet despite his aloof nature, Britons were inclined to support George I through expressions of loyalty. An anti-Jacobite poem, published in 1716, provides some insight into this phenomenon:

> Under our vines we'll sit and sing,
> May God be praised, bless George our King;
> Being happy made in every thing
> Both religious and civil:
> Our fatal discords soon shall cease,
> Composed by George, our prince of peace;
> We shall in plenty live at ease,
> In spite of Popish envy.[34]

Peace and prosperity were perceived by the public as the reward for faithfulness to the Hanoverians. The social, economic and political stability brought on by the Hanoverian succession was at stake; few were willing to risk it on behalf of the Catholic, James Edward Stuart.

The idea of stability serving as a prop for the ruling order was pioneered by J.H. Plumb, who asserted that "the character of the King and his alleged withdrawal from business may be dismissed as irrelevant as a factor in constitutional and political development after 1714." Plumb's assertions are favoured by the leading scholars of the younger generation whom he trained, like John Brewer and Linda Colley.[35] They argue that the dominance of the Whig

---

[34]*A Collection of State Songs, Poems etc. that have been published since the Rebellion* (1716), p. 137; cited in Colley, *Britons*, p. 76.

[35]J.H. Plumb, *The Growth of Political Stability in England, 1675-1725* (London: Macmillan, 1967), p. 107; John Brewer, *The Sinews of Power* (London: Unwin Hyman, 1989); Colley, *Britons*.

party provided for continuity in government, while the decline of the Tory party kept the political squabbles to a minimum. Growing patronage networks, supported by a buoyant Treasury, provided the Whig administrations with the ability, literally, to buy loyalty. If contemporaries wished to rise in the public service, they had to support the Protestant succession. Furthermore, the nobility were given a new level of importance in this new order, which secured their loyalty and disaffection from the Stuart cause.

The rising commercial element of British society also supported the new order, as a result of the economic stability and incentives for the monied interest provided by the Whigs and the Hanoverians. In particular George, Prince of Wales showed support for commerce, inviting guilds and prominent entrepreneurs to his royal seat, and serving as governor for the Corporation of Copper Miners in England.[36] An address emanating from the London Common Council certainly captured the familiar association of the Whigs and Hanoverians with prosperity, while commenting on the instability which accompanied the Stuart uprising:

> The wound which this City of London received in its best Branches of Commerce, is but one of the less Evils and Calamities brought upon us by the Perfidy of the late execrable Conspirators against the Kingdom's true interest.[37]

---

[36]*Daily Courant*, 23 June, 28 July 1718.

[37]Reprinted in the *Daily Courant*, 21 November 1715.

Stability, then, both political and economic, was a factor which loomed large in promoting the legitimacy of the Hanoverian dynasty.

Royal ritual still assumed an important role, however, in maintaining public support for the Hanoverian order. In particular, times of crisis prompted ceremony and celebration, as demonstrated by the rise in ritual during the Jacobite disturbances. But the calendar of celebratory days enjoyed by Britons increasingly revolved around royal anniversaries. Royal birthdays, including those of George's family, spawned public bonfires, bell ringing, and acclamations across the kingdom. Accession Day and Coronation Day also entered this calendar, with the former even prompting a rowing race in London. Special odes were composed for these events usually by the King's Composer, and distinctive court events held to cement the ties to the aristocracy. By 1724, the royal family had become popular enough to inspire the *Daily Courant* to provide frequent accounts of royal activities. For example, numerous mention of the King's hunting exploits appear in its pages, no doubt in an effort to emphasize his militaristic skills in a rather ritualistic manner.[38] These events seem to dwindle and lose public attention later in the reign, as George I grew older and less inclined to such activities.

---

[38]Examples of these accounts can be found in the *Daily Courant* throughout 1724.

Monuments in honour of the monarch were also erected, in an effort to promote his legitimacy and public appeal. In Edinburgh, a full-length portrait was hung in the Council Room. Another portrait was hung in Guildhall, after a request for one by the Lord Mayor and Magistrates of London. It was described as

> representing at full length His Majesty, in an Imperial Manner, under a magnificent Vestibule. A piece equally admir'd for the Surprising Likeness, Gracefulness, and Grandeur of the Figure, perform'd in a Style truly Heroick, and suitable to the Dignity of our August Monarch.[39]

In London, a statue was raised upon a church tower--symbolising George I's role as head of church--perched high above the people in reminder of the King's stature. Monuments were used to emphasize the dignity of the crown, and provide public symbols of the role of the monarch in society. The military allusions were deliberate; they accentuated the martial aspects of the House of Hanover and its defeat of the Stuart menace.

Thus, the reign of George I was concerned with public royal ritual much more than scholars have previously thought. Although the King was somewhat withdrawn from the multitude, he still participated in a number of public events, particularly early in his reign. Furthermore, Britons of all ranks seem to have been drawn to the Hanoverian dynasty, rejecting the Stuart claimant to the

---

[39]*Scots Courant*, 12 March 1717; *Daily Courant*, 20 October 1718.

throne, and partaking in celebrations of royal anniversaries and important dates. The legitimacy of the monarch was bolstered by such actions, and any personal dislike for the King seems to have been overcome by the stability associated in the popular view with the Hanoverian regime. George II, who demonstrated a penchant for public ritual during his tenure as Prince of Wales, continued this trend.

George Augustus's affinity for royal ceremony had great political ramifications, beginning during his father's reign. The relationship between George I and his son was always strained, growing more so as the Prince of Wales matured. The rift was so wide by 1716, that while the King visited Hanover, he refused to leave his son with the powers of regent, opting instead for the diminished title of "Guardian of the Realm and Lieutenant." Soon their mutual animosity led to the expulsion of George Augustus from St. James's, and his relocation to Leicester House. The Prince and Princess of Wales immediately appealed to London society for support, throwing balls and opening their drawing rooms to the nobility, and making numerous public appearances before the lesser ranks. In what became a sort of contest for public affection, the King responded by leading a more accessible lifestyle, dining in public, and promoting a more vibrant and attractive court culture. Though Goerge and Frederick were reconciled in 1720, the events of this period suggest that both father and son understood the importance

of public appeal gained through royal ritual.

This realization remained ingrained with the Prince of Wales, who continued to seek the approval of Britons. Frequent excursions around London were accompanied by nationalistic appeals to the populace. With his unique brand of English, the Prince on one occasion even insisted that "I have not one drop of blood in my veins dat is not English."[40] But it was upon his accession that George II was able to reach his potential for popular appeal with Britons. His coronation in 1727 proved to be a grand spectacle, intended to maximise propagandistic potential. As Lord Hervey described:

> the ceremony of the Coronation was performed with all the pomp and magnificence that could be contrived; the present King differing so much from the last, that all the pageantry and splendour, badges and trappings of royalty were as pleasing to the son as they were irksome to the father.[41]

In terms of demonstrating his suitability to fill the office of monarch George II began admirably, displaying himself and his family in all the ostentation and glory that could be mustered. Ceremonial elements such as the anthems composed by the musical genius of the age, George Frideric Handel, charged the coronation with sublime magnificence. Moreover, Hervey's comment emphasized the changing approach to royal

---

[40]William Coxe, *Memoirs of the Life and Administration of Sir Robert Walpole, Earl of Orford* (London, 1798), vol. 2, p. 205.

[41]John, Lord Hervey, *Some Materials Towards Memoirs of the Reign of King George II* ed. Romney Sedgewick (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1931); reprint, (New York: AMS Press, 1970), p. 66.

ritual expected in the new reign. Unlike his father, George II enjoyed spectacle, which would aid in fomenting popular loyalty to the Crown.

The coronation itself was primarily an aristocratic event, but interest was such that a version of the ritual was repeated at the Drury Lane Theatre. In performances of Shakespeare's *King Henry the Eighth*, the scene of Anne Boleyn's coronation was designed to approximate as closely as possible the coronation of George and Caroline. It played in the provinces over the next two years.[42] In all, the splendour of the coronation, whether the real or mock version, was enjoyed by Britons from all corners of the kingdom and from all ranks, suggesting a level of popular acceptance of and excitement over the prospect of a new King. Even the Jacobites conceded George II's initial popularity, explaining that "his declarations that he will make no distinction of parties and his turning off the Germans will make him popular at present."[43]

Many new opportunities developed to consolidate this approval of the new King. The new royal family was much larger in number, prompting the expansion of the celebratory calendar to include the birthdays of the Queen and the royal offspring. Britons were encouraged to observe these

---

[42]W.H. Wilkins, *Caroline the Illustrious* (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1904), p. 351.

[43]Lord Strafford to James Edward Stuart, 21 June 1727 as cited in Wilkins, *Caroline the Illustrious*, p. 335.

occasions, and the newspaper accounts suggest that they did just that. Even the princesses' birthday proved to be a day of rejoicing, if the parish of St. James, Clerkenwell was any example:

> And this being the Birth-Day of their said Royal Highnesses, as they passed thro' the Spaw-field, Mr. Cook, who keeps a Public House therein, saluted them with twenty-one Guns, and in the Evening there was a great Bonfire near the Place, in Honour of the Day, when Mr. Cook fired his Guns again several times; a Custom he observes on Birth Days of the Royal Family.[44]

Such examples of celebration around George II's family were evident throughout the kingdom. For example, twenty poor women were clothed and entertained in Bath to mark the Queen's birthday in 1735. In Dublin, which was rapidly becoming one of Britain's cultural centres, the same occasion prompted a grand ball for over 700 persons of distinction in 1733. And in what was perhaps the grandest royal spectacle of the decade, the wedding of the Prince of Orange to Princess Anne in March 1734 inspired numerous public events involving the royal family and the Prince of Orange, beginning in the previous November.[45]

Yet all was not well. As early as 1729, William Pulteney, a prominent member of the parliamentary opposition, identified a level of dissatisfaction with the King and his family. In a letter to the courtier, Lord

---

[44]*Gentleman's Magazine*, May 1733, p. 267.

[45]*Gentleman's Magazine*, March 1735, p. 163; June 1733, p. 323; November 1733 to March 1734 passim.

Hervey, he intimated that "the Queen is hated, the King despised, their son both the one and the other, and such a spirit of disaffection to the family and general discontent with the present Government is spread all over the Kingdom."[46] Certainly the fact that Pulteney was an opposition politician who was attempting to entice Hervey to his cause casts his opinion in dubious light. But in most such assertions there is a kernel of truth. 1733 saw the fortunes of the government plummet, with the proposal of the widely unpopular Excise Bill. For a King who was strongly associated with the Walpole administration, it would be difficult to remain unmuddied by the proceedings.

The Excise Bill was generally perceived as an attempt to shift taxation from land to consumer goods, or more controversially, from nobility to the common people. Fearing a loss of liberty and economic freedom, patriots stirred popular ferment against the Bill in much of Britain, leading to numerous examples of constituents instructing their MPs to oppose the measure. As a result, the Bill was abandoned in April 1733, amid celebratory bonfires and bell-ringing throughout the kingdom.[47] During one London celebration, the crowd even went so far as to burn in effigy a figure wearing a blue sash with a white star, implying that the King was not untouched by the scandal. In all, the

---

[46]Hervey, *Memoirs*, p. 105.

[47]*Craftsman*, 21 April 1733.

Hanoverian regime was rocked by the Excise crisis; Henry Pelham, a prominent minister and future prime minister, even believed that "the whole country almost is poisoned, very little regard for the King or Royal Family, less for the Ministry."[48]

Indeed, George II did little to dispel the growing anti-Crown feelings of the populace. Virtually every year he visited his electoral dominions, leaving the regency in the hands of Queen Caroline. The King's frequent absenteeism, coupled with his growing withdrawal from public life, began to have adverse effects upon his popularity with Britons. In 1736, George went so far as to prolong his stay in Hanover beyond the traditional celebratory day of his birth, and opposition pamphlets took advantage of the growing public dissatisfaction over such royal slights. Satirical broadsides and pamphlets emerged from the presses in response to the discontent, such as one post-bill that was pasted upon St. James's gate that year:

> Lost or strayed out of this house, a man who has left a wife and six children on the parish; whoever will give any tidings of him to the churchwardens of St. James's Parish, so as he may be got again, shall receive four shillings and sixpence reward.
>
> N.B. - This reward will not be increased, nobody judging him to deserve a Crown.[49]

---

[48]*Gentleman's Magazine*, April 1733, p. 272; Henry Pelham to the Duke of Newcastle, cited in Tench, *George II*, p. 167; for a good account of popular response to the Excise Bill see Rogers, *Whigs and Cities*, pp. 49-55.

[49]Hervey, *Memoirs*, p. 610.

But when George finally returned in January 1737, it came after widespread fear and apprehension that he had been lost at sea. His arrival therefore prompted the usual measures of joy, as well as a number of loyal addresses. The King must have been deserving of a crown after all.

As the loyalty expressed so closely in the wake of dissatisfaction with the monarch suggests, evaluation of the popular perceptions of George II at this time is problematic. Many levels of society were alienated by his aloofness and ostensible disregard for Britain in the face of his affection for Hanover. His predisposition towards public ceremony had given way to insouciance in his middle age. Yet public celebration of royal anniversaries continued, suggesting that the monarch, whether the person or institution, was not so unpopular as the opposition intimated. Even the celebrations over the defeat of the Excise Bill, charged with anti-ministerial sentiments, included examples of Hanoverian loyalty. In Nottingham, the revelry included drinking the healths of the King and royal family, whereas the anti-Jacobite symbol of the warming pan was prominent in Newcastle merrymaking.[50]

Perhaps a middle-ground interpretation is most fitting in analyzing these events. Extremes should be played down and the 1730s seen as a period of growing indifference

---

[50]*Newcastle Courant*, 21 April 1733, cited in Rogers, *Whigs and Cities*, p. 374.

between Crown and subject. It was, in many ways, personified by a series of government scandals, which undermined public approval of the Hanoverian regime, interspersed with royal occasions which fomented loyal ceremony and celebration. No consistent effort by the opposition or the courtier/ministerialist party emerged to cement popular sentiment for or against the monarch and his ministry. As the Walpole administration grew more unpopular, however, George II could not help but be caught in the rising tide of public hostility.

By February 1737, it became clear that Leicester House, royal seat of George II's son Frederick, Prince of Wales, had become a rallying point for the opposition, consisting primarily of patriot Whigs and the fragments of the once dominant Tory party. This overt absalonism was a result of years of cold relations between Frederick and the King--more extreme even than those between George I and George Augustus. By gaining a royal patron, the opposition could now utilise the royal calendar to their own ends; celebration involving the Prince of Wales and his family would now be associated with the parliamentary opposition rather than the ruling order supported by the King. Coupled with the growing agitation for war with Spain over trading rights, beginning in spring of 1738, the new opposition strength was threatening to undermine the dominant position of the ministry chosen and supported by George II. Walpole

was eventually pressured into declaring war in October 1739, but after initial public rejoicing, a lack of aggressive policy and a series of defeats left the nation despondent. Walpole fell in 1742, leaving Henry Pelham to head a government which otherwise remained virtually unchanged.

The appropriation of the Prince of Wales as a symbol of opposition is an extremely important development in eighteenth-century history. The ministries serving since 1714 had relied on the patronage of the King in order to legitimize their position of power. The opposition was never able to attain the confidence of many important elements of society, particularly the commercial component, largely because of their lack of ties to the House of Hanover and the perception that their Tory wing still fostered Jacobite sympathies. By associating themselves with the future King, a new level of validity was attained for the adversaries of the Whig government. They could no longer be viewed by Britons as a threat to the stability established under the Hanoverian regime, and indeed, were now championing the interest of the commercial element involved in trans-Atlantic trade by pressing for war. Moreover, the ceremonial and celebratory occasions involving the Prince provided the opposition with a way to gather public support, and present themselves as holding a level of popularity through their association with Frederick and the

loyal acclamations he inspired from the nation.[51]

The opposition was further buoyed when Admiral Vernon, the only *bona fide* hero to emerge from the war effort, ran in the 1741 election. He had long been an adversary of the Walpole government, and his string of victories over the Spanish, beginning with that at Porto Bello in November 1739, had made Vernon the darling of the public. His birthday and the anniversaries of his victories sparked large nationalistic celebrations throughout Britain, similar to those for royal anniversaries. Vernon's vocal denunciations of ministerial policy in parliament also won important support for his patriot allies.[52] Thus, the acceptability of the opposition was greatly strengthened by its acquisition of two important allies: the Prince of Wales and Admiral Vernon. Both provided ample opportunities to exploit public opinion and appropriate some of the popular loyalty expressed towards the King and his ministry, by fostering the association of opposition with the Protestant succession and the man who personified an emerging British nationalistic sentiment.

Though ministerial popularity sagged under the weight

---

[51]For more on the relationship between Frederick, Prince of Wales and the Opposition, see A.N. Newman, "Leicester House Politics, 1748-1751," *English Historical Review* 301(October 1961).

[52]For more on the phenomenon of Admiral Vernon as national hero and opposition champion see Kathleen Wilson, "Empire, Trade and Popular Politics in Mid-Hanoverian Britain: The Case of Admiral Vernon," *Past and Present* 121(1988), pp. 74-109.

of the war, that of the King took a turn for the better. The war rekindled a patriotic fervour around the monarch, and his ministers worked hard to build upon his returning popularity. This was made particularly evident when George led the troops to victory at Dettingen in 1743--the last time a British monarch was to lead his army in battle. The Duke of Newcastle immediately noticed a change of sentiment towards the King as a result. "What particularly affects all honest men," he wrote, "is the share the King has personally in this great action; which I verily believe will be of lasting service to him, and make impressions in his favour which falsehood and malice will not be able hereafter to face."[53] Upon the King's return to London, Horace Walpole recorded that the crowd "almost carried him into the palace on their shoulders ... at night the whole town was illuminated and bonfired."[54] Such rejoicings were most likely sponsored by loyal Whigs, and to build on the monumentality of the occasion, Handel was asked to compose a *Te Deum*. Not all were caught up in the merriment, however, as an opposition song related:

> Yet though England prevails in her conquering red
> By the H[anove]r yellow herself is undone.
> We for H[anove]r only at Dettingen bled
> Who o'er us triumphed most, when their yellow tails run
> By H[anove]r, H[anove]r all are undone.[55]

---

[53]Tench, *George II*, p. 221.

[54]Walpole, *Letters*, vol. 1, p. 391.

[55]Tench, p. 222.

It was thus George's adherence to Hanover, coupled with opposition success in emphasizing his foreignness to their own Englishness, that still held British loyalty somewhat in check. It did not help matters that the King was wearing the yellow sash of the Electorate while engaged in battle.

Loyalty to the King was truly confirmed, however, with the coming of the Jacobite rebellion of 1745. Despite the fact that George was in Hanover when Charles Edward Stuart invaded Britain in July 1745, signs of loyalty to the Hanoverian dynasty were quickly evident. Armed associations sprang up throughout the country to defend the realm; loyalist societies were formed in over twenty-five counties and thirteen provincial towns, not to mention the numerous examples of such from London.[56] The mayor of Exeter delivered a crumpled loyal address to London, explaining that it "was impossible to restrain the impetuous and eager zeal of our citizens. Everyone pressing forward to give the earliest marks of his duty and loyalty."[57] In Perth and Dundee, both captured by Charles's army, the Jacobite governors were attacked by the citizens on 30 October--George II's birthday. Perhaps the most striking example of British loyalty to the crown was the emergence of the anthem "God Save the King!" which was sung to calls for encores in

---

[56]Rogers, *Whigs and Cities*, p. 74.

[57]Cited in Colley, *Britons*, p. 84.

theatres throughout the country from September 1745.[58]

The eventual defeat of the Jacobite army by the Duke of Cumberland, in April 1746, was the climax in the story of Hanoverian legitimation. The King was at Drury Lane Theatre when news of the victory reached him. Upon hearing the news, George "stood up with streaming eyes, and loudly thanked God, and announced the victory of his people. The band, by Garrick's orders, at once played 'God Save the King,' the whole audience joining enthusiastically in the chorus."[59] Taking their cue from the Drury Lane patrons, the nation too rejoiced. As a result of the victory, the King's second and favourite son, William, Duke of Cumberland, immediately became a national hero, rivalling the popularity of Vernon. More importantly for the Whig administration, the resulting patriotic fervour was associated with them through their strong ties to the King and Duke, and their direction of war policy. Opposition fortunes had plummeted since the rebellion, largely because Britons had rushed to defend the King. As a result, the Pelham administration was able to dominate the election of 1747, leaving their rivals in electoral purgatory.

If their domination at the hustings in 1747 marks a highpoint for Whig popularity, the signing of the peace in

---

[58]Colley, *Britons*, p. 44.

[59]*Memoir of Robert, Earl Nugent: With Letters, Poems, and Appendices* ed. Claude Nugent (London: William Heinemann, 1898), p. 16.

1748 denotes a low. That the ministry was correct in its conclusions that Britain could no longer afford to be at war was, to many, immaterial. The terms of mutual restitution were reprehensible to opponents of the treaty. One pamphleteer described it as an "over-hasty and precipitate peace." The people of Britain, he wrote, "have been betray'd by the Councils of this Country."[60] The Administration and its adherents responded with pamphlets and poetry of their own. Most called for loyal acts directed towards the King. Some emphasized the Hanoverian ties to the Glorious Revolution, calling on Britons to "Let happy Days, by peaceful George restor'd / Compleat the just Designs of William's Sword."

The Ministry generally attempted to associate itself and the peace with the Crown in its tracts published to defend the treaty. Such a strategy had paid great dividends during the war, when the popularity of the Hanoverian ruler reached new heights. It is in this light that preparation for the Royal Fireworks celebration should be cast. The spectacle was planned on an unprecedented scale, representing the most ambitious effort to promote consensual loyalty to George II. Realizing the monarch's rise as a

---

[60]*The Advantages of the Difinitive* [sic] *Treaty To the People of Great Britain Demonstrated* (London, 1749), p. 8; see also *Observations on the Probable Issue of the Congress at Aix La Chapelle: In a Letter to a Friend* (London, 1748), *National Prejudice opposed to the national interest* (London, 1748), and the [Earl of Egmont's] *An Examination of the principles, and an inquiry into the conduct of two b*****rs...* (London, 1749).

symbol of national pride, the ministry hoped to cash in on the propagandistic value of a national celebration, commemorating the peace that was provided by the King, though negotiated by his advisors. Unpopular aspects of the peace could be glossed over through its association with the Crown. The Royal Fireworks, then, was a perfect opportunity to underscore the legitimacy of George II and his line--and by association the legitimacy of the peace and the Pelham Administration.

All things considered, the first two Georges were not nearly so unpopular as some historians have suggested. The political and economic stability brought on by the Hanoverian accession maintained their acceptance by the nation at large. Both George I and his son were somewhat aloof as monarchs, but still preserved popular support through public appearances. The observances of the royal calendrical days of celebration are evidence of the people's endorsement of the Protestant succession. Yet it appears that both monarchs did not feel completely at home in Britain: both held a preference for the Electorate. By the late 1730s, growing public dissatisfaction with the Hanoverian regime represents the low-point of their popularity.

The War of Austrian Succession proved to be the tonic for this affliction, and a healthy new public image emerged

for the King. The war served as a rite of passage, representing the first time that the Hanoverians were viewed as truly British. The Royal Fireworks celebration was therefore intended to solidify this new level of legitimacy for George II. The ministry hoped to take advantage of the situation by holding the grandest celebration yet seen in Britain, and re-emphasizing their ties to the Hanoverian succession. Once again, Handel was asked to commemorate the occasion with music, as he had done for the Coronation of George II and for the Dettingen victory. Coupled with the rise of popular anthems which fostered allegiance and nationalism, such as "God Save the King!" and "Rule, Britannia!", music's role in political culture attained new levels of importance. Its rise to become an instrument used to create consensual loyalty towards King and government, ultimately expressed in Handel's *Musick for the Royal Fireworks*, forms the subject of the next chapter.

Chapter 2

Music, Monarchy, and Legitimacy: The Politics of Handel's *Musick for the Royal Fireworks*, 1749.

> ...they are all mad with thanksgivings, Venetian jubilees, Italian fireworks, and German pageantry. I have before my eyes such a concourse of people as to be sure I never have or shall see again.
> -John Byrom to his wife, 27 April 1749.[61]

The Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle signed in 1748 inspired Britons to rejoice in unprecedented fashion. There were many events held around the nation--including balls, masquerades, public feasts, bonfires, and sermons--designed to suit, and in some cases emphasize the differences between, the varying ranks. But one of the most famous occasions celebrating the peace was intended to be all-inclusive: the Royal Fireworks. Magnates mixed with mob at Green Park, in the centre of London, to witness what was anticipated to be the grandest spectacle yet seen by Britons. The subjects of George II were invited to participate in an event intended to glorify the nation, and a king who had led his people first in war and now in peace. The fact that it was devised to appeal to all elements of society suggests that the forging of a sense of common identity amongst Britons was also the aim of the organisers. This whole exercise in public celebration was indeed a risk--potential rioting was feared by the

---

[61]As cited in Otto Erich Deutsch, *Handel: A Documentary Biography* (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1955), p.667.

administration prompting the order for the Westminster militia and four regiments of the London militia to patrol the cities.[62] But the gamble must have seemed warranted in light of the propaganda value: a public diversion which legitimized the monarchy and rallied support behind King and government in the wake of an unpopular peace treaty was a worthy prize.

In order to appreciate how the Green Park celebration promoted legitimacy and consensus, this chapter will examine the music that Handel wrote for the event. Music had played a major role in royal ritual throughout the Hanoverian regime. Elaborate musical entertainments added grandeur to previous public ceremony in an effort to promote the new royal line as rightful rulers, and the *Musick for the Royal Fireworks* was no different. Moreover, music, particularly that of Handel, had a popular appeal which made it an important element of the celebration through its promotion of harmonious acceptance of the ruling order.

The role of music in the Royal Fireworks celebration was virtually overlooked by contemporaries, and modern commentators have done little to correct the oversight. Music was, however, a very important aspect of the ceremony--perhaps more than the fireworks or the temple structure. It was used to announce the arrival of George II to the spectators who filled Green Park, and to add resplendence to

---

[62]*Newcastle Magazine*, April 1749, p. 194.

the King's appearance before them as he examined the Doric edifice. The striking overture which begins Handel's *Musick for the Royal Fireworks* added the perfect sense of import to the King's arrival and presence. The suite was also used to introduce the fireworks display to the crowd, enhancing the popular appeal of the celebration and ornamenting a nation's joy.

Music had been a part of royal ritual and ceremony during the reigns of many English monarchs in the past, with the King's Band of Music providing entertainment and ceremonial splendour. In the Hanoverian period, however, the King's Band only performed for court celebratory or ceremonial occasions and not for court amusement as in earlier reigns. Entertainment was furnished by City theatres, and pleasure gardens, such as Vauxhall. It is significant, then, that both George I and II maintained a band of musicians at their own expense, strictly to lend an air of eminence and ceremonial embellishment to court ritual. Martial music was particularly important to court events as it evoked a certain air of pomp and circumstance. Such music was used everyday at the royal residence for the changing of the guards, routinely when the King or a member of the royal family reviewed troops or attended hunting parties, and to announce the arrival of royal guests. Regimental bands performed for many of these everyday court rituals. Court military musicians also accompanied the King

on trips within the kingdom--mostly limited to excursions between royal residences--and perhaps on his travels on the Continent.[63] Undoubtedly, music was used to provide grandeur to everyday public court ritual, and in the process underscore Hanoverian legitimacy through such public display. The fact that the King's public appearances were punctuated with a certain musical monumentality set his person apart from even the highest ranking peers of the realm.

For the most important ceremonies of state, such as the coronation of George II, music played a particularly important role. Handel's four Coronation Anthems, which almost immediately gained appropriate fame for their expert composition and the emotive response which they generated, were the highlight of the affair. The rehearsal of the Anthems, held on 6 October 1727 in Westminster Abbey, attracted the "greatest Concourse of People that has yet been known," by one account.[64] That the coronation was a spectacle that held popular appeal is demonstrated by the attendance. Only 1000 tickets were printed, but the choir at Westminster sold places at windows in the abbey, nearly doubling their income in comparison to the previous

---

[63]Peggy Daub, "Music at the Court of George II (r. 1727-1760)," (unpublished PhD, Cornell University, 1985): 209-13, 249-50.

[64]*Read's Weekly Journal*, 7 October 1727; as cited in Deutsch, *Handel*, p. 214.

coronation.[65]

For the throngs that were either unable to afford or attain a place at the coronation service, there was still the outdoor procession, which was accompanied with appropriate music providing a regal air to the coronation of the German-born king. The court military musicians were provided with liveries for the event, including the Sergeant trumpeter, 16 other trumpeters, 4 kettledrummers, the Drum major and 5 Drummers of the Household, 4 drummers and 4 oboes of the First Troop of Horse Grenadier Guards, 4 oboes of the Second Troop, and the oboes of the Foot Guards.[66] This impressively decorated array of musicians were interspersed through the procession, in order to emphasize the majesty of the occasion. The procession of the new King and Queen also included an anthem:

> During the Procession from Westminster Hall, the following Anthem is to be alternately Sung all the way, after the Sounding of the Trumpets and beating the Drums. O Lord Grant the King a long Life...[67]

The music was, therefore, essential in providing the tone for the event, which portrayed the King as the divinely anointed head of church and state.

This prominence of music in court punctilio can be

---

[65]Donald Burrows, "Handel and the 1727 Coronation," *Musical Times* (June 1977), p. 470.

[66]Daub, "Music at the Court of George II," p. 243.

[67]From "The Order of Performing the Several Anthems at the Coronation of their Majesties King George II & Q: Caroline" (1727) as cited in Daub, "Music at the Court of George II," p. 245.

explained by the contemporary belief in its powers to impart certain affections, or emotions, to its audience. European composers of the Baroque period intended to cull passionate responses from their listeners, and believed that music had the power, indeed the duty, to move the affections. By 1728, Roger North attempted to explain the phenomenon of musically induced emotions, positing that "the action of sound in the air is sensible to us by the many effects, which excite in our minds ideas infinitely various." In an effort to explain this popular belief in the power of music, he asked from "whence then proceeds the passions of the mind?"[68] As much of the music composed in this period was written specifically to please the courts of Europe, Baroque music and deference to monarchy go hand in hand. Handel's Coronation Anthems are no exception. By emphasizing through glorious anthems and martial music the majesty, might, and divine connections of the monarchy, his music could evoke powerful feelings of loyalty and esteem towards the Crown. Thus, Handel's composition, as well as the rest of the music used in the coronation ceremony, added the legitimizing sense of grandeur to the event, and, if popular

---

[68]Roger North, *The Musicall Grammarian 1728* eds. Mary Chan and Jamie C. Kassler (Cambridge: University Press, 1990), p. 95; for more on the affections in baroque music see Claude V. Palisca, *Baroque Music* 2nd edition (New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1981), pp. 3-6. Music was thought to have many beneficial effects, such as curing the bite of the tarantula spider; see "A Description of the Tarantula and how music is a cure of bite," *Universal Magazine* (June 1748), p. 242.

response to Handel's Anthems is any gauge, captured the public imagination.[69]

Other important court ceremonies were marked with musical sublimity, such as Handel's *The Ways of Zion do Mourn* composed for the funeral of Queen Caroline in December 1737. According to one contemporary poem, written after one of three public rehearsals, the Anthem's

> ...Seraph-accents, solemn, deep, and slow,
> Melt on the Ear, in soft, melodious Woe.[70]

"Melodious woe" was indeed the intent of Handel's work, and it seems to have captured its purpose, expressing the grief of a nation in musical form. The subsequent funeral procession was preceded by military musicians, no doubt assuming the proper mournful tone for the people. More joyous occasions were also marked with music, such as royal nuptials. Anthems were composed, and processions were attended by the court military musicians; by the middle of George II's reign, music had attained a new level of importance in marking any major affair involving the royal family. Of only lesser significance were such occasions as the King's birthday and New Year's Day, for which loyal choral odes were composed, and the return of the King from visits to Hanover prompted a *Te Deum* to be performed in the

---

[69]The theme of sublime elements in Handel's Music is explored further in Claudia L. Johnson, ""Giant HANDEL" and the Musical Sublime," *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 19(1986), pp. 515-533.

[70]*Old Whig*, 4 January 1738; the rehearsals are announced in the *London Evening Post*, 14, 16 and 17 December 1737.

Chapel Royal on the first Sunday following his return.

Music, therefore, assumed a prominent place in royal ritual. It was used to set a mood appropriate to the occasion at hand, as in the case of the Queen's funeral, or to provide stirring accompaniment to important court ceremonies such as the coronation. Above all, music was used in royal ceremonies to engage the spectators, and convince them of the consequence and distinction appropriate to the monarchy--in essence to promote consensual acceptance of the Hanoverian kingship. An offshoot of the use of the music which accompanied royal ritual was the widespread propaganda value it commanded. Loyal odes were published in newspapers, serving as political tracts which favoured the monarchy. Some musical pieces composed for royal occasions also assumed an important place in the repertoire of the growing number of amateur music societies in Britain, and became public favourites. *Zadok the Priest*, one of Handel's Coronation Anthems, endures as a popular icon, and became such a favourite almost immediately. It served as a form of royal musical monument, with the chorus of "God Save the King! Long live the King! May he live for ever" often heard echoing through churches and performance halls, reminding Britons of the importance of the King's person, and the loyalty expected from them. In essence, the Anthem captures the very same emotive force as "God Save the King!" or even "Rule Britannia!", stirring great feelings of

loyalty and even nationalism. *Zadok* has been used in all subsequent coronation services in Britain, attesting to its power and popularity.

That music was important to royal ritual in the time of George II is not disputed, just underplayed by historians. Therefore, the fact that many contemporary accounts of the Royal Fireworks make little mention of Handel's suite composed for the event does not detract from its significance. This is made evident by the popularity of the rehearsal of the *Musick for the Royal Fireworks*, held four days prior. It was performed in front of "the brightest and most numerous Assembly ever known at the Spring Garden, Vauxhall," all paying 2s. 6d. for tickets. In all, over 12000 persons attended the rehearsal, causing many logistical problems. The *Gentleman's Magazine* reported that:

> So great a resort occasioned such a stoppage on *London-Bridge,* that no carriage could pass for 3 hours. - The footmen were so numerous as to obstruct the passage, so that a scufle happen'd, in which some gentlemen were wounded.[71]

The attendance for the rehearsal of Handel's music is truly remarkable--not only does it suggest that Handel was very popular, but also that his *Musick for the Royal Fireworks* could draw people from the lesser ranks as well. The music, then, was a considerable attraction for Londoners, and was an important element of the peace celebration. It

---

[71]*Gentleman's Magazine*, April 1749, p. 185.

recognized the descent of high culture to the level of popular culture, and utilized Handel's fame with the general populace to promote consensus.

Yet the celebration almost went forth with no music at all. The Duke of Montague, Master General of the Ordnance, in a letter dated 28 March 1749 to Charles Frederick, put in charge of the Fireworks with the grand title of "Comptroller of his Majesty's Fireworks as well as for War as for Triumph," expressed the possibility of the absence of ceremonial music from the event:

> I think Hendel [sic] now proposes to have but 12 trumpets and 12 French horns; at first there was to have been sixteen of each, and I remember I told the King so, who, at the time, objected to their being any musick; but, when I told him the quantity and nomber of martial musick there was to be, he was better satisfied, and said he hoped there would be no fidles. Now Hendel proposes to lessen the nomber of trumpets, &c. and to have violens. I dont at all doubt but when the King hears it he will be very much displeased.[72]

Therefore, George II was not in favour of any music at first, perhaps because he did not intend to make a public appearance at the event. This theory is based on his ambivalence towards British ceremony following the peace. He spent the months after the ratification of the treaty in 1748 visiting Hanover, finally returning to Britain after continuous exhortations from the Duke of Newcastle, one of his principle Secretaries of State. He had also cancelled an appearance at St. Paul's on 25 April, the day of

---

[72]Reprinted in *Gentleman's Magazine*, May 1856, p. 477.

Thanksgiving, preferring to observe the occasion in the privacy of the Chapel Royal.[73] But the promise of martial music and an adoring crowd seemed to change the monarch's mind.

Handel dropped the violins from the score, as per the King's wishes. Controversy continued, however, over the place of rehearsal. Montague again wrote Mr. Frederick, on 9 April, to express his (and presumably the King's) view that Vauxhall Gardens be used rather than an alternate location, probably Green Park, as Handel wished:

> Mr. Hendel [sic] knows the reason, and the great benefit and saving it will be to the publick to have the rehearsal at Voxhall, if he continues to express his zeal for his Majesty's service by doing what is so contrary to it, in not letting the rehearsal be there, I shall intirely give over any further thoughts of his overture and shall take care to have an other.[74]

Mr. Frederick seems to have diffused the situation, probably realizing that Handel was the best of the London composers to provide music for the event.

Charles Frederick was a career civil servant and non-descript MP. The responsibility of the Royal Fireworks was his moment in the sun, and he planned to put on the best spectacle possible. Horace Walpole lampooned Frederick's efforts:

> Then Charles Frederick has turned all his *virtu* into fireworks, and, by his influence at the Ordnance, has

---

[73]*General Advertiser*, 1 & 4 March 1749; *Whitehall Evening Post*, 25-7 April 1749.

[74]Reprinted in *Gentleman's Magazine*, May 1856, p. 478.

> prepared such a spectacle for the proclamation of the Peace as is to surpass all its predecessors of bouncing memory. It is to open with a concert of fifteen hundred hands, and conclude with so many hundred thousand crackers all set to music, that all the men killed in the war are to be wakened with the crash, as if it were the day of judgement, and fall a-dancing, like the troops in the *Rehearsal*. I wish you could see him making squibs of his papillo[illegible]es, and bronzed over with a patina of gunpowder, and talking himself still hoarser on the superiority that his firework will have over the Roman *naumachia*.[75]

Walpole's quip was inciteful to a degree--Charles Frederick probably did view the celebration as "his firework." With that in mind, it is doubtful that he would gladly abandon Handel at the urging of Montague, even if the Duke did claim that the King was no longer supporting his favourite royal composer.

What, then, was the attraction of Handel and his music? He seems to have been a favourite with both the King and, by 1749, his subjects of all ranks. His participation in the Royal Fireworks celebration was apparently very important, as disagreement with the Duke of Montague and George II did not ultimately effect his standing as composer for the event. It was Handel's ties to the court and the Whig administration which created a reliance on his music--this association was not easily ignored as Handel was the foremost British composer of his age and his music had been used for many court ceremonies and celebrations. His popular appeal with both upper and lesser ranks was also important.

---

[75]Horace Walpole to Henry Seymour Conway, 6 October 1748, in Walpole, *Letters*, vol. 2, p. 345.

Handel appealed to the mass market for music developing in Britain, and therefore his participation helped promote the idea of consensus which the Royal Fireworks celebration was intended to achieve.

Handel's court and political ties cannot be underestimated. We have already seen how his compositions were used for the coronation of George II and the funeral of Queen Caroline. But his ties go back much further, and run deeper than that. Handel began his association with the court of Anne in 1713, shortly after his first arrival in Britain. As Kapellmeister for the Electoral prince and future King of Great Britain, Georg Ludwig, he was provided with an immediate connection with Anne's court. Handel's first act was to set the *Te Deum* and *Jubilate* for the Peace of Utrecht, despite the fact that he had not been commissioned to do so. His composition was apparently pressed by his aristocratic friends in court, such as Lord Burlington, and was eventually accepted, despite the fact that Handel was a foreigner who had only recently arrived in London.[76] Handel had previously gained attention with the success of his opera *Rinaldo* in 1711, and had emerged as the toast of British musical society. After setting the *Utrecht Te Deum* and *Jubilate*, which was subsequently heard at all

---

[76]Christopher Hogwood, *Handel* (Bath: The Pitman Press, 1984) p. 68.

services attended by parliament,[77] Handel composed an "Ode for the Birthday of Queen Anne." It revelled in the image of the virtuous Queen who had given peace to her people, with Handel's skilful setting capturing the splendour demanded by the libretto, exalting "the day that gave great Anna birth, that fix'd a lasting peace on earth."[78] Handel was rewarded by Anne with a pension of £200.

Handel continued to be patronized by the court after the accession of George I. He was quickly rewarded with an extra £200 pension, and was made music teacher for the royal Princesses. The King and royal family supported Handel's operas, both by providing subscription money, and through their attendance. Many court occasions were also accompanied with music by Handel. For example, the *Water Music* was written for the King's trip up the Thames in the royal barge from Whitehall to Chelsea in July 1717. The suite was intended to entertain George I and his aristocratic company, but also served to add grandness to the King's presence before the people who undoubtedly lined the river bank. But it was opera that was Handel's chief occupation of the period, and he was intimately involved with the Royal Academy of Music, formed in 1719, with a young Whig grandee as its director, Thomas Pelham-Holles,

---

[77]Henry Raynor, *A Social History of Music* (London: Barrie & Jenkins, 1972) p. 267.

[78]Cited in Hogwood, *Handel*, p. 69.

Duke of Newcastle. Handel's operas of this period were undoubtedly popular with the King and court, as they were, according to Christopher Hogwood, "dynastic, epic and, it is suggested, symbolic of the ruling order, reflecting what one feels as Handel's own desire for stability, hierarchy and succession."[79] Indeed, the subject matter and characterization of Handel's operas support Hogwood's assertion.[80]

Handel was integrated more fully into the role of "court composer" after the accession of George II, although no such title officially existed. As Prince of Wales, the future King had contributed to Handel's operas, both with funding and faithful attendance. Upon his accession, George II immediately commissioned the newly-naturalized Handel to compose the Coronation Anthems, ignoring the Bishop of Salisbury's recommendation of Maurice Greene, who had been appointed composer of the Chapel Royal. George III's notes in his copy of John Mainwaring's *Memoirs of the Life of the Late George Frederic Handel* (1760) suggested why:

> That wretched little crooked ill natured insignificant writer Player and musician the late Dr. Greene Organist and Composer to King George II, who forbad his composing the Anthems at his Coronation .. and ordered that G.F. Handel should not only have that great honour

---

[79]Hogwood, *Handel*, p. 80.

[80]For a general account of Handelian opera see Winton Dean and J. Merrill Knapp. *Handel's Operas 1704-26* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987).

but except the Ist should choose his own words.[81] Handel continued to compose for all major ceremonial occasions at court, including royal weddings and funerals.[82]

Handel, therefore, possessed strong ties to, and was often associated with, the court of George II. This relationship was mutually beneficial, as royal patronage could translate to success at the theatre, while the King was provided with compositions that accentuate the majesty of his position at ceremonial events. Royal support for Handel's operas, and later his oratorios also endured throughout the reign. In fact, when a rival opera company, supported by the estranged Prince of Wales, was challenging Handel's company in 1733-34, George II adamantly supported the latter. According to Hervey, "an anti-Handelist was looked upon as an anti-courtier, and voting against the Court in Parliament was hardly a less remissible or more venial sin than speaking against Handel."[83]

Such connections to the court and the Walpole government, however, were not always beneficial to Handel's public image. Henry Raynor has suggested that Handel "probably wrote his music for royal occasions to keep it

---

[81]Cited in Alan Yorke-Long, "George II and Handel," *History Today* (October 1951), p. 36.

[82]Daub, "Music at the Court of George II," p. 121.

[83]Hervey, *Memoirs*, p. 273.

clearly in the public mind that he was the dominating power in English music."[84] But, at times, his association with the King and the Walpole ministry proved detrimental to the popularity of Handel's works. Already in 1728, John Gay's *The Beggar's Opera* had captured the imagination of Britons, musically lampooning the Walpole government and *opera seria* before packed houses. John Pepusch, another naturalized composer from the Continent, arranged the music. He even went so far as to borrow the march from *Rinaldo* for the score, adding artistic insult to the box office injury which *The Beggar's Opera* had inflicted upon Handel's operas.[85]

By 1733, the fortunes of the government had fallen to an all time low. London was in an uproar over the Excise Bill, making Handel's decision to raise the price of tickets for his oratorio, *Deborah*, rather untimely. This action prompted a number of political tracts, equating Handel to Robert Walpole, and associating the corruption and disregard for the public perceived as inherent in the Excise Bill with the price increase of the oratorio. A contemporary poem, of which versions were printed in opposition newspapers, expressed this view:

> Quoth W-----e to H----l, shall We Two agree,
> And Excise the whole Nation?
> *H. si, Caro, si.*
> Of what Use are *Sheep*, if the *Shepherd* can't shear

---

[84]Raynor, *A Social History of Music*, p. 274.

[85]Peter Davison, *Popular Appeal in English Drama to 1850* (London: Macmillan, 1982), p.129.

them?
At the *Hay-Market* I, you at *Westminster*.
W. Hear Him!
Call'd to Order, their *Seconds* appear in their Place;
One fam'd for his *Morals*, and one for his *Face*.
In half They succeeded, in half They were crost:
The EXCISE was obtain'd, but poor DEBORAH was lost.[86]

Moreover, xenophobic Britons played upon Handel's foreignness, despite the fact that he had lived in London for over twenty years, and had been naturalized in 1727. George II's tendency to spend his summers in Hanover had piqued the crowd against the German influence in Britain, and Handel's German origin and his closeness to the court caused his stock to plummet with the public, who viewed him as a tool of the Establishment. It is no coincidence that the Opera of the Nobility, as the rival company was called, was formed at this time, partly in response to the growing public association of Handel with the unpopular elements of the King's court and government.

Through good times and bad, however, Handel's fortunes tended to ride with the court and government. He continued to compose for royal ritual and celebrations, and his operas were still supported by the King and the royal family. The government propagandists responded to anti-Handelist tracts with a pamphlet published in late 1733, entitled *Do You Know What You Are About? Or, a Protestant Alarm to Great Britain:*

---

[86]*Country Journal; or the Craftsman*, 7 April 1733. A version was first printed in the *Bee: or, Universal Weekly Pamphlet*, 24 March 1733; both pieces, along with a letter which negatively associates Handel with Walpole are reprinted in Deutsch, *Handel*, pp. 309-13.

Proving our late Theatre Squabble, a Type of the present Contest for the Crown of Poland; and that the late Division between Handel *and* Senesino [a widely praised *castrato* in Handel's Company], *has more in it than we imagine. Also that the latter is no Eunuch, but a Jesuit in disguise; with other Particulars of the greatest Importance.* The essence of this defence was to associate Handel with the Protestant succession, and urged that "our nobility, Gentry, and others ... take especial care to be satisfied that the singers [in the Opera of the Nobility] are true Protestants, and well affected to the present Government."[87] With the improving public image of the King as a result of the nationalist fervour accompanying the war, however, Handel's affiliation with the court ceased to be detrimental to his public popularity. Therefore, his image as a court composer, coupled with his resurgence as the dominant man of music in Britain due to the success of his oratorios in the late 1730s and 1740s, made him the natural choice to compose the music for the Fireworks celebration in Green Park.

In fact, the composition for the event was very important, as music had reached new levels of popularity with the middling and lower ranks. The rise of consumerism and commercialization in eighteenth-century Britain has been

---

[87]As cited in Raynor, *A Social History of Music*, p. 276

explored elsewhere.[88] What is clear, is that Britons enjoyed a new level of monetary freedom, which by mid-century, according to Henry Fielding, "hath almost totally changed the manners, customs, and habits of the people, more especially of the lower sort. The narrowness of their future is changed into wealth; their frugality into luxury, their humility into pride, and their subjection into equality."[89] In leisure, as in fashion, the lesser ranks began emulating their social superiors, leading to the popularization of music, and its descent from the lofty realm of high culture. The exclusivity of London opera performances was bridged by the opening of pleasure gardens, particularly Vauxhall. Admission was one shilling, expensive for some but hardly prohibitive, allowing people from all ranks to mingle among the fine paintings and scenery, and enjoy performances of the latest compositions.

The development of local music houses, however, marks the beginnings of what musicologist Percy Young terms "the democratisation of music."[90] In December 1672, a one-time church musician named John Bannister opened his house to music enthusiasts for performances "by excellent masters,"

---

[88]See N. McKendrick, J. Brewer, and J.H. Plumb, *The Birth of a Consumer Society* (London: Europa Publications, 1982).

[89]Henry Fielding, *Inquiry into the Causes of the Late Increase of Robbers* (London, 1750); as cited in McKendrick, et al. *Consumer Society*, p. 24.

[90]Percy M. Young, *The Concert Tradition* (New York: Roy Publishing, 1965), p. 76.

at a reasonable price.[91] Soon Thomas Britton, a coal seller, opened a room above his coal store for his own series of concerts, attracting the eminent musicians of the day to play before a crowd of all ranks. Therefore,the tradition of concert life had already been well established when Handel arrived in 1710.

After the Hanoverian accession, an increasing number of taverns provided musical entertainment for the middling and lesser ranks. Of particular note was a society which held concerts at the Castle Tavern in Paternoster Row, as reported by the Daily Post in 1724:

> We hear that near one hundred gentlemen and merchants of the City, have lately form'd themselves into a musical society, the one part performers, the other Auditors in St. Paul's Churchyard. They opened the Consort last week with a very good Performance, to the entire satisfaction and Pleasure of the Members... As musick must be allowed to be the most innocent and agreeable Amusement, and charming Relaxation to the Mind, when fatigued with the Bustle of Business, or after it has been long bent on serious Studies, this bids fair for encouraging the Science, and seems to be a very ingenious and laudable Undertaking.[92]

The taverns and music houses provided the location for those who could not afford to subscribe to the opera season, making the music of Handel and his contemporaries accessible to a much wider audience. The master himself was even known to attend performances at Britton's.

By the late 1730s, Handel's music, both instrumental

---

[91]*London Gazette*, 30 December 1672; cited in Young, *Concert Tradition*, p. 34.

[92]*Daily Post*, 17 October 1724; cited in Young, p. 77.

and choral, could be heard throughout Britain. His oratorios and collections were printed and distributed throughout the nation, as the growing number of local amateur music societies created a market for such compositions. Handel even published the "Twelve Grand Concertos," which suited the limited means of many provincial musical societies, solely as a commercial venture with John Walsh in 1739, and was awarded a fourteen-year royal copyright of his music to protect his investment.[93] By 1748, many advertisements for musical scores could be found in the *General Advertiser*, particularly for the works of Handel. The publication of these scores must have been profitable, for a rival to Handel's official publisher produced a competing copy of the oratorio *Samson* in March 1749, despite the copyright.[94] Handel himself made a tidy sum from the printing and performing of his compositions, depositing over £1800 from January to March 1749.[95]

Handel's music was now catering to a larger audience, through its dissemination around the kingdom by his publishers. But he also earned increased appeal for

---

[93]Graham Dixon, "A Commercial Venture," Commentary in liner notes of Philips CD 426 365-2, "George Frideric Handel: Twelve Concerti Grossi op. 6," 1990.

[94]Advertisements for the competing publications can be found in the *General Advertiser*, 3 March 1749.

[95]Deutsch provides the dates of Handel's financial transactions, including deposits, withdrawals, and investments. My figures are based on the addition of these amounts for the period in question. See Deutsch, *Handel*, pp.656-662.

performances of his music by recognizing certain popular trends. The profitability of *opera seria* had been dwindling--both opera companies had folded by 1737. As a result, Handel switched from Italian opera to English oratorio. The typically nationalistic subject matter of the latter form appealed to the prejudices of Britons, and, coupled with the fact that all were performed in English, gave Handel new inroads into the mass market. As late as 1741, just prior to the first production of *Messiah* in Dublin, Handel had considered leaving England due to his waning popularity. But from that time on his oratorios were generally successful, and revived a career which had been declining through his stubborn adherence to the expensive operatic productions.

In particular, Handel captured the imagination of the public with his series of four oratorios which gloried in the victories of Britain against the Catholic powers of Europe and Jacobitism--what musicologist Winton Dean describes as his "victory season".[96] The first was the *Occasional Oratorio*, originally performed in 1746, mere weeks after Cumberland's victory over the Jacobites at Culloden on 16 April. All four of the victory oratorios--*Judas Maccabaeus, Joshua,* and *Alexander Balus* were the others--drew upon Old Testament themes of Israelite victory,

---

[96]Winton Dean, *Handel's Dramatic Oratorios and Masques* (London: Oxford University Press, 1959) p. 460.

evoking direct parallels between the latter and Great Britain.[97] The idea that the *Occasional Oratorio* was written with the political situation in clear sight is supported by the comments of Rev. William Morris:

> Yesterday morning I was at Handel's house to hear the rehearsal of his new occasional Oratorio. It is extremely worthy of him, which you will allow to be saying all one can in praise of it. ...The words of his Oratorio are scriptural, but taken from various parts, and are expressive of the rebels' flight and our pursuit of them. Had not the Duke carried his point triumphantly, this Oratorio could not have been brought on.[98]

Judas Maccabaeus, the second of the series, was written as a direct celebration of Cumberland's victory at Culloden. It parallels Judas of the Maccabees to the Duke of Cumberland--and perhaps best captures what Linda Colley describes as Handel's theme of Great Britain as a "second and better Israel," where "a violent and uncertain past was to be redeemed by the new and stoutly Protestant Hanoverian dynasty, resulting in an age of unparalleled abundance."[99] These popular oratorios were clearly designed to appeal to the evolving nationalistic prejudices of Britons, promoting Hanoverian apotheosis through Biblical allusion. Handel had reached the pinnacle of success through the musical

---

[97]This theme is explored in Ruth Smith, "Intellectual contexts of Handel's English oratorios," in C. Hogwood and R. Luckett, eds. *Music in Eighteenth-Century England: Essays in memory of Charles Cudworth* (Cambridge: University Press, 1983), pp. 115-133.

[98]Rev. William Morris to Mrs. Thomas Harris, 8 February 1746; as cited in Deutsch, *Handel*, pp. 629-30.

[99]Colley, *Britons*, p. 32.

glorification of Britain and its King. Who better to capture in music the triumphant sentiments of the nation and the dynasty for the Fireworks celebration?

It was with *Judas Maccabaeus* that Handel also began a direct appeal to the middling ranks for support of his concerts. There was no subscription, the performance relying instead on individual ticket sales which made it more accessible for those without the means to subscribe. That the music was popular with the general public at this time, was expressed by Lady Luxborough, commenting on her steward's appreciation of *Judas Maccabaeus*:

> he speaks with such ecstasy of the music, as I confess I cannot conceive any one can feel who understands no more of music than myself; which I take to be his case. But I suppose he sets his judgement true to that of the multitude; for if his ear is not nice enough to distinguish the harmony, it serves to hear what the multitude say of it.[100]

With his victory oratorios, Handel solidified his popular appeal. His music was no longer limited to aristocratic circles--it crossed social boundaries, and therefore could be used to promote a sense of community. The *Musick for the Royal Fireworks*, then, helped to forge a consensual mood because of its appeal to both the upper and lesser ranks.

Thus, Handel embodied the sentiments which the government hoped to promote with the Fireworks ceremony. His association with the Crown, the loyal, legitimizing

---

[100]Lady Luxborough to William Shentstone, 28 April 1748; as cited in Deutsch, *Handel*, p. 651.

subject matter of his oratorios, and his popular appeal made him the ideal choice to compose the music for the event. In fact, Handel had reached the status of a musical icon. Alexander Pope had been moved to laud him in Book IV of *The Dunciad* (1742):

> Strong in new Arms, lo! Giant Handel stands,
> Like bold Briareus, with a hundred hands;
> To stir, to rouze, to shake the Soul he comes,
> And Jove's own Thunders follow Mars's Drums.[101]

Indeed, it was Handel's ability to "shake the soul" which made him so popular. He had even been immortalized in marble at Vauxhall Gardens in April 1738, making him the first living artist or writer to receive such distinction--a testament to his public stature. German in origin, like the King, Handel had reached the level of a national treasure through his sublime virtuosity and his appeal to national pride.

Handel's choice as composer is therefore very important to understanding the Royal Fireworks celebration of 27 April. By 1749, he was extremely popular with Britons of all ranks. Handel's person evoked images of loyalty to the Hanoverian dynasty, and his music was therefore imparted with a dramatic subtext promoting the Hanoverian dynasty, and encouraging the support of the British nation at large. Thus, his music added more than a simple accompaniment to the presence of George II on the fireworks machine--albeit

---

[101]Alexander Pope, *The Dunciad, In Four Books* (London: M. Cooper, 1743), Book IV, p. 161.

an important role. It carried a definite message. It melded his oratorio theme of Hanoverian glory with popular appeal to create a general atmosphere of adoration towards King, country, and community. The *Musick for the Royal Fireworks* deserves more attention than it was originally given, as it clearly expresses the sentiments that the Green Park celebration was intended to promote: legitimacy, and consensus. What remains, however, is the question of actual public response to the Royal Fireworks. Did the ministry accomplish what it set out to do by promoting the peace as it did?

Chapter 3

Courting the Nation: The Success of the Royal Fireworks as Hanoverian Propaganda.

> The Peace is signed between us, France, and Holland, but does not give the least joy; the stocks do not rise, and the merchants are unsatisfied ... in short, there has not been the least symptom of public rejoicing; but the government is to give a magnificent firework.
>
> -Horace Walpole, 24 October 1748.[102]

To many Britons, the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle was an unpopular one. Pamphlets and public outcry against the pacification were immediate and vociferous in their condemnation of ministerial military and diplomatic policy. Yet what is interesting about Horace Walpole's comment is not that he correctly identified the public dissatisfaction (which he based largely on economic concerns), but how he associated it with the government's decision to hold the expensive and grandiose Royal Fireworks. As he often did, however, Walpole missed the point in yielding to his penchant for clever phraseology. It is not the irony of the combination of public opinion and the Fireworks celebration that is important, but the direct relationship of cause and effect between the unpopularity of the peace with Britons and the government's decision to hold the celebration. The ministry was using the Royal Fireworks to promote public

---

[102]Horace Walpole to Horace Mann, 24 October 1748, in Walpole, *Letters*, vol. 2, p. 347.

approval of their governance, by glorifying and associating the peace, and themselves, with the monarch and the constitution. By appealing to Britons' pride in King and country, the administration affirmed their position and popularized the peace, despite a vocal opposition to both the pacification and the celebration of it.

Originally, however, the Fireworks were planned on a much smaller scale, and for a more exclusive audience. With the Peace Preliminaries prepared and awaiting ratification in October 1748, the *Gentleman's Magazine* announced that "fire-works are making by the Woolwich-warren engineers at the expence of 8000 l. (perhaps 800 l.) to be play'd off before the D. of Newcastle's house in Lincoln's Inn-field" to mark the day that general peace was declared.[103] It appears that the original celebration was to be an aristocratic affair, with the principal Secretary of State acting as host. Quickly, however, the private party transformed into a public spectacle, in response to the general malaise and hostility directed towards the ministry. Government efforts to manipulate public opinion led to the decision to hold the Royal Fireworks celebration.

That the ministry was acutely aware of unfavourable public comment regarding the peace is of little doubt. By February 1748, the ministers realized that the war was too expensive to continue, particularly when coupled with the

---

[103]*Gentleman's Magazine*, July 1748.

inability of their Dutch allies to mount an effective army. But the territorial losses of the British and her allies on the Continent meant a peace on terms that would be generally unacceptable to Britons. With French troops holding the Dutch stronghold of Maastrich and little promise of relief from her allies, the British plenipotentiary, Lord Sandwich, sat down at Aix-la-Chapelle with the other representatives of the belligerent nations. When a general restitution of all possessions was decided upon as the main article of peace, the government realized that the public would be acute in its condemnation of the settlement. Upon the signing of the peace preliminaries, Sandwich wrote to the Duke of Bedford, the other Secretary of State, of his fear of public denunciation for his role in the peace negotiation:

> the public will not be all equally pleased with what has passed, and it is for that reason that I now represent to your Grace the immediate necessity I have for your friendship, to extricate me out of the malice and misrepresentation of my enemies.[104]

The Duke of Newcastle, whose spirits seemed to rise and fall barometrically with ministerial popularity, was also concerned with public censure of the peace and the ministers involved. In July 1748, he even suggested to Bedford that the government was perhaps concluding peace rather hastily. "I am afraid we should be thought bad legislators," he

---

[104]*Correspondence of John, Fourth Duke of Bedford, selected from the originals at Woburn Abbey* ed. Lord John Russell (London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans, 1842-6), vol. 2, p. 353-55.

wrote, "should we sign a definitive treaty with France, give up Cape Breton to them, and leave Flanders in their hands."[105] All those associated with the government seemed to agree that it was a "bad" peace, with some such as Henry Legge turning disapproval back on the public, claiming the peace to be a salutary lesson for Britons, who had driven themselves to the precipice.[106] Thus, although government responses to adverse public perception were often quite varied, the outcry against the treaty was recognized and seriously considered when planning the celebration. The Royal Fireworks was a logical reply to the disapprobation of Britons, for if the nation could be convinced to rejoice in the peace, all criticism of government could be undermined as atypical.

The dissenting voice--heard primarily through pamphlets and newspaper reports--was strong, and difficult for the administration to drown out. Upon the first word of the Preliminaries, the *Remembrancer* warned the government that it must reveal the terms to the people. In the usual sarcastic tone of the time, the author suggested that

> the Particulars are cover'd round with impenetrable Darkness, [which,] I must again conclude, either argues an Excess of Modesty in their *High Mightinesses*, or a shrewd Purpose to draw their Adversaries into a premature Censure of their Conduct; thereby to furnish

---

[105]Newcastle to Bedford, July 27/August 7 1748, in *Bedford Correspondence*, vol. 2, p. 437

[106]Henry Legge to Bedford, April 14/25 1748, in *Bedford Correspondence*, vol. 2, p. 351-2.

> themselves with an Opportunity so much more the advantageous, to justify on one Hand, and condemn on the other.[107]

The "impenetrable darkness" was lifted with the publication of the preliminaries at the end of May, prompting more outcry. An assortment of pamphlets attacking the peace as unjust emerged from London printshops.

These pamphlets, many of which were published after the peace was ratified in October 1748, were similar to one another in their arguments and criticism. They pointed to ministerial corruption and the sacrifice of the national interest to that of foreigners and factions. The language left nothing to the imagination, with one author proclaiming that "the Peace that is bought at a Price so inestimable, is a Prostitution of the Nation."[108] One particularly popular pamphlet, attributed to the Earl of Egmont, attacked the Pelham brothers (the Duke of Newcastle and Henry Pelham, First Lord of the Treasury and effective prime minister) directly, suggesting that they sabotaged the war effort because it was started by the previous administration, whom they wished to discredit. It appealed to the newly kindled loyalty to the monarch, warning that Britons must "rescue your S[overeig]n out of the Hands of those treacherous

---

[107]"On the Preliminaries of Peace," *The Remembrancer*, 14 May 1748.

[108]*Observations on the Probable Issue of the Congress at Aix-la-Chapelle: In a Letter to a Friend* (London: printed for R. Montagu, 1748).

Servants, who have taken him C[a]pt[iv]e in his Cl[ose]t, and still detain him prisoner on his T[hron]e."[109]

Like many Britons, the King had been somewhat estranged from the Pelham administration, following the mass Pelhamite resignation and subsequent reinstatement to office on their own terms in 1746.[110] The falling fortunes of their Continental forces left the government on an unstable footing. Indecision and infighting among ministers led Newcastle to remark in January 1748 that "everything remains in the same unsettled way that it has been for some time, and, indeed there is no administration; and at that rate there will soon be no government."[111] Fear of dismissal loomed in the highly sensitive Duke's mind. The further setbacks of the spring campaign in 1748, however, galvanized the administration into making peace with France and Spain. As Henry Pelham commented to Newcastle:

> Peace is what I want, both for the sake of my king, my country, and myself. Peace will be had. I heartily wish it may be no worse, than what is represented in your paper [a report on the peace proposals]. If so, I am sure it is to be defended; but if not so, it must be defended, and shall be, by me at least, if I have the

---

[109]John Percival, Earl of Egmont. *An Examination of the principles, and an enquiry into the conduct of two b*****rs...* (London, 1749). Other pamphlets which attacked the peace included *The Advantages of the Difinitive Treaty To the People of Great-Britain Demonstrated* (London: printed for W. Webb Jr., 1749); and *National Prejudice opposed to the national interest* (London: printed for W. Owen, 1748).

[110]For a brief account of the resignation see *HMC Egmont MSS*, vol. 3, pp. 314-15.

[111]In *Bedford Correspondence*, vol. 2, p. 308.

honour to serve the king, at the time of trial.[112] Pelham was supported by the rest of the administration, including William Pitt, the Duke of Bedford, and even H.R.H. the Duke of Cumberland.

But the martially-oriented George II remained somewhat obstinate, and still opposed the peace in May, after his ministers had resigned themselves to it.[113] Therefore, Pelham's fears that he might not be around to defend the peace contained some validity. The King, whose prerogatives included the right to choose his administration, was against the peace and may still have felt the sting of his 1746 embarrassment at the hands of the Pelhamites. Moreover, he had the backing of popular opinion. Royal disapproval, then, was a factor in the decision to hold the Royal Fireworks, for pleasing the monarch could provide a level of security for his ministers. Hence, defending the peace included winning over the public as well as the monarch, and the Royal Fireworks provided the means to court both.

An appeal to the peoples' loyalty to the Crown was the primary government tactic used to win over the King and his subjects. The image which it portrayed was one of a victorious George returning to his country with peace and

---

[112]Pelham to Newcastle, 8/19 April 1748; as cited in [William Coxe], *Memoirs of the Administration of the Right Honourable Henry Pelham* (London, 1829), vol. 1, p. 415.

[113]Bedford to Sandwich, 10 May 1748; *Bedford Correspondence*, vol. 2, p.366.

prosperity for his subjects. The medium used to disseminate this image was primarily the press. Poetry was a staple ingredient in the newspapers of the day. Country gentlemen considered it a mark of refinement to be engaged in such a noble pursuit, and their poems, many of questionable merit, were often seen adorning the pages of various newspapers and magazines. The peace, then, prompted poetic outbursts of loyalty and rejoicing:

> Arise Britannia! See thy KING!
> Come bounding o'er the dang'rous Main,
> The Trophy of his Toil to bring,
> And make thee happy once again:
> The Sword is sheath'd by mutual Laws,
> Which once he drew in Freedom's Cause.[114]

Another poem admonished the public for their ungrateful reception of the peace:

> Once more our *sovereign* condescends,
> Exerts his utmost skill and pow'r,
> To make the jarring nations friends,
> And *peace* again on earth restore.
>
> But e'er his toil the plan compleats,
> Your murmurs wound the royal ear;
> Avant rebellious! vile ingrates!
> You are not worth a *monarch's* care.[115]

Much of this balladry was undoubtedly a result of poetic whimsy. The fact that it supports the peace, however, suggests that pro-ministerialist sentiments either dominated these minions of the poetic muses, or that

---

[114]*An Ode on his MAJESTY"S Return, and the PEACE at Aix-la-Chapelle,* in *Newcastle Magazine,* October 1748, p. 580.

[115]*An Ode on his MAJESTY's Return,* in *The British Magazine,* December 1748, p. 585.

government guineas were responsible for some of these pieces. The second of the aforementioned poems, by playing on the guilt of the nation, is particularly politicized. Not only did it chastise the public for their ungrateful treatment of their King; later in the poem the tone escalated, accusing those against the peace of being adherents to the anti-Hanoverian Tory party. Either way, the administration tactic of associating itself with the glory of the King was prominent in these propagandistic pieces, and provided a more subtle method of defending the peace than pamphleteering. By associating the peace with the monarch, the ministry hoped to calm the public censure of it.

The Royal Fireworks ceremony was the key to mollifying public disapproval with the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, by associating the peace more closely with the King's glory through the utilisation of music and spectacle. It was, after all, the monarch who was ultimately responsible for making war and peace. This fact explains the concern of ministers over the monarch's plan to leave for Hanover immediately upon dissolving parliament in May 1748. Not only might the King's absence hinder the peace process, a concern expressed in a letter from the Duke of Cumberland to Newcastle,[116] but it would remove the only valuable ally that the administration had. George II had won much public

---

[116]Coxe, *Pelham Administration*, vol. 1, p. 423.

approval by leading the troops at Dettingen in 1743, and his person had become a public rallying point in the wake of the Jacobite Rebellion of 1745-6. The King's absence, therefore, made it more difficult for the ministers to sell the merits of the unpopular peace. The Royal Fireworks was a means of connecting the ministerially negotiated peace to the monarch, using the idea of King in parliament to its full advantage, and diverting Pelhamite culpability in what was commonly criticised as an ill-conceived pacification. The peace did prompt a level of celebration, and government promotion fomented a favourable response from many Britons.

Not unexpectedly, London took the lead in celebrating the ending of hostilities. Loyal demonstrations abounded when peace was proclaimed on 2 February 1749, prompting an appearance by the King at St. James's:

> his majesty appeared at the balcony window for some time, till the proclamation and cavalcade began, when his majesty flung up the sash, and received the acclamations of a prodigious concourse of people.[117]

Moreover, by February, excitement over the Royal Fireworks had been building for some time. Construction of the temple-like stage, which measured a colossal 410 feet long and 110 feet high, began in November of the previous year. Following that, frequent progress reports were offered by the press, and the curious were often moved to make the trip to Green Park to see the edifice take form. By April, the

---

[117]*British Magazine*, February 1749, p. 68.

anticipated crowd was so high that several breaches were created in the park wall to allow easier access for the spectacle. In order to dispel some of the apprehensions of prospective spectators, the *Whitehall Evening Post* assured its readers that the park could in fact hold 2,323,200 people, up to one-third of England's population, with reasonable comfort.[118]

The night of the fireworks did, in fact, prompt great crowds. They came from all over the kingdom, some choosing the park for their viewing-spot, others paying London entrepreneurs for covered seats, which offered protection from falling fireworks as well as from the mob. Horace Walpole reported "immense crowds in the Park and on every house."[119] Although the display was a disappointment, with part of the structure catching fire, the congregation certainly was not. Britons, it seemed, responded with consensual approval towards peace, monarch and ministry. Whether attending to catch a glimpse of the King, view the majestic structure (complete with symbols of Hanoverian glory), listen to Handel's suite, or merely to be a part of the event, the throngs of people served to legitimize the peace and the ministry which had negotiated it on behalf of

---

[118]*Whitehall Evening Post*, 22-25 April 1749. The population of England and Wales is estimated at 6.5 million in 1751. Chris Cook and John Stevenson, *The Longman Handbook of Modern British History, 1714-1987* (London: Longman, 1983), p. 110.

[119]Walpole to Horace Mann, 3 May 1749; Walpole, *Letters*, vol. 2, pp. 370-1.

the King. By attending the performance of the Fireworks, Britons had provided approval for the performance of the Pelham administration, and removed the spectre of public reproach by taking part in this loyal occasion.

Although London was the venue for the Royal Fireworks, smaller commemorations, promoted by local pro-government organizers, took place throughout the kingdom. The first wave of acclamations began on the day of the peace proclamation and continued until the end of April. *The Whitehall Evening Post*, a ministerial paper, kept close track of these celebrations. It made sure that Britons were aware of the diverse support for the peace that was expressed throughout the kingdom. The joyful acclamations were often explicitly detailed, as was the case for the Berkshire town of Newbury.

> In the afternoon, the Soldiers were drawn up in the Market-Place, where the following Toasts were drank under a triple discharge of Musquetry, his Majesty, the Prince and Princess of Wales, and all the Royal Family, a lasting Peace, Success to Trade and Navigation, &c. Thirty-one Barrels of Beer was given to the Populace. In the Evening the Streets were everywhere illuminated ... and noble Fireworks were played off at the Expence of the Gentlemen of the Town, to the general Satisfaction of both Town and Country, who flocked in great Numbers to celebrate the Day.[120]

Over thirty such accounts of varying detail and from all corners of Britain can be found in the *Whitehall Evening Post*, of which fourteen report attempts to emulate the City

---

[120]*Whitehall Evening Post*, 4-6 May 1749.

with fireworks displays.[121]

Many different forms of celebration were recorded, including magnificent balls, grand processions, and the drinking of loyal healths. In the Norfolk borough of Holt, the "chief inhabitants" put on a dinner for over 200 poor persons to celebrate the peace.[122] Often, local loyal societies and companies played a large role in the festivities--as did the Constitution Club in Worcester, the Kelso Culloden Club (Scotland), and the United Company of Fishermen and Tradesmen in Harwich--to prove their allegiance to the King. Loyal toasts, slogans, and symbols of the Royal Family were prevalent in virtually all accounts. What is more remarkable, however, was the emphasis of inclusion. Upper, middling, and lower orders were all invited to partake in the celebrations, although certain activities, particularly gala balls, were meant for those of an exclusive rank only. In many locations, free liquor was distributed for loyal toasts, and general rejoicing was promoted by the lighting of bonfires and ringing of bells. The government supporters in the constituencies, therefore, successfully promoted the peace through splendour, ostentation, and consideration of all echelons of society as epitomized by the Royal Fireworks. A

---

[121]*Whitehall Evening Post*, January - May 1749.

[122]*Whitehall Evening Post*, 29 April - 2 May 1749, and in *The British Magazine*, May 1749, p. 206.

perception of national approval of the peace was propagated through these celebrations, which promoted loyalty to monarch and by association the ministry.

Furthermore, the propaganda value of the Royal Fireworks themselves was not exclusively limited to London society. Announcements of the impending spectacle were made throughout the realm in the fall of 1748, although the date of the event had still to be set. Soon, Britons became inundated with reports on the preparations for the wondrous event, and on the progress of the workmen building the temple structure. By November, the *Newcastle Magazine* published a description of the forthcoming fireworks, detailing the allegorical statues and the loyal slogans included in the temple structure.[123] January 1749 saw advertisements, offering prints of "An authentic view of the Public Fireworks" for four pence, with a warning to the public to beware of piracies.[124] The ministerial newspaper, *Whitehall Evening Post*, was the first to publish a view of the edifice which it ran in two consecutive issues from 19 to 24 January. Other newspapers and magazines quickly followed with their own representations of the fireworks design.[125] Finally, an official print,

---

[123]*Newcastle Magazine*, November 1748, pp. 598-601.

[124]*Whitehall Evening Post*, 7-10 January 1749.

[125]*Whitehall Evening Post*, 19-21 and 21-24 January 1749; *British Magazine*, January 1749, p. 24; and *Universal Magazine*, March 1749, p. 24.

sanctioned by the designer of the firework display, was offered to the public for one shilling at the end of January.[126] Prices were reasonable, in order to take full advantage of the high level of consumer interest in such sensationalism.

Thus, a level of excitement was generated over the peace and the Royal Fireworks in the City and throughout Britain. The local observances, coupled with the distribution of firework promotions through newspapers and prints extended the celebration to national proportions. The provincial towns engaged in a battle of one-upmanship, trying to outdo each other by producing a more magnificent celebration (or at least a more loyal account). Many did their best to emulate the Royal Fireworks, while others of lesser means did all they could to create large crowds of loyal revellers. Toasts and huzzas were encouraged in London and the provinces, and if the newspaper accounts are to be believed, enthusiastically provided in exchange for a party if not a pint. Britons from all corners of the kingdom were awed by accounts of the Fireworks themselves, emphasizing the beauty and grandeur of the temple structure, and the sheer scale and complexity of the proposed pyrotechnic panoply. All the loyal slogans were translated from Latin to the vernacular in these narratives for the benefit of those without a classical education, allowing

---

[126]*Whitehall Evening Post*, 26-28 January 1749.

their full propaganda value to be realized. The public could therefore see plates and read of the statues and triumphal arches symbolic of peace, virtue, honour, learning, commerce, freedom, plenty, and security--the attributions of their glorious state. These traits and blessings were all, it was asserted, secured by George II, who had brought peace to the nation. Furthermore, it was proudly announced that Handel was composing the music to accompany the event, providing that masterfully sublime element to the celebration. The ministry was, therefore, able to foment a national sense of pride in King and country, with the Royal Fireworks serving as the cornerstone of their plan to diffuse Britons' dissatisfaction with the peace and its legislators.

The Royal Fireworks celebration was not without its detractors, however, and it spawned a whole corpus of dissenting opinion on its own. One commentator, using the pseudonym of Thomas English, identified the discord:

> As I was viewing the stately Building in the Park, with great astonishment, and very little Satisfaction, I observ'd several Statues, adorning each Column and Angle; Glory was on one Side, and Peace on the other: But how great was my Surprize! when I found that Contentment did not appear in so noble a Group.[127]

This discontent took many forms, ranging from religious and moral recrimination, to attacks on the wasteful government expense on such frivolity. In fact the Fireworks served to

---

[127]*London Evening Post*, 22-25 April 1749.

galvanize dissenting opinion that, as one author posited, "publick diversions are the fountain of folly, and snares laid to entrap the weak and inconsiderate."[128] Many commentators attacked, for various reasons and with biting invective, the ministry's odious and selfish decision to hold such a spectacle.

The basis for some of the denunciations was religious. These would-be theologians took the superior moral ground, claiming that the Fireworks were a symptom of the decline of British virtue. Indeed, some believed that the spectacle was a sign that religious practices were disappearing:

> From her once favourite isle Religion's fled,
> And we again in heathen footsteps tread:
> Like the poor Persians, we no more aspire,
> Sunk from the God of heav'n to serve the God of fire.

Another correspondent took offence with the "Statues representing the deities of Heathens," and what was worse, that they were working on the Lord's Day to complete the structure![129]

At the very centre of the religious case against the Green Park festivities was the issue of morality and the reformation of manners. The *Remembrancer*, a paper that made its reputation by attacking the government, likened peace to "that Halcyon Calm, in which it is supposed a matter of Indifference, if not a Claim of Right, to throw up all

---

[128]*London Magazine*, May 1749, p. 220.

[129]*Gentleman's Magazine*, April 1749, p. 181; *London Evening Post*, 20-22 April 1749.

Concern for the Publick, and to give loose to every kind of Sensuality, even under the watchful eye of *Cato* himself."[130] Adherents to this view invoked the Roman moralist's principles of honesty and simplicity of life, adding devotion to God, in an attempt to bring revellers to r[illegible]on. Such extravagance, they admitted, could bring "no [illegible]le sense of pleasure," which required a "severe reflection on the cause of its being erected, and the evil resulting from it."[131]

Closely linked to the moral argument was the financial one. Extravagance engendered expense, and the moralists quickly besieged the government and the public on this point. They believed the Fireworks were a needless outlay of public funds, particularly in light of the huge debt incurred fighting the war, and what the commentators believed to be more useful alternatives for the taxpayers' money. In October 1748, one poet expressed a concern over the cost of celebration:

> One mite remains, our wealth to *War* a prey,
> To *Peace*, for joy, we give that mite away.[132]

But it was after the Royal Fireworks that the real attacks began. Reminding readers that the machinery caught fire and

---

[130]*The Remembrancer*, 11 June 1749.

[131]*London Magazine*, May 1749, p. 220.

[132]"On the expensive FIREWORKS intended for Proclamation of Peace," printed in both *Gentleman's Magazine*, October 1748, p. 472, and *The Newcastle Magazine*, October 1748.

that part of the structure had to be cut away to save the rest, another poem expressed contempt for the spectacle:

> But whilst, with Wonder struck, they gaze,
> Sicks, wastes and dies, the gawdy blaze:
> And when played off, the Pageant Puff,
> The scene is closed in Stench and Snuff.
> Emblems, that represent our Case,
> Proclaim, and shadow out th' Peace;
> A Work, the Price of many a Million!
> And lasting as ----- a late Pavilion.[133]

It seems that those who doubted the benefit of holding the Fireworks had little faith in the architects of the treaty either.

The moralists took a more serious tone as well, engaging in pamphlet and letter writing against the Fireworks. One such writer, who had disparaged the display for moral reasons, saved the unjustifiable expense for his final volley. He calculated that, including labour lost because of public holidaying, over £90,000 was squandered by the nation, not including the supposed £30,000 spent on the structure alone. "I can't help considering it," he wrote,

> as the last fatal feast of an extravagant heir, who, having borrow'd to the utmost penny, is gayly making his exit into distress, misery, and wretchedness, drawing after, and involving, crouds in the common ruin: His steward glorying in his folly, and setting up his chariot at the expense of his inconsiderate master; every one rejoicing, few thinking, at length the day closes, and carols are sung no more.[134]

The present ministers were driving the nation to ruin, and

---

[133]"*On the FIREWORKS,*" *in London Evening Post*, 20-23 May 1749.

[134]*London Magazine*, May 1748, p. 221. The figure of £90,000 in lost labour is based on the commentator's estimate of 1s. 6d. to be the average daily wage in London.

the public was enjoying the ride. It was for this reason that another commentator described the Fireworks as "the *Funeral-Pile* of our *departed Glory*."[135]

The censure of the Royal Fireworks for reasons of morality and extravagance was part of a greater movement in Britain. The seeds of a crusade for the reformation of manners, planted in the Revolutionary period, were fertilized by the luxury and indolence enjoyed by the upper ranks in the Hanoverian period. By 1749, believers in Britain's moral decay judged that the nation to be approaching ruin. The Royal Fireworks served to confirm their theories; one only had to see the great expense of the spectacle, coupled with the foppery of the patricians and the depravity of the mob in participating as they did, to realize that Britain was in fact in rapid decline. According to the reformers, the government was largely responsible for the nation's fall from grace; but the public, too, was partially at fault:

> For how many Days together have the Streets been filled, and has the Park been crouded with Thousands and Ten Thousands of *Gapers* and *Starers*, who contemplate the Pile before them, wit the same kind of Sensation, as *Milton* ascribes to his *fallen Angels*, when they took their first Survey of their new *Pandemonium*?[136]

Thus, the Royal Fireworks faced bitter opposition largely on grounds of fallen rectitude. The displeaure over the terms

---

[135]*The Remembrancer*, 29 April 1749.

[136]*The Remembrancer*, 29 April 1749.

of peace was virtually lost in the din of moral outrage, undoubtedly to the chagrin of the administration.

In looking back on the Royal Fireworks, the ministerial use of spectacle as a propaganda tool can be clearly seen. In fact, it was not lost on contemporaries, as the aptly named commentator, Anti-Pyrobolos, attests:

> at such a time to let go all the Sluices of Extravagance at once, and deluge every Corner of the Land with the Over-flowings of Lewdness, Wantonness, and Licentiousness ... must argue either a total Ignorance of the natural Progression and Tendency of Things, an absolute Indifference with regard to Consequences, a malicious Purpose to extinguish the last Remains of Prudence and Virtue, or at least a fraudulent Intention to ascribe that Effect to the *Popularity* of the *Peace*.[137]

Yet, despite the castigation of moralists, the Royal Fireworks served its purpose. The public rejoiced, in great numbers, and throughout the nation. The celebration was all inclusive, serving City and country, patrician and pauper. Thus, by associating the peace treaty and the administration with the monarch, the ministers were able to tap into the nation's good will, though not without a price. They had to publicize this relationship, and the Royal fireworks served them admirably in creating a sense of public approval throughout the realm. It might be likened to bribery, as the aforementioned Anti-Pyrobolos suggested, but holding the celebration proved effective based on the public response.

---

[137]*The Remembrancer*, 29 April 1749.

The Royal Fireworks, then, provides a perfect example of how music, spectacle, and ceremony were used to legitimize the ruling order and provide a sense of consensual acceptance. The argument against holding such an event, whether moral or economic, did not carry much weight despite the ink spent in its cause. The problem, it seems, was the limited appeal of such contentions to the majority of Britons. The public--whether aristocrat, merchant, tradesman, or servant--was interested in the spectacle of the Royal Fireworks. It fulfilled their requirement of such ceremonial display from the King and ministry. In return, the crowd enjoyed the excitement of the evening, while confirming their support for the Hanoverian regime and its policies. The peace had been consummated, as had the marriage between Britons and the Hanoverian dynasty, accompanied by Handel's melodious sublimity.

Postscript

The planning, purpose and execution of the Royal Fireworks involved a complex series of events. On the surface, the performance on 27 April 1749 simply celebrated the end of war. But the political machinations behind the spectacle revealed much more about the state, its people and allegiances. The King's administration realized the value of such events to confirm their position of power, and that of the Hanoverian dynasty, in times of political crisis. In a sense, the Royal Fireworks represent the ultimate attempt to silence public disapprobation, and create and build upon popular loyalties to King and government. Furthermore, the very anatomy of the spectacle--the elements that made it popular with Britons--provides insight into society and culture during the Hanoverian period. Of particular interest is the fact that Handel was chosen to compose the music for the celebration, suggesting that his music embodied the sentiments which ministry intended to create, and was popular with a large and growing segment of British society. New historical questions emerge, wedding culture and politics. The image of music as a manifestation of public taste reinforces the idea that music, as such, can be used to manipulate public sentiment. Ministers realized this fact and exploited its potential ruthlessly in the difficult years after Culloden.

Recent historical inquiry has begun to touch more closely on these themes, presenting music as an important aspect of British society in the Hanoverian period. Richard Leppert, for example has produced a study on the imagery of music,[138] by examining the musical practices of the upper ranks. Of primary concern to Leppert is the cultural influence upon music in Georgian England: that is, what the playing of music by aristocrats was meant to represent in terms of power and gender relationships. The work of William Weber, on the other hand, concentrates on a different aspect of the relationship between music and society. Examining the 1784 Handel Commemoration,[139] which involved a series of five performances of Handel's music, Weber concludes that the event was symbolic of British political development to that time. The commemoration was an attempt by the ruling order to reassure themselves more than anyone else, that their social and political position was stable. These scholars have opened new doors in the study of cultural history in Hanoverian Britain, bringing music and its relation to politics into the forefront.

My study differs from these efforts in that I see music

---

[138]Richard Leppert, *Music and image: domesticity, ideology and socio-cultural formation in eighteenth-century England* (Cambridge: University Press, 1988).

[139]William Weber, "The 1784 Handel Commemoration as Political Ritual," *Journal of British Studies* 28(January 1989), pp. 43-69.

assuming a much more concrete role in political and social relations. In the case of the Royal Fireworks, music was used specifically to foster certain sentiments from those attending the spectacle, reaffirming the position of the ruling order and the hierarchical structure of British society. But at the same time it was intended to appeal to all Britons, in an effort to promote consensual acceptance of its social structure with the Hanoverian dynasty at its apex. In this case then, music was used as political ritual, directly reaching out to the middling and lower ranks. Important to this appeal was the realization that commerce was breaking down social barriers. Therefore, music, traditionally an aristocratic interest, became part of popular culture. Handel appealed to the generality of Britons, and the ruling order realized that fact in employing his music for the peace celebration. Like the Royal Fireworks, my study attempts to include a broader cross-section of society than has been the traditional practice of historians of eighteenth-century Britain.

In the process, new questions have been raised about the relationship between music, culture, and politics. Was the Royal Fireworks celebration simply an exception to the rule of exclusion? This would seem doubtful. The commercialization of Britain was shrinking the gulf between upper and lower ranks. Music, in many ways, characterizes this new social mobility, allowing labourers to mix with

lords at such venues as Vauxhall, or Green Park during the Royal Fireworks. This levelling trend requires further study. Indeed, analysis of the relationship of music to popular politics and culture from the Glorious Revolution could reveal much about society and its changing nature in eighteenth-century Britain.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

A. PRIMARY SOURCES

1. OFFICIAL AND PARLIAMENTARY SOURCES

Cobbett, W., *Parliamentary History of England from ... 1066 to ... 1803* 36 vols. London: T.C. Hansard, 1806-20; reprint, New York: Johnson Reprint Corporation, 1966.

Journal of the House of Commons.

Journal of the House of Lords.

2. CONTEMPORARY CORRESPONDENCE AND MEMOIRS

Correspondence of John, Fourth Duke of Bedford, selected from the originals at Woburn Abbey 3 vols. ed. Lord John Russell, London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans, 1842-6.

[Coxe, William.] *Anecdotes of George Frederick Handel and John Christopher Smith* London: W. Bulmer, 1799; reprint, New York: Da Capo Press, 1979.

[Coxe, William.] *Memoirs of the Administration of the Right Honourable Henry Pelham, collected from family papers, and other authentic documents* 2 vols. London, 1829.

[Coxe, William.] *Memoirs of the Life and Administration of Sir Robert Walpole, Earl of Orford* 3 vols. London, 1798.

Manuscripts of the Earl of Egmont 3 vols. London: Historical Manuscripts Commission, 1923.

The Autobiography and Correspondence of Mary Granville, Mrs. Delany 6 vols. ed. Lady Llanover, London: Richard Bentley, 1861-2.

John, Lord Hervey. *Some Materials Towards Memoirs of the Reign of King George II* 3 vols. ed. Romney Sedgwick, London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1931; reprint, New York: AMS Press, 1970.

The Life of William Hutton, F.A.S.S. London: Baldwin, Craddock, and Joy, 1816.

Letters of Mary Lepel, Lady Hervey, with a Memoir and Illustrative Notes London: John Murray, 1821.

The Complete Letters of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu 2 vols. ed. Robert Halsband, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1966.

Memoir of Robert, Earl Nugent with Letters, Poems and Appendices ed. Claude Nugent, London: William Heinemann, 1898.

The Correspondence of the Dukes of Richmond and Newcastle, 1724-1750 ed. T.J. McCann, Sussex Record Society vol. 73, 1984.

St. John, Henry, Viscount Bolingbroke. *The Works of Lord Bolingbroke* London: Henry G. Bohn, 1844

The Letters of Philip Dormer Stanhope, 4th Earl of Chesterfield 6 vols. ed. Bonamy Dobree, London, 1932.

Characters by Lord Chesterfield contrasted with Characters of the Same Great Personages by other respectable Writers London: Edward and Charles Dilly, 1778; reprint, Los Angeles: Augustan Reprint Society, 1990.

The Letters of Horace Walpole, Fourth Earl of Orford 16 vols. ed. Paget Toynbee, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1902-1905.

3. PERIODICALS AND PAMPHLETS

The Advantages of the Difinitive [sic] *Treaty to the People of Great Britain Demonstrated* London, 1749.

British Magazine.

Country Journal; or the Craftsman.

Daily Courant.

General Advertiser.

Gentleman's Magazine.

London Evening Post.

London Journal.

London Magazine.

National Prejudice opposed to the national interest; candidly considered in the detention or yielding up Gibraltar and Cape Breton by the ensuing peace... London, 1748.

Newcastle Magazine.

Observations on the Probable Issue of the Congress at Aix La Chapelle: In a Letter to a Friend London, 1748.

Old Whig.

[John Perceval, Earl of Egmont.] *An Examination of the Principles, and an Inquiry into the Conduct of Two B*****rs; in regard to the establishment of their power, and their prosecution of the War, till the signing of the preliminaries...* London, 1749.

Remembrancer; by George Cadwaller.

Scots Courant.

Universal Magazine.

Whitehall Evening Post.

B. SECONDARY SOURCES

1. BOOKS

Beattie, John M. *The English Court in the Reign of George I* Cambridge: University Press, 1967.

Brewer, John. *The Sinews of Power; War, money and the English state, 1688-1783* London: Unwin Hyman, 1989.

Burney, Charles. *A General History of Music; From the Earliest Ages to the Present Period (1789)* 2 vols. ed. Frank Mercer, New York: Dover, 1935.

_____. *An Acount of the Musical Performances in Westminster-Abbey, and the Pantheon, in Commemoration of Handel* London, 1785; reprint, Amsterdam: Frits A.M. Knuf, 1964.

Colley, Linda. *Britons: Forging the Nation 1707-1837* New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992.

_____. *In Defiance of Oligarchy: The Tory Party 1714-60* Cambridge: University Press, 1982.

Cressy, David. *Bonfires and Bells: National Memory and the Protestant Calendar in Elizabethan and Stuart England* London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1989.

Cruikshanks, Eveline. *Political Untouchables: The Tories and the '45* London: Duckworth, 1979.

Davison, Peter. *Popular Appeal in English Drama to 1850* London: Macmillan, 1982.

Dean, Winton. *Handel's Dramatic Oratorios and Masques* London: Oxford University Press, 1959.

Deutsch, Otto Erich. *Handel: A Documentary Biography* London: Adam and Charles Black, 1955.

Ford, Boris, ed. *The Cambridge Cultural History* vol. 5, *Eighteenth-Century Britain* Cambridge: University Press, 1991.

Fritz, Paul S. *The English Ministers and Jacobitism between the Rebellions of 1715 and 1745* Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1975.

Fulcher, Jane F. *The Nation's Image: French Grand Opera as Politics and Politicized Art* Cambridge: University Press, 1987.

Golby, J.M. and Purdue A.W. *The Civilization of the Crowd: Popular Culture in England, 1750-1900* London: Batsford Academic, 1984.

Hogwood, Christopher. *Handel* London: Thames and Hudson, 1984.

_____ and Luckett, R. *Music in Eighteenth-Century England: Essays in memory of Charles Cudworth* Cambridge: University Press, 1983.

Lang, Paul Henry. *George Frideric Handel* New York: W.W. Norton, 1966.

Leppert, Richard. *Music and Image: Domesticity, Ideology and Socio-cultural Formation in Eighteenth-century England* Cambridge: University Press, 1988.

Mainwaring, John. *Memoirs of the Life of the Late George Frederic Handel* London: J. Dodsley, 1760.

McKendrick, N., Brewer, J., and Plumb, J.H. *The Birth of a Consumer Society: The Commercialization of eighteenth-century England* London: Europa, 1982.

Newman, Gerald. *The Rise of English Nationalism: A Cultural History, 1740-1830* New York: St. Martin's Press, 1987.

North, Roger. *The Musicall Gramarian, 1728* Mary Chan and J.C. Kassler, eds. Cambridge: University Press, 1990.

Palsica, Claude V. *Baroque Music* 2nd ed. New Jersey: Prentice- Hall, 1981.

Rogers, Nicholas. *Whigs and Cities: Popular Politics in the Age of Walpole and Pitt* Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989.

Paulson, Ronald. *Popular and Polite Art in the Age of Hogarth and Fielding* Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1979.

Plumb, J.H. *The Growth of Political Stability in England, 1675-1725* London: Macmillan, 1967.

Raynor, Henry. *A Social History of Music from the Middle Ages to Beethoven* London: Barrie and Jenkins, 1972.

Smuts, Malcolm R. *Court Culture and the Origins of a Royalist Tradition in Early Stuart England* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1987.

Starkey, David et al. *The English Court from the Wars of the Roses to the Civil War* London: Longman, 1987.

Tench, C.C. *George II* London: Allen Lane, 1973.

Wilkins, W.H. *Caroline the Illustrious* London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1904.

Young, Percy M. *The Concert Tradition from the Middle Ages to the Twentieth Century* New York: Roy Publishers, 1969.

2. ARTICLES

Black, Jeremy. "British Foreign Policy and the War of Austrian Succession, 1740-48: A Research Priority," *Canadian Journal of History* 21(December 1986): 313-331.

Bucholz, R.O. "'Nothing but Ceremony': Queen Anne and the Limitations of Royal Ritual," *Journal of British Studies* 30(July 1991): 288-323.

Burrows, Donald. "Handel and the 1727 Coronation," *Musical Times* 118(1977): 469-473.

_____. "Handel's Peace Anthem," *Musical Times* 114(1973): 1230-1234.

Cannadine, David. "Conflict and Consensus on a Ceremonial Occasion: The Diamond Jubilee in Cambridge in 1897," *Historical Journal* 24(1981): 111-146.

Christie, I.R. "The Tory Party, Jacobitism and the 'Forty-five: A Note," *Historical Journal* 30(1987): 921-931.

Clark, J.C.D. "The Politics of the Excluded: Tories, Jacobites and Whig Patriots 1715-1760," *Parliamentary History* 2(1983): 209-222.

Cressy, David. "The Protestant Calendar and the Vocabulary of Celebration in Early Modern England," *Journal of British Studies* 29(January 1990): 31-52.

Hayton, David. "Moral Reform and Country Politics in the Late Seventeenth-Century House of Commons," *Past and Present* 128: 48-91.

Ingram, Martin. "Ridings, Rough Music and the "Reform of Popular Culture" in Early Modern England," *Past and Present* 105: 79-113.

Johnson, Claudia L. ""Giant HANDEL" amd the Musical Sublime," *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 19(1986): 515-533.

Kuhn, William. "Ceremony and Politics: The British Monarchy, 1871-1872," *Journal of British Studies* 26(April 1987): 133-162.

O'Gorman, Frank. "Electoral Deference in "Unreformed" England: 1760-1832," *Journal of Modern History* 56(September 1984): 391-429.

Owen, J.B. "Geroge II Reconsidered," in *Statesmen, Scholars and Merchants* Anne Whiteman, J.S. Bromley and P.G.M. Dickson eds. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1973: 113-134.

Pocock, J.G.A. "The Classical Theory of Deference," *American Historical Review* 81(1976): 516-523.

Rogers, Nicholas. "Popular Protest in Early Hanoverian London," *Past and Present* 79: 70-100.

Shoemaker, Robert B. "The London "Mob" in the Early Eighteenth Century," *Journal of British Studies* 26(July 1987): 273-304.

Thompson, E.P. "Patrician Society, Plebeian Culture," *Journal of Social History* 7(1973-4): 382-405.

Weber, William. "The 1784 Handel Commemoration as Political Ritual," *Journal of British Studies* 28(January 1989): 43-69.

Wilson, Kathleen. "Empire, Trade and Popular Politics in Mid-Hanoverian Britain: The Case of Admiral Vernon," *Past and Present* 121: 74-109.

Yorke-Long, Alan. "George II and Handel," *History Today* 1(October 1951): 33-39.