

'Liveridge is in Ireland':

Richard Leveridge and the Earliest Surviving Dublin Birthday Odes

The tradition of celebrating the New Year and the monarch's birthday with the performance of an ode at the English court is one that dates back to the early 1600s.¹ Throughout the seventeenth century, the provision of odes for these occasions gradually began to become established as a necessary part of the festivities, the Master of the Musick and the Poet Laureate eventually becoming charged with the duty of providing the biannual works. A parallel tradition developed in Dublin, though much later than that in London; until very recently the earliest surviving birthday ode text was believed to be *Hail Happy Day* set by Charles Ximenes in 1707.² Throwing this belief into contention, however, is my recent identification of a birthday ode text, previously considered to be unimportant. Held in the collection at Dublin City Library and Archive, Pearse Street, the printed text bears the title 'A Song on the King's Birth-Day, 1701' and begins 'Welcome Genial Day!'.³ In this article I argue that the content of the ode's poetry, together with the named composer, 'Mr Leveridge' (Richard Leveridge), serve to identify the work as a Dublin one. Moreover, this text sheds new light on two formerly misattributed ode manuscripts, one of which is in fact Leveridge's setting of *Welcome Genial Day!*. In addition, I demonstrate not only that the Dublin ode tradition began earlier than has previously been verifiable, but also that the repertoire in these earlier years had a far stronger connection to the London tradition and to London composers than has previously been thought.

The Political Context of the Dublin Odes

¹ For the most substantial survey of the English court ode to date see Rosamond McGuinness, *English Court Odes, 1660–1820* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1971).

² The earliest list of Dublin court odes is that compiled by Tony Albert Trowles in Tony Albert Trowles, 'The Musical Ode in Britain, c. 1670–1800' (D. Phil diss., University of Oxford, 1992). The list is compiled alphabetically by composer rather than chronologically. Barra Boydell similarly states that Ximenes' *Hail Happy Day* of 1707 is the 'earliest recorded court ode from Dublin'. Barra Boydell, 'Ximenes [Christmenes], Charles' in Harry White & Barra Boydell, eds, *The Encyclopedia of Music in Ireland* (Dublin: University College Dublin Press, 2014) Vol. 2, 1076. For a revised chronology of the earliest Dublin odes, 1690–1707, see Table 1. For a chronology of works composed by Johann Sigismund Cousser for the celebration of the monarch's birthday in Dublin from 1708 to 1727, see Samantha Owens, 'Johann Sigismund Cousser, William III and the Serenata in Early Eighteenth-Century Dublin', *Eighteenth-Century Music*, Vol. 6, no. 1 (2009), 7–39 at 13–22. See also Trowles, 'The Musical Ode in Briatin', Vol. 2.

³ Dublin, Dublin City Library and Archive, Newenham Pamphlets 7E(13) (item 87).

The Dublin odes were performed at Dublin Castle, the seat of the Lord Lieutenant, the monarch's representative in Ireland, in a ceremonial act that was itself in imitation of the performance of the London odes at court.⁴ High society revolved around the Castle and it was also one of the few large buildings capable of holding a large audience, the others being the Theatre Royal in Smock Alley, the two cathedrals, and some of the larger churches.⁵ The performance of odes in Dublin in celebration of the monarch's birthday can easily be seen as merely an imitation of the custom begun in the opening years of the Restoration and established as a tradition at the English court during the latter years of the seventeenth century. However, viewing the Dublin ode only in these terms is to take an England-centric view and to overlook the ode's function in light of the Protestant ascendancy's status as subaltern. The ode in Dublin was an ideal medium of British effusion in Ireland, expressing loyalty during a volatile time of political instability following the Williamite wars of the 1680s and early 1690s—a series of rebellions following the deposition of James II in 1688, the most famous episode being the Battle of the Boyne in 1690 (see note 26 below)—and the subsequent installation of the Protestant ascendancy.⁶ The ode's poetry presented a fitting mode through which the viceregal establishment could demonstrate party allegiance, loyalty or opposition to the crown, and bolster the loyal status of Dublin in the face of insecurity in Ireland generally.⁷ However, these intentions were more complex for the viceregal establishment than they were for their counterparts in London. There was a distinct ambivalence in the attitude of the

⁴ While this parallels the birthday celebrations held at the London court, there is no evidence that odes were composed for New Year's Day in Dublin, as they were in London.

⁵ Trowles, 'The Musical Ode in Britain', 131, 135–7. It should be noted that Johann Sigismund Cousser's work of 1709 was, according to its printed text, performed not at Dublin Castle, but at Smock Alley Theatre. The National Library of Ireland, Dublin, Ir.82259.c2. The Dublin performance venues are discussed in detail in Samantha Owens, 'Johann Sigismund Cousser, William III and the Serenata in Early Eighteenth-Century Dublin', *Eighteenth-Century Music*, Vol. 6, no. 1 (2009), 7–39 at 25–8.

⁶ It should be noted that 'Britishness' as a concept carried political freight in this period. After 1707 Britishness came into vogue in official circles in England, and with its imperial connotations could imply the unity of interest of the English, Scots and Irish in a common polity. However, David Hayton has argued that the term was used infrequently in Ireland because it implied a community of interest between Church of Ireland Protestants and Ulster Presbyterians. Be that as it may, Irish Tories certainly saw their endeavours in a broader 'three kingdoms' context. I am most grateful to David Hayton for bringing this to my attention. Private correspondence, 24 July, 2014. See David W. Hayton, *The Anglo-Irish Experience, 1680-1730: Religion, Identity and Patriotism* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2012), 42–4.

⁷ Different viceroys held different party allegiances, which naturally would have impacted on their demonstration of loyalty to the monarch. James Butler, the 2nd Duke of Ormond, who held the office of Lord Lieutenant of Ireland from 1703–7 and again from 1710–22 was a Tory with dramatically different beliefs to Thomas Wharton, a Whig, who held the office from 1708–10. My thanks again to David Hayton for highlighting this point. Private correspondence, 24 July, 2014.

Protestant ascendancy with regard to the issue of relations with Britain.⁸ An acute awareness of the fact that their strength and authority depended on the continued support of London existed among the Dublin ruling class. Therefore, by one measure, demonstration of loyalty was of the utmost importance for the reputation of Ireland in the eyes of the crown and English ministry.⁹ As might be expected, reiterations of support for the Hanoverian succession and the Act of Union with Scotland of 1707, and denouncement of Jacobite sentiments, are themes to be found even more frequently and more pointedly in the Dublin odes of the early eighteenth century than in those produced in London.

For example, the 1694 ode for the centenary celebration of the founding of Trinity College Dublin expresses in no uncertain terms the indebtedness the country owes to William III and his victory at the Battle of the Boyne:

But chiefly Recommend to Fame,
MARIA and Great WILLIAM's Name;
For surely no HIBERNIAN Muse
(Whose Isle to Him, Her freedom owes)
Can Her Restorer's Praise Refuse,
While BOYN or SHANON flows.¹⁰

In fact, William III's reputation as the Protestant hero, sent to save England (later Britain) and Ireland from 'popery' is one that was revered and longer celebrated in Ireland than in Britain. Yearly commemorations were held on William III's birthday (4 November) in Dublin long after his death, with music, feasting and various other public demonstrations. Samantha Owens has identified a serenata composed by Cousser in memory of William III (possibly around 1707 or 1708), which was probably commissioned for such a commemoration.¹¹ The serenata text leaves one in no doubt as to the status of William as the Protestant Saviour:

⁸ For an in-depth discussion of the development of nationalism in Ireland see David George Boyce, *Nationalism in Ireland*, 2nd edn (London & New York: Routledge, 1991), especially chapter 4, 94–122.

⁹ The fragility of this reputation can be seen in the crises in Anglo-Irish relations from 1697 to 1703 because of the Woollen Act, the jurisdiction of the Irish House of Lords, and the forfeitures resumption. See David W. Hayton, *Ruling Ireland, 1685-1742: Politics, Politicians and Parties*, Irish Historical Monographs Series (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2004), 71–5.

¹⁰ The National Library of Ireland, Dublin, LO1675(2).

¹¹ Owens, 'Johann Sigismund Cousser, William III and the Serenata', *passim*.

Recitative (Albania)

Almost oppress'd with Romish superstition, my groans to Belgia's shores arrived great
William heard, and
hast'ning with healing in his wings, my I'll relieved, and vent'ring all my sinking
state retrived.

[...]

Recitative (Albania)

Unluckily deluded, I let Rome's locusts settle again within my borders, the spreading
pest almost my Lands devoured what could I do? This Plague had ne'ver been driven
away, had Nassau not been sent by heaven.¹²

Such sentiments are understandable, especially given that there were still many Jacobite supporters in Ireland. There is evidence that James II's birthday was observed in Dublin, albeit in a medium less public than an ode performance. A text published in Dublin in 1694 by 'William Weston¹³ Printer & Stationer to the Kings [*sic*] most Excellent Majesty' bearing the title 'A Song. On his Majesties Birth-Day', with words by D. Carney¹⁴ and set by John Abell, demonstrates that tensions between supporters of James II and supporters of William III were very much present in Dublin at this time.¹⁵ It is likely that this song was performed before James II at the exiled court in Saint-Germain, especially given that we know Abell—named in this text as 'Master of his Majestys privat [*sic*] Musick'—was resident there (and freely travelling around Europe) at this time.¹⁶ The poetry contains many expressions of dissent, but these lines in the closing chorus serve to summarize the general sentiment:

¹² Though it falls outside the parameters of the present article, there are other examples of similar texts presumably composed for these annual commemorations. It is likely that some of these were also set to music. Johann Sigismond Cousser, *No! He's not Dead!*, D-Hs, M A/836. Transcribed in Owens, 'Johann Sigismond Cousser, William III and the Serenata', 37–9.

¹³ There are references to the printer and bookseller William Weston in the late 1680s, when he is described in various of his publications as 'Printer and Stationer to his Excellency the Lord Deputy'. See Charles Sayle, *A Catalogue of the Bradshaw Collection of Irish Books in the University Library, Cambridge*, Vol. 1 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 57–8.

¹⁴ I have been unable to identify D. Carney, though the surname suggests an Irish Catholic heritage.

¹⁵ Text only at University of Texas, Austin, Texas, -Q- M 1739.3 A2 S6 1694.

¹⁶ Ian Spink. 'Abell, John (i)'.', *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, online edition: www.oxfordmusiconline.com (accessed 25 November, 2015).

*A mighty power, your Kingdoms to regain;
A Golden Age, And Nestor's years to reign.¹⁷*

Though not as public as a performance of the work might have been, this printed song reveals an undercurrent of opposition to the prevailing regime. It also enhances the importance of support of William III by an ascendancy intent on stability and security in a volatile period.

However, by another measure, awareness of Ireland's position as dependent on Britain filters through in other Dublin ode and serenata texts. Reference to the Act of Union, for example, is also a common feature of the Dublin texts, as can be seen in the following lines from the 1709 serenata set by Cousser:

The Union removes your Internal Diseases,
and makes ye Blest with Lovely Peace.
[...]
No Renowned great Hero such Actions has done;
She has Kingdoms United, and saved, and Won.
[...]
At nothing Designing,
But to Oppose
With Subjects Combining
Her haughty Warlike Foes.¹⁸

The inclusion of such themes was more than mere flattery; it was an acknowledgment of the political indebtedness that the Anglo-Irish upper class owed to their sovereign. Therefore, the tradition of ode composition in Ireland is in one sense indicative not only of a desire to express fidelity; it also served to reproduce the activities of the London court and, by doing so, bolstered Dublin's status as an important city in the empire. Similarly, the 1710 birthday serenata praises Queen Anne's focus on domestic issues and also seems to hint at a vice regency desirous of inclusion in the union:

In vain her Martial Captains, crown'd with Laurels,
Wou'd vanquish Foreign Powers,
Should she neglect her Peoples nearer Union.

¹⁷ US-TxU, -Q- M 1739.3 A2 S6 1694.

¹⁸ The National Library of Ireland, Dublin, Ir.82259.c2

Indeed, as late as 1719, the character Hibernia laments her omission from the union, in spite of her loyalty:

If equal Love, and Loyalty, and Virtue
Were equally rewarded,
I too might hope sometime t' enjoy that Influence
Of Majesty, that renders
Britannia now so happy
And adds so vastly to her ancient Glory.

It seems clear from these sentiments that the Dublin birthday odes and serenatas were more than simply obsequious works. These examples betray a political agenda that sought to improve Ireland's status economically by joining the Union. The suggestion of a union between England and Ireland had been made on several occasions, the benefits of which were outlined in (among many others) Henry Maxwell's essay of 1703 wherein he argued that such an undertaking 'will greatly increase the Manufactures, Trade, and Shipping of each nation...'.¹⁹ As David Armitage has also observed, Maxwell's audience was English, not Irish, for his essay outlined a case for union that would unite the 'British Inhabitants' in Ireland more closely to the English nation.²⁰ It was in 1703 too that the Irish House of Commons had addressed Queen Anne requesting a union. Similarly, in 1709 the Irish lords addressed the viceroy expressing the hope that the queen would 'perfect' the 1707 Act by 'bringing her Kingdom of Ireland also into the union'.²¹ The viceroy responded that he had no directions to say anything about the issue.²² One can conclude, therefore, that the repeated references in the Dublin works to the benefits that such a union would bestow on Ireland demonstrates how the celebration of the monarch's birthday was used as an opportunity to express Dublin-centric political intentions.

By the mid 1720s, Irish Protestants had developed a strong sense of nationalism and this resulted in the assertion of Ireland's status as a distinct kingdom with an autonomous parliament.²³ As J. L. McCracken observes, 'while

¹⁹ Henry Maxwell, *An Essay upon an Union of Ireland with England* (London, 1703), 14.

²⁰ David Armitage, 'The Political Economy of Britain and Ireland after the Glorious Revolution' in Jane H. Ohlmeyer, ed., *Political Thought in Seventeenth-Century Ireland: Kingdom or Colony* (Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 2000), 221–243, at 242.

²¹ J.G. Simms, *War and Politics in Ireland, 1649–1730* (London: Hambledon Press, 1986), 260, quoting *Lord's Jn. (Ire.)*, II, 247–8.

²² *Ibid.*

²³ Brendan Bradshaw & Peter Roberts, *British Consciousness and Identity: The Making of Britain, 1533–1707* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 302.

claiming all the privileges of freeborn Englishmen, they regarded themselves as Irishmen entitled to control the destinies of the country that had become theirs by right of conquest'.²⁴ Irish Protestants therefore found themselves treated as foreigners by their mother country, according to Sir Francis Brewster writing in 1698, having to 'rest satisfied with the odious character of an Irish-man'.²⁵ The function of the ode as a medium through which the loyalty of Irish Protestants could be displayed, lest they be taken as having that same 'odious' character as the Irishmen involved in the recent rebellions of the 1690s, was of great importance.²⁶ The characterization of Irishmen as 'odious' was no doubt as a result of the rebellions, or 'Cruelties [...] exercised by the *Irish* Papists on the Protestants of *Ireland*'.²⁷ Brewster also points out that it is in spite of withstanding these 'Cruelties'—which had not been exercised against the English elsewhere in the empire, even 'in the remotest and most barbarous Parts of the World'—an Englishman had but to 'land upon *Irish* Ground, breath [sic] of that Air, drink one Dish of St. *Patrick's* Well' to be, upon his return to England, 'looked upon as an *Irishman* and an Alien'.²⁸

Taking these complex notions regarding Irish identity and the security of Ireland as a part of Britain into consideration, one can imagine how important it was to many of the Protestant ascendancy that their loyalty to the monarch be expressed and reinforced. The ode became a medium through which this loyalty could be expressed and it is no surprise that it became an important part of the celebration of the monarch's birthday and even, it might be argued, surpassed its London counterpart when it was transformed into various forms of the larger

²⁴ J. L. McCracken, 'Protestant Ascendancy and the Rise of Colonial Nationalism, 1714–60', in T. W. Moody & W. E. Vaughan, eds, *A New History of Ireland IV: Eighteenth Century Ireland 1691–1800* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986), 105–21 at 107.

²⁵ Francis Brewster, *A Discourse Concerning Ireland and the Different Interest Thereof, in answer to the Exon and Barnstaple petitions; shewing that if a law were enacted to prevent the exportation of woollen manufacturers from Ireland to foreign parts, what the consequences thereof would be both to England and Ireland* (London, 1698), 46. This comment may be related to the changing popular stereotype of the Irishman in English literature and political writing. See David W. Hayton, 'From Barbarian to Burlesque: English Images of the Irish, c.1660-1750', *Irish Economic and Social History*, 15 (1988), 7–31 and Hayton, 'From Barbarian to Burlesque: The Changing Stereotype of the Irish' in *The Anglo-Irish Experience, 1680-1730: Religion, Identity and Patriotism*, 1–24.

²⁶ The Irish rebellions are perhaps best known from their culmination in the Battle of the Boyne of 1690. This was followed by the First Siege of Athlone in July and the First Siege of Limerick in August of the same year, and the Siege of Cork in September. 1691 saw the Second Siege of Athlone in June, the Battle of Aughrim in July and, finally, the Second Siege of Limerick from August to October, which led to the signing of The Treaty of Limerick and the end of the war. The Williamite government did not honour the treaty following the Papacy's recognition of James II as the rightful king of Ireland from 1693.

²⁷ Brewster, *A Discourse Concerning Ireland*, 46.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 46–7.

quasi-dramatic serenata in the hands of Johann Sigismond Cousser from 1709.²⁹ These complexities are perhaps best summarised in the closing grand chorus of the 1711 serenata:

Hybernia (if possible) *Britain* outdoing,
Will serve her with Heart, and will serve Her with Hand.³⁰

Irish Indicators and Intentions in the Dublin Odes

Though, as discussed above, the texts of many Dublin odes and serenatas contain indicators of political and social intent, marking them as distinct from those composed in London, there are also many examples of Dublin odes that can be identified as being of Irish origin only through their attributions and place of publication. The earliest recorded performance of any ode in Dublin is that of the special work for the centenary celebration in 1694 of the foundation of Trinity College, *Great Parent Hail!*, written by Nahum Tate and set to music by Henry Purcell. The printed poetry of the ode bears a title that clearly indicates that it was intended for Dublin.³¹ As Tony A. Trowles points out, the commissioning of an ode for the event bears resemblance to the contexts in which Oxford odes were produced.³² Performed at Christ Church cathedral, Dublin, the work itself is musically inferior to Purcell's other works and was described as 'curiously poor and perfunctory' by the late nineteenth-century view of John Pentland Mahaffy.³³

²⁹ See Owens, 'Johann Sigismond Cousser, William III'.

³⁰ Ireland, Bolton Library Cashel, M.6.17.(10)

³¹ The title reads 'An Ode Upon the Ninth of January 1693/4 the first Secular Day since the University of Dublins Foundation by Queen Elizabeth'. The National Library of Ireland, Dublin, LO1675(2).

³² Trowles, 'The Musical Ode in Britain', 132. Oxford odes were composed to accompany the annual academic ceremony known as the Act and most likely predate the court ode. See Michael Tilmouth, et al, 'Ode (ii)' *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, online edition: www.oxfordmusiconline.com (accessed 9 June, 2015); Jack Westrup, 'Act music (ii)' *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, online edition: www.oxfordmusiconline.com (accessed 9 June, 2015).

³³ J. P. Mahaffy et al., *The Book of Trinity College Dublin, 1591–1891* (Belfast, 1892), 50. Martin Adams argues that comparing it to odes produced in London for birthday, New Year and Cecilian celebrations results in a false comparative contextualism that reveals at least as much about our expectations as it does about Purcell's music. See Martin Adams, 'Purcell's "curiously poor and perfunctory piece of work": Critical Reflections on Purcell via his Music for the Centenary of Trinity College Dublin' in Barra Boydell & Kerry Houston, eds, *Music, Ireland and the Seventeenth Century*, Irish Musical Studies, Vol. 10 (Four Courts Press, 2009), 181–202.

Martin Adams posits that its mediocre qualities can be explained by the fact that Purcell was writing for forces with which he was unfamiliar.³⁴

Only the printed text of the ode performed in Dublin for the queen's birthday in 1707 (previously thought to be the earliest of the Dublin birthday series) survives, though even from this one can determine that it was almost identical to the London odes in its musical structure. The surviving poetry is divided into verses for one or two voices, choruses, and finishes with a 'grand chorus' (See Figure 1). It was set to music by Charles Ximenes (or Christmenes), about whom very little is known except that he was a member of the 'State Music'.³⁵ The 1707 Dublin ode includes the names of the singers Mr. Warren, Mr. Hodge, and Mr. Chumnes, identifying them as participants in the performance, in a practice similar to that seen in the printed texts of the London odes.³⁶ Apart from the place of performance, the list of Dublin performers and the Dublin-based composer, there is nothing to differentiate the Dublin ode of 1707 from those performed in London. Its poetic content is unremarkable, indulging in the same general flattery of the monarch as found in the London birthday odes, and its layout suggests a musical structure typical of the London works.

³⁴ Adams, 'Purcell's "curiously poor and perfunctory piece of work"', 194.

³⁵ For a list of Dublin musicians see Brian Boydell, *A Dublin Musical Calendar* (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 1988). For an account of the State Music from 1716 see David Hunter, 'The Irish State Music 1716–1742', *Göttinger Händel-Beiträge*, 11 (2006), 158–71. Olive Baldwin and Thelma Wilson have identified three surviving songs composed by Ximenes, two of which appear in *The Monthly Mask of Vocal Musick*—'To beauty born a willing slave' for October 1704 and 'Why should women be so coy' for March 1705—and the third a single songsheet, 'For bright Irene fair and young' (Chetham's Library, Manchester, H.P.1962).

³⁶ US-Cah, *EB7.A100.707o2. Robert Hodge was a pupil of Henry Purcell in the mid-1680s and organist of Wells Cathedral from 1688 to 1690. He left for Ireland following some time spent as a lay clerk at Durham and was appointed a vicar choral of St. Patrick's Cathedral on 19 April 1693 and organist on 19 October 1694. He retained the organist's post until he was appointed Master of the Choristers at Christ Church Cathedral in 1698, a position he held until his death in 1709. Cousser's *Commonplace Book* lists Hodge as 'Maitre du Choeur de St. Patrick, in Dublin in y back-close of St Patricks'. US-NHb, Osborn Music MS 16, fo. 6. Also noted by Owens in 'Johann Sigismund Cousser, William III and the Serenata', 30; Kerry Houston, 'The Eighteenth-Century Music Manuscripts at St. Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin: Sources, Lineage, and Relationship to Other Collections' (PhD diss., Trinity College Dublin, 2002), Vol. 1, 92. Richard Warren was Vicar Choral at Christ Church Cathedral from 1698 and at St. Patrick's from 1701–24. Boydell, *A Dublin Musical Calendar*, 292.

A N
O D E
O N T H E
Q U E E N's Birth-Day,
For the Y E A R, 1706.

Set by Mr. *XIMENES*, and Performed at the Castle of *Dublin*.

Chorus. H A I L Happy Day,
When thy Beams thou dost Display,
Grief Erects her drooping Head,
Cloudy Cares are chas'd away,
And Joys in Golden rounds Succeed :

Verf. Mr. Warren. The laughing Hours before thee Fly,
With blooming Sweets to Bless the Earth,
Whilst to the list'ning World F A M E tells the Joy,
Does all her loudest Tongues employ,
And claps her Wings for *A N N A's* Birth.

Verf. Mr. Hodge, and Chorus. At Her Approach all Heav'n was glad,
The Spheres new Tun'd went on their Joyful round.
Angels with their Wings Display'd,
To Earth convey'd the welcom Sound,
To *A N N A's* Praise their Golden Harps were strung,
Her Name gave Sweetness to the Song.

Chorus. With Symphony Divine they Play'd,
Officious L O V E S prepar'd the way.
Ambrosial Odours round Her spread,
And scatter'd Graces where She lay ;

Verf. Mr. Warren. Her Birth Auspicious Omens Blest,
Each Bird obscene far thence was chas'd,
Halcyons and Doves flew round Her Bow'r,
And Happy Constellations Rul'd that Hour.

Verf. Two Voices. There Love and Truth Her tender Mind possess't,
The Seeds of growing Virtues there were lay'd,
Her Eyes bright Rays of Majesty confess't,
And beams of Glory Crown'd Her Infant Head.

Verf. Mr. Warren. The F A T E S about Her Cradle stood.
Proclaim'd She should be Great and Good:
And as the Thread of Life they Spun,
By Heav'ns peculiar Care 'twas wrought,
Made smooth, and long, and firm to run,
But Stain'd with no reproachful Fault.

Grand Chorus. They Sung the Scepter of our State,
Sway'd by a Womans Hand,
The Fierce, the Cruel, and Unjustly Great,
The Haughty *Gaul's* aspiring Fate,
Submitting to Her High Command.

Dublin : Printed by *Edm. Sandys*, in *Crane-Lane* , 1706.

Figure 1: Printed text of Charles Ximenes's *Hail Happy Day*, published as *An Ode on the Queen's Birth-Day, for the Year, 1706/7*: Set by Mr. Ximenes and Performed at the Castle of Dublin (Dublin, 1706 [=1707]); US-CAh *EB7.A100.707o2. Reproduced by permission of the Houghton Library, Harvard University

Similarly, the 1708 birthday ode can be associated with Dublin through the reference to its place of performance in the printed text and through its creators. Johann Sigismund Cousser and ‘Mr. Griffith, Servant to Her Majesty’ are here named as the composer and poet responsible (see Figure 2).³⁷ ‘Mr. Griffith’ was most likely Thomas Griffith (1680–1744), an actor, singer, manager and poet of Welsh descent, who was active in Dublin and associated with Smock Alley Theatre at this time.³⁸ There is nothing to suggest that there existed a post in Dublin that paralleled that of the Poet Laureate in London at this time, though Cousser, on the other hand, seems, after a time, to have held a position similar to that of the Master of the Musick in London.³⁹ According to his commonplace book, he was resident in Ireland from 4 July 1707 and remained there until his death in 1727.⁴⁰ Beginning in 1708, he wrote an ode annually for the celebration of the monarch’s birthday. The inclusion of ‘Chappel-Master of Trinity College’ after his name on the printed serenata texts from 1711 onwards seems to suggest that Cousser may have been employed by the college to compose these Dublin works. However, Harold Samuel has argued that Cousser was most likely Master of the State Musick in Ireland, employed by the king rather than by Trinity College or the cathedral, for there is no reference to the composer in the Christ Church Chapter Acts or any of the college’s records.⁴¹ Though it is evident that Cousser supplied ode and serenata compositions from 1708 (in one instance collaborating in some way with his predecessor, William Viner, for the celebration of the Peace of Utrecht in 1713),⁴²

³⁷ The National Library of Ireland, Dublin, Dix Dublin LB 1707 (1).

³⁸ It is also possible that this refers to Nehemiah Griffith, a Welsh poet who is likely related to Thomas, though there is no evidence of his being in Dublin. I am grateful to David Hayton for this suggestion.

³⁹ The first Poet Laureate of Ireland was Benjamin Victor, who was appointed in 1755. Victor had supplied ode texts before this date, the earliest being set by Matthew Dubourg in 1735. W. P. Courtney, ‘Victor, Benjamin (d. 1778)’, rev. David Goldthorpe, in H. C. G. Matthew and Brian Harrison, eds, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, (Oxford: OUP, 2004); online ed., Lawrence Goldman, ed. 2004, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/28271> (accessed 6 June, 2015).

⁴⁰ Yale University, Music Library, Osborn Music MS 16, fo. 1.

⁴¹ Harold Samuel, ‘John Sigismond Cousser in London and Dublin’, *Music & Letters*, 61 (1980), 158–171 at 162–3. Rebecca Herissone (private correspondence) compares the use of this title with London publications that refer to Blow and Purcell as organists of the Chapel Royal, when the music has nothing to do with their Chapel posts. See, for example Blow’s ode for St. Cecilia’s Day 1684, ‘Begin the Song’, which was published as *A Second Musical Entertainment*. Harvard University, Houghton Library, *Mus B6236 685s.

⁴² The hitherto unidentified printed text of the 1713 serenata, ‘An Idylle on the Peace’, beginning ‘Happy Queen, in whose calm Bosom’, mentions only that it was ‘Set by Mr. John Sigismond Cousser, Chappel-Master of Trinity-College’. Text only, US-SM, 329556. Similarly, *The Dublin Gazette* of 16–20 June, 1713, states that ‘Mr. Cousser and Mr. Viner’ presented the ‘choice performance of Musick’ at Dublin’s Theatre Royal in celebration of the peace.

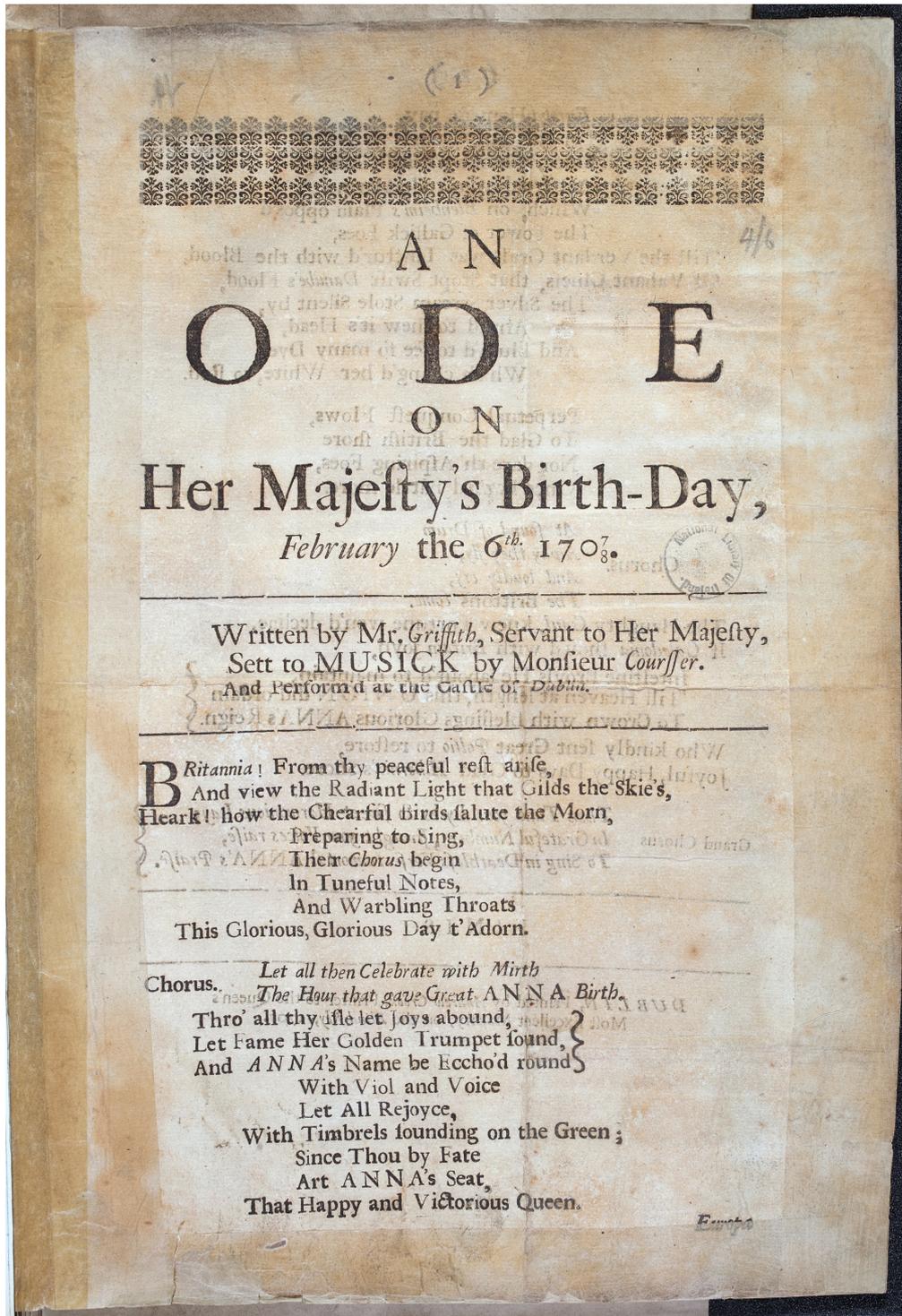


Figure 2: First page of printed text of Johann Sigismund Cousser's and Mr. Griffith's *Britannia, from thy Peaceful Rest Arise*, published as *An Ode on Her Majesty's Birth-Day, February the 6th, 1707/8*. Written by Mr. Griffith, Servant to Her Majesty, Sett to Musick by Monsieur Coursser. And Perform'd at the Castle of Dublin (Dublin, 1707 [=1708]); IRL-Dn Dix Dublin LB 1707 (1). Image courtesy of the National Library of Ireland

Cousser's appointment as Master of the State Musick was not made official until the Viner's death 1716.⁴³ As Samantha Owens and others have observed, it was thanks to the efforts of Philip Perceval, a member of the Irish parliament, amateur musician and 'Director and Supervisor of the State Musick', that Cousser received an official appointment as 'Chief-Composer and Music Master' to the viceregal court in 1716. This seems to be confirmed by the title-page of the 1717 serenata, which names him as 'Master of the Musick, attending His Majesties State in Ireland and Chappel Master of Trinity College'. In this way his compositional duties somewhat paralleled those of John Eccles, who was at this time the Master of the King's Musick in London.⁴⁴

Apart from the reference to Dublin and the names of its creators on its title page, the only thing that appears to identify Cousser's 1708 ode as a Dublin work is a line of poetry towards the end that reads:

Who kindly sent Great *Pollio* to restorre [*sic*]
Joyful, Happy Days to Glad *Hibernia's* Shore.

Hibernia, or Ireland, is never mentioned in the poetry of the London odes; as is to be expected, those texts refer to Albion or Britain. Samantha Owens has similarly argued that the mention of Hibernia in Cousser's 1708 serenata composed in memory of William III places the work in Ireland.⁴⁵ In addition, there is reference to and praise of the Act of Union of 1707, which, as discussed, developed to be a trait of the Dublin odes:

The Haughty *Gaul*, knew Fortune wou'd decline,
If *Caledonia* should with *Britain* join,
Intestine Boyls he labour'd to maintain,
'Till Heaven at length, this UNION did ordain
To Crown with Blessings Glorious ANNA's Reign

Naturally, having been written the year after the Act of Union with Scotland, one would expect that the 1708 ode contain such a reference; what is curious is the constant referral to the Act in succeeding works. Scotland is mentioned again and

⁴³ Though Cousser had supplied odes and serenatas from 1708, he apparently did not supplant Viner. Viner, who had held the position of Master of the State Musick, was appointed Master of the Queen's Musick in 1713, which may indicate a change in his role, though there is no evidence to support this. Boydell, *A Dublin Musical Calendar*, 35.

⁴⁴ The role and duties of the Master of the Queen's (or King's) Musick in London took a number of years to be established; in the formative years of the tradition, ode compositions were offered by various different composers, often outside the employment of the court.

⁴⁵ Owens, 'Johann Sigismund Cousser, William III', 25.

again and the benefits of the Union to Britain reiterated and praised. This was surely a form of political lobbying. While the poetry of the Dublin works developed to be different in content, intent and function to its English counterpart, it is impossible to distinguish some of the earlier surviving Dublin odes from those of English origin, as their poetry does not contain any references to Ireland. It is in these cases—such as is the case with the poetry of Ximenes’s 1707 ode and, as shall be argued, the even earlier odes by Richard Leveridge—that other signifiers of the ode’s origin need to be uncovered.

Welcome Genial Day!

The similarity of the Dublin ode texts to those produced in London (as can be seen in the 1707 and 1708 Dublin works) no doubt contributed to misattribution of the hitherto unidentified Dublin birthday ode for 1701. This ode, *Welcome Genial Day!*, has previously been attributed to John Blow, both by Bruce Wood (tentatively) and by Rosamond McGuinness, presumably because of its having been bound together with Blow’s surviving autograph of the ode *Welcome, Welcome Ev’ry Guest* in London British Library, Add. MS 31457.⁶⁶ Though there seems to have been no reason to assume that the entire contents of this manuscript were by John Blow, McGuinness pursued this line of investigation, even going so far as to link a fragment by Blow from Stafford Smith’s *Musica Antiqua* to *Welcome, Genial Day!*, which she assumed was incomplete.⁶⁷ This is in spite of the fact that Smith’s fragment is in F major, while *Welcome, Genial Day!* is in D major. Moreover, the title of the *Musica Antiqua* fragment states that it is ‘From a birthday ode by Dr. Blow. A compliment to Queen Mary about 1693—hitherto unpublished; from a collection of the Rev. James Dodd, late Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, one of the ushers of Westminster College.’⁶⁸ McGuinness therefore dates the fragment and the ode as 1692. In addition, she makes two further errors: she muddles her transcription of the poetry—recording the final verse of *Welcome, Genial Day!* as being a part of the *Musica Antiqua* fragment; and, as shall be discussed, she misinterprets the reference to ‘Hyd’,

⁶⁶ Though the British Library catalogue states that the works in Add. 31457 are ‘Autograph; excepting the birthday ode’, it is likely that at some point all items were considered to be by Blow due to the presence of the autograph ode *Welcome Ev’ry Guest*. I am grateful to Rebecca Herissone for pointing this out. McGuinness, *English Court Odes*, 51–2. Bruce Wood, ‘Blow, John’, *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, online edition: www.oxfordmusiconline.com (accessed 4 June, 2015).

⁶⁷ McGuinness, *English Court Odes*, 51–2.; J. Stafford Smith, *Musica Antiqua*, Vol. ii (London, 1812), 194–8.

⁶⁸ Smith, *Musica Antiqua*, 194.

misidentifying him as Queen Mary's uncle, Laurence Hyde, who was sworn into the Privy Council on 1 March, 1692.⁴⁹

The British Library manuscript catalogue lists the composite manuscript, Add. 31457, as follows:

ODES for S. Cecilia's Day and the King's birthday, followed at f. 45 by certain canticles, in full score, by Dr. John Blow. The first ode appears again in Add. 31,452, f. 47. The services have the names of the original singers added. *Autograph*; excepting the birthday ode. Paper; ff. 84. *Circ.* 1700. Folio.

Rebecca Herissone has argued, as I do, that the ode, *Welcome Ev'ry Guest*, is the only ode by Blow contained in this manuscript.⁵⁰ There is little reason to assume that the entire contents of this manuscript are by Blow as the collection was only bound together by Julian Marshall in the late nineteenth century: the sale catalogue of Rimbault's library shows that Marshall purchased lot 1345, with Blow's *Welcome Ev'ry Guest* described as 'in the composer's autograph' and *Welcome Genial Day!* lacking any composer attribution; the other items are not even mentioned as being part of the same lot.⁵¹ It is certain, following examination of the manuscript, that *Welcome, Genial Day!* is not in Blow's hand, though, as Herissone rightly concludes, there is no doubt that it is in the hand of a composer and that it reflects composition in progress.⁵² This is particularly evident in the many amendments, compositional sketches and blank staves throughout the work. The blank staves in particular, many of which are in the string parts, betray the composer's compositional process: he chose to complete the vocal parts first and to leave the accompaniment blank, to be completed at a later time, only inserting ritornello-like sections when the voices rest.⁵³ Compositional sketches are also visible on the final folio of the manuscript (see Figure 3) and compositional emendations are identifiable in various instances throughout.

⁴⁹ McGuinness, *English Court Odes*, 51–2.

⁵⁰ Rebecca Herissone, "'To Entitle Himself to Ye Composition': Investigating Concepts of Authorship and Originality in Seventeenth-Century English Music', unpublished conference paper presented at *Concepts of Creativity in Seventeenth-Century England Symposium*, held at the University of Manchester, 2008. My thanks to Rebecca Herissone for very kindly sharing this paper with me.

⁵¹ *Catalogue of the Music Library of Edward Francis Rimbault sold at London, 31 July–7 August 1877, with the Library of Dr. Rainbeau*. Introduction by A. Hyatt King (Amsterdam: Frits Knuf, 1975), lot 1345. My thanks to Olive Baldwin and Thelma Wilson for bringing this to my attention.

⁵² Herissone, "'To Entitle Himself to ye Composition'".

⁵³ Herissone discusses a similar process used by Henry Purcell when copying his own works in 'Purcell's Revisions of his own Works' in Curtis Price, *Purcell Studies*, 56–7.



Figure 3: Richard Leveridge, *Welcome, Genial Day!*: autograph sketches; GB-Lbl, Add. MS 31457, fo. 25. © The British Library Board

Until now, there has been no known evidence to identify either the composer or the event for which the ode was composed. A hitherto undiscovered printed text for this ode results not only in the correct identification of its composer, but also shows that in all likelihood this ode was composed not for the London celebration of William III's birthday, but for the parallel Dublin celebration. The text, held in the collection at Dublin City Library and Archive, bears the title 'A Song on the King's Birth-Day, 1701' and opens with the words 'Welcome Genial Day!' (see Figure 4). It was, according to the subtitle, '*Compos'd by Mr. Leveridge*'. Richard Leveridge, born in 1670, was a London-based bass singer and composer. The first reference to his appearance on the London stage was for his performance in Purcell's *Indian Queen* in 1695.⁵⁴ By Christmas 1699 he had moved to Ireland, not returning to London until 1702.⁵⁵ In a letter of 25 December 1699, John Vanbrugh wrote:

Liveridge is in Ireland, he Owes so much money he dare not come over, so for want of him we han't had one Opera play'd this Winter; tho' [Daniel] Purcell has set one New One and [Gottfried] Fingar another.⁵⁶

The last reference to Leveridge's activity on the London stage is from May 1699, when he sang in Thomas D'Urfey's *The Famous History the Rise and Fall of Massaniello* (part 2).⁵⁷ Leveridge was at Smock Alley Theatre in Dublin as singer and composer for three seasons, evidence of which can be seen in the publication of some of his songs with the subtitle 'Sung at the Theatre in Dublin'.⁵⁸ During his time in Dublin, the theatre's biggest success was Farquhar's *The Constant Couple*, which was said to have had '53 performances in its first season in London and 23 in Dublin'.⁵⁹

⁵⁴ Vanbrugh to Earl of Manchester, 25 December, 1699 in Geoffrey Webb, ed., *The Complete Works of Sir John Vanbrugh, Volume 4: The Letters* (London: Bloomsbury, 1928), 4.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 594.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

⁵⁷ William van Lennep, ed., *The London Stage, 1660–1800, Part 1: 1660–1700* (Southern Illinois University Press: Carbondale, 1965), 511. Leveridge's *Second Book of Songs* was advertised in *The Post Boy* of 1–4 July 1699, though this does not necessarily mean he was still in London. It is likely that he remained in London until the end of the 1699 season. My thanks to Olive Baldwin and Thelma Wilson for sharing this information. Private correspondence, 2 October, 2015.

⁵⁸ See, for example, the printed song 'Marinda's face like Cupid's bow', Oxford Bodleian Library, (Shelfmark unavailable); Harvard University, Houghton Library, *fMus.P9713.692f.; New York Public Library for the Performing Arts, Music Division, Berg Coll 79-100 no. 71.

⁵⁹ Olive Baldwin & Thelma Wilson, introduction to Richard Leveridge, *Complete Songs (with the Music in Macbeth)*, Olive Baldwin & Thelma Wilson, eds, *Music for London Entertainment, 1660–1800, Series A, Vol. 6* (London: Stainer and Bell, 1997), xiv–xvi.

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SONG

ON THE
KING's Birth-Day, 1701.

Compos'd by Mr. Leveridge.

*Ver. 2 Voc.
and Cho.*

Welcome Genial Day!
Blest with so Great, and Bright a Ray,
As never Year, till now, cou'd Boast,
In all the Countless Hours of Ages past.
Verse---- Then Kindly Glad this Sacred Birth!
Bring all your Grateful'st Homages of Joy;
Play on, and ev'ry Skilful Hand Employ;
Till Charming Sounds Compleat your Mirth.

II.

Verse----

Sound Aloud, the Brazen Voice of War!
And to the World Declare.
This Day, a Hero came
Of Mighty Fame,
Born to Give our Arms Success;
Peace to Restore, and Rage Suppress:
Ver. 2 Voc. His Courage does our Foes dismay;
Chorus---- We in his Valour Pride, in Numbers They.

III.

Verse----

Happy *Albion!* Happier far!
I than all other Nations are!
Verse---- City's now with Treasures Flow;
Plenty Rowls in Floods below.
Ships in Triumph Plough the Main,
And Import an Annual Gain,
Free from Plunder, Want or Spoil;
Free from Rapine is our Isle.
We no Foreign Dangers fear;
Jove and Cæsar Guard us here.

IV.

Verse----

Secur'd by *Hide's* Advice, and *Nassaw's* Arm;
Our Isle no Threatning Pow'r can harm:
Britain shall all Attempts withstand,
Whilst these two Live to shield the Land.

Figure 4: Printed text of Richard Leveridge's *Welcome Genial Day!* published as *A Song on the King's Birth-Day, 1701. Compos'd by Mr. Leveridge*; IRL-Dcla, Newenham Pamphlets 7E(13) (item 87). Reproduced by permission of Dublin City Library and Archive

Leveridge set a song for the hero of the play, Sir Harry Wilder: ‘Thus Damon Knocked at Celia’s door’ (a text set by Daniel Purcell for the equivalent London production).⁶⁰ Two of Leveridge’s other songs from these years, ‘Marinda’s face like Cupid’s bow’ and ‘When Sawney first did woo me’, were published in London with the subtitle ‘sung at the theatre in Dublin’.⁶¹ In addition, the text of William Philips’s comedy, *St. Stephen’s-Green*, performed in Dublin in 1700, includes the text of a dialogue set by Leveridge, ‘You Bellamira we admire’, although the music does not survive.⁶²

The earliest evidence of Leveridge’s return to the London stage was not until 20 October 1702, when there appeared an advertisement in *The Daily Courant* for a performance of *Ibrahim the 13th* at Drury Lane ‘With a new Song by Mrs Shaw, never perform’d before, compos’d by a Gentleman lately arriv’d from Dublin’. The likelihood that this ‘gentleman’ was Leveridge is strengthened by a song that appeared in *Mercurius Musicus* for October 1702, ‘In vain poor Damon prostrate lies’, composed by Leveridge and sung by Mrs Shaw.⁶³ Leveridge had definitely returned to London by November 1702, since a performance of *The Island Princess* was advertised for 14 November, ‘wherein Mr Leveridge will perform his own parts’.⁶⁴ On 19 November he performed Purcell’s mad song ‘Let the dreadful engines’ between the acts in *The Old Batchelor*.⁶⁵ Following this, on 21 November, the Drury Lane company performed *Macbeth*, with ‘Vocal and Instrumental Musick, all new Compos’d by Mr. Leveridge, and perform’d by him and others’.⁶⁶ Taken together, this evidence leave us in no doubt that Leveridge was in Dublin in 1701, which is the year given in the title of *Welcome Genial Day!*, and did not return to London until late 1702.

⁶⁰ Ibid., Song No. 21.

⁶¹ Ibid., Song Nos. 20 & 107. ‘Marinda’s face like Cupid’s bow’ is in various copies of Walsh’s *Collections of Choicest Songs & Dialogues* (see, for example, London British Library, G. 151 (106)), but probably first appeared in *Mercurius Musicus* for March and April 1700. I am grateful to Olive Baldwin and Thelma Wilson for this information.

⁶² Ibid.

⁶³ My thanks to Olive Baldwin and Thelma Wilson for bringing this to my attention.

⁶⁴ Baldwin & Wilson ‘Leveridge, *Complete Songs*’, 1.

⁶⁵ Baldwin & Wilson, introduction to Leveridge, *Complete Songs*, xiv–xvi. Manchester, Chetham’s Library, H.P.1539

⁶⁶ *The Daily Courant*, 19 November 1702, quoted in *ibid.* Baldwin and Wilson believe that it is very likely that Leveridge’s *Macbeth* music was composed for Dublin, where the theatre had acquired a bass to sing Hecate. (Private correspondence, 24 July, 2014). Although there is no firm evidence that this was the case, it is certainly probable; further analysis and comparison of the music paper types used for his *Macbeth* music with that used for *Welcome, Genial Day!* could produce evidence of a physical link between the works.

The anonymous verses of Leveridge's ode in the printed source correspond almost exactly to that in the surviving music manuscript formerly attributed to Blow. The variants between the two versions of the poem are insignificant and are mostly to do with word order and spelling (see Table 1). Comparing much of the London ode poetry that survives in manuscript with the corresponding printed poetry has demonstrated that this lack of discrepancy is quite remarkable, perhaps even suggesting that it was Leveridge himself who wrote the words, as we know he did for other works.⁶⁷ The printed text of this ode shows how the words were set to music: the first four lines, for example, are labelled as 'Ver. 2 Voc. And Cho.', indicating that these lines were set as a verse for two voices and then as a chorus. Not only does the printed poem correspond to the poetry in the surviving manuscript formerly attributed to Blow, but the divisions of the text and information regarding the number of singers also correspond exactly to the setting. There can be no doubt, therefore, that the ode beginning *Welcome, Genial Day!* in London British Library, Add. MS 31457 is by Richard Leveridge; since, as noted above, it shows clear indications of the work in progress of a composer, it follows that the manuscript is in his autograph.

Further evidence supporting this assertion is a letter and bass aria in the same hand that survives in the British Library. This manuscript (London British Library, Egerton MS 2957) contains music from *Macbeth* and has been discussed by Roger Fiske.⁶⁸ Bound with this complete score is an earlier fragment of the end of Act III, accompanied by an autograph letter from Leveridge to a friend (See Figure 5). This letter is now partially illegible but was transcribed by a later hand, which has been kept with the original:

My Friend,
I have sent 4 Bott: of Rum, and ye Song, ye Bass of the Cho. You may sing with ye Instruments without any more Voices. I hope it is rite, this was a sudden oportunity of sending it yt I had not time to examine it stricktly. I am Yours Rich Leveridge

Carriage is paid. I have likewise sent Nine Shillings with a great many thanks for the Fish.

⁶⁷ Leveridge is known to have written the words for at least twenty-two songs. He also wrote the librettos for his own *Pyramus and Thisbe* (1716) and for Pepusch's *The Union of the Three Sister Arts* (1723). My thanks again to Olive Baldwin and Thelma Wilson for these details (private correspondence, 24 July, 2014).

⁶⁸ Roger Fiske, 'The "Macbeth" Music', *Music & Letters*, 45 (1964), 114-125. My thanks again to Rebecca Herissone for alerting me to the existence of this letter and to Fiske's article.

**Printed Version from
IRL-Dcla, Newenham Pamphlets 7E
(13) [87]**

Ver. 2 Voc. and Cho.

Welcome Genial Day!
Blest with so Great, and Bright a Ray,
As never Year, **till now, cou'd Boast**,
In all the Countless Hours of Ages past.

Verse—Then Kindly Glad this Sacred
Birth!
Bring all your **Grateful'st** Homages of Joy;
Play on, and ev'ry Skilful Hand Employ;
'Till Charming Sounds Compleat **your**
Mirth.

II.

Verse—Sound **Aloud**, the Brazen **Voice** of
War!

And to the World Declare.
This Day, a Hero came
Of mighty Fame,
Born to Give our Arms Success;
Peace to Restore, and Rage to Supress:

Ver. 2 Voc.

Chorus— His Courage does our Foes
Dismay;
Wee in his Valour Pride, in Numbers
They.

III.

Verse—Happy *Albion!* Happier far!
Than all other Nations are!

Verse—City's now with Treasures Flow;
Plenty Rowls in Floods below.
Ships in Triumph Plough the Main,
And Import an Annual Gain,
Free from Plunder, Want or Spoil;
Free from Rapine is our Isle.
We no Foreign Dangers fear;
Jove and *Caesar* Guard us here.

IV.

Verse—Secur'd by **Hide's** Advice, and
Nassau's Arm;
Our Isle no Threatning Pow'r can harm:
Britain shall all attempts withstand,
Whilst these two Live to shield the Land.

**Manuscript Version from
GB-Lbl, Add. 31457**

Welcome, **welcome** Genial Day
Blest wth soo Great & bright a Ray
As never Year **cou'd boast till now**
Through all ye Countless hou'rs of Ages
past

Then Kindley Glad this Sacred Birth

Bring all your **Grateful** Homages of Joy
Play on and ev'ry Skillfull Hand Employ
Till Charming Sounds Compleat **our**
Myrth

Sound the Brazen **Voices** of Warr

Thus to ye World Declare
This Day a Hero came
of mighty Fame
Born to give our Arms Success
Peace to Restore and Rage to Supress

His Courage does our Foes

Suppress
Wee in his Valour Pride in Numbers they

Happy **happy** Albion, Happy'r farr
than all other Nations are

Citys now with Treasures flow
Plenty Rowls in floods below
Ships in Tryumph Plough ye Main
and Import an Annual Gain
Free from Plunder Want or Spoile
Free from Rapin is our Isle
Wee no Forreign Dangers fear
Jove & *Ceesar* Guard us here

Secur'd by **Hyd's** Advice and
Nassau's Arme
Our Isle no Threat'ning Pow'r can harm
Brittain shall all attempts withstand
Whilst these two Live to Sheild ye Land

TABLE 1

Comparison of texts for *Welcome Genial Day!* Variants are highlighted in bold



Figure 5: Letter from Richard Leveridge to a friend (probably Richard Elford); GB-Lbl Egerton MS 2957, fo. 14. © The British Library Board

The friend, to whom this letter was addressed, as Fiske concurs, was most likely Richard Elford; the countertenor's name was pencilled in by an unknown hand some time after the letter was written. The music that follows the letter is a bass solo, 'Now I go, now I fly', followed by a chorus. Fiske argues that it is likely that Elford wanted to sing this at a concert and could have done so successfully with the solo line and bass of the chorus transposed an octave up.⁶⁶ The hand throughout this piece is identical to that found in the accompanying letter and in *Welcome Genial Day!*, further confirming that both the ode and the fragment are Leveridge's autograph.

While it seems certain that *Welcome, Genial Day!* is Leveridge's autograph, at first there appears to be little other than circumstantial evidence to suggest the place of its performance and publication—that evidence being Leveridge's known presence in Dublin throughout 1701. As can be seen from Figure 4, the bottom of the printed text does not supply any information regarding the place of publication. The page is printed only on one side and therefore one can conclude that there are no additional 'lost' pages, and that the entire ode was printed on one side of this single sheet. An examination of the paper reveals the presence of a watermark reading 'TCD' in capitals that appears in reverse when viewed from the printed side. Having consulted various catalogues of European watermarks, it seems that this one is unrecorded.⁶⁷ Extensive enquiries into the possibility that this 'TCD' watermark stands for 'Trinity College, Dublin' have unfortunately led to a dead end, for, to the best of my knowledge, there was no printing house or papermaker associated with the college at this time or indeed much later into the eighteenth century.⁶⁸ However, an analysis of the content of the text of the ode supports the probability that this ode is indeed a Dublin one, for, like the 1708 ode discussed earlier, the poetry of *Welcome Genial Day!* makes reference to Ireland:

⁶⁶ Ibid., 122.

⁶⁷ Works consulted are W. A. Churchill, *Watermarks in Paper in Holland, England, France, Etc., in the XVII and XVIII Centuries and their Interconnection* (Amsterdam: M. Hertzberger, 1967); Edward Heawood, *Watermarks, Mainly of the 17th and 18th Centuries* (Hilversum: Paper Publications Society, 1950); James W. Phillips, *Printing and Bookselling in Dublin, 1670–1800: A Bibliographical Enquiry* (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 1998); and Mary Pollard, *A Dictionary of Members of the Dublin Book Trade, 1550–1800* (London: Bibliographical Society, 2000).

⁶⁸ My thanks to Charles Benson, Keeper for Special Collections at Trinity College Dublin, for this information. My thanks too to Dr Crónán Ó Doibhlin, Head of Special Collections, Archives and Repository Services at the Boole Library, University College Cork, for his efforts in investigating this watermark and James E. May, Associate Professor of English at Penn State University, for his useful advice.

Secur'd by Hyd's Advice and Nassau's Arme
Our Isle no Threat'ning Pow'r can harm
Brittain shall all attempts withstand
Whilst these two Live to Sheild ye Land⁷²

The mention of 'Hyd's Advice' in this verse is almost certainly a reference to Laurence Hyde, Earl of Rochester. Hyde was appointed Lord Lieutenant of Ireland on 28 December 1700. While many of his predecessors (and successors) did not set foot on Irish soil, he was in Ireland from 18 September 1701 to 4 January 1702.⁷³ The king's birthday fell on 14 November, which means that Hyde was in Ireland at the time of the 1701 celebration. He was the most powerful Lord Lieutenant since Tyrconnell in terms of his English power and influence, and he left a significant mark on the makeup of the Irish judiciary and the Church of Ireland hierarchy.⁷⁴ It is easy to imagine how the performances of a birthday ode before such a powerful political figure could have benefitted its composer's career both in Dublin and London. Though the location of the performance is not mentioned, it was almost certainly performed in Hyde's presence, either at Dublin Castle or the Theatre Royal in Smock Alley. As we have seen, the printed texts of the 1707 and 1708 odes indicate that they were performed at Dublin Castle, the move to the Theatre Royal being associated with the change of generic title to serenata from 1709 (though the serenatas after this all seem to have been performed at Dublin Castle). While this would suggest *Welcome Genial Day!* was performed at Dublin Castle, Baldwin and Wilson suggest that Smock Alley Theatre is the more likely venue for *Welcome Genial Day!* due to the fact that Leveridge would have been familiar with the singers working at the theatre and probably performed the two bass solo movements himself.⁷⁵ Furthermore, the soprano voices required in the ode are more likely to have been drawn from among the theatre singers than from those typically employed at the Castle, who were cathedral singers like the Chapel Royal men used for odes in London;⁷⁶ it is

⁷² London British Library, Add. MS. 31457.

⁷³ Patrick A. Walsh & T. G. Doyle, 'Hyde, Laurence 1st Earl of Rochester, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland', in James McGuire & James Quinn, eds, *Dictionary of Irish Biography* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), <http://dib.cambridge.org/viewReadPage.do?articleId=a4188> (Accessed 22 April, 2015).

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*

⁷⁵ Baldwin and Wilson, private correspondence, 24 July, 2014.

⁷⁶ There is no doubt that Chapel Royal singers were employed for the London odes and many of them are named in the songs that appeared (sporadically) in print afterwards. See, for example, John Eccles's songs from his 1703 ode, *Inspire Us Genius of the Day*, which names Elford, Cook, Damascene, and Robart as the performers; London, Royal College of Music, MS D40.

doubtful that Leveridge would have trusted boys to open the piece, whereas declamation from an experience theatre singer would have proved effective.⁷⁷ Baldwin's and Wilson's argument is supported by the following description of the relationship between the Theatre Royal and the government at the time:

From the establishment of the Dublin Theatre it became customary for the Government to pay the Manager an annual sum of one hundred pounds for performances on certain anniversary nights, which at first were regarded as the most fashionable of the season, being regularly attended by the Lord Lieutenant and state officials.⁷⁸

Regardless of where the ode was performed, it is the reference to Hyde that most clearly associates the ode with Ireland. There is no example of any reference to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland in any of the surviving London ode texts. This reference therefore stands as a strong signifier that the ode was intended for performance in his presence and further strengthens the case that this is the Dublin birthday ode for 1701.

As mentioned, McGuinness has argued that *Welcome, Genial Day!* is incomplete; Rebecca Herissone has also remarked that the manuscript version of this ode does not appear to conclude.⁷⁹ As can be seen from the final folio, (see Figure 3) the work does seem to end rather unsatisfactorily, with a solo verse instead of the typical grand chorus. However, the newly discovered printed text ends at exactly the same point in the poetry as the manuscript version. It seems possible, therefore, that no music is missing. However, if we take the overall structure of the poem into account, its division into four sections, labelled with Roman numerals, highlights the fact that the closing section is much shorter than the preceding three stanzas. We can easily imagine the small addition of a closing couplet marked as 'Chorus' or 'Grand Chorus', which would add more balance to this arrangement. This possibility is supported by the manner in which the printed text has been cropped: the final line of poetry is very close to the end of the page; the 'W' of the first word, 'Whilst', has been very slightly trimmed with the cropping. As a result, we are not furnished with the publishing or printing

⁷⁷ The evidence of soprano solos in Leveridge's *Welcome Genial Day!* And *Welcome Happy Day* betrays a very different practice to that in place in London; little solo work was assigned to boys and there are only two occasions on which female sopranos were used: Mrs Ayliff in Purcell's 1693 ode, *Celebrate this Festival*, for Queen Mary and two singers from the opera in Handel's *Eternal Source of Light Divine* (1713). (Baldwin and Wilson, private correspondence, 24 July, 2014).

⁷⁸ John T. Gilbert, *A History of the City of Dublin*, 3 vols. (Dublin: James Duffy, 1861), iii. 71.

⁷⁹ Herissone, "'To Entitle Himself to Ye Composition'".

information that typically appears at the bottom of these printed word-sheets. However, this could simply indicate that the text was not sold but was, rather, distributed free of charge at the performance of the work. This is paralleled in one of the London birthday ode sheets: John Eccles's 1711 'Dialogue' for Queen Anne. This printed text, which comprises two folios, printed on both sides, does not bear any publishing information and it is clear that it has not been cropped.⁸⁰ By extension, this could imply that the printed text of *Welcome Genial Day!* is in fact complete and that no additional text followed the final verse as it now stands.

It is clear, however, that the closing verse was not intended to be repeated as a chorus following its performance as a solo for it would then surely have been labelled 'Verse then Chorus' like the opening lines in the printed text. In addition, the final bars of the autograph manuscript end not in the ode's tonic key, but with a perfect cadence in the dominant key, and they lack a terminal flourish—or even a double barline. This final folio, which, like the rest of the manuscript, is ruled with twelve staves, has some compositional sketches on staves seven to ten (see Figure 3). It is clear from the style of the hand, which uses far less ink and is more cramped than that used for the top six staves of the folio, that these four staves do not contain anything but compositional ideas. These ideas appear to be related to the music on this folio rather than to anything that might have followed the movement. The fact that they take up a substantial space on this final folio implies that the remaining empty staves were not needed to complete the setting of this verse, which in turn suggests that any subsequent musical material required more than the six staves that remained empty at the bottom of the folio. Indeed, the other choral movements in this ode take up nine staves per folio, with the bottom three left blank (being scored for trumpet, strings, soprano, alto, tenor, bass and continuo).

Leveridge also used blank staves for compositional sketches following the close of the duet section of the fourth movement, 'His Courage does our Foes Suppress/Dismay', described by the printed text to be set first as a verse for two voices and then as a chorus. The section for two voices closes at a perfect cadence in D major and, like the final folio of the manuscript, this is not followed by a

⁸⁰ US-Cah, EC65.T1878.711s. Baldwin and Wilson comment that the printed text for Tate's and Eccles's work for the queen's birthday in 1711 similarly has no imprint or price. They interpret this as implying that the text was designed to be given out to nobles attending the performance rather than sold. Olive Baldwin and Thelma Wilson, 'Handel, Eccles and the Birthday Celebrations for Queen Anne in 1711', *The Musical Times*, 154 (2013), 77–84 at 77.

double barline. The music only takes up the top six staves of fo. 19r, with the lower six remaining blank but for a small, one-bar compositional sketch (relating to material on the preceding fo. 18v)) that appears on staves eight to ten. Folio 19v contains the choral section and is scored over nine staves. Given that such similarities exist between this movement for two voices, followed by a chorus and the final folio of the manuscript, it is more than likely that a chorus—presumably scored over more than six staves as the other choral movements were—was intended to close the work. Moreover, the cadence in the dominant (D major) of the prevailing key (G major) in the closing bars of the final folio also hints that the movement that followed would probably mark a return to D major, the key used both for the opening chorus and for the chorus beginning ‘Wee in his Valour Pride’. Also, like the other choruses, it is likely that this return to D major would allow the reintroduction of the solo trumpet.

Taking all this evidence into consideration, it is highly likely that Leveridge intended a repeat of the opening chorus—which is in D major and makes use of a solo trumpet—to close the ode. Daniel Purcell’s ode for Princess Anne, *Welcome Happy Day* (1698), discussed below, follows this pattern and employs a repeat of its first chorus to close the work.⁸¹ Purcell’s ode reappeared in its entirety as part of *Alexander the Great*, a dramatic opera taken from Nathaniel Lee’s *The Rival Queens*, performed at Drury Lane in February 1701, though for this purpose the reprise of the chorus was omitted.⁸² Unfortunately, there is no evidence to suggest that Leveridge composed odes other than those for Dublin, which leaves the question of whether a repeat of the opening chorus was a compositional trait.

Stolen Songs and Shared Sheets: Leveridge’s *Welcome Happy Day*.

Immediately following *Welcome Genial Day!* in Add. 31457 is another ode, beginning *Welcome, Happy Day*. As Herissone has already identified, this is in the same hand as *Welcome Genial Day!* and it again shows composition in progress. The ode displays the same working process as *Welcome Genial Day!*; staves are left blank in places to be filled in at a later time, and compositional sketches appear

⁸¹ Royal College of Music, London, MS 989. Similarly, though not a common practice, Handel’s 1713 birthday ode for Queen Anne, *Eternal Source of Light Divine*, repeats the opening chorus at the end of the work.

⁸² Kathryn Lowerre, *Music and Musicians on the London Stage, 1695–1705* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2009), 283.

where there are spare staves, typically relating to the music that appears on that page. Given that *Welcome Genial Day!* has now been identified as being in Richard Leveridge's autograph, *Welcome Happy Day* can now also be attributed to him.

This attribution is significant because the opening soprano solo of Leveridge's *Welcome Happy Day* is identical to that of an ode for Princess Anne entitled *Welcome Glorious Day*, which survives in the manuscript Royal College of Music, London MS 989, where it is dated 1698 and clearly attributed to Daniel Purcell, who is also the scribe of the manuscript. The only difference between these vocal movements in each of the odes is the text: Purcell uses the words 'Glorious Day' for the solo, only changing to 'Happy Day' for the chorus that follows in his ode, while Leveridge's soprano solo uses the words 'Happy Day' throughout. The chorus that follows in Leveridge's ode is entirely different to Purcell's and uses a different text. The existence of this vocal movement in both manuscripts is problematic and raises questions about ownership, textual authority, and, of course, the correct identification of its true composer. Moreover, given that, as I shall argue, Leveridge's ode was most likely composed for performance in Dublin, it raises questions about the cross-fertilization that existed between the two cities and how closely related their audiences may have been with regard to their consumption of music, political propaganda, and to their respective fashionings as loyal cities of the empire. In order to interrogate these questions satisfactorily and to determine the true nature of Leveridge's ode and the borrowed movement, analysis of the two manuscripts must go beyond the musical content to assess the text, physical nature and authority of each work.

Richard Leveridge, *Welcome Happy Day*, GB-Lbl, Add. 31457.

Welcome, Welcome Happy Day
In time's record forever live
to thee the Year shou'd Tribute pay
since we from y- much more receive
then all y- year can give
Welcome, Welcome Happy Day

Come lett us all our Voices Joyne,
& make this Harmony Devine
Great Nassau's Deeds in Pleasing
Straines Reherse
& Sing his Tryumphs in Heroick
Verse.

Call all y-Sons of Warr his fame to
Raise
Sound in Lofty aires his Godlike Praise
William like Caesar has through Ten-
thousand Dangers run
brought Conquests home & Mighty
Trophies won
Behold what Blessings flow from his
Success
See how all Partake with Joy y-Frutes
of Peace
His Arms like Alcides free Mankind
And Jarring Crowns in Lasting
Treatyes Bind.

Halcyon Days and pleasant nights
Now pay him all your blissfull rights
And Crown his hours with sweet
Delights.
Soe shall Dire Warr & Discord Cease
And William Reigne y- God of Peace.

Come let us Rejoyce with Strings &
with Voice
Till by turns they shall Conquer
And Pleasure Improve
y- Voices shall Charme and y-
Instruments Move.

Rejoyce for Albion's Happy birth
And Martiall Consorts send from
Echoing air/earth
[Reprise of opening chorus?]

Daniel Purcell, *Welcome Glorious Day*, GB-Lcm, 989.

Wellcome, welcome Glorious Day
In Times Record forever live
to thee ye Yeare shou'd Tribute pay
since we from thee much more receive
then all the Yeare can give
Wellcome, welcome Happy Day

Chorus

Wellcome, welcome happy day
A Universall smile speakes Harmony
in ev'ry Heart
To see the Wonders that this blest Day
has done
Mankinde's in Tune and Nature
beare's a part
Sound the Trumpett and let it's silver
Voice
in gratefull Echo's speake our
bounding Joys
For off the Joys wee feele (if any
thought can reach)
that sound, that sound can only tell
Now sooth our Joy with softer Lays
that lull'd in vast delight
wee on her lovely Forme may gaze
and bless the Day that thus has bless't
our sight.

Charming, Majestick, but not proud,
Pious, Generous Just and Good
of her th' unhappy ne're complaine
or ever seeke her help in vaine,
the Nation's Hope ye Nation's Care,
att once she is our Joy, and Feare
she is our Joy and care
From her we wish for her we pray
to her the tribute of this happy Day
in gratefull Notes oh! May we often
pay
See the Virtue's, see the Graces smile
on the Patroness of Brittain's Isle
by the beams her Blessings give
all our Arts and Voices live
and see such goodness when we sue
not onely condescend our Musick to
defend
but more to heare us too.

Chorus

Wellcome, welcome happy Day

TABLE 2

Comparison of texts for odes by Daniel Purcell and Richard Leveridge, showing shared first movement

A key distinction between the two odes is the nature of the manuscripts themselves. The Purcell source is a rare example of a presentation manuscript; in addition to an elaborate title page, it includes a dedication to Princess Anne:

To Her Royall Highness / the / Princess Ann of Denmarke / Madam / The gracious reception I found att the Musicall / Entertainment upon Your Royall Highness's Birth day, / has encourag'd me so farr as to believe that there is something / valuable in it, and embolden'd me to dedicate it to Your Royall / Highness doubting nothing less than Security from the Censures / and Malice of either the unskillfull or ill natur'd, under so / Illustrious a Patronage, therefore with all Humility I / presume to lay it att Your Royall Highness's Feet, with this / inward satisfaction, that hereby I lett your Royall Highness & / the World know that I am with all respect Imaginable. / Madam / Your Royall Highness's most / humble most faithfull and / most Obedient Servant / Daniell Purcell.⁸³

As Herissone has argued, Daniel Purcell is quite clearly claiming ownership of this piece, both on the title page and in the dedication.⁸⁴ Due to the fact that it is a presentation manuscript, there is obviously no evidence of composition in practice. The same hand is used throughout and it is exceptionally neat and clear, most especially in the earlier parts of the work, becoming a little less careful and ornate in its style as the work progresses. That said, it is clear that the overall layout and spacing were given sufficient consideration throughout the whole manuscript and there is very little evidence of copyist's mistakes. The appearance and intended function of Purcell's manuscript as a presentation one therefore leads to the assumption that Leveridge must have borrowed the movement from Purcell's ode. It seems improbable that Daniel Purcell would so blatantly claim ownership of a work that contained a movement borrowed from Leveridge, especially in a case where it would be presented in score to Princess Anne.

This theory is supported by several pieces of circumstantial evidence: first, the two composers had collaborated on previous works (for example, *Cinthia and Endimion, or The Loves of the Deities* of 1696) and could easily have had access to one another's manuscripts. Moreover, it is likely that Leveridge was the bass soloist at the 'Musical Entertainment' for Princess Anne in 1698 (presumably at her residence), though it may seem odd that Leveridge took a copy of the soprano solo to Ireland (given that he would presumably only have had a copy of the bass solos). Secondly, Leveridge's *Welcome Happy Day* shows some evidence

⁸³ Royal College of Music, London, MS 989.

⁸⁴ Herissone, "'To Entitle Himself to Ye Composition'".

of composition in practice in all other movements apart from the opening soprano movement, further supporting the likelihood that he copied it from Purcell.⁸⁵ Thirdly, Daniel Purcell goes on to develop the material from this opening aria into a chorus, which returns at the close of his ode.⁸⁶ Leveridge follows the aria with an entirely new chorus that uses different words as well as new musical material; the musical ideas from the opening aria do not return later in the ode and it closes with a different chorus to that after the aria. Finally, it seems improbable that Daniel Purcell would have borrowed from Leveridge, given that he was some years the bass singer's senior and had much compositional experience by this time: he had been an organist at Oxford and had set numerous anthems as well as an ode for St Cecilia's Day in 1693 and a welcome ode for William III in 1697.⁸⁷ Though textual authority is more commonly assigned to a composition draft than to a fair copy, this seems to be a rare case in which the presentation manuscript holds authority. It is quite possible that Leveridge had sung Purcell's ode of 1698 and, when faced with the task of setting an ode himself, borrowed the movement. Whatever the reason for Leveridge's choice of wording, it seems apparent that it was Leveridge who borrowed the movement from Purcell. Naturally, this dates the ode as post 1698, which is the year given in Purcell's manuscript. The date and location of the performance of Leveridge's ode are pieces of information that will help to shed light on the work's intended audience as well as its relationship to the court ode tradition.

As Leveridge's *Welcome Genial Day!* and *Welcome Happy Day* are bound together, one following the other, in Lbl Add. 31457, it is tempting to believe that the two must be somehow related. With this in mind, is it possible that *Welcome Happy Day* is another example of an early Dublin ode? Unfortunately, as can be

⁸⁵ Though there is also the possibility that Leveridge may simply have had a very good musical memory, the soprano movement contains what is quite obviously a copyist's mistake in the bottom system of fo. 29v, where a bar has been accidentally omitted in both the soprano line and basso continuo. The composer has inserted the missed bar in question by writing the notes on a small staff he has drawn above the barline where it should have originally appeared. The basso continuo dotted minim has been inserted just before the barline and a new barline drawn before it on the basso continuo staff.

⁸⁶ Though the solo movement, as stated, uses the words 'glorious day' in Purcell's ode, he develops and reuses the same musical material with the words 'happy day' in the chorus that follows (and reappears again at the close of the work). Perhaps Leveridge chose to use the words of Purcell's chorus—'happy day'—for the solo movement in his ode in an attempt to deflect from the borrowing. It should be noted, however, that Rebecca Herissone uses this textual discrepancy to argue that Purcell copied the movement from Leveridge. Herissone, "To Entitle Himself to Ye Composition".

⁸⁷ Mark Humphreys, 'Purcell: (4) Daniel Purcell', *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, online edition: www.oxfordmusiconline.com (accessed 5 June, 2015).

seen from Table 3, in this case there is nothing in the poetry that refers to Dublin or Ireland. However, the possibility that it is a Dublin work is made all the more probable when one considers the borrowed soprano movement: the performance of this movement a few years later before a Dublin audience would have been relatively safe, as it is highly unlikely that any members of the very select audience would have been present at its performance as part of Daniel Purcell's *Welcome Glorious Day* for Princess Anne in 1698. While this theory is purely speculative, further evidence, gleaned from the music paper's rastrology, shows a physical link between the two odes and supports the probability that *Welcome Happy Day* is also a Dublin work.

As noted earlier, Lbl Add. 31457 is a guardbook, made up of several separate manuscripts that were originally unrelated. Leveridge's odes, *Welcome Genial Day!* and *Welcome Happy Day* appear at folios 11–44, between Blow's *Welcome Every Guest* (fos. 1–10) and *Te Deum* (fo. 45 onwards). There appears to be one generic paper type used for both of the odes, characterized by the appearance throughout of the principal watermark of the crowned Arms of Amsterdam with lions. However, variants are apparent from the incidence of countermarks. Paper with this generic Arms of Amsterdam watermark is Dutch and was commonly used in England. Examples illustrated by Heawood and Churchill that are the closest to the design apparent here belong to the 1690s or early 1700s.⁸⁸ As all of the leaves of Leveridge's odes have been repaired in the gutter, it is impossible to determine conclusively which form or originally formed bifolios or whole quires.⁸⁹ Two distinct rastrologies are identifiable throughout Leveridge's odes: Type A and Type B. Both are three-stave rulings and, though very similar in dimension and styling, their distinctions are consistently found and always recognizable (see Table 4). *Welcome Genial Day!* appears on folios 11r–25v, while *Welcome Happy Day* follows on folios 26v–44r. Rastrology Type A is exclusive to folios 11–24 (thus most of *Welcome Genial Day!*), while Type B is found for the final two pages (folio 25) of *Welcome Genial Day!* as well as the whole of *Welcome Happy Day* (folios 26–44).

⁸⁸ Edward Heawood, 'Further Notes on Paper Used in England after 1600', *Library*, 5/2 (1947–8), 119–49, 5/3 (1948–9), 141–2: illustration 13/14; Churchill, *Watermarks in Paper*.

⁸⁹ However, stave rulings and watermarks give some basis for likely conclusions. For example, leaves 28–29 must have originally formed a bifolio, as well as leaves 41–42. Folio 11 seems to be a single folio, most likely not conjugate with another surviving leaf. Sincere thanks are due to Dr Paul Everett for his examination of and advice on the rastrology of this manuscript.

Rastrology A: Folios 11–24

A three-stave ruling. Four rulings per upright page (thus 12 staves).
Span: 62mm. Dark brown ink. Vertical lines: thin, red-brown.

Stave 1 (uppermost)

Span: 11.5mm.
Upper space (between staves 1 and 2): 13.5mm.

Stave 2 (middle)

Span: 12mm.
Lower space (between staves 2 and 3): 13.5mm.

Stave 3 (lowest)

Span: 11.5mm.
Distinguishing feature: the lowest space in the lowest stave (stave 3) is noticeably narrow.

Ruling pattern

Over the 8 pages of a whole sheet: alternating directions.

Rastrology B: Folios 25–44

A three-stave ruling. Four rulings per upright page (thus 12 staves).
Span: 63.25mm. Medium red-brown. Vertical lines: thick, light, watery brown.

Stave 1 (uppermost)

Span: 12mm.
Upper space (between staves 1 and 2): 13.5mm.

Stave 2 (middle)

Span: 11.75mm.
Lower space (between staves 2 and 3): 13.5mm.

Stave 3 (lowest)

Span: 12.5mm.
Distinguishing features: (a) The third space down in the lowest stave (stave 3) is noticeably wide. (b) The second space down on the middle stave (stave 2) is relatively narrow.

Ruling pattern

Over the 8 pages of a whole sheet: uniform directions.

TABLE 3

Rastrologies found in *Welcome Genial Day!* and *Welcome Happy Day*, GB-Lbl, Add. MS 31457, fos. 11–44 and 25–44

This distribution shows undeniably that the two odes are physically linked, their common connection being folio 25, a Type B folio upon which the final two pages of *Welcome Genial Day!* appear. Folios 25 and 26 are much darker in colour to their preceding and succeeding folios, which is most likely due to exposure. This suggests that folio 25 may originally have been a blank leaf of *Welcome Happy Day*, perhaps one side of a bifolio used as an outer cover in which this ode was enclosed. Folio 26r is blank but for some compositional sketches on the uppermost stave, which appear to be related to the final movement of *Welcome Genial Day!* and the compositional sketches that appear on the bottom of folio 25v. The overture for *Welcome Happy Day* appears on folio 26v. This all seems to be in accordance with the possibility that folio 25 was originally a blank covering folio for *Welcome Happy Day*. A likely explanation is that Leveridge, when notating *Welcome Genial Day!* and on running out of paper with rastrology Type A, finished the ode by using a blank folio with rastrology Type B—the present folio 25—of the already existing *Welcome Happy Day*. This means that *Welcome Happy Day* can be dated as earlier than *Welcome Genial Day!* and, given the physical link between them, can also be assumed in all likelihood to be a Dublin ode.

Given that Leveridge was in Dublin by 25 December 1699 and that *Welcome Genial Day!* was performed for the king's birthday in November 1701, two possible dates of composition can be posed for *Welcome Happy Day*: either 1699 or 1700. There is no question of its performance in November 1702, for the king died in March of that year and the ode addresses William III by name. *Welcome Happy Day* can therefore be identified as the earliest surviving example of a Dublin ode.

Year	Occasion	Composer/Poet	Work	Additional Information	Source
1690	Birthday William III	Unknown	Unknown/Lost	'They say his majesties birth day and the 5th of November, the gunpowder plot, were observed in the city of Dublin with great splendor, and all publick demonstrations of joy'. Luttrell, <i>A Brief Relation</i> , Vol. ii, 7 November, 1690, 129	
1694	Birthday James II	John Abell & D. Carney	'A Song, on his Majesty's birthday'	A Jacobite song, music lost.	Text only: US-IXU, -Q- M1739.3 A2 S6 1694
	Trinity College Dublin Centenary Celebration	Henry Purcell & Nahum Tate	<i>Great Parent, Hail!</i>		GB-Lbl, Add. 31447 GB-Lbl, R.M. 24 e.8 GB-Lcm, 994 Text only: IRL-Dn, L.O. 1675.
1699/1700	Birthday William III	Richard Leveridge & Unknown	<i>Welcome Happy Day</i>		GB Lbl Add. 31457
1701	Birthday William III	Richard Leveridge & Unknown	<i>Welcome, Genial Day!</i>		GB Lbl Add. 31457, f. 11 Text only: IRL-Dela, Newenham Pamphlets 7E (13) [87]
1707	Birthday Queen Anne	Charles Ximenes & Unknown	<i>Hail Happy Day</i>		Text only: US-Cah, *EB7.A100.707o2

TABLE 4

Revised chronology of Dublin odes, 1690–1707

Leveridge's *Welcome Happy Day* and Purcell's *Welcome Glorious Day* demonstrate through their shared aria a direct relationship between the Dublin and London odes. While this borrowing may be unique to this instance (there is, unfortunately, no other surviving music for the Dublin odes from this earlier period), it raises questions about the cross-fertilization that existed between the two cities and about how closely related the Dublin and London audiences may have been in terms of their fashioning as loyal subjects. What Leveridge's *Welcome Happy Day* does in its reuse of Purcell's aria is to demonstrate that the composer saw little or no distinction between the London and Dublin odes.⁹⁰ By extension, one can assert that he also saw little distinction in their function to demonstrate loyalty through the musical celebration of the monarch's birthday. This is further underlined by the fact that there is no evidence in the poetry of *Welcome Happy Day* that betrays its place of performance. While there appears to have been a healthy exchange of theatrical productions containing music, of various instrumental and vocal performers and of printed music 'primarily channelled through London', any exchange of court music—with its associated nuances of politics and self-fashioning—is more difficult to trace.⁹¹ However, the identification of Leveridge's odes allows us not only to compare and contrast their poetic content, but also to consider their instrumentation and musical form in relation to the London odes. Moreover, the scoring and compositional choices in Leveridge's odes can also tell us much about the performing forces that were available in Dublin at the time, for which very little other evidence survives.

Trebles and Trumpets: Scoring for the State Musick

It is known that birthday odes performed before the monarch in London employed instrumentalists from the King's (or Queen's) Musick, with choral singers and soloists drawn primarily from the Chapel Royal. As Peter Holman has observed, the series of odes presents 'the best guide to the changing orchestral practice of the English court' from shortly after the Restoration to the early nineteenth century.⁹² He asserts that the scoring of the English court odes

⁹⁰ This is true even if were Purcell who borrowed the aria from Leveridge.

⁹¹ Barra Boydell, "'Whatever has a *Foreign Tone* / We like much better than our own" Irish Music and Anglo-Irish Identity in the Eighteenth Century' in John O'Flynn & Mark Fitzgerald, eds, *Music and Identity in Ireland and Beyond* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2014), 19–38 at 26. For a list of various musical performances and publications in Dublin from 1700 to 1760, see Boydell, *A Dublin Musical Calendar*.

⁹² Peter Holman, *Four and Twenty Fiddlers: The Violin at the English Court 1540–1690* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), 420.

(including welcome songs and odes for New Year's Day) went through five distinct phases.⁹³ The earliest odes of the 1660s were accompanied only by a small group or even just continuo; the second phase, 'which probably marks the beginning of the regular association of the Twenty-four Violins with the court ode' began with works by Pelham Humfrey in 1671 to 1673 and used three, four, or five solo voices and choir with four-part strings and continuo, some of which were written with two equal violin parts, and others that used violin, two violas and bass.⁹⁴ Holman reasons that an orchestra of about twelve was plausible for an ordinary ode performance in the 1670s and early 1680s.⁹⁵ The third phase was marked by the addition of two 'flutes' (recorders) and oboe (Holman argues possibly bassoon too) to the scoring, which ended rather quickly after its inception, possibly, Holman posits, due to the departure of three French wind-players sometime in late 1682–83.⁹⁶ Wind players were not readily available again until the appointment of Paisible in 1685. Holman argues that Draghi's setting of Dryden's ode for St. Cecilia's Day, *From Harmony, Heavenly Harmony* was a turning-point in the development of the ode and its influence marks the fourth phase in the scoring of the court ode. It was the first ode to use five-part strings with two violins, two violas, and bass.⁹⁷ Draghi was also innovatory in writing for two trumpets in the work. The fifth and final phase is marked by Purcell's use of 'a complete Baroque orchestra' in his 1690 birthday ode for Queen Mary, *Arise, My Muse*.⁹⁸ Two trumpets (possibly accompanied by timpani), two oboes doubling recorders, strings, and continuo (which, according to Holman, would probably have included at least one bassoon).⁹⁹

With regard to the vocal forces employed, as the choral singers were from the ranks of the gentlemen and boys of the Chapel Royal, soprano parts were sung by boys rather than women, with countertenors, tenors, and basses completing the SATB scoring. In addition to the Chapel Royal choir and soloists, theatre singers were occasionally employed as soloists. It is likely, for example, that Leveridge—a theatre singer—sang the bass solos in Daniel Purcell's *Welcome Glorious Day* of 1698 (and perhaps others of his odes written for Princess Anne),

⁹³ *Ibid.*, 423.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*

⁹⁵ *Ibid.* Holman is careful to add that larger numbers of instrumentalists were most likely used for odes performed on special occasions.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 424.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 424–5.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 431.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*

especially given that Leveridge most likely borrowed the opening aria of the work. The presence of names in some surviving manuscript and printed sources has allowed the identification of some of these individual singers. Very occasionally, it seems, these singers were women, as was the case with the soprano Mrs Ayliff in Purcell's 1693 ode, *Celebrate this Festival*, for Queen Mary and two sopranos in Handel's *Eternal Source of Light Divine* (1713).

As Samantha Owens has observed, the forces available to Cousser for the performance of his odes and serenatas for the birthday in Dublin appears to have been rather 'less cohesive' than those available for the London works.¹⁰⁰ Though there is scant surviving evidence from the 1690s and early 1700s, it is likely that the choral singers who performed in the Dublin odes were drawn from the choirs of the two cathedrals. The surviving printed text of the 1707 Dublin ode seems to support this, for, as mentioned earlier, it names the singers; Warren, Hodge, and Chumnes are identified as soloists. Though Chumnes cannot be traced, both Warren and Hodge were singers at St. Partick's cathedral and Warren was a chorister at Christ Church cathedral until 1698.¹⁰¹ Though there is no surviving evidence from the 1690s and early 1700s, it stands to reason that the choral singers were also drawn from the choirs of the two cathedrals. Records relating to extraordinary disbursements paid to the vicars choral at Christ Church in the 1680s on various state days include reference to the celebration of James II's birthdays in 1686 and 1688:

To the Vicars on the King's birth day [James II, 14 October], [16]86 0-10-0

To the vicars for the King's Birthday in [16]88 0-10-0¹⁰²

Though these early records do not give enough detail to associate the payments with the performance of odes, it is at least clear that it was common for the cathedral singers to be involved in the festivities in some manner. Sporadic cathedral records dating from the early eighteenth century seem to indicate the same:

For treating the Quire and City Musick on the Queens birthday [1703] 7-7-9

For 2 State days ... King Georges birthday [1716/17] 1-0-0

¹⁰⁰ Owens, 'Johann Sigismond Cousser, William III and the Serenata', 31.

¹⁰¹ See n. 39 above.

¹⁰² Proctors' accounts, 1660-1800, in Barra Boydell, ed., *Music at Christ Church Before 1800: Documents and Selected Anthems*, 139.

The 1703 payment of £7, 10s, 9d for 'treating the quire' is particularly large and one can only assume that it perhaps included the cost of feasting on the occasion in addition to payment for performances; 1703 was the first celebration of Anne's birthday following her coronation as queen and it stands to reason that this would incur a more elaborate celebration than usual. The 1719/20 payment for 'singing an anthem' on King George's birthday, shows that, as in London, anthems for the birthday were a feature of the day. More direct evidence of the vicars' involvement in the birthday performances is apparent in a payment made in 1712 to the Master of the Boys at Christ Church, Henry Swords, for the participation of five choristers in Cousser's birthday serenata earlier that year.¹⁰⁴ This is also significant in confirming that boys were involved in the performance of the odes, probably in singing the soprano lines of the SATB choruses and, possibly, as we shall see, some solo movements.

An undated list in Cousser's commonplace book records the names of thirty-seven Dublin-based vocalists, from which he presumably drew as circumstances required (See Figure 6).¹⁰⁵ The list includes vicars choral from Christ Church and St. Patrick's Cathedral as well as actors and dancers from Smock Alley Theatre. The presence of Matthew Dubourg's name in the list of instrumentalists on the same page allows us to date the list as 1723, when the violinist was first appointed,¹⁰⁶ and therefore does not shed much more light on the vocalists and instrumentalists who would have been active in the 1690s and early 1700s. The list includes the surnames of twelve 'Soprani', five of whom can be identified as women due to the inclusion of the titles 'Mrs.' and 'Ms.' Before their names: 'Mrs. Hollister, Mrs. Davis, Ms. Sterling, Ms. Vanderdank, Ms. Goolding'¹⁰⁷ It seems that at least some of these women were likely soprano

¹⁰³ Ibid., 143, 145.

¹⁰⁴ Walsh, *Opera in Dublin*, 26, and Boydell, *A History of Music at Christ Church Cathedral*, 81, note 75. Also noted in Owens, 'Johann Sigismund Cousser, William III and the Serenata', 31.

¹⁰⁵ Owens, 'Johann Sigismund Cousser, William III and the Serenata', citing Kusser, Johann Sigismund, [Commonplace book], [ca. 1690 – 1720], New Haven, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, Osborn Music MS 16, 391.

¹⁰⁶ Also observed by David Hunter, 'The Irish State Music from 1716 to 1742', 173.

¹⁰⁷ Owens, 'Johann Sigismund Cousser, William III and the Serenata', 31. Owens notes the following regarding these singers: 'Mr and Mrs James Vanderdank were actors in the Smock Alley company from the 1720s, and a 'Miss Vanderbank' danced in the 1735–1736 season at Aungier Street; a 'Mrs Sterling' acted with the Smock Alley company from 1716 until 1732 (see Greene and Clark, *The Dublin Stage*, 48–49 and 61); Dublin City Library and Archive,

soloists in Cousser's serenatas, presumably taking the roles of the female allegorical characters. Owens also notes this possibility and comments that State payments were made in 1711 and 1712 to the soprano Giuliana Celotti for her performance in Cousser's serenatas in those years.¹⁰⁸ Though it is tempting to think that women may also have been involved in the performances of Leveridge's odes in the 1690s, it is unlikely. One must keep in mind the fact that the serenatas were, with the exception of his initial offering in 1708, a different genre entirely. Cousser's serenatas—which were undoubtedly inspired by his experience of the genre in continental Europe, where it was a common feature both at courts and in public—were dramatic works that called for both male and female allegorical characters. Therefore, while it may have become normal for women to have performed in Cousser's more theatrical works, it is unlikely that they were involved in the earlier odes, especially given that they appear (in these earlier years at least) to have drawn from the practices prevailing at the London court, where women did not often feature as ode performers. The other names listed under 'Soprani' in Cousser's commonplace book appear as surnames only, without titles, which leads one to believe that these were probably boy sopranos. One of these—'Carter'—is probably Timothy Carter, who was a choirboy at Christ Church prior to 1730.¹⁰⁹ Two others—Leafields and Ximenes—are followed by what appears to be the first name 'John'. Though I have been unable to find reference to a John Leafields in this period, it is possible that John Ximenes was the son of Charles Ximenes, the composer responsible for setting the 1707 birthday ode. This further supports the possibility that these were boy sopranos and, as we shall see, it is probable that boy sopranos rather than female singers were used in Leveridge's odes.

Gilbert Collection Ms. 206, volume 2 (1707–1719), document 19, 'Payments on Concordatum from 1.st January 1711 to 16th Dec:r 1712 inclusive, in which are also included payments made in the year 1711 which were not discharged by the Queen's letter in that year', 10 April 1712; and Walsh, *Opera in Dublin*, 26.' Owens, 31, note 88.

¹⁰⁸ Owens, 'Johann Sigismund Cousser, William III and the Serenata', 31, citing Dublin City Library and Archive, Gilbert Collection Ms. 206, volume 2 (1707–1719), document 19, 'Payments on Concordatum from 1.st January 1711 to 16th Dec:r 1712 inclusive, in which are also included payments made in the year 1711 which were not discharged by the Queen's letter in that year'; Boydell, *A Dublin Musical Calendar*, 35; T. J. Walsh, *Opera in Dublin: The Social Scene*, 25–6.

¹⁰⁹ Carter became an adult member of the choir in 1740. Barra Boydell & Axel Klein, 'Carter Family, 1 Timothy Carter (b Dublin c1715; d Dublin, Mar. 1772)', in Harry White & Barra Boydell, eds, *The Encyclopaedia of Music in Ireland*, Vol. 1, 165.

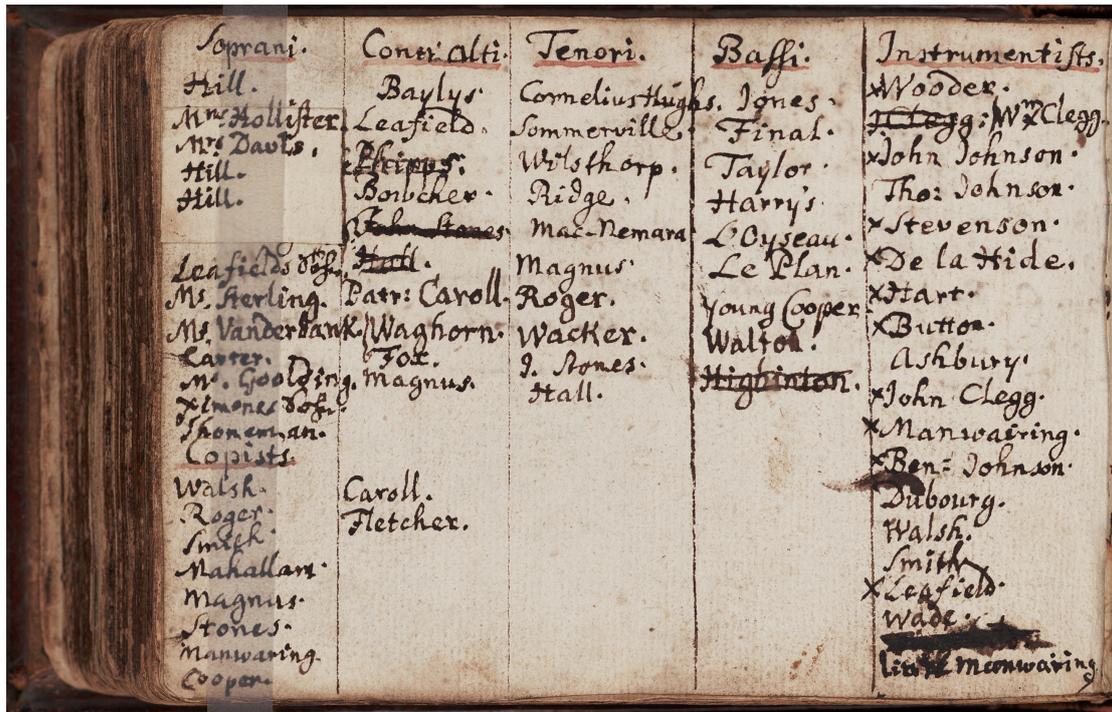


Figure 6: List of Dublin-based singers in Johann Sigismund Cousser's commonplace book, c.1690–1720; US-NHub Osborn Music MS 16, 391. The James Marshall and Marie-Louise Osborn Collection, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University

In spite of David Hunter's discovery of three additional lists of instrumentalists employed by the Irish State Music and Trumpets, dating from 1725, the early 1730s, and 1740–41, information about the instrumental forces available in Dublin in the late seventeenth century and the opening years of the eighteenth century still presents a 'major desideratum'.¹¹⁰ The State Music in Ireland (also referred to as the 'Viceregal Band' by Grattan Flood)¹¹¹ was a band of musicians employed by the state that seems to have functioned similarly to the King's Musick at the London court. The earliest record of its instrumentalists survives in a transcription made by Arthur Henry Mann, possibly during a trip he made to Dublin in the 1890s, which lists the members of the Irish State Music

¹¹⁰ Hunter, 'The Irish State Music 1716–1742', 158.

¹¹¹ William H. Grattan Flood, *A History of Irish Music* (Shannon: Irish University Press, 1970), 265.

and the State Trumpeters of 1717.¹¹² From this we can see that the State Music numbered ten musicians, most of whom were string players, though five names are listed without instrumental attribution. Some of those listed almost certainly played more than one instrument and one person—Thomas Johnson—is listed as a violinist, oboist, and bassist.¹¹³ Two individuals—James Truelove and John Stevenson—appear in both the list of State musicians and the list of State trumpeters.¹¹⁴ The State Trumpeters comprised six trumpet players and one kettledrum player (William Cooper).¹¹⁵ As was the case with the King's Musick in London, a Master of the Musick oversaw the State Music. Though there is no record of a Master of the State Music in the seventeenth century, William Viner was appointed Master in 1703 and held the position until his death in 1716, after which Cousser was appointed.¹¹⁶ There is no evidence to suggest that Viner had any compositional duties, as became the remit of the Master of the Musick at the London court in the early eighteenth century, though Cousser, who had supplied the ode and serenatas for the Dublin birthday festivities since 1708, continued to do so upon his appointment in 1716. This is significant, as it infers that the responsibility for the composition of birthday odes in the 1690s and early 1700s was not officially assigned to a particular individual. It would therefore not have been unusual for a visiting composer, such as Richard Leveridge, to have proffered or have been commissioned to write the birthday ode.

Leveridge's two birthday odes reflect the instrumentalists and soloists available for their performance in Dublin. Because of this, their scoring cannot be perfectly aligned with any of the five distinct stages of the development of the King's Musick identified by Holman. It should be noted that the odes as they survive in manuscript are incomplete, with a number of movements containing empty staves (presumably intended to be completed at a later stage), though this does not impact too greatly on an analysis of the scoring (see comments in Table

¹¹² A. H. Mann Papers, Rowe Music Library, King's College, Cambridge. Hunter presents this list with those of 1725, the early 1730s and 1740–1 in a table in 'The Irish State Music 1716–1742', 194–6.

¹¹³ Ibid.

¹¹⁴ Ibid. Truelove does not have an instrument after his name in the State musicians list but Truelove is named as a violinist. Both were trumpeters.

¹¹⁵ A. H. Mann Papers, in Hunter, 'The Irish State Music 1716–1742', 194–6.

¹¹⁶ Patrick M. Geoghegan, 'Viner, William', James McGuire, James Quinn, eds, *Dictionary of Irish Biography* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009). <http://dib.cambridge.org/viewReadPage.do?articleId=a8820>, (accessed 15 May 2015). Owens, 'Johann Sigismund Cousser, William III and the Serenata', 11.

5). Similarly to what Adams observed in relation to Purcell's *Great Parent, Hail!* for the Trinity College Dublin centenary, Leveridge's odes are scored for four-part strings (two violins, viola, and bass) and basso continuo. In addition, there are various obbligato parts throughout both odes, though none of these are labelled for specific instruments in the manuscript. Though Adams remarks that the opening symphony of *Great Parent, Hail!* contains trumpet-like idioms in the first violin line that could have been doubled by trumpet, he is careful to point out that this could also simply be string writing evoking trumpets.¹¹⁷ Adams also posits that Purcell's restraint in this ode could be due to the fact that he was writing for musicians he did not know, whereas in London he would have written with specific abilities in mind (such as Richard Leveridge himself or John Gostling, and the fine trumpet playing of the Shore family).

In both of Leveridge's odes, however, there is more definite evidence of trumpets (see Table 5). The fifth movement of *Welcome Happy Day*, which begins 'Call all ye sons of war' is a movement in D major for solo bass voice and basso continuo with a solo part for trumpet in D and a notated kettledrum part. The trumpet part is not labelled as trumpet, but writing is idiomatic to the instrument and contains notes of the harmonic series only. In addition, the part is written on a separate staff to the string parts. Though kettledrum parts were more typically improvised, William Cooper, the kettledrum player who appears in the 1717 list of State Trumpeters, was also a copyist. Though it is not known if Cooper performed in Leveridge's odes, his musical literacy goes some way to explaining why the kettle drum parts are written out in *Welcome Happy Day*.¹¹⁸ Similarly, the eighth movement, a chorus in D major beginning 'Rejoyce for Albion's happy birth', is for SATB choir, strings, and basso continuo with a solo trumpet part (written on a separate staff to the strings) and notated kettledrum part. *Welcome Genial Day!* contains three movements scored for trumpet.

¹¹⁷ Adams, 'Purcell's "curiously poor and perfunctory piece of work"', 194–6. Adams points out that Purcell wrote the second part of the symphony in the canzona style, which he used to great effect, generally with trumpets, in several of his later odes and stage works. Adams, *Henry Purcell: The Origins and Development of his Musical Style* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 160–3.

¹¹⁸ Cooper is listed as a copyist in Cousser's commonplace book. See Figure 6.

<i>Welcome Happy Day (1699 or 1700)</i>					
Movement/Incipit	Key	Instruments	Voices	Comments	
1. <i>Overture</i>	D major/b minor	Strings (2 violins, viola, bass), basso continuo	N/A	Violin 2 and viola parts left blank throughout.	
2. 'Welcome happy day'	D major/b minor/e minor	2 violins, basso continuo	Soprano solo (treble clef, range: g ² -g ³)	Identical to Daniel Purcell's opening aria in GB-Lcm, 989.	
3. 'Come let us all our voices joyne'	D major	Basso continuo	Soprano solo (treble clef, range: a ¹ -g ²). Bass solo.	Only bass vocal line completed for final 21 bars. Other parts left blank.	
4. [Chorus] 'Sing, sing his Tryumphs'	D major	Strings, basso continuo	SATB	Instrument parts blank throughout.	
5. 'Call all ye sons of war'	D major/A major/b minor	Trumpet, kettledrum, basso continuo	Bass solo.		
6. 'Halcyon days and pleasant nights'	d minor/a minor	2 violins, basso continuo	Soprano solo (treble clef, range: e ¹ -f ²).	It is possible that the solo instruments are 2 oboes, but no indication in the MS.	
7. 'Then let us rejoyce'	d minor	Basso continuo	Soprano solo (treble clef, range: d ¹ -g ²). Bass solo.		
8. [Chorus] 'Rejoyce for Albion's happy birth'	D major/A major	Trumpet, kettledrum, strings, basso continuo	SATB		

TABLE 5

Structure and scoring of Leveridge's odes *Welcome Happy Day* and *Welcome Genial Day*

The first chorus (movement 2), 'Welcome genial day', is scored for SATB choir, strings, basso continuo and trumpet, as is the later chorus (movement 6), 'Wee in his valour pride'. Again, as in *Welcome Happy Day*, the trumpet part appears on a separate stave to the string parts. It is the fifth movement, however, that provides the most convincing evidence: 'Sound the brazen voice of warr', for solo bass voice, begins with what appears to be an obbligato trumpet part. At bar 15, where the time changes from cut C to '3', the uppermost staff on which the trumpet part was written for the opening section bears the indication 'violin'. It is clear, therefore, that this movement was written for a solo trumpet part that is superseded by a solo violin at bar 15, rather than a solo string part imitating the trumpet style.

Leveridge's use of the trumpet in both of his odes roughly situates them alongside the fourth and fifth stages in the development of the scoring of the London odes (identified by Holman). He does not, however, employ the two violas pioneered by Draghi in *From Harmony, Heavenly Harmony* that characterizes the fourth stage, nor does he use the 'full Baroque orchestra' of the fifth stage as Purcell did in *Arise, My Muse* in 1690. It is unclear whether oboes were used, though they could have doubled the violin parts or even have acted as obbligato instruments in certain movements. Unfortunately, as none of the instrumental parts are named (with the exception of the change to violin in movement 4 of *Welcome Genial Day!*, noted above) and even though we know that at least one of the State musicians in 1717—Thomas Johnson—was an oboist, to assert that they were employed would be mere conjecture. We can surmise, however, that approximately ten or twelve musicians performed these odes in total, which seems to be on a par with the numbers speculated by Holman for the performance of ordinary odes in London in the 1670s and early 1680s. It goes without saying that Leveridge's scoring was dictated by the instrumentalists available to him in Dublin. The absence of labelled instrumental parts in the surviving manuscripts is unfortunate, but it seems clear that the use of the

trumpet in these odes is an indication of Leveridge's efforts to produce modern works of a calibre similar to those with which he was familiar in London.

A similar conundrum manifests as a result of this lack of labels in relation to the solo singers for Leveridge's odes. Not only are names absent from the manuscripts, but also from the printed text of *Welcome Genial Day!* (see Figure 4). This leaves the question of whether it was boys or women who sang the soprano solos unanswered. As mentioned, women were but rarely employed to sing in the London odes. High vocal parts were more typically sung by male countertenors (the most famous of whom was probably Richard Elford, a favourite of Queen Anne, who performed in many of her birthday odes). As can be seen from various surviving manuscripts, these countertenor parts were typically written with a C clef on the second line of the staff.¹¹⁹ However, when countertenor songs from these odes appeared in print, the vocal part appeared with a treble clef, presumably for ease for reading.¹²⁰ Some of the solo vocal parts in Leveridge's odes, however, are written with a treble clef and from their ranges are clearly intended for soprano singers (see Table 5). Soprano parts in the choral movements also use treble clefs in both odes. To the best of my knowledge, boy sopranos did not a feature as soloists in the London odes. Given the comparably high frequency of soprano solos in Leveridge's two works, this naturally raises the question of the gender of the singers. There is nothing to suggest that women performed these movements in the Dublin odes, though one might be tempted to assume so given the aforementioned instances when they featured in Purcell's and Handel's odes. In fact, though composers in the Restoration period generally tended to give solos in anthems to adult singers, there is an extensive use of treble soloists in the sacred repertoire of Dublin composers in the early eighteenth century, suggesting a particularly high level of accomplishment

¹¹⁹ As they were, for example, in ode movements performed by the countertenor Richard Elford.

¹²⁰ See, for example John Eccles, 'No Albion, thou can'st ne're repay' in *The / Songs / and Symphonys / Perform'd before Her / Majesty at her Palace / of St. Jame's on her Birth Day. 1703*, London, Royal College of Music, D40.

among the boys.¹²¹ Boydell notes that the Dublin composers Walter Hitchcock and John Holmes, when writing for boy soloists ‘wrote for “meane” (C1 clef), [Richard] Hosier and [John] Blett for “treble” (G2 clef)’.¹²² This suggests that boys could have performed the soprano movements (and perhaps even some high alto movements) in Leveridge’s odes. The names of ‘Soprani’ – some with and some without the titles ‘Ms.’ and ‘Mrs.’ – included in the list musicians and singers in Leveridge’s commonplace book (discussed above), seems to imply that boys were used as soloists in the 1720s. Though we may never know for certain the gender of the soprano soloists in *Welcome Happy Day* and *Welcome Genial Day!*, the prospect of having boys rather than women was more likely in the Dublin odes than the London, given their reportedly high standard. In light of this, the borrowed opening movement of *Welcome Happy Day* raises a question in relation to its soprano soloist: did Daniel Purcell use a male or female soprano for the aria when it was (presumably) performed as part of *Welcome Glorious Day* before Princess Anne in 1698? Again, there is nothing in the surviving presentation manuscript to suggest the gender of the performer. Pencilled notes suggest that Mary Lindsey [‘Lind’] sang the movement when it reappeared on the stage as part of *The Rival Queens*¹²³. This does not necessarily mean that a woman performed it before Princess Anne, but the possibility is certainly worth noting.

In terms of quality, Leveridge’s odes are of similar merit to those produced by D. Purcell and by John Eccles. In certain aspects, his works even surpass these contemporaries. Leveridge’s approach to the choral movements, for example, demonstrates a familiarity with contrapuntal writing that one does

¹²¹ Barra Boydell “‘Now That the Lord Hath Readvanc’d the Crown”: Richard Hosier, Durham Ms. B1 and the Early Restoration Anthem Repertory at the Dublin Cathedrals’, *Early Music*, Vol. 28, No. 2, *Early Music of Ireland* (May, 2000), pp. 238–251: 245. Also noted by Kerry Houston in ‘The Eighteenth-Century Music Manuscripts at St Patrick’s Cathedral, Dublin: Sources, Lineage, and Relationship to Other Collections’ (Trinity College, Dublin, 2002), 3 volumes, vol. 1, 228.

¹²² Boydell, “‘Now that the Lord Hath’”, 251, n.56.

¹²³ The notes suggest that the alto/tenor Francis Hughes [‘Hews’] and the bass Marcellus Laroon sang the other songs in the ode. Kathryn Lowerre, *Music and Musicians on the London Stage*, 283, n. 67. Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, MU MS 87.

not expect of a composer who was presumably comfortable with writing solo songs for the theatre.¹²⁴ There is even effort spent on word-painting in the chorus ‘Welcome genial day’, demonstrated in a clever tonicization in b minor, which emphasizes the A# of its dominant triad at the words ‘great’ and ‘bright’, the third being held each time for a full minim. It is in the solo movements, however, that Leveridge really shines, especially those for bass solo. The writing is clearly influenced by his theatrical compositions, being virtuosic, dramatic and florid throughout. The movements for solo bass voice, ‘Sound the brazen voice of war’ and ‘City’s now with treasure flow’ [sic] in *Welcome Genial Day!* and ‘Call all ye sons of war’, the fifth movement in *Welcome Happy Day*, are particularly noteworthy, which leads one to suspect that they may have been performed by Leveridge himself. John Eccles wrote in a similarly virtuosic and florid style for the solo, duet, and trio movements in his odes, also undoubtedly influenced by his theatrical background. Eccles went on to publish these songs (with reduced scoring), an act that perhaps betrays another reason for their dramatic and crowd-pleasing style. D. Purcell reused music from two of his odes in two different theatrical productions; in addition to the reuse of *Welcome Glorious Day* in *The Rival Queens* (mentioned above), ‘The loud tongu’d war’ from his 1697 welcome ode of the same name, was used as the closing entertainment—a ‘Song in Two Parts, between Mars and Minerva’—in Thomas D’Urfey’s *Cinthia and Endimion; or, The Loves of the Deities*¹²⁵ It could be the case that Leveridge’s ode songs were written with similar aspirations of revival, either in the theatre or in print.

One might expect to find a ground bass movement in Leveridge’s odes, given the frequency with which his contemporaries used the form.¹²⁶ None is to be

¹²⁴ Leveridge’s choruses are more accomplished than those of John Eccles, for example, a composer also more familiar with theatrical writing who was appointed Master of the Musick in 1700. Eccles’s odes are modern and homophonic and contrast starkly with his other movements in his odes, which tend to be dramatic and florid. See, for example, *Inspire Us Genius of the Day* (1703).

¹²⁵ Kathryn Lowerre, *Music and Musicians on the London Stage*, 175.

¹²⁶ Apart from his first ode, *Welcome Vicegerent of the Mighty King* (1680) and *What Shall be Done in Behalf of the Man?* (1682), Henry Purcell included at least one ground bass movement in every ode. Daniel Purcell also used the form and four movements are extant in Eccles’s

found in either ode, however, though this should not be taken as an indication of lack of ability. For example, the seventh movement in *Welcome Genial Day!* is an aria for solo soprano and basso continuo, which shows a motto technique after the Italian manner (see Figure 7). Leveridge's demonstration of his command of this technique (also known as *devisenarie*¹²⁷) is quite sophisticated for an English composer and it shows his willingness to keep his music fashionable. The motto aria was employed in the earliest English cantatas written after the Italian style, composed in reaction to the growing demand for Italian vocal music in England.¹²⁸ Typically for this type of aria, the voice prefigures with a statement (or 'motto') of what will succeed in the ritornello (usually stated in the basso). The voice is seemingly interrupted by the ritornello statement before entering again with a fuller statement, giving the impression of a false start. In 'Happy, happy Albion', bars 5 to 6 fulfill this opening pattern, with the voice restarting in bar 7 and then continuing. As is typical of the motto aria, the movement shows quite a free style of composition, which allows for the influence of the lyrical structure and opens options of tonal strategy. Not only does Leveridge delve into motto technique here, but he cleverly cloaks this movement in a sort of ground-bass illusion; the motto presented in the voice in bars 5 to 6 is in fact introduced initially in the bass phrase in bars 1 to 4, which closes with a perfect cadence. The vocal motif is thus derived from the bass, not vice versa, as was characteristic of the motto form. Leveridge then strategically uses the opening bass phrase as a type of ritornello, with various iterations within the movement, and in its entirety to close. Thus Leveridge presents something of a hybrid of the more traditional ground bass movement with the Italian motto aria, which not only demonstrates his skill as a composer, but also his consciousness of the public demand for Italian music.

surviving odes. See Rosamond McGuinness, 'The Ground Bass in the English Court Ode I', *Music & Letters*, Vol. 51, No. 2 (April, 1970), 118–140, at 118. McGuinness includes in this article an appendix of all of Purcell's ground basses.

¹²⁷ Jack Westrup, 'Devisenarie', *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, online edition: www.oxfordmusiconline.com (accessed 7 November, 2015).

¹²⁸ For a discussion of early English cantatas composed in the Italian style, see Jennifer Cable, 'Composing after the Italian Manner: The English Cantata 1700–1710' in Kathryn Lowerre, ed., *The Lively Arts of the London Stage: 1675–1725* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2014) 63–83.

Happy, happy Albion

Happy, happy Albion, happy happy r' Farr, happy happy

Far than all ~~other Nations~~ all all all other all other Nations all other

Nations all all All - - - all all other Nations Farr

Happy happy Albion

Happy happy Albion happy happy r' Farr happy happy

23

Farr than all other Nations, all all, all, all other all other Nations
all other Nations all all all - - - all then all other Nations
are Happy Happy Albion Happy Happy Albion Happy Farr
Happy'r Farr than all other Nations all other Nations all - -
- - - all other Nations are than a
- - - other Nations are

Richard Leveridge, *Welcome, Genial Day!*: 'Happy, happy Albion'; GB-Lbl, Add. MS 31457, fos. 22-23. © The British Library Board

Unfortunately, 'Happy, happy Albion' is not an exemplary model. As mentioned, both odes show evidence of composition in progress and this movement survives incomplete. For example, the basso continuo part has been left blank at bars 26 to 31, where the vocal line modulates to the dominant. There were consecutive octaves at bars 7 to 8, which Leveridge appears to have tried to correct by changing the final crotchet of bar 7 in the vocal line from a c' to a b flat, though this still results in an exposed octave. Revisions were also made to bar 22, where the vocal line originally entered in the key of B flat major, but was changed to G minor. This movement and others throughout both odes show that these works, as they survive in this manuscript, were not finished compositions. Rather, they seem to reflect the composer's approach to drafting a large-scale work, complete in some places, partially complete in others, and even perhaps reflecting first thoughts in other movements still. Given that these odes were almost certainly performed (especially given that the text of *Welcome Genial Day!* was printed), Leveridge presumably completed them in another manuscript. It is clear even from the unfinished manuscripts, however, that Leveridge's odes were of a quality comparable to those of his contemporaries. The use of the motto technique after the Italian manner in 'Happy, happy Albion' reflects the composer's efforts to be modern and to respond to the desire of his audience within the more traditional ode format. It might also be said to anticipate the more fully-fledged adoption of the Italian form that occurred a little later with Cousser's series of serenatas.

Conclusions

The correct attribution of *Welcome Genial Day!* to Richard Leveridge, the link it holds to *Welcome Happy Day*, and the identification of both odes as works from the Dublin ode tradition are discoveries that have a significant impact on the landscape of Anglo-Irish music in Dublin. Not only is the mystery of these two odes and their previous problematic and tentative attribution to John Blow solved, but they are also removed from the London court-ode tradition. Thus is resolved the otherwise curious and unlikely situation of John Blow borrowing from Daniel Purcell. More than this, as additions to the Dublin ode repertory and as the earliest surviving examples, these odes demonstrate that the tradition in Dublin can now be dated to 1700 or possibly even 1699. Given that Leveridge's contribution to the Dublin series is unlikely to have been established simply as a result of his brief time in Dublin, it can be postulated that he was invited to

compose these works as part of an already customary annual practice of celebrating the monarch's birthday with an ode.

The fact that Leveridge—a well-known composer and singer on the London stage—was the composer responsible for these newly uncovered Dublin works raises further questions regarding the connections he may already have had in Dublin. Leveridge seems to have been welcomed with open arms by the Dublin musical scene; there is evidence, as mentioned, both of his having performed at Smock Alley Theatre and having published the songs he sang there in London and Dublin. These circumstances surely suggest that there was a healthy culture of exchange and a shared musical repertory between the two cities at this time.

Leveridge's apparent decision to borrow a movement from Daniel Purcell's *Welcome Happy Day* relates closely to questions of authorship and creativity, as well as to the cross-fertilization of music between London and Dublin. This raises the possibility that movements from other London works were borrowed and used in Dublin (or vice versa). It underlines too the limitations of the Dublin audience's exposure to and engagement with English culture, situated as it was on the margins geographically, politically, socially, and culturally. This, as demonstrated in the texts of the Dublin odes and serenatas, was in spite of a heightened sense of loyalty to the monarch and attempts to prove this loyalty through various utterances of the superior intentions of the ruling class in Dublin. The scoring of Leveridge's odes with trumpets demonstrates a similar intention to produce a work of a high standard, in keeping with established practices in London. The quality of the music itself and its adoption of Italian styles also indicates Leveridge's attempts to be current and responsive to public trends. The use of boy soloists is one that appears to be unique to the Dublin odes and it is possible that it was common practice in works that may have been produced earlier than these. Indeed, details such as this could help in the correct identification of other Dublin works. Leveridge's odes as they survive in manuscript—apparently works in progress, with corrections, sketches, and blank staves—present an interesting window into the composer's working process and also indicate that other manuscript copies of these works were probably produced before their performance.

It is clear that the Dublin ode series began far earlier than has previously been assumed, in the reign of William III rather than in the reign of Queen Anne.

These odes establish innumerable possibilities for further investigation of the culture of exchange that existed between Dublin and London in this period. It is probable that even earlier examples exist, which will hopefully come to light with conscious analysis of poetic text and familiarity with the Dublin ode form.