DANIEL PURCELL:

A BIOGRAPHY AND THEMATIC CATALOGUE

(Volume 1: Biography)

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Trinity 2004

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Abstract

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Daniel Purcell (c.1670-1717) was a musician, composer, socialite and punster. He was a child in the choir of the Chapel Royal, organist at Magdalen College, Oxford, and composer-in-residence at the Theatre Royal in Drury Lane. His output was prolific, consisting of music for some fifty plays, as well as many anthems, cantatas, songs, odes, and instrumental sonatas.

Of Daniel's works, it is probably the theatre music which is most of interest, ranging from single songs for sometimes ill-fated productions to whole 'Purcellian' dramatick operas such as *The Island Princess* (Motteux, 1699), and *The Grove, or Love's Paradise* (Oldmixon, 1700). His cantatas 'after the Italian Manner' (1713) were some of the first examples of their style in the English language, and, whilst he held no official appointment, his composition of odes for Princess (later Queen) Anne, and various other members of the Royal family, show his close connections with court life.

This study is in two parts. First, a thorough biographical study uncovers a number of documents which shed much light on Daniel Purcell's life, and reopens the debate of the genealogy of the whole Purcell family. The London theatrical scene after the death of

Henry Purcell is examined in detail, and Daniel's compositions are placed in their historical perspective. Second, a comprehensive thematic catalogue of his works includes multi-stave incipits for each movement of each piece which Daniel wrote, listing every printed and manuscript source in which the music is found. This catalogue is intended to be a starting point for scholars wishing to study the music of this period in general, and of Daniel Purcell in particular.

Acknowledgements

A work of this kind would be impossible without many people offering very kind assistance throughout the project. I would like especially to thank Michael Burden, my supervisor, for his steady mix of encouragement and cajoling, and Emma Drury who, together with my parents, Peter and Brenda, have provided constant support.

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In connection with Daniel's life in Oxford, I must first of all thank Dr Robin Darwall-Smith, archivist at Magdalen College, who has been a constant help in my attempts to discover more about Daniel's life there. In addition, Simon Bailey, of the University archives, and Dr M P Pobjoy and Dr D J Ibbetson, of Magdalen College, assisted with my discovery and discussion of the Chancellor's Court arrest warrant. I would also like to thank Mrs Marjory Szurko, librarian at Oriel College, Oxford, and Caroline Dalton, former Archivist at New College, Oxford. Jennifer Thorp helped greatly with the

transcription of the Richard Roach manuscript at the Bodleian, and of the transcription and translation of the administration record of Daniel's estate.

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Staff of the National Portrait Gallery and of the National Trust at Gawthorpe Hall near Burnley, all offered great assistance in my study of Daniel's portraits, as have David Morrison of Worcester Cathedral, Oliver Davies of the Royal Society of Musicians, Paul Collen of the Royal College of Music, Jacqueline Thalmann and Sarah-Louise Wilkinson of Christ Church, Oxford, Angus Haldane of Sotheby's, and Sarah Skinner of Nottingham City Museums and Galleries.

Throughout my research, the staff of the Music Faculty Library, Oxford (particularly John Wagstaff), Bodleian Library (particularly Peter Ward Jones), and the British Library have provided unstinting help, and answered my often numerous queries with patience and understanding.

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Mark Humphreys

London, October 2004.

Bibliographical Note

The following principles have been observed:

'New style' dates have been used throughout; superscript characters have been reproduced in normal type; bibliographic references in footnotes are in the shortened form Author, *Title*, pages. Where a work is in several volumes, the format ii. 387 would refer to volume 2, page 387. Fuller information can be found in the bibliography.

Abbreviations

The following abbreviations are commonly used:

DL	Drury Lane Theatre
DG	Dorset Garden Theatre
LIF	Lincoln's Inn Fields Theatre
QT	Queen's Theatre, Haymarket

Library Sigla

Standard RISM sigla are used, the most commonly-found being:

Lbl	London, British Library
Lgc	London, Guildhall Library
Lpro	London, The National Archives
Ob	Oxford, Bodleian Library
Omc	Oxford, Magdalen College

The following publications, which are referred to frequently in footnotes, are cited as follows:

Ashbee	Andrew Ashbee (ed.), *Records of English Court Music (1485-1714)*, 8 volumes (Snodland and Aldershot, 1986-1996).
BDA	Philip H Highfill Jr, Kalman A Burnim and Edward A Langhans, *A biographical dictionary of actors, actresses, musicians, dancers, managers & other stage personnel in London, 1660-1800*, 16 volumes (Carbondale and Edwardsville, 1973-1993).
BDECM	Andrew Ashbee and David Lasocki assisted by Peter Holman and Fiona Kisby, *A biographical dictionary of English court musicians, 1485-1714*, 2 volumes (Aldershot, 1998).
Bloxam	John Rouse Bloxam, *A Register of the Presidents, fellows, demies, instructors in grammar and in music, chaplains, clerks, choristers, and other members of St Mary Magdalen College in the University of Oxford*, 8 volumes (Oxford, 1853-85).
Burney	Charles Burney, *A General History of Music* (London, 1776-89), ed. F Mercer, 2 volumes (London, 1935, repr. 1957).
Evelyn	John Evelyn, *The Diary of John Evelyn*, ed. E S De Beer, 6 volumes (Oxford, 1955).
Fiske	Roger Fiske, *English Theatre Music in the Eighteenth Century* (London, 1973; rev.2/Oxford, 1986).
Goodall	J R Goodall, 'English Chamber Cantata and Through-Composed Solo Song, 1660-c.1785', D.Phil. diss., 2 volumes, Oxford University, 1979.
Hawkins	John Hawkins, *A General History of the Science and Practice of Music*, 2 volumes (London, 1776; repr. 1853 and 1963).
Husk	William Henry Husk, *An account of the musical celebrations on St Cecilia's Day in the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries* (London, 1857).
LS	Emmett L Avery, Charles Beecher Hogan, Arthur H Scouten, George Winchester Stone, and William Van Lennep (eds.), *The London Stage 1660-1800*, 5 parts, 11 volumes (Carbondale, 1960-68).
LS (new version)	A new version of Part 2 of *The London Stage*, prepared by Robert D Hume and Judith Milhous. Currently only available online at: http://www.personal.psu.edu/faculty/h/b/hb1/London%20Stage%202001/ Note that as this pagination is temporary, references have been given to the date under which the entry is listed.
Luttrell	Narcissus Luttrell, *A Brief Historical Relation of State Affairs from September 1678 to April 1714*, 6 volumes (Oxford, 1857, repr. 1969).
NGII	Stanley Sadie and John Tyrrell (eds.), *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians, Second Edition*, 29 volumes (London, 2001).
Price	Curtis A Price, *Music in the Restoration Theatre with a Catalogue of Instrumental Music in Plays 1665-1713* (Ann Arbor, 1979).

RISM	*Einzeldrucke vor 1800 [Printed music before 1800],* 15 volumes to date (Kassel, 1971 -).
Trowles	Tony A Trowles, 'The Musical Ode in Britain c.1670-1800', D.Phil diss., Oxford University, 1992.
Westrup	J A Westrup, *Purcell* (London, 1937; rev.5/1995).
Zimmerman	Franklin B Zimmerman, *Henry Purcell 1659-1695: his Life and Times* (London, 1967; rev.2/Philadelphia, 1983).

Short-title List of Catalogue Numbers

Anthems

1 Blessed is he whose unrighteousness is forgiven

2 Bow down thine ear, O Lord

3 Have mercy upon me, O God

4 Hear my prayer, O Lord

5 I am well pleased

6 I will alway give thanks

7 I will magnify thee, O God, my King

8 I will sing unto the Lord

9 In thee, O Lord, have I put my trust

10 It is a good thing to give thanks

11 Lord, I have loved

12 Lord, let me know my end

13 My God, my God, look upon me

14 O be joyful in God

15 O give thanks

16 O God, thou art my God

17 O let my mouth be filled

18 O Lord, rebuke me not

19 O Lord, thou has searched me out

20 O praise God in his holiness

21 Praise the Lord, O my soul

22 Put me not to rebuke, O Lord

23 Sing we merrily unto God (I)

24 Sing we merrily unto God (II)

25 The Lord gave the word

26 Thou, O God, art praised in Sion

Other Sacred

41 O Miserable Man

51 Magnificat and Nunc Dimittis in E minor

61 Chant in G major

71 Symphony to Carissimi's Mass in C

81 100th Psalm Tune

82 113rd Psalm Tune

83 119th Psalm Tune

84 148th Psalm Tune

85 Canterbury Tune

86 London Tune

87 Southwell Tune

88 St. David's Tune

89 St. Mary's Tune

90 Windsor Tune

91 York Tune

92 [Voluntary]

Theatre Music

101 Achilles, or Iphigenia in Aulis

102 All for the Better, or The Infallible Cure

103 Amalasont, Queen of the Goths, or Vice Destroys Itself

104 Amintas

105 The Basset-table

106 The Bath, or The Western Lass

107 The Beaux' Stratagem

108 Brutus of Alba, or Augusta's Triumph

109 Caligula

110 The Campaigners, or The Pleasant Adventures at Brussels

111 The Careless Husband

112 The Constant Couple, or A Trip to the Jubilee

113 Cynthia and Endymion, or The Loves of the Deities

114 The Emperor of the Moon

115 The Faithful Bride of Granada

116 The Famous History of the Rise and Fall of Massaniello

117 Farewell Folly, or The Younger the Wiser

118 The Funeral, or Grief A-la-mode

119 The Grove, or Love's Paradise

120 The Humour of the Age

121 Ibrahim, the Thirteenth Emperor of the Turks

122 The Inconstant, or The Way to Win Him

123 The Indian Queen

124 The Island Princess, or The Generous Portuguese

125 The Judgment of Paris

126 The Lost Lover, or The Jealous Husband

127 Love Makes a Man, or The Fop's Fortune

128 Love's Last Shift, or The Fool in Fashion

129 The Lying Lover, or the Ladies Friendship

130 Macbeth

131 The Modish Husband

132 Neglected Virtue, or The Unhappy Conqueror

133 The Northern Lass, or The Nest of Fools

134 Orlando Furioso

135 Orpheus and Euridice

136 The Patriot, or The Italian Conspiracy

137 Pausanias, the Betrayer of his Country

138 Phaeton, or The Fatal Divorce

139 The Pilgrim (The Secular Masque)

140 Psyche

141 The Reformed Wife, or The Lady's Cure

142 The Relapse, or Virtue in Danger

143 The Rival Queens, or The Death of Alexander the Great

144 Sauny the Scot, or The Taming of the Shrew

145 The Spanish Wives

146 The Tender Husband, or The Accomplish'd Fools

147 The Triumphs of Virtue

148 The Unhappy Penitent

149 Vice Reclaim'd, or The Passionate Mistress

150 The World in the Moon

151 The Younger Brother, or The Amorous Jilt

152 [unknown play]

153 [unknown play]

154 [unknown play]

155 [unknown play]

156 [unknown play]

157 [unknown play]

Non-Theatre Songs

201 Accept Maria of a heart

202 Ah lovely Strephon cease to sue

203 Behold the sun

204 Belinda's black commanding eye

205 By what I've seen I am undone

206 Cease mighty love to tear a heart

207 Cease on kind husbands

208 Celestial harmony is in her tongue

209 Fair Celia's charms

210 In spite of despair

211 In vain are all your arts to woo me

212 In vain I boasted to be free

213 Jolly Bacchus I love

214 Let Marlborough's action inspire

215 Not Cloris that I juster am

216 Oh why, Olinda, prethee why

217 Proud Phaebus, now thy triumphs boast

218 See Pastorella see the plains

219 Shepherds tune your pipes

220 Thou flask once filled

221 Tis not because I breathe and eat

222 Tis vain to fly like wounded deer

223 Trust not to the smiles of women

224 Twas night and all the village wrapped in sleep

225 Wanton Cupids cease to hover

226 What garrs the feulish made complain

227 What scorn appears in those fair eyes

228 When Daphne first her shepherd saw

229 When gazing on his Phyllis's eyes

230 When you behold my restless pain

231 Whilst silently I loved

232 Who knocks at my heart

233 Why should Aurelia sleep secure

234 Within a solitary grove despairing Sappho sat

Cantatas

301 The Beauteous Daphne

302 By silver Thames's flow'ry side

303 Far from the nymph whom I adore

304 Long had Amintas the unhappy swain (Amintas)

305 Love, I defy thee

306 See there the joy and torment of my soul

307 She whom above myself I prize

308 Whilst on Septimius' panting breast (Septimius and Acme)

309 Wild as despair the tim'roush Daphne flew (Apollo and Daphne)

310 Within a verdant grove, poor Strephon lay

Odes and Welcome Songs

401 A gloomy mist o'erspreads the plains

402 Again the welcome morn we sing

403 Appear, Apollo's darling sons, appear

404 Begin, and strike th'harmonious lyre

405 Begin the noble song

406 The Loud tongu'd war

407 Phoebus, monarch of the skies

408 Prepare the hallow'd strain

409 Welcome, welcome glorious day

Instrumental Music

501 Sonata in C major for flute

502 Sonata in C major for flute

503 Sonata in D major for violin

504 Sonata in D minor for flute

505 Sonata in D minor for flute

506 Sonata in F major for flute

507 Sonata in F major for flute

508 Sonata in F minor for violin

509 Sonata in A major for violin

521 Sonata in D minor for 2 flutes

522 Sonata in F major for 2 flutes

523 Sonata in F major for 2 flutes

524 Sonata in G minor for 2 flutes

531 March

532 Overture

533 Prelude

534 [untitled]

535 [untitled]

541 Rondeau

542 Toccata

551T Aire = 122.3

552T Allemand = 122.7

553T Gavott = 122.8

554T Hornpipe = 122.6

555T March = 122.5

556T Minuett = 122.4

557T Symphony = 123.10

558T [Song tune] = 124.11

559T [Song tune] = 128.1

560T [Song tune] = 145.1

561T [Song tune] = 147.1

562T [Song tune] = 405.14

Possible Works

601P Service: Magnificat and Nunc Dimittis in G minor

602P Theatre Music: The Indian Queen

603P Theatre Music: Pausanias, the Betrayer of his Country

604P Theatre Music: The Rival Queens, or The Death of Alexander the Great

605P Theatre Music: Sauny the Scot, or The Taming of the Shrew

Doubtful and Spurious Works

701S Hymn: How vast must their advantage be

702S Hymn: Thou art, O Lord, supremely good

703S Hymn: We bless the Lord, the just

704S Theatre Music: The False Friend

705S Non-Theatre Song: In my triumphant chariot (Mad Tom)

706S Non-Theatre Song: Wanton cupids, cease to hover

707S Non-Theatre Song: What is power, what a crown

708S Ode: Cecilia, charming saint, we raise

709S Ode: [Ode for St Cecilia's Day]

710S Instrumental Music: Trumpett Tune in C

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By kind permission of Nottingham City Museums and Galleries: Nottingham Castle

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Daniel's parentage: A new look at Purcell genealogy

Introduction

The detail of the Purcell family tree has long been a matter of conjecture, and the central question of whether Henry senior or Thomas was the father of Henry and Daniel has been the source of much debate and has never been satisfactorily resolved. Henry senior and Thomas were probably brothers and, as Gentlemen of the Chapel Royal, were deeply involved in court musical life. Henry senior, who died in 1664, held a number of posts within the court's musical establishment following the Restoration, and was Master of the Choristers at Westminster Abbey,[1] whilst Thomas also held a number of court appointments, both musical and domestic. He was the Master of the King's Band and one of the grooms of the royal robes, and had been in royal service for twenty-two years when he died in 1682.[2]

The following chapter will seek to re-examine existing evidence, the careful study of which sheds more light on the confusion surrounding the Purcell family tree. In looking at these documents, currently on the periphery of the discussion, the accepted status quo will be brought into question.

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[1] *NGII*, xx. 604.

[2] Westrup, 307.

The study of Purcell genealogy: a brief history

John Hawkins, in his encyclopaedic history of 1776, recorded that Henry Purcell junior was the son of Henry senior.[3] This position was adopted unequivocally by all subsequent writers, including Cummings, Arundell, and A K Holland, until Jack Westrup's biography appeared in 1937.[4] 'It must be admitted that the relationships of the Purcell family are not always easy to disentangle,'[5] wrote Westrup, but attempt to disentangle them he did. After examining the available evidence, he suggested that Thomas, not Henry senior, was Henry's father.[6] However, thirty years later, the American musicologist Franklin Zimmerman commented:

> Purcell genealogy has been sheltered from critical enquiry for several decades, because the solution seemed to have been worked out satisfactorily. It now appears, however, that the status quo in Purcell genealogical research may be other than satisfactory.[7]

Zimmerman claimed to have conducted a thorough search in libraries and archives to find papers relating to various members of the Purcell family, and as a result concluded that Henry senior was, after all, the father.[8]

Subsequent biographies, such as those by Margaret Campbell, Peter Holman, Jonathan Keates and Maureen Duffy, have derived their positions almost entirely from

---

[3] Hawkins, ii. 743.

[4] William H Cummings, *Purcell* (1881), Dennis Arundell, *Henry Purcell* (1927), A K Holland, *Henry Purcell* (1932).

[5] Westrup, 308.

[6] Westrup, particularly 305-309. See also J A Westrup, 'Purcell's Parentage'.

[7] Zimmerman, 331.

[8] Zimmerman, 331-347.

Zimmerman's conclusions, and, whilst acknowledging the uncertainty, suggest that Henry senior was the father.[9] Indeed, none of these recent biographers has substantially challenged Zimmerman's construct of the Purcell family tree. However, Zimmerman's statement is as true now as it was nearly thirty years ago: the status quo is not satisfactory, and still further critical enquiry is necessary.

Thomas as father of Henry and Daniel: Westrup's arguments

Westrup's primary piece of evidence was a letter written by Thomas Purcell to the bass John Gostling and dated 8 February 1679, which included the following passage:

> I have rec[eive]d the favor of yours of ye 4th w[i]th the incolseds for my sonne Henry ... My sonne is composing: wherin you will be chiefly consern'd.[10]

Westrup also noted the memorial to an Edward Purcell, at Wytham in Oxfordshire, on which is written:

> HERE lieth the body of EDWARD PURCEL, eldest son of MR. PURCEL, gentleman of the ROYAL CHAPEL, and BROTHER to MR. HENRY PURCEL, so much renown'd for his skill in MUSICK.[11]

These two pieces of evidence, Westrup argued, suggested that Henry junior was the son of Thomas. In the first document, it could hardly be clearer, but the second is less

---

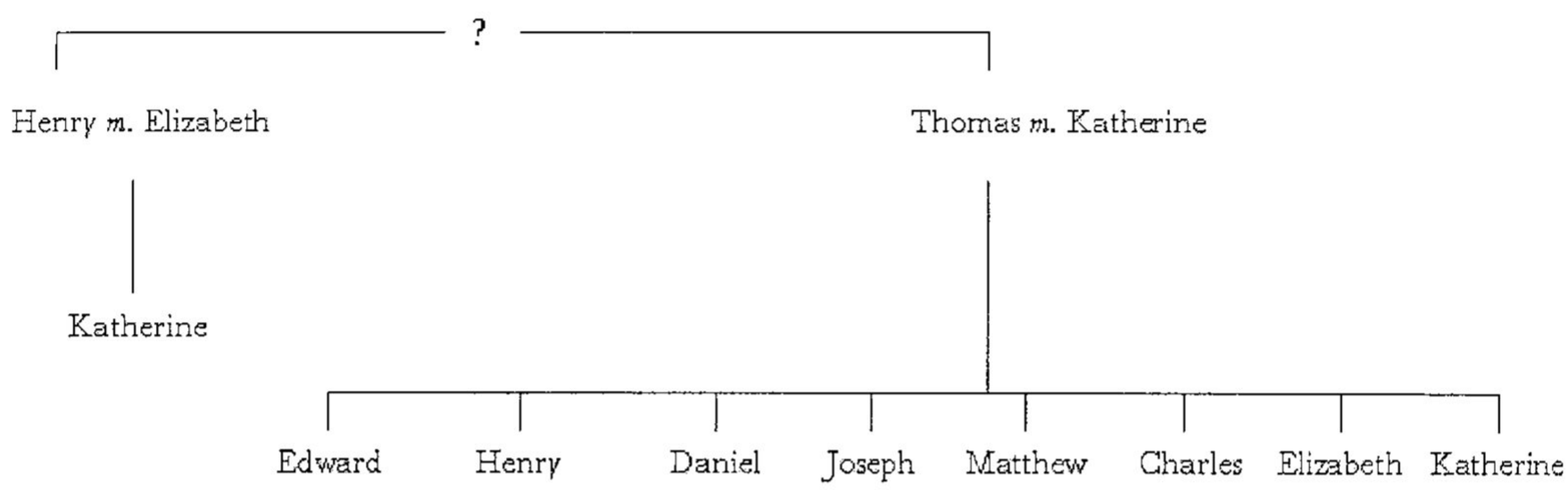
[9] Margaret Campbell, *Henry Purcell: Glory of his Age* (1993), Peter Holman, *Henry Purcell* (1994), Maureen Duffy, *Henry Purcell* (1994), Jonathan Keates, *Purcell A Biography* (1995).

[10] From a manuscript once in the possession of W H Cummings, and now in the Nanki Music Library, reproduced in Westrup, in between pp. 80 and 81. The Nanki Music Library is presently inaccessible to scholars.

[11] Westrup, 307.

precise: both Thomas and Henry senior had been a 'gentleman of the Royal Chapel'. Westrup argued that whereas Henry senior had died after only four years' service in the royal chapel, Thomas had held numerous posts over a period of twenty years, so he would be implied if no christian name were mentioned.[12]

Fig 1. Family tree after Westrup



However, Westrup acknowledged that there were some facts which did not fit with his theory. In his will, John Hingeston, under whom Henry junior served an apprenticeship as keyboard repairer and tuner, left 'to my Godson Henry Pursall (son of Elizabeth Pursall) five pounds'.[13] Although Henry senior's wife was called Elizabeth, Westrup suggested that this was a different Henry Purcell as 'it is curious that Hingston [sic] should give no further description of a man who had not only been his assistant for some years, but by that time composer of the violins, organist of Westminster Abbey and one of the organists of the Chapel Royal'.[14]

[12] Westrup, 307.

[13] Westrup, 309. Hingeston's will is at Lpro PROB 11/375 q.134, 12 December 1683, the detail of which is reproduced in *BDECM*, 575-576.

[14] Westrup, 309.

Henry senior as father of Henry and Daniel: Zimmerman's arguments

The evidence on which Westrup's main argument was based was reinterpreted by Zimmerman. He argued that Thomas would have been in the habit of referring to Henry junior as his son, as he did in the note to Gostling, as he had in all probability acted *in loco parentis* for over ten years. Zimmerman showed that there were two Edward Purcells, one the son of Thomas, and a second, the son of Henry senior. The Edward Purcell commemorated by the Wytham memorial cannot have been Thomas's son; the memorial continued, 'He was gentleman usher to King Charles the 2nd, lieutenant of Colonel Trelawney's regiment of foot', whereas Thomas's son Edward was not a soldier, and lived during his married life in Mickleham, Surrey.

Zimmerman dismissed the possibility that there were two Henry Purcells known to Hingeston. He suggested, on no factual basis, that the reason for the cursory reference was because Purcell 'may well have seemed a tiresome young assistant, too ambitious and newfangled, and too talented for comfort'.[15]

Zimmerman boasted that 'it is in a document referring to Daniel Purcell that we find the final, clinching evidence, which shows both Daniel and Henry the younger to have been the sons of Henry Purcell the elder'. He quoted the 'Magdalen College registers', in which is entered '1688 Purcell, Daniel. res. 1695. Son of Henry Purcell, Gentleman of the Chapel Royal obiit 1718. He was brother of Henry Purcell …'.[16] However, as

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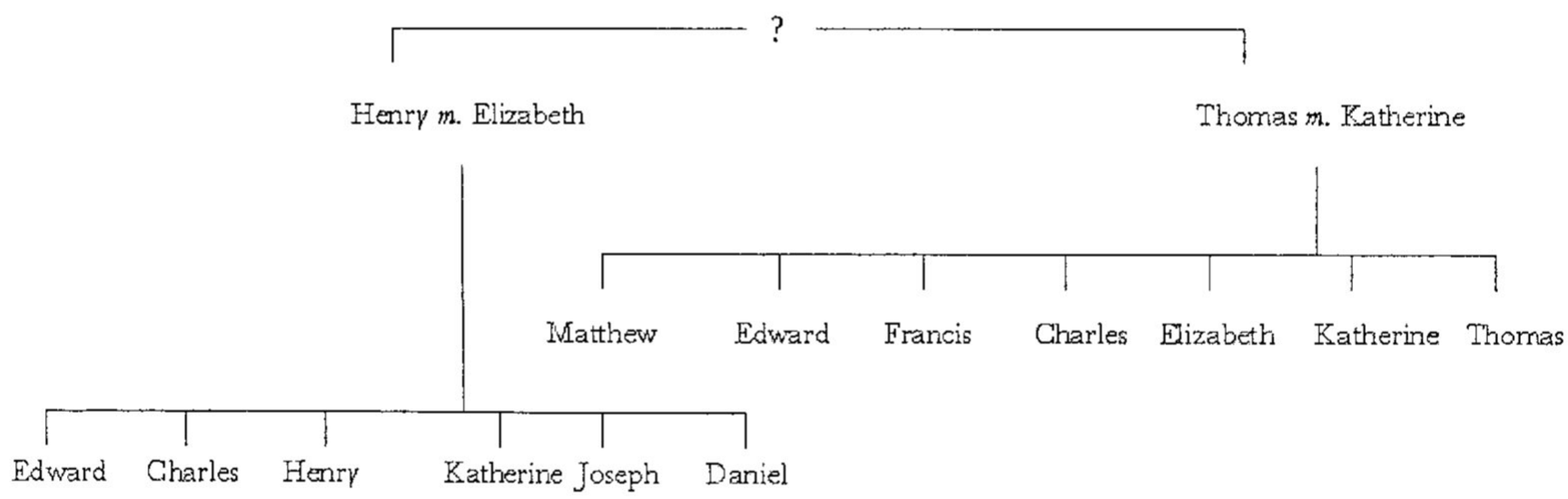
[15] Zimmerman, 346.

[16] Zimmerman, 345, quoting from Bloxam, ii. 203.

Westrup had already stated, 'this is a note by the editor, not a quotation from the actual registers, which merely record the annual payments made to Daniel as organist'.[17] Indeed, as most of the information used by the editor of the published edition of the registers is copied directly from Hawkins, Zimmerman used evidence from Hawkins to prove that Hawkins was correct. This circular attempt at proof is hardly the 'final, clinching evidence' which the reader was promised.

Zimmerman's reworking of the Purcell family tree, with the additional family members he had discovered, is shown below, in figure 2.

Fig 2. Family tree after Zimmerman



Subsequent Research

There has been no further detailed examination of this genealogical puzzle, and many biographers of Henry junior rely on Zimmerman's transcriptions of the important documents.[18] Indeed, as several scholars now consider the letter from Thomas Purcell

[17] Westrup, 308-309.

[18] Zimmerman, 265-329.

to John Gostling, Westrup's main evidential proof, to be at best of doubtful reliability,[19] Hawkins may have been right all along.

However, although very few documents relating to Henry Purcell have not been studied, analysed and debated in great depth, this is not the case for other members of his family. Daniel Purcell, who, according to both Westrup and Zimmerman (and, indeed, everybody else) was Henry junior's brother, is a neglected figure in the music of this period, most commentators being content to argue that he was not as good a composer as Henry, and any biographical information which is known has merely been used to support various hypotheses regarding Henry's life. This is particularly clear when Zimmerman's 'final, clinching evidence' is considered. There is evidence, until now undiscovered or even suppressed, which suggests that Daniel *cannot* have been the son of Henry senior. So, whilst a scholar of Henry's music can leave this particular question open, these conflicting positions are crucial to any discussion of the Purcell genealogy as a whole. For, if Henry junior was the son of Henry senior, then it seems that Daniel cannot have been his brother.

The Documents

There being no record of birth or baptism, the first evidence of Daniel's life is contained in the payment records of the Chapel Royal, where he was a child in the choir. These records detail Daniel's attendance with the choir during the summers of 1678, 1679 and

[19] Michael Burden, for example, is unsure of its reliability, and it is curious that no further study of this document has been made since its move, as part of the Cummings collection, to the Nanki Music Library.

1682, when the court accompanied Charles II to Windsor.[20] Only the first of these attendances, from the summer of 1678, was known to Westrup and Zimmerman.[21]

Fig 3. Daniel Purcell's first published music, 1687



[20] Ashbee, i. 183, 186, 206.

[21] Only the first attendance is recorded in Lafontaine's *The King's Musick*, 339, so Westrup considered that 'as he is unlikely to have been more than fifteen at the time, the date of his birth would be 1663 at the earliest' (24), whilst Zimmerman stated 'A Chapel Royal choir boy as late as 8 Apr. 1679, he could have been no older than sixteen' (341), and 'by then [September 1678] Daniel was at least fourteen or fifteen years old and near the end of his days as a choirboy' (392).

There is no recorded payment to Daniel on his departure from the choir, so the next important evidence is the appearance of his first published music. The song 'Cease mighty love to tear a heart' (H206), by 'Mr. D. Purcel', was published in Clark, Moore and Heptinstall's *Vinculum societatis* of 1687 (see fig. 3).[22]

Late in 1689, Daniel Purcell became Informator Choristarum (organist and master of the choristers) of Magdalen College, Oxford, succeeding Francis Pigott, one of his contemporaries as a chorister at the Chapel Royal. Extracts from the 'Libri Computi' (yearly accounts) of the college were included by Zimmerman in his appendix, but the lesser-known 'Day Books', which contain far more detailed information, have hitherto not been examined in this context.

Anthony Wood, who would doubtless have come across Daniel in Oxford, included Daniel in his brief portraits of composers: 'Purcell Daniel Organist of Magd. Coll. in Oxon Son of [later corrected to] brother to Hen. Purcell'.[23] Anthony Ford, whose work was mostly derived from Wood's writings, entered 'Purcel (Daniel) Bro: to Hen. Orgt of Magd Col Ox whence he movd to Lond'.[24] Wood's work was itself compiled with the help of Benjamin Rogers, sometime organist of Magdalen College, but was not always

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[22] *Vinculum Societatis, or the Tie of Good Company* (London, 1687), 10. *NG I* lists Daniel's earliest published music as being in *The Theater of Music* (1685), but whilst there are two texts to which Daniel set music 'Within a solitary grove' and 'Phillis talk no more of passion' (H239 and H143.12 respectively), these are not his compositions.

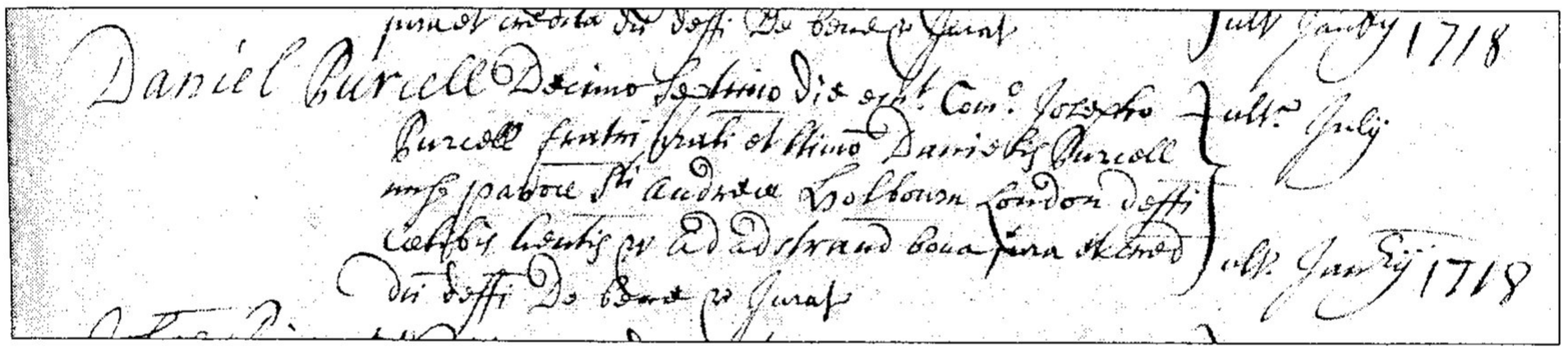
[23] Anthony Wood, in Ob Wood D 19 (4), f.106. Wood's writings seem to be quite early – under Daniel's name he lists 'compositions in ye second book of Harmonia Sacra: a divine Hymns & Dialogues &c Lond. 1693 fol.'

[24] Thomas Ford, Chaplain of Christ Church, in Ob MS Mus.e.17, f.40. Ford seems to have compiled this somewhat later; he refers to the *The Judgment of Paris*, dating from 1701, in a list of Daniel's notable works.

entirely accurate.[25] The explanation for Wood changing 'Son of Henry Purcell' to 'brother to Hen. Purcell' is not clear, nor is it evident if it was a material change, or just a change in emphasis.[26]

Daniel's signature as a witness on an indenture between Edward (son of Thomas) and Temperance Purcell and their daughter Katherine, suggests that he was closely connected with Thomas's side of the family.[27] Further, there are two posthumous sources which require attention. First, an act of administration on Daniel's death (reproduced in fig. 4 below) in which Joseph Purcell was described as his 'fratri naturali et legitimo', or natural and legitimate brother.[28]

Fig 4. Administration Record for Daniel's Estate


Daniel Purcell Decimo Septimo die ejusd. Com.o Joseph
Purcell fratri naturali et legitimo Danielis Purcell
nuper parochiæ Sti Andreæ Holborn London defti
Letters Administ. fuer ad Edstrand Bouchier Attorn.
dni defti De bene &c Juramt
July Sandy 1718
ult.o July.
ult.o Julij 1718

Second, an advertisement placed by Edward Purcell in support of his standing as organist of St Andrew, Holborn:

[25] Wood seems to have accepted unreliable information elsewhere in his notes. For example, he wrote 'Dr. Rogers tells me that John Blow was born in London', when, in fact, he was born in Newark (Ob Wood D 19 (4), f.22, quoted in Zimmerman, 290). This may suggest that his confusion over Henry Purcell's parentage was caused by conflicting sources.

[26] See also John L Boston, 'Purcell's Father', and Westrup 'Fact and Fiction about Purcell', 95.

[27] See below for further discussion of this document.

[28] Lpro PROB 6/94, f.10.

> Whereas Edward Purcell, only Son to the late famous Mr Henry Purcell, stands candidate for the Organist's Place of St. Andrews, Holbourn, in the Room of his Uncle Mr. Daniel Purcell, deceas'd.[29]

As well as documents which suggest parentage for the Purcell children, there are are a number of sources which refer to the filial relationship between Daniel and Henry, without stating anything about their parentage. In the dedicatory epistle to his *Six Sonatas or Solos* (1698), Daniel thanked a prospective patron for 'the regard you have been Pleas'd to show the memory of my Brother Henry Purcell', and a year later, in the introduction to the dramatick opera *The Island Princess* by Peter Motteux (H124), the author wrote 'What Mr. Daniel Purcel has set is so fine, that as he seems inspir'd with his Brother's wonderful Genius, it cannot but be equally admir'd'.[30]

A lamentation on Henry junior's death by Daniel also notes their relationship: 'A Lamentation for the Death of Mr. H. Purcell. Set to Music by his Brother, Mr. Daniel Purcell' (H401), the closing two lines of text of which are, 'Since Nature thus pays Tribute to his Urn, How should a sad, forsaken Brother mourn!'[31]

In January 1707, an advertisement described that the fine libretto for the all-sung opera of *Orlando Furioso* had 'given Mr. [Daniel] Purcell an Opportunity to do Honour to the Memory of his Brother',[32] whilst in the preface to his set of cantatas Daniel mentioned Henry a number of times, and wrote about the 'Reputation of those [dramatick operas]

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[29] *Daily Courant*, 11 December 1717, repeated on 12 and 13 December.

[30] Peter Motteux, 'To the Reader' from *The Island Princess* (London, 1699), [v].

[31] *Orpheus Britannicus* (third edition), 1721, i. iv-v.

[32] *Muses Mercury* (January 1707), 11. The opera was never performed and may never even have been written (see H134).

in my Brother's Time', and that he was 'pleas'd with the Remembrance of my Brother's good Successes'.[33] Further, an advertisement in the *Spectator* in 1712, advertising a concert of Daniel's, proclaims that 'On Wednesday the 3rd of April, at Stationers' Hall, Mr. Daniel Purcell, brother of the memorable Mr. Henry Purcell, will exhibit an entertainment of Vocal and Instrumental Musick entirely new.'[34]

An *Elegy on the Death of Daniel Purcell*, found in a manuscript of his anthems, concludes with the line 'In th'art of music, he perform'd so well, That him, his brother only cou'd excel',[35] whilst Hawkins was somewhat less generous when he stated that 'Daniel Purcell was a brother of the former [Henry junior], and from him derived most of that little reputation which as a musician he possessed'.[36] Burney also drew this comparison, writing that Daniel 'seems to have had little other merit than that of being brother to Henry Purcell'.[37]

However, one piece in this jigsaw of evidence is most puzzling: a Marriage Licence issued by the Vicar-General, an officer of the Archbishop of Canterbury, for Daniel Purcell to marry Elizabeth Tozer (see figs. 5 and 8).

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[33] Daniel Purcell, *Six Cantatas for a Voice, with a Through Bass* (London, [1713]).

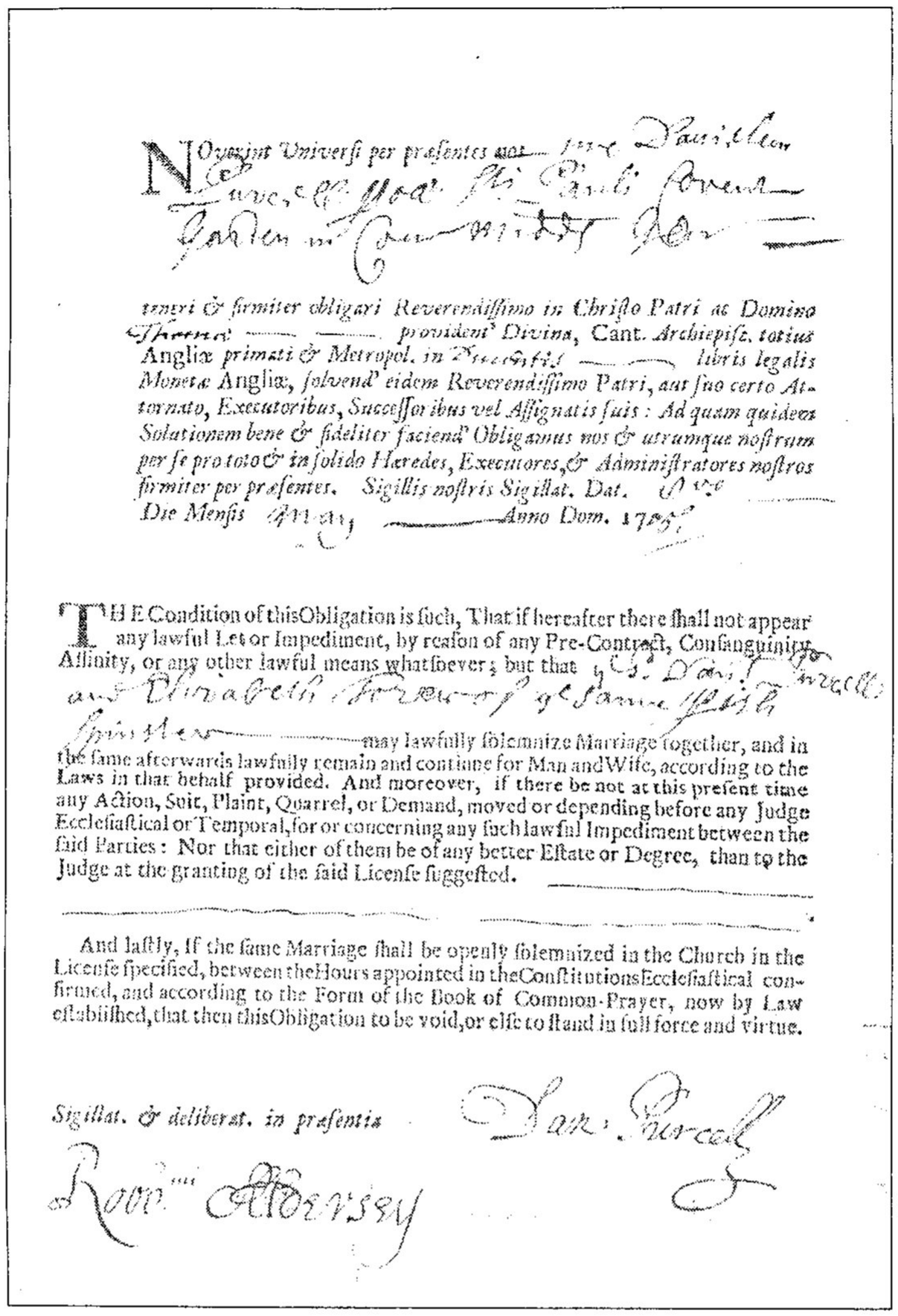
[34] *The Spectator*, 31 March 1712.

[35] Ob MS Mus.d.226.

[36] Hawkins, ii. 759.

[37] Burney, ii. 984.

Fig 5. Marriage Licence Bond for Daniel Purcell and Elizabeth Tozer



Omnibus Universi per præsentes nos [illegible] Purcell de
[illegible] Civ. & Mercat. Sti Pauli Londin
[illegible] Cordwainer Teneri & firmiter obligari Reverendissimo in Christo Patri ac Domino
[illegible] —— —— providentâ Divinâ, Cant. Archiepisc. totius
Angliæ primati & Metropol. in [illegible] —— libris legalis
Monetæ Angliæ, solvend' eidem Reverendissimo Patri, aut suo certo Attornato, Executoribus, Successoribus vel Assignatis suis: Ad quam quidem
Solutionem bene & fideliter faciend' Obligamus nos & utramque nostrum
per se pro toto & in solido Hæredes, Executores, & Administratores nostros
firmiter per præsentes. Sigillis nostris Sigillat. Dat. [illegible]
Die Mensis May —— Anno Dom. 1705.

THE Condition of this Obligation is such, That if hereafter there shall not appear any lawful Let or Impediment, by reason of any Pre-Contract, Consanguinity, Affinity, or any other lawful means whatsoever; but that [illegible] Purcell and Elizabeth Tozer of [illegible] Spinster —— may lawfully solemnize Marriage together, and in the same afterwards lawfully remain and continue for Man and Wife, according to the Laws in that behalf provided. And moreover, if there be not at this present time any Action, Suit, Plaint, Quarrel, or Demand, moved or depending before any Judge Ecclesiastical or Temporal, for or concerning any such lawful Impediment between the said Parties: Nor that either of them be of any better Estate or Degree, than to the Judge at the granting of the said License suggested.

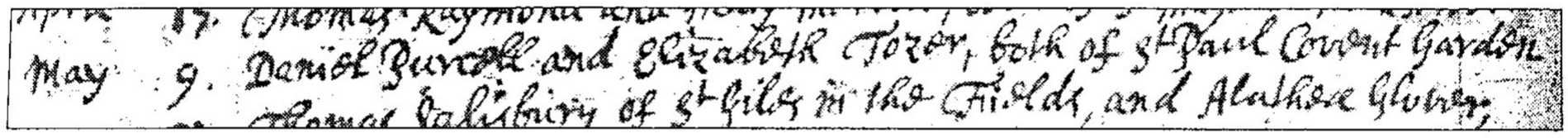
And lastly, If the same Marriage shall be openly solemnized in the Church in the License specified, between the Hours appointed in the Constitutions Ecclesiastical confirmed, and according to the Form of the Book of Common-Prayer, now by Law established, that then this Obligation to be void, or else to stand in full force and virtue.

Sigillat. & deliberat. in præsentia [illegible] Dan. Purcell
[illegible] [illegible]

Marriage licences removed the need for banns to be read in churches, and their use was seen as quicker, more convenient and discreet, and showed more social prestige. Although it was valid for three months, it was rare for anything more than a few days to intervene between the issuing of the licence and the wedding service itself, which did not have to take place in the church specified in the document. The record kept by the Vicar-General's office consisted of two parts - the allegation and the bond (see figs. 8 and 5 respectively). The allegation was a hand-written submission which declared that the parties intended to marry, and in which the home parishes of the bride and groom

were entered. The bond, a printed template half in Latin and half in English (see fig. 5), was completed by the office and signed by one or both of the people intending to marry, although usually by the groom alone. The groom incurred a monetary penalty if a legal impediment to the marriage was subsequently discovered.

Fig 6. Marriage Register of St Ann, Blackfriars



Unknown to Zimmerman, the registers for St Ann, Blackfriars, show that this wedding took place on 9 May 1705 (see fig. 6). The wedding would actually have taken place at the church of St Andrew-by-the-Wardrobe, as St Ann's had been destroyed in the fire of London in 1666 and had not been rebuilt. The two parishes had merged in 1670.[38]

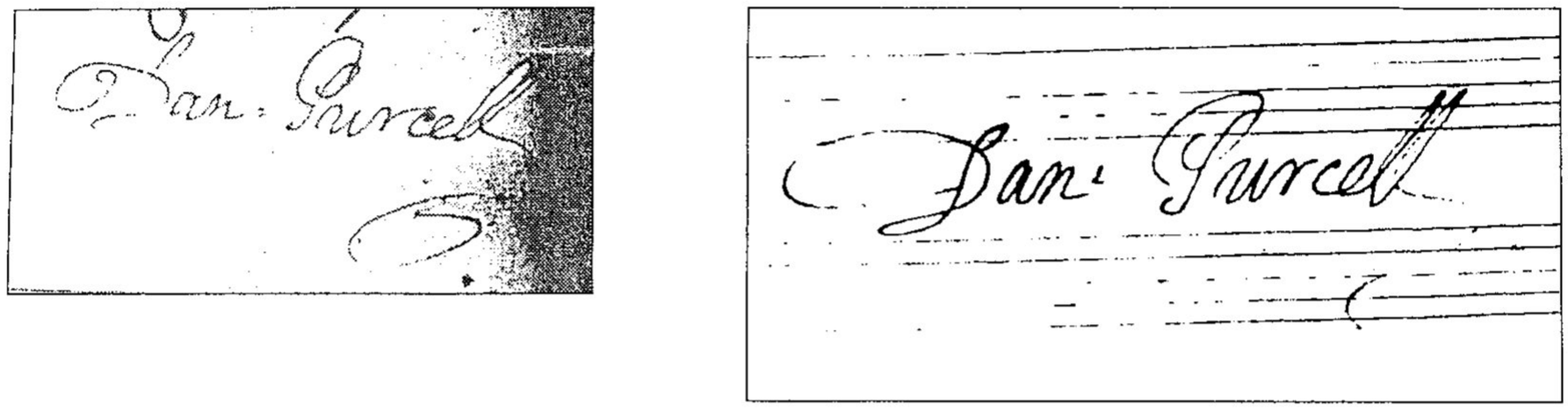
It might be supposed that the man mentioned in this register is not the same Daniel Purcell as the composer, for in the record of the administration of his estate, Daniel was described as 'Celibis', normally translated as 'bachelor'.[39] However, the signature of the groom matches other known signatures of Daniel Purcell, and, although no other record of his residence in the parish of St Paul's Covent Garden is known, it is consistent with

[38] Registers now at Lgc MS 4509/1. It was relatively common for churches which had been lost through demolition of destruction and united with another parish to continue to maintain separate registers for years after their union. See *City of London Parish Registers* (7th ed., London, 1999), p.iii.

[39] Lpro PROB 6/94, f.10.

the church's theatrical connections. In this case, it is obvious, therefore, that 'Celibis' merely meant he was not married at the time of his death.[40]

Fig 7. Comparison of signatures of Daniel Purcell (L: Marriage Licence allegation, 8 May 1705, R: from the autograph manuscript for the anthem 'The Lord gave the word' (H25), probably 1709).



It seems most likely, then, that the Daniel Purcell who married Elizabeth Tozer was the musician.[41] Zimmerman's transcription of the Marriage Licence runs thus:

> Daniel Purcell, gentleman, of St. Paul's, Covent Garden, and Elizabeth Torer [sic] of the same, spinster, aged 27, to take place at St. Paul's, Covent Garden.[42]

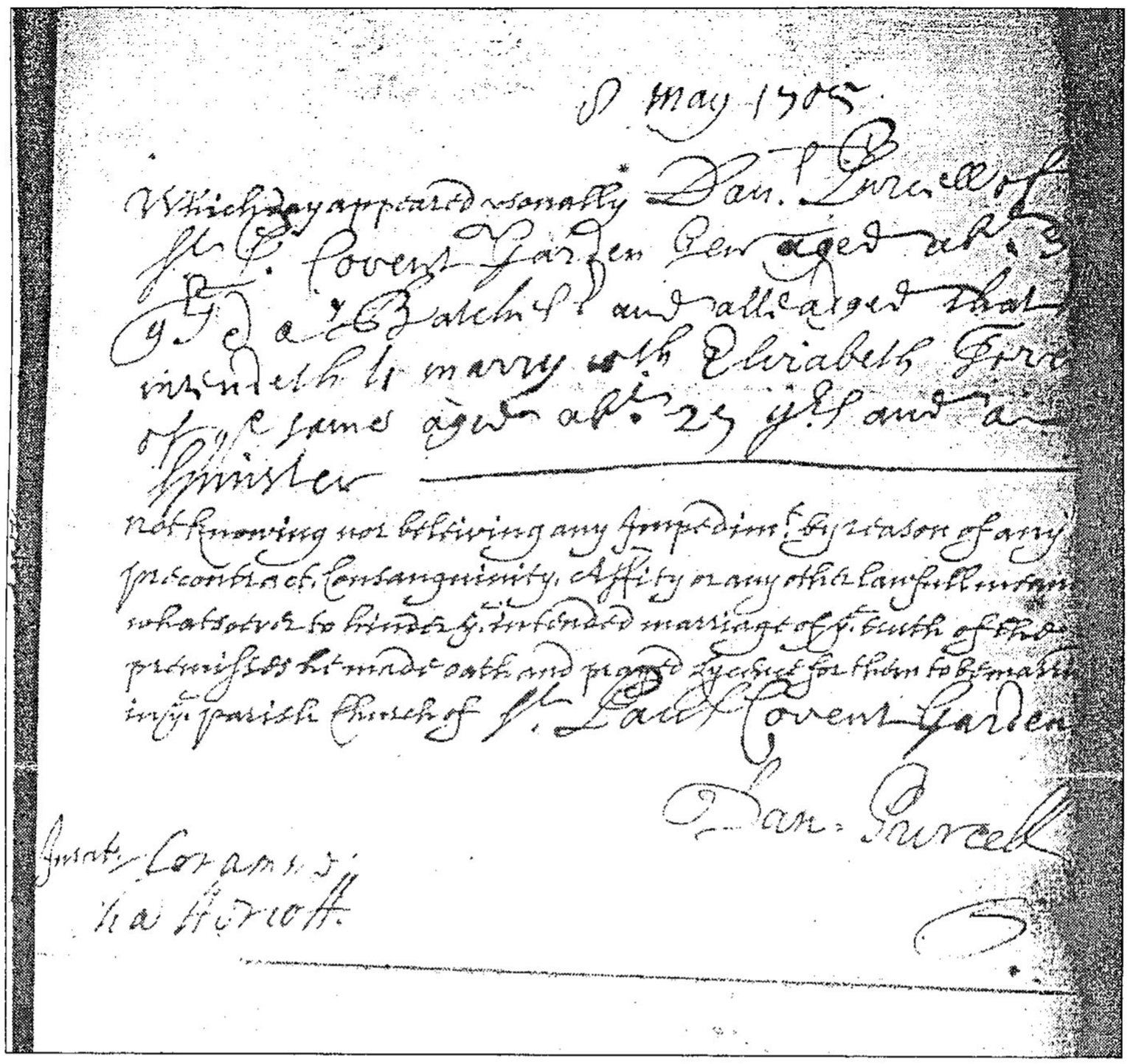
However, the document itself is rather different.

[40] 'Words denoting kinship in the medieval and early modern period were often used more broadly than their dictionary definition might suggest,' Richard Adair, in private correspondence. The woman who is depicted in a portrait miniature in two portraits of Daniel Purcell (see Appendix I) might well be Elizabeth Tozer, her appearance signifying a recent death.

[41] Being married by Vicar-General's license was not unknown in the family: Katherine Purcell, one of Henry senior's children, was issued with one on 20 June 1691 (Zimmerman, 320).

[42] Zimmerman, 271.

Fig 8. Marriage Licence Allegation for Daniel Purcell and Elizabeth Tozer



8 May 1705

Which day appeared personally Danl. Purcell of

St P. Covent Garden Gent aged abt. 35

yrs a Batchelor and alleadged that

he intended to marry w[i]th Elizabeth Tozer

of ye same aged abt. 25 yrs. and a

spinster

not knowing nor beleiving any Impedim[en]t. by reason of any

pre contract, consanguinity, Affi[ni]ty or any other lawfull means

whatsoever to hinder ye intended marriage of ye truth of which

promises he made oath and pray'd Lycence for them to be married

in ye Parish Church of St. Paul Covent Garden.

Included in this document, though difficult to read owing to the tightness of the binding, is the statement that Daniel Purcell is 'aged abt 35 yrs.' This re-examination of this document is highly significant as it gives, for the first time, a suggestion of Daniel's date of birth, evidence which, together with other biographical details, will help to solve the conundrum of Daniel's parentage.

Daniel Purcell, Brother to Henry?

The evidence regarding Daniel's early life is mystifyingly incomplete. More can be drawn from the lack of evidence than from its existence. Given that the baptism of Katherine Purcell, a daughter of Henry senior, was registered at Westminster Abbey in 1662, it is surprising that Daniel's is not similarly recorded: given Henry's death in 1664, Daniel's baptism could hardly have taken place much later, if he were Henry's son.[43]

Three sources introduce a degree of doubt into whether Daniel can have been Henry senior's son. Daniel's known service in the choir of the Chapel Royal was from 1678 to 1682, dates which do not sit easily with Henry Purcell senior's death in 1664. As these payment records list the boys in order of seniority,[44] Daniel would have been the most junior of the boys at the age of fourteen. Further, at his last recorded attendance as a child, Daniel would have been a veritable veteran of seventeen years old. Daniel's signature on the indenture between Edward (son of Thomas) Purcell, his wife and

[43] Katherine's baptism was recorded 'Katherine, daughter of Mr. Henry Purcell' on 13 March 1662, see J L Chester *The Marriage, Baptismal, and Burial Registers of the Collegiate Church or Abbey of St Peter, Westminster*, 67. She was the first baptism recorded in this register since 1645.

[44] *BDECM*, 616-617, referring to Charles Husbands: 'He was last in the list of boys (and therefore probably the most junior of them)'.

daughter is a further point of interest.[45] If Daniel were the son of Henry senior, it would seem unlikely that he and not one of Edward's brothers would have witnessed this agreement, particularly given Daniel's hardly exemplary record on debt and financial reliability.[46] Furthermore, there is no proof that Joseph, Daniel's 'natural and legitimate' brother, was Henry senior's son, as Zimmerman suggests.

However, the crucial document (one might call it the 'final, clinching evidence') is the allegation part of the Marriage Licence (see fig. 8). As Daniel was 'aged abt. 35 yrs' in May 1705, he was born in about 1670, some six years after his supposed father, Henry Purcell senior, died.

If Daniel was the son of Henry, the latter's death on 11 August 1664 provides a *terminus ad quem* for Daniel's birth of May 1665. He could therefore have been no younger than 13 when he was listed as the most junior chorister of the chapel royal, and 17 at his last recorded attendance as one of the children, and the Marriage Licence would have been inaccurate by at least five years.

However, if Daniel was the son of Thomas and born, as the Chapel Royal records and Marriage Licence evidence suggests, around 1670, he would have been between 8 and 12 years of age whilst a Chapel Royal chorister, have published his first music aged 17, been appointed organist of Magdalen at 19, married at the age of 35, and died aged 47.

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[45] See below for further discussion of this document.

[46] See 'Daniel Purcell and Magdalen College', below.

It seems most likely, then, that Daniel was the son of Thomas, unless he were an illegitimate child born to Elizabeth after Henry senior's death.[47] It seems equally likely, however, that Henry junior cannot have been the son of Thomas. Hingeston's will supports Zimmerman's position on this matter.[48] Henry junior and Daniel therefore cannot possibly have been brothers, despite the many references to them as such, even from contemporary commentators.

As Zimmerman himself explained, the children of Henry senior and Thomas would probably have been brought up together in a close extended family. Daniel would never have known Henry senior and, given his similar interests and experiences to Henry junior, would undoubtedly have thought of him as more of a brother than a cousin. Further, it would clearly have been in Daniel's personal and commercial interests to be known as Henry's brother, giving him a higher status, and more earning power, than merely being his cousin. As so many of the references which describe them as brothers are clearly for the purpose of publicity, and therefore ultimately of success and financial gain, this hypothesis seems very likely indeed.

On the premise that Daniel was the son of Thomas, and that Henry junior was the son of Henry senior, evidence regarding the other members of Daniel's family can now be examined in detail.

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[47] Richard Adair, in private correspondence, considered that there was 'little obvious motivation to conceal' illegitimacy as it carried such a small stigma in seventeenth-century England'.

[48] The will is transcribed in *BDECM*, 575-576.

Other Members of Thomas Purcell's Family

Thomas's eldest son was probably Edward, possibly born in 1653.[49] Edward married Temperance Wall, the daughter of Samuel Wall, an attorney of Staple Inn, in 1671 or 1672. Their first child, Samuel, was buried only four days after being baptised, in December 1673. The baptism of a second child, Katherine, is recorded on 1 July 1675. When Temperance's father died, he made arrangements to leave some of his property to their daughter, Katherine, even mentioning their financial mismanagement in his will, leaving '£43 remaining from far greater sum taken up to pay and discharge imprudent and extravagant debts contracted by ... said daughter'.[50] Daniel was a witness to the signing of an indenture by Edward and Temperance Purcell, and their daughter Katherine, in 1698, relating to property left to Katherine by her grandfather.[51]

On his younger brother Charles's death, Edward became embroiled in a legal case against the widow of a fellow officer, whom Edward considered had appropriated Charles's belongings as her own. In this suit, Edward is described as 'Edward Purcell ... of Mickleham in the County of Surrey, gentleman, brother and executor of Captain Charles Purcell deceased.' As Charles's will showed he was the son of Katherine Purcell, there can be no confusion that this Edward was Thomas's son.

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[49] As previously mentioned, the Edward Purcell who was listed as an assistant gentleman usher in Edward Chamberlayne's *Angliae Notitia* and later became a soldier, as recorded in various sources and confirmed by his gravestone at Wytham, was the son of Henry, not Thomas.

[50] Samuel Wall's will is reproduced in part in Zimmerman, 329, where the relationship between Samuel Wall and Katherine Purcell as 'my neice [sic]'. The court's copy of the will at Lpro PROB 11/409 clearly states that Katherine is his 'grandchild'.

[51] This is partially transcribed in Zimmerman, 329, without reference to a location. It is possible that it is the indenture which is described in the prefatory material to the first edition, when Zimmerman acknowledged the help of 'Mr. Harold Purcell, Managing Director of L.P.E. Television Ltd., London, for generous provision of unique genealogical data and for even more generous forbearance upon the loss of the original indenture belonging to him', Zimmerman, first ed. (1968), xiv. The text beyond the word 'data' is omitted from the reprinted 'Acknowledgements: First Edition' in Zimmerman, second ed., p.xiv.

No baptism records survive for Thomas and Katherine's next two children, Francis and Elizabeth. As Thomas served as groom to the queen dowager Henrietta Maria, and to Catherine of Braganza, Charles II's queen, it is likely that the family lived at Somerset House, probably between 1663 and 1668. This would certainly explain why Edward, Francis and Elizabeth's baptisms, which must all have taken place before 1663, are not recorded at St Mary-le-Strand, and why the baptisms of Joseph and Daniel, who were probably born after 1668, are not found there either.

Francis Purcell followed his father into court service, and was first awarded a Warrant Dormant on 8 August 1673.[52] Francis seems to have been a cornet (cavalry officer, or standard bearer) in the Regiment of Dragoons, as three separate records in 1678 and 1679 show,[53] but then returned to court, succeeding his father as groom of the robes in 1682.[54]

Elizabeth, Thomas and Katherine's first daughter, must have been born in about 1660, as her memorial tablet in Wing parish church shows she died on 30 October 1733, aged 73.

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[52] 'Francis Purcell, groom of the Privy Chamber to the King, his warrant dormant … We will and command you that at the Feast of the Saints next coming you will deliver unto our well-beloved servant Francis Purcell whom we have appointed to be one of the grooms of our Privy Chamber in ordinary … a livery … to be received yearly at the Feast of All Saints', Lpro LC 5/53, f.50v, quoted in Zimmerman, 284.

[53] Zimmerman, 285.

[54] 'Francis Purcell … appointed to be one other groom of our robes in the place of his father, Thomas Purcell, deceased'. Lpro LC 5/53, f.155, c.29 September 1682, quoted in Zimmerman, 284.

Charles, Thomas's next son, was baptised at the church of St Mary-le-Strand (though as the church building had been demolished by Edward, Lord Protector, to make way for an enlarged Somerset House in 1548, and was not rebuilt until 1714, these baptisms probably took place in the Chapel of the Savoy) on 16 October 1663 and later became a Captain in the Navy. Charles must have been a fast climber, as he had charge of his own ship by the age of 23.[55] In his will, made on 4 June 1682, some four years before he died,[56] Charles left to his mother Katherine a 'mourning' [?suit, or ring], and to his sisters Elizabeth and Katherine a mourning ring each.[57] His 'loving brother' Edward was the sole executor. The witnesses to the will included 'M. Purcell' and 'Eli. Purcell', presumably Matthew, his brother, and Elizabeth, his sister. There is, therefore, no mention of William, Francis, Daniel, or Joseph. Charles died whilst in command of the ship *Le George*, off the coast of Guinea, in 1686, prompting the court case involving Edward, mentioned above.[58]

Matthew's baptism is noted in the records of St Mary-le-Strand on 28 September 1664. He was a soldier who served as Ensign to Captain Scudamore in Prince George of

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[55] Zimmerman seems to have been confused regarding the two Charles Purcells. In the first edition (293), he originally argued that Charles son of Thomas was a 'Bishop's Boy' at St Peter's College, Westminster from 1670 to 1677, when his scholarship seems to have passed to Henry junior. In the second edition, however, he suggested variously that document referred to Charles, son of Henry (14-15, 269-270, 340-341), or Charles, son of Thomas (xvii, 29, 31). In light of the discovery of a baptism record for Charles, son of Thomas, which was not known to Zimmerman, it would seem unlikely that he was a Bishop's Boy as he would have been aged just 7.

[56] Transcribed in Zimmerman, 265-266. A transcription is available at Lpro PROB 11/383, though in the current online directory it is mis-indexed as 'Purrell'.

[57] Letters of administration at Lpro PROB 32/66/121.

[58] The bullion and other valuables on board were acquired by William Bayley, who also died at sea. They were then passed to his wife, Anne Bayley, whom Edward Purcell took to court to attempt to obtain at least some of these treasures. The outcome of this case, read on 28 November 1687, is unknown. On 20 December 1687 Anne Bayley denied 'any knowledge of anything', and 'questions Edward Purcell's authority as executor and Charles Purcell's authority as Captain', but no further record of the case has yet been found. Lpro C5/90/90, transcribed in detail in Zimmerman 266-269.

Denmark's Regiment of Foot, as documented on 21 July 1688.[59] On 15 May 1681 Thomas granted power of attorney to 'my trusty and well beloved son, Matthew Purcell', in a document witnessed by 'F. Purcell', presumably Francis, his son.[60]

The St Mary-le-Strand records include the baptism of two further children, William and Katherine, on 24 January 1666 and 4 May 1667, respectively. Other than a reference to Katherine in Charles' will, made in 1682, nothing more is known of either.[61]

No baptism records survive for St Mary-le-Strand between 1669 and 1682, so it remains possible that Joseph and Daniel, the remaining two children, were baptised there during that time. Alternatively, as Thomas and family left Somerset House and moved to their house in Pall Mall,[62] it is possible that Joseph and Daniel were baptised in their new parish church of St Martin-in-the-Fields, though no record can be found in the church's register.[63] Joseph married a Sarah Dormer in 1694 at St James's, Duke Place, a church known during this time for the high volume of clandestine marriages;[64] their child Ann

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[59] Charles Dalton, *English Army Lists and Commission Registers, 1661-1714*, ii. 161, quoted in Zimmerman 320. Dalton notes that 'Matt. Pursell' does not appear in any subsequent list.

[60] Published in Zimmerman, 90-91, from a document once in the possession of Cummings, and transcribed by Hugh McLean at the Nanki Music Library, Japan.

[61] 'January 24 William Purssell The Soun off Thomas Purssell' (from the records, now in the Westminster Central Archives, London). A Katherine Purcell also witnessed Matthew Purcell's will, in 1702. Zimmerman (343n) suggests that this was the daughter of Edward and Temperance, not Matthew's sister. *BDECM*, 932-933, gives 4 May 1666 as the baptism date for Katherine, but further examination of the registers, which admittedly lack clarity, shows that this was incorrect.

[62] *BDECM*, 931 suggests this happened in the early 1670s.

[63] One man whose baptism record does survive at St Martin-in-the-Fields is the singer Richard Leveridge, who was baptised on 24 July 1670 and who later sang many of Daniel's songs on the London stage.

[64] 9 January 1694, 'Joseph Purcell. B[achelor]. Sarah Dormer. S[pinster]. Frances Jackman. F. [i.e. witness]', Lgc MS 7894/2, p. 71. St James's was popular for couples who wanted to marry in secrecy or without delay, as no banns were read and no licence necessary. See *City of London Parish Registers* (7th ed., London, 1999), iv.

was born in December 1707. Ten years later, in 1717, Joseph was appointed Daniel's executor when he died, seemingly without making a will.[65]

Zimmerman listed another Thomas Purcell amongst Thomas and Katherine's children.[66] Further, on 3 August 1686, a child, Thomas Purcell, was buried in the cloisters of Westminster Abbey,[67] though there is no mention of father or mother, Zimmerman and Westrup list this child amongst Henry junior's children which, given his connection with the Abbey, would seem likely.[68] Purcell seems not to have been a particularly unusual surname: for instance, Thomas Purcell, a child from the parish of St Andrew's Holborn, was acquitted of murder at the Old Bailey on 7 July 1697, but it seems most unlikely that he was related to the musical family.[69] Therefore, unless he was the Thomas Purcell who was a pupil at Eton and, possibly, Oxford,[70] there seems to be no evidence for the existence of a tenth child for Thomas and Katherine.

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[65] The baptism records of Christ Church Newgate Street also record the date of Ann's birth, 'Jan. 20 [1708] Ann dau. of Joseph & Sarah Purcell born 26 Dec.' As the records from Christ Church were destroyed in the Second World War, the only source for this information is the published transcription, in *The Registers of Christ Church, Newgate, 1538 to 1754*, 110.

[66] Zimmerman, 340.

[67] J L Chester, *The Marriage, Baptismal, and Burial Registers of the Collegiate Church or Abbey of St Peter, Westminster*, 216.

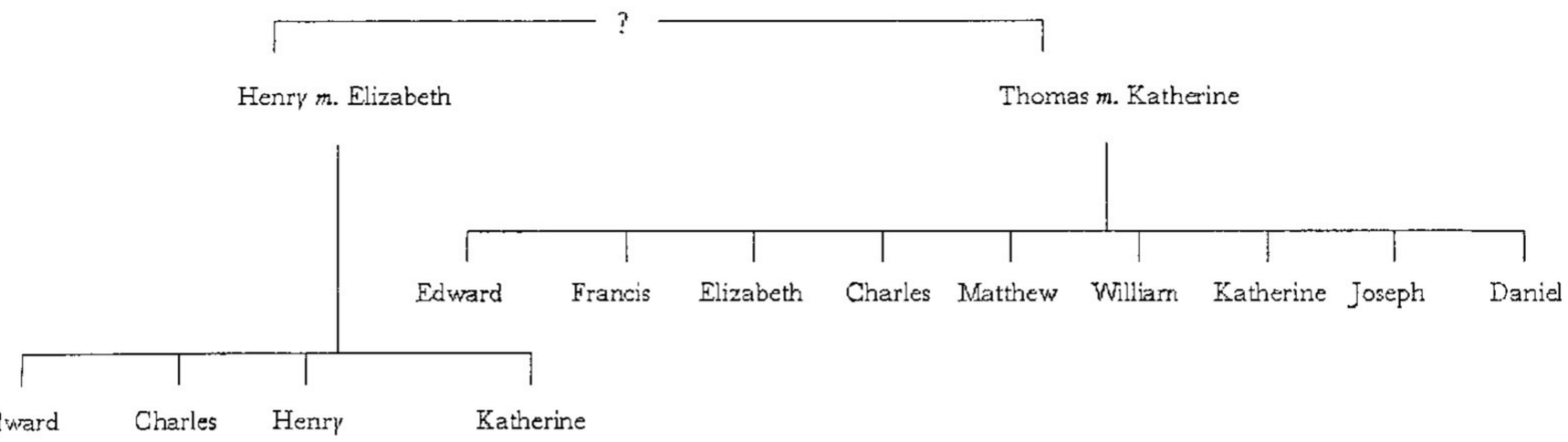
[68] Zimmerman, 326, 340; Westrup 56.

[69] 'Thomas Purcell, a little Boy, of the Parish of St. Andrews Holbourn, was indicted for the Murther of Richard Banister, by giving him one Mortal Wound with a Brick-batt on the right part of the Head, nigh to the right Ear, of which he soon, after died. It appeared that it was done by accident, he being very young, the Jury acquitted him.', see http://www.oldbaileyonline.org (reference t16970707-8).

[70] Wasey Sterry, *The Eton College Register*, 273: 'Purcell, 1672-1673. Thomas; b. in London; k.s. [i.e. King's Scholar] 1672 aged 11.'

The Purcell family: a new family tree

Fig 9. A New Purcell family tree



The main doubts which could be raised over this revised tree is the sheer number of Thomas and Katherine's children who survived into adulthood, and the order of Joseph and Daniel Purcell as the youngest of their children. Nine children, of which Charles died the youngest in his twenties (though as nothing is known of William beyond his baptism, meaning he may have died in infancy), is an impressive success rate but certainly not beyond the bounds of possibility. It certainly goes some way to explaining why Thomas did not list all nine children individually in his will.

This revised family tree for the Purcell family sits far more comfortably with the known facts than either Westrup's or Zimmerman's. Yet, it is still not without doubt. Thomas's letter to Gostling cannot yet be discounted, nor can the plethora of references to Henry as Daniel's brother be ignored. However, this family tree must now be considered a more likely possibility than those which have gone before, and forms the basis of the context of Daniel's family in the following biography.

- 1 -

Early Days and the Chapel Royal (c.1670-1688)

Introduction

At around the time of Daniel's birth, his family moved, possibly from accommodation at Somerset House, to a house on the south side of Pall Mall.[1] This new property was in the parish of St Martin-in-the-Fields, near St James's Palace and Whitehall, a central location well-suited for a court employee and his family. Elizabeth Purcell, Daniel's aunt, probably still lived in Great Almonry, just south of Tothill Street, so the extended family, brought closer together by the death of Henry Purcell senior in 1664,[2] lived just a stone's throw away. Daniel's cousin, Henry junior, would have been about eleven years old when Daniel was born.

When Daniel was still very young, his eldest brother, Edward, married Temperance Wall, and Francis joined their father in service at court. His other siblings were still children; his sisters, Elizabeth and Katherine, were about eight and three, and his brothers, Charles, Matthew and William (if he survived infancy), were about six, five, and four years old, respectively. It is not known for certain if Joseph, another of Daniel's brothers, was younger or older.

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[1] Between 1663 and 1668, Thomas probably lived at Somerset House, being groom to the queen dowager Henrietta Maria and to Catherine of Braganza. The house on Pall Mall was probably the house mentioned in Thomas's will. See *BDECM*, 931.

[2] The description of Henry junior as 'my sonne' in Thomas Purcell's letter to John Gostling, discussed above, shows this closeness of the two families.

The Chapel Royal

The Chapel Royal, the records of which include payments to Daniel from 1679, was a body of clerics and musicians who provided services of divine worship wherever the monarch was residing, and had been reformed after the Restoration of the monarchy less than twenty years earlier. Church music had suffered greatly during the period of the Commonwealth. In May 1644, it was decreed that 'all Organs, and Frames or Cases wherein they stand in all Churches ... shall be taken away, and utterly defaced, and none hereafter set up in their places'.[3] Thomas Tudway, a Chapel Royal chorister shortly after the Restoration, later wrote about this period that:

> The Horrible devastations, the sons of violence had committed, on all things sacred, in the time of the Usurpation, had disfurnish'd all of the Cathedralls throughout both Nations of their Organs &c, so neccessary for the solemnization of divine service, in Singing of Hymns, & Psalms. Twas in those dark & Gloomy days, The Church of England was sad, & disconsolate, & Robb'd of all its Melody.[4]

On his Restoration, Charles II soon re-established the Chapel Royal and its musical services, an occasion which drew much attention from contemporary commentators.[5]

> The King took great delight in the Service of his Chappell, & was very intent upon Establishing his Choir, and had the goodness to make such an addition, as almost to double the number of Gentlemen, & Children of the Chappell w[hi]ch it consisted of before the Rebellion, to make room for those, who had bin Sufferrers, & had surviv'd the ward, & allso for the best voices that were then to be found.[6]

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[3] C H Firth and R S Rair (eds.), *Acts and Ordinances of the Interregnum, 1642-1660*, i. 425-6; quoted in Ian Spink, *Restoration Cathedral Music 1660-1714*, 3.

[4] Thomas Tudway, introduction to volume 2 of *Services and Anthems* (1716), Lbl MS Harl. 7338, f.2-2v.

[5] This chapel at Whitehall remained the centre of Chapel Royal activity until its destruction by fire in 1698.

[6] Thomas Tudway, introduction to volume 2 of *Services and Anthems* (1716), Lbl MS Harl. 7338 f.2v.

Whitehall Chapel, a small building of only about 75 by 30 feet, was also restored:

> The Seventeenth [of June, 1660], his majesty's chapell at whitehall was fitted with organs and all other things fitt for his majesty, which was the first day that his majesty was att his devocetion theire.[7]

Pepys heard this organ, together with the choir, the following month. He wrote, 'To Whitehall to Chapel ... Here I heard very good Musique, the first time that I remember ever to have heard the Organs and singing-men in Surplices in my life'.[8]

At the Chapel Royal, there were two services daily, at 10am and 4pm on weekdays and 9am and 4pm on Sundays and sermon days.[9] The whole choir had to attend on Sundays and feast days, but at other times they attended according to a monthly rota. The King attended on Sunday mornings and for special festivals. The Chapel Royal also accompanied the monarch to other royal residences, such as Windsor or Hampton Court, and some of the boys and men were expected to sing on the stage in London:

> It is his Ma^{ties} pleasure that Mr. Turner & Mr. Hart, or any other men or Boyes belonging to his Ma^{ts} Chapell Royall that sing in ye Tempest at His Royal Highnesse Theatre doe remaine in Towne all the weeke (dureing his Ma^{ties} absence from Whitehall) to performe that service, Only Saterdayes to repaire to Windsor and to returne to London on Mundayes if there be occasion for them. And that [they] also performe ye like service in ye Opera in ye said Theatre Or any other thing in ye like nature where their helpe may be desired upon notice given them thereof.[10]

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[7] Lbl Add MS 10116 (Thomas Rugge, MERCURIUS POLITICUS redivivus, or a Collection of the most materiall occurances and Transactions in publick affaires, since Anno Domini 1659 untill the 28 March 1672 ; together with a table prefixed), f.103, quoted in Baldwin, *Chapel Royal*, 103.

[8] *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*, ed. Robert Latham and William Matthews, i. 195.

[9] Much of the information in this section is taken from Dearnley, *English Church Music 1650-1750*, 19ff and Spink, *Restoration Cathedral Music 1660-1714*, 101ff.

[10] Ashbee, i. 138, 16 May 1674.

The Chapel Royal, with clerical as well as lay members, consisted of thirty-two gentlemen, including three organists, and twelve boys. Their duties were described by Edward Chamberlayne in his *Angliae Notitiae* of 1669:

> By the Dean are chosen all other officers of the Chapel, viz. a Subdean or *Praecentor Capella*, 32 Gentlemen of the Chappel, whereof 12 are Priests ... The other 20 Gentlemen, commonly called Clerks of the Chappel, are with the aforesaid Priests to perform in the Chappel the office of Divine Service in Praying, Singing, &c. One of these being well skilled in Musick, is chosen Master of the Children, whereof there are 12 in Ordinary, to instruct them in the Rules and Art of Musick for Service of the Chappel. Three other said Clerks are chosen to be organists, to whom are joyned upon Sundayes, Collar dayes, and other Holydayes, the Saickbuts and Cornets belonging to the King's Private Musick, to make the Chappel Musick more full and compleat.[11]

The Master of the Children from 1674 was John Blow, one of the earliest of the post-Restoration choristers.[12] He was responsible for recruiting boys for the choir,[13] and for supervising all their musical tuition, including violin, bass viol, various keyboard instruments and, of course, music theory and composition.[14] Daniel probably studied the organ with Blow or Henry Purcell junior, and although no compositions survive

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[11] Ashbee, v. 280. By the 12th edition (1679), a 'Consort', presumably meaning strings, had replaced sackbuts and cornetts.

[12] Born in Newark in 1649, Blow was probably one of the 'five boys from Newark and Lincoln' that Captain Cooke brought to the Chapel Royal in 1661, and was sworn in as Master of the Children on the death of Pelham Humphrey. See Ashbee, i. 19, 140, and H Watkins Shaw, *Succession of Organists*, 9.

[13] Ashbee, i. 166, a payment to John Blow 'For his charges & Expenses in his goeing to Windsor, Oxford, Gloucester, Hereford & Worcester to fetch Boyes from those Quires for his Ma^{ties} Chappell Royall by ye space of Twenty six dayes in July & August 1676'.

[14] Ashbee, i. 182, a payment to John Blow 'For the children learning on the lute £30 / For their learning on the violin £30 / For their learning on the theorbo £30 / For fire and strings in the music room in the Chapel £20 / For ruled paper, pens and ink £2 10s / For strings for the lutes and theorbos £5 10s'. Blow wrote two sets of exercises to aid in his tuition. 'Rules for playing of a Through Bass upon Organ and Harpsicon' (Lbl Add MS 34072, f.1-5) and 'Rules for Composition' (Lbl Add MS 30933, f.163-173v) contain some of the basic principles and techniques which a young performer and composer would find essential, and had probably been used in Henry junior's tuition (see Zimmerman, 37-38). A payment was made to Blow 'for 1/3 of 230: for 5 yeares 3/4 keeping & teaching two boyes at 40pr: annum Ending att Xmas 1684' (contained 'in a volume of warrants, formerly the property of Sir Charles Graham of Netherby Hall, Cumbria, sold by Sotheby's on 10/11 July 1986', and reproduced in David Baldwin, *The Chapel Royal Ancient and Modern*, 304). Perhaps the evidence concerning Daniel's post-Chapel Royal life is concealed in this type of document which does not name the children.

from before 1687, Daniel would doubtless also have been encouraged to compose from an early age. Blow was also acting *in loco parentis* and was therefore responsible for the boys' non-musical education, as well as for their living environment, including clothing and health. This care included arranging for nurses to look after the sick, a bonesetter to put a cast on a broken leg, and even to bury boys who had died.[15]

The children's distinctive liveries were renewed twice a year, in winter and summer. The Lord Chamberlain's office would request from the Great Wardrobe:

> [For Winter liveries] For each of them one cloak of bastard scarlett cloth lined with velvett, one suit and coat of the same cloth made up and trimmed with silver and silk lace after the manner of our footmen's liveries, and also to the said suit three shirts, three half shirts, three pair of shoes, three pair of thigh stocking, whereof one pair of silk and two pair of worsted, two hats with bands, six bands and six pairs of cuffs whereof two laced and four plain, three handkerchers, three pairs of gloves and two pieces and a half of rebon for trimming garters and shoe strings.
>
> And at Easter for their summer liveries, for each boy one cloak of bastard scarlett lined with satin and one doublett of sattin with bastard scarlett trunk hose made and trimmed up as aforesaid, with three shirts, three half-shirts, three pair of shoes, three pair of thigh stockings, whereof one pair of silk and two pairs of worsted, two hats with bands, six bands and six pairs of cuffs, whereof two laced and four plain, three handkerchers, three pairs of gloves and two pieces and a half of rebon for trimming garters and shoe strings.[16]

The surviving Chapel Royal partbooks, and a list of works transcribed into them by the Sub-Dean,[17] show that the repertoire of the Chapel at the end of the 1670s was

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[15] Ashbee, i. 166, 176 and 212 detail payments to John Blow 'For a nurse, chamber rent & fireinge for keepeing of John Cherrington One of ye Children of ye Chappell being sick of ye spotted fever', 'For ye Bonesetter for cureing ye broaken legg of Richard Cherrington one of ye chappell', and 'For burying Edward Frost £7. 5s. 8d.'.

[16] Ashbee, i. xiii.

[17] The part books are at Lbl RM 27.a.1-15, see Laurie 'The Chapel Royal Part-Books', for a detailed examination. Lists are transcribed in Ashbee, i. 162-164, 'A Catalogue of Severall Services & Anthems

dominated by post-restoration composers such as Humphrey, Blow, Tucker and Child, all writing new works to satisfy Charles II, who:

> was a brisk, & Airy Prince, [and] comeing to the Crown in the Flow'r, & vigour of his Age, was soon, if I may so say, tyr'd w[i]th the Grave & Solemn way, And Order'd the Composers of his Chappell, to add Symphonys &c w[i]th Instruments to their Anthems.[18]

Daniel Purcell and the Chapel Royal

Unknown to Hawkins, who stated that 'it does not appear that he was educated in any choir',[19] Daniel was, in fact, one of the Children of the Chapel Royal, the last of four members of the Purcell family – together with Thomas, Henry senior and Henry junior – to sing in this choir during this period. Daniel's known service in the choir covers the period 14 August 1678 to 10 September 1682, the range of dates for which he was named in payment records as attending on the King at Windsor (see table 1 below).

The first of these payments, dated 8 April 1679, related to an attendance between 14 August and 26 September 1678,[20] whilst the next payment covered the period 30 June to 17 September 1679.[21] Daniel's final payment from the Chapel Royal was for his attendance between 22 April and 23 June, and from 8 July to 10 September 1682.[22] In

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that have beene transcribed into the Books of His Ma[ties] Chappell Royall since Anno 1670 to Midsumer 1676', and Ashbee, i. 193-194, covering 12 February 1677 to 25 December 1680.

[18] Thomas Tudway, introduction to volume 2 of *Services and Anthems* (1716), Lbl MS Harl. 7338, f. 2v. The appearance of the 'twenty-four violins' in Chapel Royal services is discussed further in Peter Holman, *Four and Twenty Fiddlers: The Violin at the English Court 1540-1690*, 389ff.

[19] Hawkins, ii. 759.

[20] Ashbee, i. 183.

[21] Ashbee, i. 185-6. The manuscripts of Marmaduke Alford, listed in the second payment as a yeoman of the Vestry, form part of this additional material to Ashbee and Harley's *The Cheque Books of the Chapel Royal*, and provide a brief commentary on etiquette and happenings in the Chapel.

[22] Ashbee, i. 205-6.

the payment records for the first attendance, Daniel is at the very bottom of the list, suggesting he was the most junior of the children. It was only a sub-group of the Chapel Royal which travelled to Windsor during this period; eight boys, rather than the full complement of twelve, are recorded as receiving payment for their attendance.

Narcissus Luttrell's writings cast some light on what happened during these visits to Windsor, though as Luttrell only started his writings in late September 1678, the first of Daniel's visits is not covered.[23] However, during the summer of 1679 'the count de Mayan, envoy extraordinary from the duke of Savoy, had his audience with their majesties at Windsor',[24] and towards the end of August 'his majestie was taken with a great cold at Windsor, which did very much indispose him for some time, and prov'd afterwards to be an ague, of which he had several fits'.[25] Their return to Whitehall, on 17 September 1679, was greeted with 'bonefires and ringing of bells for joy'.[26] During the first of the 1682 attendances, Charles II received 'the ambassador from the king of Bantam' and, shortly afterwards, the Duke of Ormond.[27] It is quite possible that these men attended services performed by the Chapel Royal's choir.

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[23] Narcissus Luttrell (1657-1732), educated at Cambridge, was an eccentric and intensely private character and was a compulsive bibliographer. Charles's time at Windsor was, it seems, mostly taken up with fishing, swimming, and walking. See Christopher Hibbert, *The Court at Windsor: A Domestic History*, 59-76.

[24] Luttrell, i. 20, 6 August 1679.

[25] Luttrell, i. 20, c.20 August 1679.

[26] Luttrell, i. 21, 17 September 1679.

[27] Luttrell, i. 185, 13 May 1682.

Table 1. Attendance of Gentleman and Children of Chapel Royal, in the payment lists for summer 1678, 1679 and 1682 respectively (those who appear in three lists are given in bold)

Name	Position	1678	1679	1682
Hugh Braddock (Bradock)	Child	■	■	■
Edward Buttler	Child		■	
Richard Carrington (Cherrington)	Child	■	■	
Gilbert Coningsby (Cunisbe)	Child	■		
William Goodgroome	Child	■	■	
Charles Husbands	Child			■
William Norris (Norrice)	Child			■
Francis Pigott (Piggett)	Child	■	■	■
Daniel Purcell	Child	■	■	■
Vaughan Richardson	Child	■	■	■
William Smyth	Child			■
John Thatcher	Child	■	■	■
John Abell	Gentleman		■	■
George Bettenham	Gentleman		■	
Thomas Blagrave	Gentleman	■	■	■
Edward Braddock (Bradock)	Gentleman	■	■	■
James Cobb	Gentleman	■	■	■
Stephen Crespion	Gentleman	■	■	■
Henry Frost	Gentleman	■	■	
John Gostling	Gentleman		■	
John Harding	Gentleman	■		
Morgan Harris	Gentleman			■
James Hart	Gentleman	■	■	
Richard Hart	Gentleman	■	■	■
Thomas Heywood	Gentleman	■	■	■
William Hopwood	Gentleman	■	■	■
Alph: Marsh sen	Gentleman	■		
Alph: Marsh jun	Gentleman	■		
William Powell	Gentleman			■
Thomas Purcell	Gentleman	■	■	
Thomas Richardson	Gentleman	■	■	■
John Sharole	Gentleman			■
Henry Smyth	Gentleman	■	■	■
William Turner	Gentleman	■	■	■
Nathaniel Watkins	Gentleman		■	■
Blase White	Gentleman			■
George Yardley	Gentleman			■
John Blow	Organist	■	■	■

There are three possible family pairings within the choir during Daniel's time: Braddock, Purcell and Richardson.[28] It is not known for certain that Edward Braddock

[28] *BDECM* does not suggest the possibility that the two 'Smyth' singers (*BDECM*, 1031 and 1024) were related. Certainly, Smyth junior is not mentioned in Smyth senior's will. Further, it is also possible, though not considered in *BDECM* (446-447), that the Edward Frost who died and was buried by Blow was the son of Henry Frost, the Gentleman of the Chapel.

was Hugh's father, but he was definitely the father of Elizabeth Braddock, who married John Blow at St Paul's Covent Garden on 4 September 1674.[29] Vaughan Richardson may have been the son of Thomas Richardson (c.1642-1719), or the brother of another Thomas, who was a chorister between 1685 and 1689.

Three of Daniel's contemporaries forged successful careers in the musical world. Vaughan Richardson and Francis Pigott both appear in all three of the payment records which include Daniel, and whilst there is no record of the passing out payment to Richardson or Daniel Purcell, Francis Pigott received such a payment on 5 March 1684.[30] Pigott became organist of St John's College, Oxford, in 1685, and of Magdalen College, Oxford, a year later. Although Richardson was in service until 1688, he seems to have been temporary organist at Worcester Cathedral from 1686.[31] From 1688 until his death in 1729, he was organist of Winchester Cathedral: on of his students there was James Kent, who later owned a manuscript of Daniel Purcell's anthems. William Norris, a third, younger, contemporary, became a junior vicar and master of the choristers of Lincoln Cathedral. Daniel Purcell, Vaughan Richardson, and Norris were just three of Blow's pupils who went on to become noted composers.[32]

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[29] She died in childbirth in October 1683, *BDECM*, 165.

[30] Pigott died in 1704, and Richardson in 1729, but details of their births are not known. Pigott's departure was recorded: 'Warrant to pay £30 to Dr. John Blow, master of the children of his Majesty's Chapel Royal, every year during his Majesty's pleasure, for the maintenance of Francis Pigott, late a child of the Chapel, whose voice is changed and is gone from the Chapel; beginning at Michaelmas 1683', Ashbee, i. 211.

[31] Richardson was replaced at Worcester by another of their contemporaries, Richard Cherrington, *BDECM*, 242.

[32] *NGII*, xviii. 50. The connection between Norris and Daniel is an interesting one. Norris later composed a St Cecilia's day ode, *Begin the noble song*, to the same text, by Samuel Wesley, that Daniel Purcell set for the Stationers' Hall celebration on St Cecilia's day in 1698. See Frank Dawes, 'William Norris of Lincoln'. See also 'St Cecilia's Day' in chapter 4 below. For more on Norris's sacred music output, see Spink, *Restoration Cathedral Music*, 282-284.

Daniel also sang with famous Gentlemen of the choir, including John Gostling and John Abell. John Gostling – 'that stupendous base'[33] – was one of the most famed singers of the day. Thomas Purcell's letter to Gostling, dated 8 February 1679, in which he describes Henry as 'my sonne', was sent only a few weeks before Gostling joined the Chapel Royal.[34] A minor canon of Canterbury Cathedral, he later became a sub-Dean of St Paul's Cathedral, and, as well as being a member of the Private Musick of James II and William and Mary, was also an important copyist. John Abell was admitted to service in the Chapel Royal in May 1679, probably about a year after Daniel, and later that year became one of the King's Private Music. However, between 1679 and 1688 he received large amounts of 'bounty money', totalling some £740, for services to the King when travelling abroad. A Roman Catholic sympathiser, if not actually one himself, Abell sang in the Roman Catholic chapel of James II, and remained in service at the court in exile as the Page of the Queen's Bedchamber. Unsuccessful overtures were then made to him to return to London, possibly through Daniel Purcell, then working for the Theatre Royal in Drury Lane.[35] In any case, Abell eventually relented, and went on to sing in a number of Daniel's works on the London stage, including the title role in *The Judgment of Paris*.

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[33] Evelyn, iv. 404.

[34] Zimmerman, 63.

[35] It is not entirely clear whether it was, in fact, Daniel Purcell to whom Abell referred in his letter when he wrote, 'Mr. Purcell writt me T[w]o years since from Sr Thomas Skipworth that If I would Come for England on the same subject, he would give me five hundred pounds a year'. The letter, from Aix La Chappelle, is dated 15 July 1698, only just over two years after Henry Purcell died. In early 1696, it seems unlikely that Daniel would have been entrusted to conduct any salary negotiations, and given the time for any letter from Henry Purcell to reach Abell, and the approximation in the letter of 'T[w]o years' it could well have been written before Henry's death in November 1695. Linda Merians, 'John Abell's return to England', does not consider the possibility that it was not, after all, Daniel Purcell.

In 1681, perhaps because of ill-health, Thomas Purcell appointed his son Matthew as his attorney, authorising him to collect any fees outstanding, and made his will the following month.[36] Thomas died a year later, on 31 July 1682, when Daniel was still a child of about twelve years old. Most of his possessions were left to his wife Katherine, the sole executor, whilst £5 was left to each of his children, unnamed in the document. The Chapel Royal also records a payment to Katherine of overdue monies owed to Thomas on his death. [37]

Daniel Purcell's last recorded duty with the choir of the Chapel Royal was in September 1682, but no record survives of his departure, or of the usual issue of clothing, such as this, to William Holder:

> These are to signifie unto you his Ma^ties^ pleasure that you provide and deliver unto John Blow, Master of the Children of His Ma^ties^ Chapell Royall for the use of Wm Holder late Childe of the Chappell whose voice is changed and is gon from ye Chappell Two suites of playne cloth, two Hatts and Hatt-bands, foure whole shirts, foure half shirts, six bands, six paire of Cuffes, sic handkerchiefes, four paire of stocking foure pair of shooes & foure paire of Gloves. And this with his hand for the receipt thereof shalbe your Warrt. Given undr my hand this 1st day of Aprill 1675. In the 27th year of His Ma^ties^ Reigne.[38]

Losing his father and the stability of his place in the Chapel Royal choir in such quick succession would have made this a very difficult time for Daniel, and between this and his arrival in Oxford some seven years later, nothing is known of Daniel's life. He may have become an unofficial assistant to John Blow, or to Henry junior, or moved to a

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[36] Lpro PROB 11/371, dated 4 June 1681, transcribed in Zimmerman 325-326.

[37] LC to TC. 'Warrant to pay £130 to Katherine Purcell, widow of Thomas Purcell, for his third part of £52 per year, allowed to the Grooms of the Robes for their lodging: for 7½ years, from Lady Day 1674 to John the Baptist 1682, at £17. 6s. 8d. a year', Ashbee, i. 205.

[38] Ashbee, i. xiii-xiv.

provincial cathedral, like Richardson at Worcester and Winchester, and Norris at Lincoln. Daniel would presumably have received further schooling somewhere; after all, he was just twelve or thirteen when he left the Chapel Royal, and around nineteen when he arrived in Oxford.[39]

Daniel's Chapel Royal training amongst such talented musicians was an ideal atmosphere in which to learn his musical trade, and the possibility that Daniel may have performed on the London stage with other members of the Chapel Royal cannot be discounted. It was seven years later, perhaps whilst still in his teens, that Daniel was appointed to the position of Informator Choristarum at Magdalen College, Oxford.

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[39] There is a slight possibility that Daniel had some contact with Exeter Cathedral after leaving the Chapel Royal, and though no records name Daniel amongst the musicians of the cathedral, salary payments to lay clerks were not recorded in the same way as those to organists. Evidence to support this theory is admittedly slight, though there was a close connection between Exeter and the Chapel Royal during this time. Henry Hall, then organist, had been taught by Blow, and Peter Passmore, a chorister from the cathedral, was sent by the Chapter to study with 'Mr Blowe the Kings Organist', who would 'teach and fully instruct him in that art' (D&C Exeter MS 3560, p.407, dated 1676). Passmore probably came to London in early 1677, and did not return until February 1679 (information kindly provided by Angela Doughty, Archivist at Exeter Cathedral). Following Blow's tuition of Passmore, Henry Purcell provided lessons for Hodg[e], though the tardiness of reimbursement is recorded in Henry's letter of 2 November 1686 to the Dean (reproduced in Westrup, facing page 81). See also Watkins Shaw, 'Blow, Purcell and the Exeter Choristers'.

A further connection between Daniel and the city of Exeter is possible. There are few details pertaining to Daniel's marriage, in 1705, to an Elizabeth Tozer. Tozer was a common name in Devon, and around Exeter in particular: there were a number of entries in the Cathedral registers from 1619 – the death of Solomon Tozer, Vicar Choral – and the International Genealogical Index shows twelve girls of this name baptised in Devon churches between 1670 and 1680. Perhaps Daniel joined Passmore as a lay clerk in the choir at Exeter, and became acquainted with a Tozer family, one of whom he later married. See 'Til death do us part?', in Chapter 5 below.

- 2 -

Magdalen College, Oxford (1689-1696)

Introduction

The circumstances which led to Daniel's appointment as organist of Magdalen College, Oxford, seven years after leaving the Chapel Royal, are not known. Perhaps the outgoing organist, Francis Pigott, recommended Daniel, his contemporary whilst a child at the Chapel Royal, as a suitable successor.[1] It was not unknown for children of the Chapel Royal to succeed each other as organists: Daniel's contemporaries Vaughan Richardson and Richard Cherrington had done exactly that at Worcester Cathedral in 1688.[2] Alternatively, Daniel may have been keen to take advantage of the family name, or his cousin Henry may have procured the post for him through his friends in Oxford. Of course, it is possible that Daniel was actually offered the post solely on merit. His earliest songs had already been published, and, being a child of the Chapel, he would have had a thorough grounding in the skills necessary to fulfil such duties as the post

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[1] Pigott may well have had direct contact with Daniel through much of their lives; he is putatively identified as a copyist whose hand is found in both Henry and Daniel Purcell's music, See Robert Shay and Robert Thompson, *Purcell's Manuscripts*, 312.

[2] It seems, however, that Cherrington did not stay on friendly terms with all of his, and Daniel's, contemporaries. The Chapter Acts at Worcester for 8 October 1697 record that 'Richard Cherrington, organist of this church and master of the choristers, and John Thatcher [another of Daniel's contemporaries], one of the lay clerks (being excommunicated by the Chancellor of the Diocese for brawling and fighting in the Cathedral Church and Churchyard, and having stood so for the space of seven weeks or thereabouts) did submissively appear before the Dean and Chapter [and were admonished] to avoid the frequenting of public alehouses and taverns', quoted in *BDECM*, 242.

required.[3] Oxford's flourishing post-Restoration musical scene, counting such luminaries as Anthony à Wood, Henry Purcell's friend Richard Goodson, and the polymath Henry Aldrich amongst its regulars, was an ideal environment in which a young aspiring composer could develop.

The few years before Daniel arrived at Magdalen College had been somewhat traumatic; it was, therefore, an exciting if unpredictable place in which to start a musical career.

Oxford in the Seventeenth Century

The seventeenth century was a turbulent time in Oxford's history. Less than fifty years before Daniel moved to Magdalen, Oxford had been home to the court of Charles I during the Civil War. Most of the colleges contributed large amounts of money towards the King's cause, giving (or, perhaps more accurately, allowing Charles to take) much of their silver plate to finance the Cavalier war effort.[4] There was a cannon foundry at Christ Church, and an arms store in New College, while the bell tower of Magdalen College provided an excellent watch tower over the road towards London, and the Roundhead army.

[3] Daniel had already published some eight songs in *Vinculum Societatis I* of 1687, and *Vinculum Societatis II*, the *Banquet of Music I* and *II* and *Comes Amoris II*, all from 1688.

[4] See Ian Roy and Dietrich Reinhart 'Oxford and the Civil Wars', in Nicholas Tyacke (ed.), *The History of the University of Oxford IV: Seventeenth-Century Oxford*, 687-731.

Oxford's musical scene flourished during the court's occupancy, but following the defeat of the Royalists, chapel choirs were disbanded and organs removed.[5] Money intended for music and musicians found its way into other pockets; at St John's, for example, the stipends of the defunct choir were used to augment the income of the President.[6] However, the meetings of amateurs and professionals for informal music making, started around the time of the Court's arrival in Oxford, continued during the interregnum.[7] Soon after the restoration, the organs at Christ Church, New College, Magdalen and St John's were all restored, and choral services were reinstated.[8]

Magdalen College, Oxford

In the period immediately before Daniel Purcell's arrival, Magdalen had been the scene of great political controversy, culminating in a protracted dispute between the fellows and the Roman Catholic James II over its Presidency.

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[5] The organist of St John's, William Ellis, held weekly music-making meetings which were often attended by Anthony Wood, see Francis Knights, 'The History of the Choral Foundation of St John's College, Oxford', 446, whilst some surviving manuscripts were probably for informal performances at Court in Oxford, see Jonathan Wainwright 'George Jeffreys' copies of Italian music', *RMARC* 23 (1990), 109-124. Oliver Cromwell even removed Magdalen College's organ to Hampton Court for his own use , after John Evelyn heard Christopher Gibbons play on 12 July 1654: 'Next we walked to *Magdalen* Coll: … there was still the double *Organ*, which abominations (as now esteem'd) were almost universally demolish'd: Mr. *Gibbon* that famous *Musitian*, giving us a tast of his skill and Talent on that instrument', Evelyn, iii. 109.

[6] Francis Knights, 'The History of the Choral Foundation of St John's College, Oxford', 446.

[7] 'The practice of professionals and amateurs making music together informally on a regular basis seems to have begun in Oxford around 1642 and to have continued … throughout the rest of the century,' P M Gouk, 'Music', in Nicholas Tyacke (ed.), *The History of the University of Oxford IV: Seventeenth-Century Oxford*, 632.

[8] Edward Lowe (c. 1610-1682), the organist at Christ Church, published *A Short Direction for the performance of Cathedrall Service* (Oxford, 1661), in which he described how it had become 'convenient to revive the generall practise of the ordinary performance of Cathedrall service,' quoted in Christopher Dearnley, *English Church Music*, 66.

On the death of Henry Clerke, the President of Magdalen College, in March 1687, the college Visitor, Bishop Peter Mews of Winchester, proposed that Bishop Levinz of Sodor and Man should be appointed in his place.[9] The fellows endorsed this nomination, but as James was in favour of installing Anthony Farmer, a Roman Catholic sympathiser, Levinz withdrew. The fellows protested that Farmer was ineligible, since he had not been a member of either New College or Magdalen College, as the statutes required, but as the suggestion was made the day after James' Declaration of Indulgence, Farmer's candidacy was seen as something of a test case.[10] Since their first candidate had withdrawn, the fellows attempted to elect John Hough as their new President. Hough, the favourite chaplain of the powerful Chancellor Ormonde, was a cunning choice, but James, keen to exert his influence in many areas of academic and religious life, declared this election void and insisted that Farmer be President.

The fellows carried out a determined campaign against Farmer, who had previously been expelled from Trinity College, Cambridge for bad behaviour, and although Farmer denied all allegations laid against him, by late summer of 1687 James had accepted defeat and instead tried to appoint the unpopular Bishop of Oxford, Samuel Parker.[11] The dissenting fellows again refused to acknowledge James's choice and in

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[9] The Visitor of a college oversees the college's internal affairs. President Clerke had died at Gawthorpe Hall, the home of his daughter Lady Shuttleworth, see Bloxam, ii. cxliv. By coincidence, a portrait putatively thought to be of Daniel Purcell, on loan from the National Portrait Gallery, currently hangs at this National Trust property.

[10] The Declaration of Indulgence, issued on 4 April 1687, was a suspension of the earlier Test Act, of 1673, which required the holders of all public offices to receive communion according to the rites of the Church of England. For a full text of the Declaration, see Andrew Browning (ed.), *English Historical Documents, 1660-1714*, 399-400.

[11] Bloxam, *Magdalen College and King James II*, 65. Giving evidence against Farmer, Robert Gardner, a college porter, stated that 'Mr Farmer did very often come into the College late at night so much in drink that he could scarce go or speak'. Some other colleagues claimed that when Farmer went to greet a

October they were dismissed and replaced with James' own men, known as the 'intruded' fellows, establishing an institution which was, in all but name, a Roman Catholic seminary.[12]

On Parker's death in 1688, James appointed Bonaventure Giffard as President. Giffard, the son of a recusant Staffordshire family, converted Magdalen chapel to Roman Catholic use and appointed more Roman Catholic fellows. However, in the face of a threatened invasion by William of Orange and James's sister, Mary, Giffard was withdrawn from Magdalen. James, desperately trying to court public favour, installed as President the college's original choice, Hough, and restored the Protestant fellows. This occasion is still celebrated annually by the ringing of the college bells. However, only a few days after the fellows returned, William invaded, and James fled into exile.[13]

Magdalen College also had problems with its organist during this time. Benjamin Rogers had been dismissed on 18 January 1686, because 'he would talk so loud in the organ loft, that he offended the company', and he would not play services 'as they [the choir] were willing and able to sing, but out of a thwarting humour would play nothing but Canterbury tune'. However, it was not just on musical grounds that the college became unhappy with Rogers. When his daughter, who lived in his college lodgings, fell

young lady in an Abingdon tavern, 'in doing so the said Mr Anthony Farmer put his tongue in her mouth, which was such a rudeness, that she immediately went out of his company and would not come nigh him any more'. See Bloxam, *Magdalen College and King James II*, 71.

[12] Magdalen was not alone in having Roman Catholic fellows. In effect, University College and Christ Church had Roman Catholic heads, and University College, Brasenose, Trinity, All Souls and Magdalen all had converted fellows.

[13] See Laurence Brockliss, Gerald Harriss, and Angus Macintyre, *Magdalen College and the Crown: Essays for the Tercentenary of the Restoration of the College 1688* for a full discussion of this period in Magdalen's history.

pregnant by a college porter, Rogers tried to claim that his rooms were inhabited by an evil spirit which had impregnated her. His story was, perhaps not surprisingly, rejected by the college authorities.[14] Given the circumstances of his departure, it is surprising that he was given a generous pension: £30 per annum, half his original wage, with two-thirds of this sum going to his widow after his death.

There was a marked contrast between Rogers and his successor, the young Francis Pigott. Rogers was a figure from the pre-Civil War period, and had been organist first of Christ Church, Dublin, and during the Commonwealth, of Eton College, before being appointed to Magdalen in 1664.[15] Pigott had been a child of the Chapel Royal only a couple of years before his appointment at Magdalen,. He received a wage of £40 per annum, to increase to £60 when Rogers died, although as he left Magdalen well before his predecessor's death in 1698 he was never actually paid the full amount. After less than two years in this post, Pigott was dismissed with the fellows in late 1687.[16]

Although Pigott returned with the restored fellows in October 1688, he did not remain organist for long. Earlier that year, on 25 May 1688, he had been appointed organist at the new Temple Church in London,[17] and though he was listed as 'Organist' in the buttery book, which shows those people who returned to the college in October, he

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[14] *NGII*, xxi. 517. See also Magdalen College Archives MS 427, f.51, quoted in Bloxam, ii. 198.

[15] *NGII*, xxi. 517-518.

[16] With his former employers removed, Benjamin Rogers petitioned, unsuccessfully, to have his job back. *State Trials*, xii. 40.

[17] Pigott became organist after the 'battle of the organs'. Renatus Harris and Bernard Smith had both erected organs in the church, and Draghi (for Harris), and Henry Purcell and Blow (for Smith) demonstrated the capabilities of the instruments. This was a protracted battle, though, which lasted from 1684 until 1688. Part of Harris' organ was later sent to St Andrew, Holborn, where Daniel Purcell was the first organist. See Zimmerman, 107-110, and 'St Andrew's Holborn', in chapter 5 below.

must have found the jobs of organist at College and at the Temple Church too time consuming to carry out simultaneously. He had, in any case, taken the post at the Temple Church subject to his not working elsewhere.[18]

Daniel Purcell and Magdalen College

Shortly afterwards, Daniel Purcell was appointed to replace Pigott as organist at Magdalen College, though the timing of Daniel's actual arrival in Oxford is not clear.[19] Although Pigott returned with the fellows at the end of October 1688, he resigned shortly afterwards; his final appearance in the college records being in the buttery book for the week commencing 23 February 1689 – beside his name is marked 'Exiit Mar 3'.[20]

Daniel, however, does not appear in the buttery book before September 1689 (when that volume ends, the next being lost). Although he is listed as organist in the 1689 Libri Computi, the annual records of payments, covering the academic year 1688 to 1689, these accounts were written up some time after the event, and it was sometime after September 1689, therefore, that Daniel moved to Oxford and took up his new post.[21]

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[18] *BDECM*, 894.

[19] It was not unusual for young ex-Chapel Royal choristers to be appointed to provincial cathedral or collegiate posts. Daniel's contemporaries Pigott, Vaughan Richardson and William Norris had all taken such posts shortly after leaving the Chapel.

[20] Magdalen College Archives, BB/2.

[21] The one publication to examine Daniel's arrival at Oxford in any detail, Maureen Duffy's *Henry Purcell*, mangles the facts sufficiently to produce an entirely misleading narrative. She suggests that Daniel arrived at Magdalen during the period of the intruded fellows, pointing to Daniel's known high church leanings (see chapter 5, 'Daniel Purcell and London Life', below) as evidence that he would have fitted well into the Catholic Magdalen setup, projects this as evidence that the King, or perhaps some other prominent Catholics, procured the post of organist for Daniel. She also suggests that the Giffard family had intermarried with the Staffordshire branch of the Purcell family, and that this may well also have been a strong reason for Giffard choosing Daniel Purcell. There is no evidence to show that Daniel was organist

The statutes of Magdalen College, written just over two hundred years before Daniel's arrival, called for eight singing clerks, 16 choristers and an Informator Choristarum, who was responsible for teaching plainsong and instrumental playing to the choristers, and for musical provision at chapel services. The Informator Choristarum was also the organist, and evidence suggests that he copied part books and other manuscripts, as well as keeping the college's musical instruments in good condition.[22]

However, little is known of the detail of Daniel's life as College organist. There were certain day-to-day maintenance matters which are recorded in college documents, including the signing of a contract with the organ builder Renatus Harris with respect to the upkeep of the College organ (see fig. 30, in Appendix III). There are also several payments to Daniel of £1, £2, or £5 which are unexplained, although these were possibly for copying out or buying music.[23] On the basis of an entry in Thomas Hearne's diary, it is thought that the organist of Magdalen lived, and possibly taught the boy choristers, in a house near the river.

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during the period of the intruded fellows; he should appear in at least some of the College records from around Easter 1688, but not only does he not appear at all, but Pigott, whom he supposedly replaced, appears back in the records between October 1688, when the Fellows were restored, and March 1689, when he left.

[22] Choral establishments were central to Oxford colleges from the time of their foundation. Perhaps the most musically significant amongst the early foundations (*NGII*, xviii. 828), the statutes of New College, founded in 1379, stipulated that 16 boy choristers and an organist should be part of the foundation, the founder provided a number of chapel books, including eleven noted Antiphonals, ninteen Graduals and thirteen Processionals, see Paul Hale, 'Music and Musicians', in *New College, Oxford, 1379-1979*, ed. John Buxton and Penry Williams, 267. Similar arrangements were in place at St John's and Christ Church. At St John's, the choir described in the statutes had been disbanded less than thirty years after the college's foundation, but William Laud and, later, Sir William Paddy strove to re-establish the choir, the latter contributing over £3000 in 1637. This enormous sum provided for six lay clerks, four choristers and an organist, in addition to the chaplain, the teacher of the choristers, and the organ blower. Services were sung twice daily (see Francis Knights, 'The History of the Choral Foundation of St John's College, Oxford').

[23] For example, an entry in the Magdalen Day Books for 11 May 1694 (see Magdalen College Archives DBJ/8).

> The Organist's Lodging at Madg. Coll. (which are near the water side & separate from the Coll.) are called by the name of Songe Schoole.[24]

This building, Daniel's home in Oxford, may well be one of the buildings across from the cloisters shown in Loggan's engraving of 1675.

Daniel's Friends at Magdalen

Magdalen was a fruitful place for Daniel to spend these formative years, amongst young musical and literary figures of the day. Several of these new friends were to figure prominently throughout Daniel's life. Thomas Yalden, a Magdalen Demy,[25] wrote an ode for St Cecilia's Day which was set by Daniel, though it is not known whether *Begin, and strike th'harmonious lyre* (H404) was performed in Oxford in 1693, or for the well-established St Cecilia's day concert in Stationers' Hall, London a year later. If Daniel did write for this prestigious London occasion this was a major breakthrough for a composer who was still in his early twenties.[26] Amongst Yalden's friends at Magdalen, and therefore almost certainly amongst Daniel's, were Joseph Addison and Henry Sacheverell. Addison, an essayist, poet and statesman was, like Yalden, almost the same age as Daniel.[27] He was also a Demy at Magdalen, and during the early 1690s was active as a writer. In 1699, when Daniel again provided the music for a St Cecilia's Day ode in London, it was Addison who provided the text, *Prepare the hallow'd strain* (H408).

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[24] In a diary entry for 3 May 1716, published in *Remarks and Collections of Thomas Hearne*, v. 216.

[25] A junior fellow, paid half the commons of a full fellow.

[26] See 'Daniel Purcell's Oxford Music', and 'St Cecilia's Day', in chapter 4 below, for an explanation of the possible confusion over this work's place and date of performance.

[27] Thomas Yalden was born on 2 January 1670, and Joseph Addison on 1 May 1672 (both *DNB*).

However, the man with closest links to Daniel Purcell from his days at Oxford until the composer's death was Henry Sacheverell, who took his BA from Magdalen in 1693 and who was the dedicatee of Addison's work on English poets written a year later. In 1713, following his controversial trial at the House of Lords for his seditious sermons,[28] Sacheverell became rector of the prestigious parish of St Andrew's, Holborn. He selected Daniel as the organist, a post he held until his death.[29]

Outside college, Daniel was a member of the Oxford Music Club, a group which met on the last Thursday of each month from 5pm until 10pm at Anthony Hall's Mermaid Tavern, near Carfax. Hall was the subject of Henry Purcell's catch *One industrious insect* (Z266), an early edition of which describes it as 'A rebus upon Mr. Anthony Hall who keeps the Mermaid Tavern in Oxford, and plays his part very well on the violin'.[30] Perhaps Henry knew Hall from a visit to Oxford, to see Daniel, which coincided with a meeting of the club, or another occasion when Daniel frequented the Mermaid.[31]

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[28] See G Holmes, *The Trial of Doctor Sacheverell*, for a thorough examination of Sacheverell's sermons and trial.

[29] See '1713: St Andrew Holborn', in chapter 5 below.

[30] *The Second Book of the Pleasant Musical Companion* (4th ed., 1701). Zimmerman suggested that Anthony Hall was a Fellow of Queen's College, and lived from 1679 to 1723 (*Analytical Catalogue*, 120) and, that as he was only sixteen years old when Henry Purcell died, the ascription would be doubtful. However, the inclusion of Anthony Hall's name in the Orders of the Music Club prove that he was certainly old enough to run an inn, and his identity is confirmed by the record of his death in October 1691.

[31] If it was indeed Henry who was the 'music master' to Lady Rhoda Cavendish (as, indeed, Frances Purcell's dedication to the 1697 publication of Henry's *Sonnata's of III Parts* to her shows it must surely have been), then he might have combined a trip to teach his pupil, at Aynhoe Park in Northamptonshire, with a visit to see Daniel at his new post in Oxford. Even if, as Burden suggests, Henry mostly taught her at Barn Elms, near Fulham, it remains possible he would have visited Aynhoe Park occasionally, and possibly before October 1691. See Michael Burden, ' 'He had the Honour to be your Master': Lady Rhoda Cavendish's Music Lessons with Henry Purcell'.

A list of 'Orders to be observ'd at the Musick-Meeting' (see fig. 10) contains a list of the club's rules and a list of members' names, and dates from some time between June 1690 and October 1691.[32] Daniel Purcell is listed ninth in the first column, immediately below Richard Goodson, organist of Christ Church, on a list which seems to be in order of seniority. Also on this list are a number of men who later had dealings with Daniel Purcell, both in Oxford and London. Scroggs Goad came into contact with Daniel during a legal case discussed below,[33] and John Cooke, an ex-chorister of Magdalen may have been an intermediary between Daniel and the college after the composer moved to London.

William, the brother of Charles Husbands, one of Daniel's Chapel Royal contemporaries, was also a member of the club,[34] as was Richard Roach, who wrote about Daniel 'I was … acqantd w[i]th him at Oxford w[here] he was Organist at Maudlin Col[lege] where he exertd … so notably in yt [i.e. that] Faculty yt all ye W…s [wits?] thereof yt semd were submitted to him - & allowd him ye Title of Pun-Master General.'[35]

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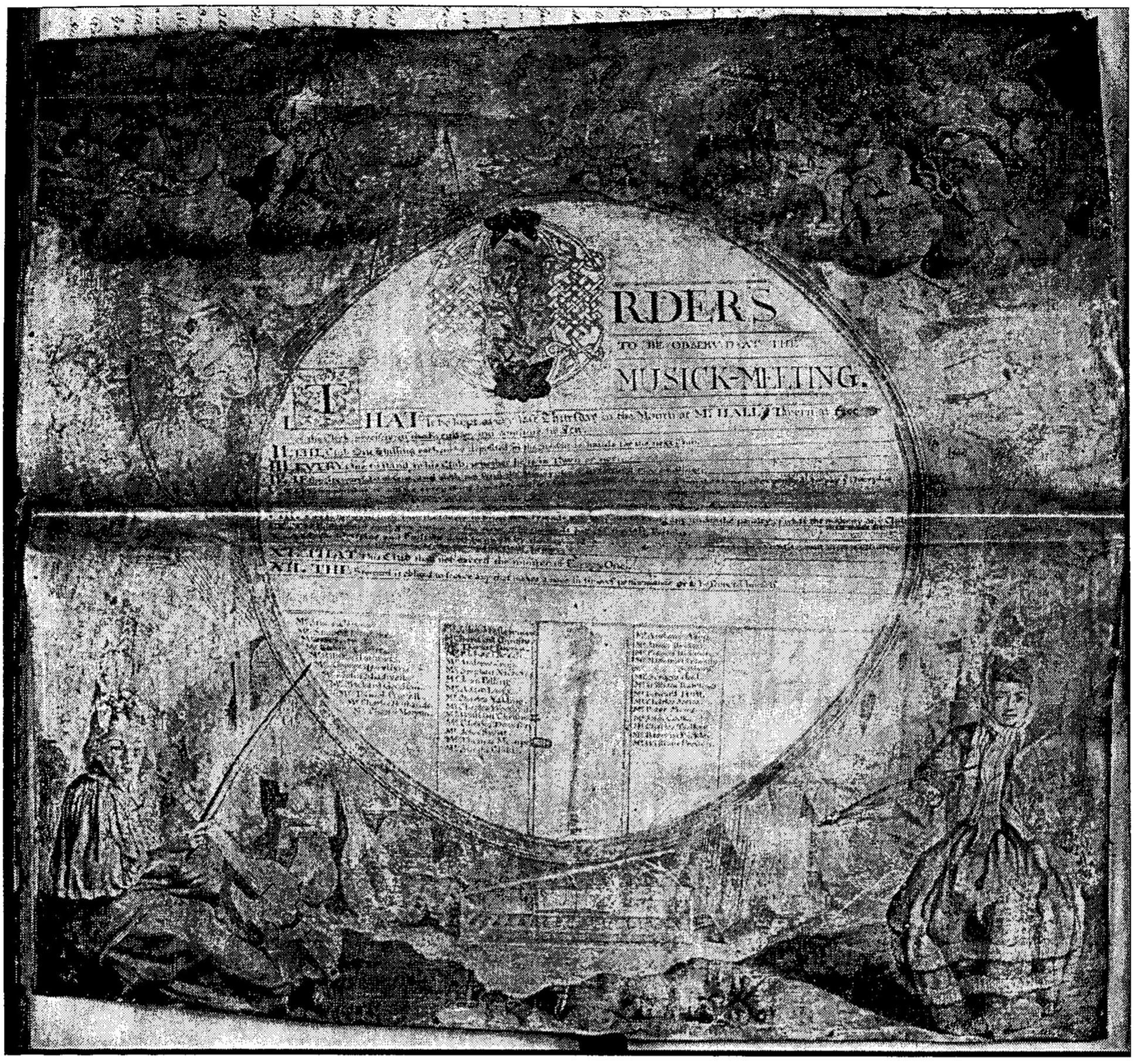
[32] The matriculation of James Brydges, better known as Handel's patron the Duke of Chandos, on 21 June 1690, and the death of Anthony Hall on 22 October 1691, show that they must have been written some time between those two dates. This, and much other information, comes from Margaret Crum, 'An Oxford Music Club, 1690-1719', and Susan Wollenberg, *Music at Oxford in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries*, 46-47.

[33] Scroggs Goad, a Fellow of New College, Oxford (admitted 28 October 1688), became a BCL in 1695 and a Barrister at Law in the Inner Temple in 1710. There is a decorative memorial to him in New College cloisters. With thanks to Caroline Dalton, former Archivist at New College, for this information.

[34] *BDECM*, 615-617.

[35] Ob MS Rawl D.833, f.169, a manuscript of notes by Rev Richard Roach, who matriculated from St John's College in 1681. This reputation as a punster was to continue during Daniel's London career, and even Burney and Hawkins felt obliged to refer to it, see 'Daniel Purcell and London Life', in chapter 5 below.

Fig 10. Orders to be Observ'd at the Musick Meeting (Ob MS Top.Oxon a.76)



Anthony Hall's tavern was not the only meeting place for Oxford's musicians during this period. Henry Aldrich, Dean of Christ Church, held weekly meetings in his lodgings which included informal renditions of catches, as well as more serious performances, but were as much a social occasion as anything else.[36] Daniel may well have been involved here as well.

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[36] See *NGII*, i. 328 for further information on Aldrich's musical meetings.

Daniel Purcell the Debtor

Daniel Purcell seems to have been more interested in social gatherings, such as those in Aldrich's lodgings and Hall's tavern, than strictly musical occasions but, with a modest income from his post at Magdalen, evidence suggests that Daniel's financial mismanagement got him into trouble on a number of occasions. Daniel made no payments to the college for his battels, the college charges for accommodation and food, until eighteen months after he arrived in Oxford. The outstanding bill was for £20, a substantial sum equivalent to half his annual salary.[37]

In June 1694, a payment of £5 is recorded from Magdalen to John Cooke 'by ye order of Mr Dan Purcell & uppon his account'.[38] Presumably, Daniel had not repaid a debt, whereupon Cooke, perhaps the former Magdalen chorister who was also a member of the music club, had gone direct to the college to claim what he was owed. It is possible that these debts were in some way connected with the activities of the music club, but as both men were members of the same college it was settled internally.

A year later, Daniel again got into trouble over non-payment of debt but, perhaps as the complainant was not a member of the college, the case was heard in the University Chancellor's Court.[39] On 22 February 1695, the court heard a submission from a Mr

[37] Magdalen College Archive DBJ/7, f.26v, 29 December 1691 'Rec. a Mr^o^ Purcell p̲ Battellis 21 11 00', and, probably for common room expenses, 'Ad Eodem p̲ Cam: Com: 00 12 00'.

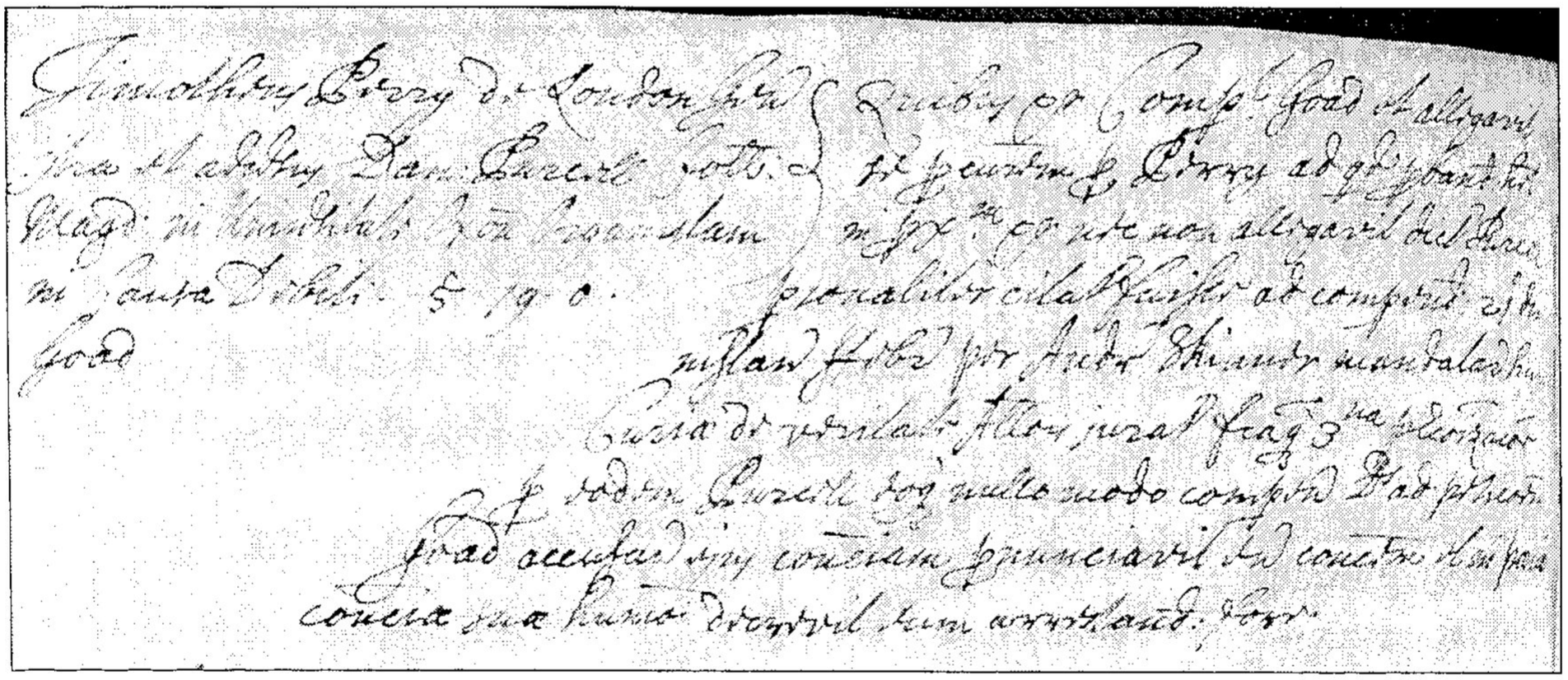
[38] Magdalen College Archives DBJ/8, f.10, dated 21 June 1694.

[39] The majority of cases heard by the court, which met weekly under the jurisdiction of the Chancellor and heard disputes involving scholars, their servants, and goods, involved non-payment of debt, and those accused could be arrested or have their possessions confiscated. See Malcolm Underwood, 'The Structure and Operation of the Oxford Chancellor's Court, from the Sixteenth to the early Eighteenth Century'.

Goad (who was, perhaps coincidentally, a fellow member of the Oxford Music Club), acting for a Mr Timothy Perry of London, who claimed that Daniel Purcell owed £5-19-00.[40] The court records show that the case should have been heard the previous day, but Daniel did not attend.[41] The following week, on 1 March 1695, the Judge issued a warrant for Daniel's arrest, but after this there is no further record of the case.

Daniel seems to have made arrangements to pay his debt by obtaining an advance on his salary: according to the Magdalen payment records, Daniel received £10 for his first term's work on 14 February 1695,[42] but was then paid an advance for his second term only just over a month later, on 25 March.[43]

Fig 11. Chancellor's Court Act Book, Hyp/A/52, f.4.



[40] Ob Chancellor's Court Act Book, Hyp/A/52, f.4.

[41] The formulaic documents show that Goad, whilst not claiming that Purcell had actually been summoned in person to answer the charge, considered that he had known about the hearing. As Daniel's name was called three times without response, he was considered wilfully absent.

[42] Magdalen College Archive DBJ/8, f.34 'paid then to Mr Purcell ten pounds for the first Quarter of the year 1695'.

[43] Magdalen College Archive DBJ/9, f.6 'Mro Purcill Organista pro stipendio ter: 2o'.

No other records are currently known to survive relating to this case, nor is it known for certain who Timothy Perry was.[44]

Daniel Purcell's Oxford Music

A number of songs published in 1687 and 1688, before Daniel moved to Oxford, show his skill and aptitude, but it was on his move to Magdalen that Daniel was presented with further opportunities to develop as a composer. Table 2, below, shows the variety of music Daniel composed whilst in Oxford. Few of Daniel's early works can be dated accurately, and the attribution of some of these works to Daniel's Oxford period is based largely on their appearance in sources connected with the Oxford area, but it is clear that composing played an increasingly important part in Daniel's life during his time in Oxford. He provided music not only for the chapel, and perhaps also for the Oxford Music Club and Aldrich's. Perhaps it was under the auspices of Aldrich, a great adapter of the works of Carissimi into the English language, that Daniel composed a symphony (H71), used as an introduction to one of Carissimi's masses.[45]

Daniel's setting of the Magnificat and Nunc Dimittis, and perhaps some of the anthems, may have been written for Magdalen's chapel. They are known only by their appearance in an organ book which has been lost from Magdalen's library.[46]

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[44] The will of a Timothy Perry, Girdler, is at Lpro PROB 11/657 so, if this was the correct person, it might suggest that Daniel had a penchant for expensive clothes.

[45] See Shay, ' 'Naturalising' Palestrina and Carissimi in Late Seventeenth-Century Oxford: Henry Aldrich and his Recompositions', 376-377. For evidence that Aldrich was a great collector of Carissimi, see Hawkins, ii. 595.

[46] It is frustrating that Daniel's only two manuscripts from before his London period, the Magdalen College organ book and ode manuscript, have, comparatively recently, been lost.

Table 2. Daniel Purcell's Oxford Music, by genre

Genre	Date	Title	Notes
Anthem	?	*Bow down thine ear* (H2)	Dating of all anthems and service based on their appearance in a lost Magdalen College ms.[47]
Anthem	?	*Hear my prayer, O Lord* (H4)	
Anthem	?	*I will alway give thanks* (H6)	
Anthem	?	*O give thanks* (H15)	
Anthem	?	*O Praise God in his holiness* (H20)	
Sacred Song	?1693	*O miserable man* (H41)	
Service	?	*Magnificat and Nunc Dimittis in E minor* (H51)	
Instrumental	?	Symphony [to Carissimi's Mass in C] (H71)	
Instrumental	?1693	Chacone (H148.8)	Later inserted into a play, *The Unhappy Penitent*.
Instrumental	?	March (H531)	The next five instrumental works tentatively dated to the early 1690s.
Instrumental	?	Overture (H532)	
Instrumental	?	[untitled] (H534)	
Instrumental	?	[untitled] (H535)	
Instrumental	?	Rondeau (H541)	
Ode	?	Unknown ode (H411)	A note in the Magdalen Archive card-catalogue notes its loss.[48]
Ode	?22 Nov 1694	*Begin and strike th'harmonious lyre* (H404)	Text by Thomas Yalden, a colleague at Magdalen.
Song	?1690	*Tis not because I breathe and eat* (H221)	

The sacred song *O miserable man* may have been for performance by the Oxford Music Club, as its scoring for three tenors and a bass suggests. Indeed, perhaps the club

[47] It is not clear that these anthems, which appear in a lost Magdalen College organ book, are identical to those which survive with similar titles.

[48] The note in the Magdalen College Archives reads 'PURCELL (Daniel) Ode for St. Cecilia's day. According to Bernard Rose, our MS disappeared while the organ room was being cleared out in 1938. He has had it deleted from the New Grove Dictionary'. It is not known if this was an unknown ode, or perhaps the ode written whilst Daniel lived in Oxford, H404.

organised larger-scale musical activities than their monthly meeting in Hall's Tavern. Daniel's symphony, an introduction to a mass by Carissimi, together with works by Henry Purcell and John Blow which are found in the same manuscript, may have been performed.[49] Performances of latinate works, perhaps including Henry Purcell's Latin ode *Laudate Ceciliam* (Z329), seem to have taken place at Magdalen College through the offices of Charles Morgan, another member of the Oxford Music Club, and Daniel Purcell.[50] This may have been under the auspices of the Music Club itself.

The very simple instrumental works look like examples for tuition purposes, but one piece stands out from all of Daniel's works composed whilst he was in Oxford. An ode for St Cecilia's day, *Begin, and strike th'harmonious lyre* (H404), may have been performed in Oxford in 1693, in London in 1694, or possibly both. It is a small scale, yet assured, work, and if it was that performed at the annual feast to honour the patron saint of music at Stationers' Hall, in London, was a prestigious commission for a young provincial organist to receive.[51]

One further group of works might have been written whilst Daniel was in Oxford, his set of six sonatas (1698), three each for recorder and violin, described by the composer in the Epistle Dedicatory as 'trifles ... the fruits of my juvenile years'.[52] Like his later

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[49] As well as Daniel's symphony and Carissimi's mass, the manuscript, Ob MS Mus.c.437, contains Henry Purcell's Te Deum and Jubilate (Z232), and one of his odes for Queen Mary (Z321), together with a Te Deum by Blow.

[50] Charles Morgan of Magdalen College compiled Lbl Add MS 33234, including many Latin settings. See Martin Adams, 'Purcell's *Laudate Ceciliam*: An Essay in Stylistic Experimentation', 240.

[51] See chapter 4, 'St Cecilia's Day', for further discussion regarding the confusion which exists over the dating of this piece.

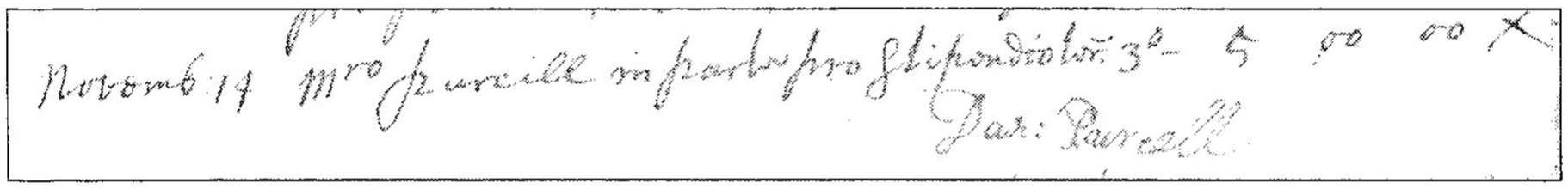
[52] Preface to Daniel Purcell, *Six Sonata's or Solos, three for a Violin, and three for a Flute* (London, 1698).

dedicatory introductions, these are generally self-deprecating, and the sonatas might have been written some time before, finding opportunities for performance in Oxford, possibly at Hall's Tavern.

Daniel Purcell leaves Oxford

The timing and manner of Daniel's departure from Oxford are, like those of his arrival, uncertain. Although musical evidence, including the composition of several theatre works in early 1696,[53] suggests that Daniel left Oxford around the time of, or shortly after, the death of Henry Purcell in November 1695, this needs to be examined in conjunction with the Magdalen payment records.[54]

Fig 12. Daniel Purcell's last signature in the Magdalen College Daybooks


Novemb: 14 Mro Purcell in parte pro Stipendio Lor: 3e- 5 00 00
Dan: Purcell

Payments were made to Daniel as late as June 1696, though his signature, which usually appeared alongside payments, does not appear in the daily payment books after 14 November 1695, when he received an advance on his salary (see fig. 12). One of the later payments is explicitly stated to be made to a third party, a Mr Wickham, perhaps

[53] Daniel's earliest theatre song was written for *Love's Last Shift, or The Fool in Fashion* (H128), in January 1696, whilst music for *The Younger Brother, or The Amorous Jilt* (H151), *Neglected Virtue, or The Unhappy Conqueror* (H132), and *The Indian Queen* (H123), all probably dated from February of that year.

[54] Duffy suggested that the note in Magdalen's Libri Computi for 1695, where 'et Pursell' is added to 'Heicht', indicated that Daniel 'was sharing his salary half and half with Benjamin Heicht'. (Duffy, *Henry Purcell*, 255). This suggestion is also found in *BDECM*, which described 1696 as the 'year he shared the tenure with his successor Thomas Hecht'. (*BDECM*, 923). This is extremely unlikely to be the case.

the Wickham who was college chaplain, who presumably passed the payment to Daniel.[55]

Hawkins confuses Daniel's arrival in London somewhat, but it seems most likely that, with the onset of Henry's final illness, Daniel obtained an advance on his salary, and travelled to London on or shortly after 14 November 1695, just over a week before Henry's death.[56] Although Daniel received payments until June 1696,[57] covering the period to the end of Trinity Term, he left Oxford in November 1695, and may never have returned to Magdalen. The late payment of Daniel's salary for the first term of 1696 suggests that his employers were, at least, unsure of the status of his employment. Daniel's final payment, for the second term, was recorded the following month.

Perhaps the college continued his salary out of benevolence, though it seems more likely that Daniel just asked for a temporary leave of absence, possibly until the end of the theatre season, in order to tidy up Henry's affairs and cover his duties at the Theatre

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[55] Magdalen College Archives DBJ/11, p.18 not dated, but during May 1696: 'Mr Purcill in parti pro stipendio term :~ 1o 1696. Per Mro Wickham'. The sum paid was £7.

[56] 'The occasion of his [Daniel's] coming to London was as follows: Dr Sacheverell, who had been a friend of his brother Henry, having been presented to the living of St Andrew Holborn, found an organ in the church, of Harris's building, which, never having been paid for, had from the time of its erection in 1699, been shut up. The doctor upon his coming to the living, by a collection from the parishioners, raised money to pay for it, but the title to the place of organist was litigated, the right of election being in question between the rector, the vestry, and the parish at large: Nevertheless he invited Daniel Purcell to London, and he accepted,' Hawkins, ii. 759n. As Sacheverell, one of Daniel's friends from Magdalen (surely a stronger connection than any putative friendship between Henry Purcell and Sacheverell), did not become vicar of St Andrew's Holborn until 1713, and all the evidence suggests that Daniel was in London from 1696 at the latest, this account is entirely unreliable.

[57] The final payment is recorded thus: 'M^ro Purcill in pleno pro stipendio term: ~1° et 2° An:~ 1696 13 00 00', Magdalen College Archives DBJ/11, p.20, not dated but during June 1696. Together with the £7 paid in May, £3 represents a full term's payment for term 1. This payment was, therefore, covering the period to the end of term 2 in full.

Royal, before returning to resume his own post at Magdalen. However, Daniel did not return.

The precise details regarding Daniel's departure are as difficult to establish as the appointment of his successor, Thomas Hecht.[58] Hecht proved to be no less colourful than Daniel, his predecessor Rogers, or Anthony Farmer, James's rejected President; in October 1725, he resigned his college rooms in order to have 'better convenience of conversing with & enjoying the Company of' a 'beautifull, comely, but impudent' girl, Betty Stonehill.[59]

This period in Oxford provided the foundations on which Daniel's future musical and social standing were built. It was a time during which he came into contact with some of the most important young figures in literature, such as Addison and Yalden, and music, including Aldrich and Goodson. It would help him, during the next five years, to become established as one of the foremost composers of his day.

[58] Bloxam gives 27 May 1695 as the precise date of Hecht's arrival at Magdalen (Bloxam, ii. 208), although Daniel received payments beyond this point, and also signed the contract for the maintenance of the organ with Harris in August of that year (Magdalen College Archives CSD/36/18/24, dated 9 August 1695). Indeed, the first mention of Hecht in the day books is not until January 1697, in Magdalen College Archives DBJ/11, p.52, probably on 6 January 1697 for £5.6.0, signed by 'Thoms: Hecht.'

[59] Thomas Hearne, *Remarks and Collections*, ix. 37.

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Daniel Purcell and the Theatre (1695-1705)

Daniel Purcell and the Theatre

Daniel's first music performed on the stage was only just over a month after his move from Oxford. During the next eleven years, Daniel, like Henry before him, provided songs, instrumental act tunes, scenes and masques and at least one fully through-sung entertainment for the London stage. He saw the transition from the zenith of the English dramatick opera in the 1690s, to the arrival and rapid domination of Italian all-sung opera in the early years of the eighteenth century. Daniel's entire stage career seems to have been spent working for Rich's company, whilst evidence also suggests that Daniel worked as a performer, and was involved in the procurement and servicing of Drury Lane's keyboard instruments.[1] During this time, Daniel came into contact with the foremost actors, playwrights and singers of the day, and produced a huge amount of music for over fifty plays. Amongst these playwrights, Thomas D'Urfey wrote five plays to which Daniel contributed music, and Colley Cibber, George Farquar, Peter Motteux and Richard Steele wrote three plays each.[2]

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[1] *NGII* and *RISM* suggest Daniel's song 'Morpheus, thou gentle god' (H101) – 'A Song in Iphigenia' according to the published song-sheet – was written for John Dennis's *Iphigenia*, performed at Lincoln's Inn Fields, but the song was instead part of Abel Boyer's *Achilles, or Ipheginia in Aulis*, at Drury Lane. Eric Walter White ('New Light on 'Dido and Aeneas' ', in Imogen Holst (ed.), *Henry Purcell 1659-1695: Essays on his Music*, 31-32) suggests that Daniel Purcell composed the missing parts of *Dido and Aeneas* for its insertion into *Measure for Measure* at Lincoln's Inn Fields in 1700. It is much more likely that John Eccles was responsible, as Daniel never worked for the Lincoln's Inn Fields company, and Eccles was their chief composer (Fiske, 14).

[2] D'Urfey (1653-1723), a friend of Steele and Addison, was a Tory descended from Huguenot refugees who settled in Exeter during the early seventeenth century. D'Urfey was also known for frequenting the

Daniel's music was evidently popular with these playwrights, and although introductions to play texts are often self-congratulatory, it is clear that Daniel's music was seen as a major selling point for their productions. The earliest reference to Daniel's music in a published play libretto, by Charles Gildon in the introduction to *Phaeton* (H138), in 1698, hinted that whilst the death of Henry Purcell had put at risk the survival of English music on the London stage, Daniel's music was so good that its future was assured. However, in describing the music as 'so very different in the several acts', Gildon admitted that the music may have seemed somewhat disjointed:

> But the *Music* was so admirable, that the best Judges tell me (for I dare not give it as my own bare Sentiment) that there is the true *Purcellian Air* through the whole: that tho' it be so very different in the several Acts, it is every where Excellent; and that Mr. *Daniel Purcells* Composition in this Play is a certain Proof, that as long as he lives Mr. *Henry Purcel* will never die; or our *English* harmony give place to any of our Neighbours.[3]

taverns and coffee houses of London, and would surely have known Daniel Purcell on more than just a professional level. See John McVeagh, *Thomas D'Urfey and Restoration Drama: The Work of a Forgotten Writer*. Daniel had a number of potential Exeter connections, including the woman who was to become his wife, and may have spent some time there between his years in the Chapel Royal and his employment at Magdalen College, see chapter 1, 'Daniel Purcell and the Chapel Royal', above.

Colley Cibber (1671-1757) was an actor in the United Company, and remained with Rich after Betterton's defection. *Love's Last Shift*, which contained Daniel's first music for the London stage, was also Cibber's first play.

George Farquhar (c.1677-1707) was an actor in the Smock Alley Theatre in Dublin, where he would have met several English performers who frequented Dublin theatrical life. He moved to London in 1697 or 1698, and his second play, *The Constant Couple, or a Trip to the Jubilee*, contained music by Daniel Purcell.

Peter Motteux (1663-1718) was a French Huguenot who moved to London shortly after 1685. He edited *The Gentleman's Journal*, and produced a number of plays for both of London's theatre companies, including the very popular *The Island Princess*, with music by Daniel Purcell. He died in a London brothel, in circumstances described in more polite times as 'peculiar'.

Richard Steele (1672-1729) was the founder of the *Tatler* magazine, and on its demise co-founder, with Daniel's friend Addison, of the *Spectator*. Steele met Addison at Charterhouse, and also studied at Oxford, at Merton College.

[3] Charles Gildon, *Phaeton* (London, 1698), xvi-xvii.

The following year, Peter Motteux praised Daniel's music in the dramatick opera *The Island Princess*, again comparing Daniel's music favourably with that of Henry: 'What Mr. Daniel Purcel has set is so fine, that as he seems inspir'd with his Brother's wonderful Genius, it cannot but be equally admir'd'.[4]

Daniel's largest stage work, *The Grove* (1700), elicited the following response from its playwright, John Oldmixon, who drew attention to Daniel's skill in setting his song texts to music, noting the popularity of Daniel's music with the public. The language used, whereby Oldmixon describes himself as Daniel's author, rather than Daniel as the composer of his music, emphasises the primacy of the music over the libretto.

> As to what relates to the composition, no man ever consulted the meaning of Words more than Mr Purcel has done, and he has succeeded too well with the Publick, to want the applause of his Author.[5]

Daniel was not just employed as a composer at the theatre, as three sources which point to his involvement in the sourcing, maintenance, and playing of musical instruments at the theatre attest. The first of these is a lawsuit brought against the sons and heirs of Christopher Rich by Stephen Henning, a Covent Garden harpsichord maker. Henning had supplied harpsichords and spinets to Rich's theatres, both for use during performance and also for the singers' personal use, but had only loaned them to the theatres and was unhappy with the condition in which the instruments were returned.

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[4] Peter Motteux, *The Island Princess, or The Generous Portuguese* (London, 1699), 'To the Reader', [v].

[5] John Oldmixon, *The Grove, or, Love's Paradise* (London, 1700), preface.

A harpsichord provided by Henning in October 1697 had been under Rich's care when Mr Essex the dancing Master damaged it by 'leaping into the same when he was dancing upon the stage', whereupon Henning had to spend £8 repairing it.[6] Henning was also displeased with the treatment of another of his harpsichords, which Rich had asked Daniel Purcell to select:

> Mr. Rich bought a Spinett of me and agreed for ffive Guineys, ordered Mr Pursell to cho[o]se one which he did and was well approv'd of for the Companys use and was made use o[f] the whole time the Company play'd and as well att Dorsett Gardens as this house ... from the Beginning of November in 1704 till Mr Rich ordered it to be returned back to me again April the 17th 1707 telling me then it was not good They had damag'd it by porting it up and down that it cost me thirty Shillings for mending the Brasse worke varnish and Cleansing Stringing & tuning before it was sold.[7]

An out of court settlement was finally reached in 1719, five years after Christopher Rich's death.

Further evidence that Daniel performed in the theatre is found in Richard Burridge's remarkable account of a visit to the theatre, and of the audience's behaviour, published in 1702. Later, it identifies the 'train', or band, as being Purcell's, presumably meaning Daniel, if it referred to a contemporary visit.

> I went with [my friends]; but going through *Play-House-Yard* (where the Females were Flocking along as thick as *Seaman's* Wives) ... one Saucy Impudent Slut or other would,

[6] See Lpro C11/2346/4.

[7] From Henning's original bill of complaint at Lpro C11/2346/4. For a fuller discussion of this lawsuit and its implications, particularly on known performers and performances, see Judith Milhous and Curtis A Price, 'Harpsichords in the London Theatres, 1697-1715'. Lpro C11/2346/4 contains the lawsuit, a reply from Rich's heirs, and a response to that reply from Henning; the case is also mentioned in C33/353, pt. 1, f.33v, C33/327, pt. 1, ff.131-131v, C33/329, ff.192, 274, 281, 569v-570.

> in a manner, be forcing their *Oranges* on us ... Now taking out *Tickets* to the *Pit*, into which I no sooner enter'd, but I thought it was very properly so called, for no Place could more represent the Pit of Hell than that, there being no Light but Fire ... [following a description of the occupants of each of the different tiers] ... Sometimes the Fops would be attentively listening to the Maggots which *Purcel's* Train play'd on several sorts of Instruments.[8]

Finally, in 1809, Joseph Hazlewood included a reference to Daniel the performer in his collection of *Green Room Gossip*:

> When Mr. Rich was bringing on the stage one of his new pantomimes, as he was bustling between the side scenes, and giving his orders to prepare for the entertainment, during the play his wig took fire from one of the candles, which occasioned some confusion among the players, who ran off the stage to his assistance. The audience not knowing the occasion of such a sudden interruption, imagined some accident had happened to the house, and were rising in great disorder; when the witty Dan. Purcell, who saw from the orchestra the accident, stood up, and desired the people to be composed, assuring them *that Mr. Rich was only taken light-headed, with over eagerness, in preparing for their diversion; that all would be soon well again, and the actors return to their business*.[9]

Although this description is, at best, of doubtful reliability, it suggests that Daniel was well-known as a wit, and had been a regular performer on the London stage. Although Daniel was not mentioned amongst the harpsichordists in Raguenet's *A Comparison*

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[8] Richard Burridge, *A Scourge for the Play-Houses* (London, 1702), 2-10, quoted in *LS*, ii. clx-clxi. The text was a denunciation of the theatre on moral and religious grounds.

[9] Gridiron Gabble [really Joseph Hazlewood], *Green Room Gossip*, 44. Pantomimes, in this sense, were invariably short musical afterpieces, and often involved mythological storylines. Although they became very popular after the 1720s, this anecdote, if reliable, would seem to refer to some of the very early pantomimes, less than an hour's entertainment added on to the end of a spoken play. It is not clear to which member of the Rich family Hazlewood was referring; Christopher died in 1714, but John did not start producing shows, at Lincoln's Inn Fields, until 1717. *LS (new version)* notes a pantomime afterpiece as early as 1702 (see 'undatable plays pertaining to this season' for 1701/02), though this was most probably an early version of a later much-changed entertainment. See Fiske, 67-93, for a full discussion of the pantomime from 1700. A number of theatre music composers are known to have taken part in its performance, as shown by an advertisement for *The Emperor of the Moon* which named Paisible and Bannister as playing 'some extraordinary Parts' in a new entertainment (*Daily Courant*, 19 April 1703).

between the French and Italian Musick and Opera's (1709), he may not have been performing on the stage at this time (though Raguenet cannot be relied upon to be completely accurate) and it may be that Hazlewood was using Daniel's reputation as a punster to create an amusing story around an imaginary event.[10]

Table 3, a chronological list of Daniel's principal theatre singers, shows the changing personnel for whom he wrote music for the stage. Daniel seems to have had three principal sopranos, all of whom were singer-actresses: Letitia Cross (active in 1696), Mary Lindsey (1697-9), and Mrs Erwin (1700). Letitia Cross, also a noted dancer, was one of the most frequent of Daniel's early singers, but her elopement to France in 1698 brought an abrupt halt to her performances on the London stage. Although she later returned, following a stint in Dublin's Smock Alley Theatre, she became more of a straight actress than a singer, though she did perform in Thomas Clayton's *Arsinoe*, the first all-sung drama on the London stage, in 1705. Notoriously, she was Peter the Great's mistress during his visit of 1698.[11]

Mary Lindsey's debut for Daniel Purcell seems to have been in *Cynthia and Endimion* (H113), and she, too, later appeared in Clayton's *Arsinoe.*[12] Mrs Erwin made her debut in September 1695, but, apart from *Amalasont* (H103), which may not even have been

[10] See 'Theatre Music IV' below, and chapter 5, 'Daniel Purcell and London Life' for further examples of Daniel's celebrated wit. Raguenet's inclusion of Dieupart, Pepusch and Lullie as harpsichordists is quoted in Eric Walter White, *A History of English Opera*, 146.

[11] *BDA*, iv. 62-3. See Judith Milhous and Robert D Hume, 'Theatrical Politics at Drury Lane: New Light on Letitia Cross, Jane Rogers, and Anne Oldfield', and, on the question of Peter the Great, Leonid N Maikov, *Razskazy Nartova o Petre Velikom* [Nartov's tales about Peter the Great], (St Petersburg, 1891), 9.

[12] *BDA*, ix. 302-303.

staged, she only appeared in four productions in the early part of 1700, after which nothing more is known of her.

Table 3. Daniel Purcell's principal theatre singers (those singers associated with more than three of Daniel's theatrical songs).

Date	**Play**	**No.**	Letitia Cross	Mrs Erwin	Mary Lindsey	Jemmy Bowen	John Freeman	Francis Hughes	John Pate	Richard Leveridge
Jan 1696	*Love's Last Shift*	H128	■							
?late Feb 1696	*The Indian Queen*	H123	■							■
Mar 1696	*The Lost Lover*	H126	■							
late May 1696	*Ibrahim*	H121	■			■				
Aug 1696	*The Spanish Wives*	H145				■				
Oct/Nov 1696	*Brutus of Alba*	H108	■				■			■
Dec 1696	*The Emperor of the Moon*	H114	■							
?16 Jan 1697	*Cynthia and Endimion*	H113			■		■			
late Jun 1697	*The World in the Moon*	H150	■		■		■			■
?1698	*Psyche*	H140					■			
Mar 1698	*Phaeton*	H138			■	■	■		■	
Jun 1698	*The Campaigners*	H110			■					
early Feb 1699	*The Island Princess*	H124			■	■	■		■	■
May 1699	*The Famous History of the Rise and Fall of Massaniello*	H116			■		■		■	■
28 Nov 1699	*The Constant Couple*	H112					■		■	
?1700	*Achilles*	H101		■						
?1700	*Amalasont*	H103		■	■					
19 Feb 1700	*The Grove*	H119		■	■		■	■	■	
Mar 1700	*The Reformed Wife*	H141		■						
29 Apr 1700	*The Pilgrim (The Secular Masque)*	H139		■			■		■	
9 Dec 1700	*Love makes a Man*	H127				■		■		
20 Feb 1701	*The Rival Queens*	H143							■	
1 Mar 1701	*The Humour of the Age*	H120				■				
Dec 1701	*The Funeral*	H118				■			■	
Jan 1702	*The Modish Husband*	H131			■					
late Feb 1702	*The Inconstant*	H122						■		
23 Jun 1703	*Vice Reclaim'd, or The Passionate Mistress*	H149								■
2 Dec 1703	*The Lying Lover*	H129								■
7 Dec 1704	*The Careless Husband*	H111								■
18 Jan 1705	*Farewell Folly*	H117								■
23 Apr 1705	*The Tender Husband*	H146						■		

Daniel's countertenors all overlap to an extent. John Freeman was Daniel's first principal countertenor, appearing in *Brutus of Alba* (H108), *Cynthia and Endimion* (H113) and *The World in the Moon* (H150), all three of Daniel's early dramatick operas. Freeman had appeared in Henry Purcell's *Dioclesian* (1690), and *The Fairy Queen* (1692), but after *The Secular Masque*, performed as part of *The Pilgrim* (H139) in 1700, he retired from the stage and sang with the choirs of the Chapel Royal, St Paul's Cathedral and Westminster Abbey.[13] John Pate – 'reputed the most excellent singer, ever England had'[14] – also sang for Henry Purcell in *The Fairy Queen*, but his appearances on the stage were patchy and, following his involvement in a Jacobite riot, he was banned from the stage and left England for Italy.[15] His first appearance for Daniel Purcell was in 1698, but only two years later he was in trouble again, sentenced to death on the wheel for killing a man in Paris.[16] This punishment was evidently not carried out, as he returned to England, and was singing again in 1701.[17]

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[13] Freeman's daughter married James Kent, sometime organist of Winchester Cathedral. Kent, who owned some of Daniel Purcell's autograph manuscripts, was a pupil of Vaughan Richardson, a contemporary of Daniel Purcell in the choir of the Chapel Royal. *BDA*, v. 406-407; *NGII*, xiii. 479-480.

[14] Evelyn, v. 289, 30 May 1698. 'I dined at Mr. Pepyss, where I heard that rare Voice, Mr. *Pate*, who was lately come from *Italy*, reputed the most excellent singer, ever England had: he sang indeede many rare Italian Recitatives, &c.; & severall compositions of the last Mr. Pursal, esteemed the best composer of any Englishman hitherto.'

[15] Luttrell, iii. 484-484 and 487; Judith Milhous and Robert D Hume, *A Register of English Theatrical Documents 1660-1737*, i. 313, gives further details, including a reference to a report in the *Post Boy* that 'the Lord *Chamberlain* hath been pleased to displace Mr. *Pate* and Mr. *Reading* from their places in the Play-house for being in the late Riot in Drury-Lane', dated 20 June 1695.

[16] Luttrell, iv. 687, 17 Sep 1700, 'Letters from France say, that Mr. Pate, who belonged to the playhouse here and sung so fine, is committed to the Bastile at Paris for killing a man, and that he is condemned to be broke on the wheel'.

[17] *BDA*, xi. 234-235; *NGII*, xix. 230.

Francis Hughes was of a later generation, making his debut for Daniel Purcell in *The Grove* (H119) in 1700, a production which included all three of Daniel's leading countertenors. Hughes was the leading man in *Arsinoe*, and sang on the stage for a while before following in Freeman's footsteps and joining London's three major liturgical choirs.[18]

Two more singers who had performed with Henry Purcell – 'the boy' Jemmy Bowen, and Richard Leveridge, the bass – also appeared in several of Daniel's stage works. Bowen first sang on the stage in Henry Purcell's *The Libertine* (1695), and though he sang as a treble in Daniel's earliest works, as early as August 1696 he was described as 'Mr James Bowen'.[19] When he appears in *The Island Princess* (H124), in early 1699, the song under his name, 'Hear, gentle moon', is written in the alto clef.

Richard Leveridge was a close contemporary of Daniel Purcell, being born in 1670 or 1671, and made his debut as Ismeron in Henry Purcell's *The Indian Queen*. Following the outstanding success of *The Island Princess* (H124), to which Leveridge contributed his own song, the enduringly popular 'Enthusiastick Song', he spent some time at the Smock Alley Theatre in Dublin, to avoid debt if one believes Vanbrugh's letter of December 1699.[20] However, Leveridge was soon back on the stage, and sang three of Daniel's late

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[18] *BDA*, viii. 22-23; *NGII*, xi. 806.

[19] 'Alas when charming Sylvia's gone', from *The Spanish Wives* (H145). Published by Thomas Cross as 'Song in the *Farce* call'd the *Spanish WIVES*, Set to Musick by Mr *Daniel Purcell*, Sung by Mr *James Bowen*'.

[20] 'Liveridge is in Ireland, he Owes so much money he dare not come over', written on 25 December 1699 and quoted in Olive Baldwin and Thelma Wilson, 'Richard Leveridge, 1670-1758, 1: Purcell and the Dramatic Operas', 594.

theatre songs. Leveridge's career span was remarkable: he was still performing at the age of 80.[21]

That so many of Daniel's principal singers performed in Clayton's *Arsinoe*, and that Daniel still performed in the theatre after he finished writing new music for the stage, raises the possibility that Daniel took part in the first all-sung opera in the Italian style to be performed on the English stage.

The Dramatick Opera from Henry to Daniel Purcell

Christopher Rich, the manager of London's then only theatre company, formed following the union of the King's and Duke's companies in 1682, employed Henry Purcell as virtual house composer between the spring of 1690 and the latter's death just over five years later. Henry was the dominant force in theatre music during this period and, as such, no study of Daniel Purcell's involvement with the theatre can be attempted before reference to Henry's stage career, and a brief examination of the theatrical genres in which he was writing.

Henry Purcell's music for Nathaniel Lee's *Theodosius*, his first for the stage, was performed at Dorset Garden by the Duke's Company in the spring or summer of 1680, and was followed shortly afterwards by two songs for the King's company at the Theatre Royal in Drury Lane.[22] Henry was then largely absent from the stage for about a

[21] See Olive Baldwin and Thelma Wilson, 'Richard Leveridge, 1670-1758'.

[22] See Curtis Price, *Henry Purcell and the London Stage*, 30, for a discussion of the date of *Theodosius*. Henry's two further songs were 'Retir'd from any mortal's sight' (Z581) in Nahum Tate's *The Sicilian Usurper*, probably in December 1680, and 'Blow, Boreas, blow' (Z589) for Thomas D'Urfey's *Sir Barnaby Whigg*, probably in October of the following year.

decade, probably owing to the demands of his duties at court; the music for the major theatrical work from the 1680s, John Dryden's ill-fated *Albion and Albanius* (1685), was composed by the Catalan composer Louis Grabu, and Henry's only all-sung 'opera', *Dido and Aeneas*, which also dates from the 1680s, was never performed in public in his lifetime.[23] It was only after the departure of James II, when the demand for court music markedly decreased, that Henry became virtual composer-in-residence to the United Company.[24]

Henry Purcell contributed songs and dance tunes to a great number of plays, but it was the larger scale works which made a particular mark on the history of the genre. It was during the early 1690s that Henry produced his largest stage works – *The Prophetess, or the History of Dioclesian* (1690), *King Arthur* (1691), and *The Fairy Queen* (1692) – as well as incidental instrumental music and songs for over forty plays. Henry's partnerships with the actor-manager-impresario Thomas Betterton, who adapted *Dioclesian* from the play by Massinger and Fletcher and produced all three of Henry's larger works, and with the playwright John Dryden, the author of the prologue to *Dioclesian* and of *King Arthur*, were central to Rich's success on the London stage.

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[23] *Albion and Albanius* was somewhat interrupted by the Duke of Monmouth's invasion, which threw the country into turmoil and which, given the allegorical nature of the plot (described in Eric Walter White, *A History of English Opera*, 105-107), meant that the first full-length opera in English to survive, was doomed to failure. For further discussion of the circumstances surrounding the first known public performance of *Dido and Aeneas*, see Irena Cholij, '*Dido and Aeneas* with *The Loves of Dido and Aeneas* in *Measure for Measure*', in Michael Burden (ed.), *Henry Purcell's Operas: The Complete Texts*, 98.

[24] A full account of Henry Purcell's relationship with the theatre companies can be found in Curtis Price, *Henry Purcell and the London Stage*, 12-17. For a more detailed examination of his theatre music, see Robert Etheridge Moore, *Henry Purcell and the Restoration Theatre*, Roger Savage, 'The Theatre Music', in Michael Burden (ed.), *The Purcell Companion*, 313-383, and of the dramatick operas, see Michael Burden (ed.), *Henry Purcell's Operas: The Complete Texts*.

The last years of Henry's life were marred by political infighting between the United Company's performers, led by Thomas Betterton, and their managers Christopher Rich and Thomas Skipwith. During the theatres' closed period following the death of Queen Mary in December 1694, a group of actors and musicians, disillusioned with the company's management, gained permission to leave Drury Lane and form their own company. They controlled their operation collectively, without the need for a proprietor, and had the services of the most experienced performers, including the actor-singers Doggett, Bowman and Mrs Bracegirdle, and the professional singers Pate, Reading, Ayliff and Hodgson.[25]

This schism was a massive blow to Rich and Skipwith. Although they retained possession of the two theatres, Drury Lane,[26] which staged mostly plays, and Dorset Garden,[27] designed to stage larger spectacular entertainments, they were left with little

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[25] Bowman was probably the greatest loss, being Purcell's favourite singer. Pate, Doggett and Ayliff later returned to Drury Lane, but only after Henry Purcell had died (Curtis Price, *Henry Purcell and the London Stage*, 16). For 'The Petition of the Players' (November 1694), and 'The Reply of the Patentees' (10 December 1694), the documents which describe this dispute in Lpro LC 7/3, ff.2-4 and 8-20, see Judith Milhous, *Thomas Betterton and the Management of Lincoln's Inn Fields, 1695-1708*, 225-246. Their new license was issued on 25 March 1695, copies at Lpro LC 7/1, p.38, and 7/3, f.7, published in Allardyce Nicoll, *A History of English Drama, 1660-1900*, i. 361.

[26] The Theatre Royal in Drury Lane was built to replace a theatre in Bridges Street, destroyed by fire in January 1672. Opened in 1674, it was home to the King's Company until the union of the King's and Duke's companies in 1682, after which it was used largely for spoken dramas. Its capacity is unknown, but the evidence of two box-office reports of December 1677, it may well have held up to 1000 spectators, see *LS*, i. xlii-xliii, and Judith Milhous and Robert D Hume, *A Register of English Theatrical Documents 1660-1737*, i. 202. In terms of the capacity of Dorset Garden, John Spring ('The Dorset Garden Theatre: Playhouse or Opera House', 65) suggests a figure of 1200, a total reduced to about 820 by Robert Hume ('The Dorset Garden Theatre: A Review of Facts and Problems', 13). Given that Dorset Garden was certainly larger than Drury Lane, it seems likely that the latter held between 400 and 600. Cibber's description of alterations made to Drury Lane by 1696, probably just before Daniel's arrival in London, are in his *Apology*, 90-91.

[27] The theatre in Dorset Garden, known as the Duke's Theatre even after the union of the King's and Duke's companies, was opened in November 1671, and was designed as a venue for multi-media extravaganzas. On the edge of the Thames near Fleet Street, it was a very large theatre, seating over 800, and when John Evelyn saw the, as yet, unfinished theatre on 26 June 1671, he was impressed by the magnificence of the scenes and machines: 'I went home, steping in at the Theatre, to see the new

but the talented children, Jemmy Bowen and Letitia Cross, and the young bass Richard Leveridge, in their performing ranks. Despite this depletion of talent, Henry chose to stay with Rich and his new Patent Company. Rich's theatres were undoubtedly superior to Betterton's converted tennis court, and were much better suited to the type of work which Henry was keen to write, whilst Rich's strategy of staging new productions which required new music would also have encouraged Henry to stay. Rich was certainly able to pay Henry more handsomely than Betterton could ever have managed; Betterton's company was facing real financial difficulties, and was not even allowed, under the terms of his licence, to seek outside investment.[28] They certainly could not afford to mount the sort of new productions which Rich planned. Henry would also doubtless have been keen to continue his partnership with John Dryden; about half of the forty theatre scores which Henry wrote in the 1690s were linked with him in some way, including new plays or collaborations and revivals, or plays by protégés such as Thomas Southerne or William Congreve. Certainly Henry Purcell had a close personal friendship with Dryden, who stated that in Henry 'we have at length found an *English-man*, equal with the best abroad'.[29]

Machines for the intended, which were indeede very costly, & magnificent', iii. 583. Little evidence of the theatre itself survives. In 1676, François Brunet described how the amphitheatre sloped upward toward the boxes, and that there were three tiers: a lower tier, of seven boxes holding twenty people each, a middle gallery, of a similar construction, and an upper gallery. Hotson, *Commonwealth and Restoration Stage*, 233-234, quoted in *LS*, i. xl. For further discussion of both theatres, including some conjectural reconstructions of the internal layout, see Edward A Langhans, 'The Theatres', in Robert D Hume (ed.), *The London Theatre World 1660-1800*, 35-65. A picture of the outside of the theatre can be seen in *NGII*, xv. 113.

[28] 'Financial limitations must have been equally compelling. The actor-sharers had no capital at all, and their "sharers' agreement" specifically forbade the involvement of outside investors', Robert D Hume, 'Opera in London, 1695-1706', in Shirley Strum Kenny (ed.), *British Theatre and the Other Arts, 1660-1800*, 77.

[29] John Dryden, *Amphitryon* (London, 1690), preface. Dryden is said to have been a regular visitor to Henry's rooms in St James's Palace, often using his friend's lodgings to escape his creditors, David Baldwin, *The Chapel Royal Ancient and Modern*, 282. For arguments regarding Henry Purcell's reasons for

Betterton's Lincoln's Inn Fields theatre opened in April 1695 with Congreve's *Love for Love*, but even its considerable success could not provide the financial backing needed to present larger, more spectacular entertainments. In contrast, Rich, who decided to emphasise the strengths which he had retained (notably the ability to perform such large scale works that were once Betterton's lifeblood), threw caution to the winds by presenting a number of new, large-scale productions. In the opening season of the Patent Company, Rich staged *The Indian Queen*, an operatic version of Dryden and Howard's play which was originally to have been produced by Betterton,[30] together with smaller but still substantial works such as *Bonduca*, *Timon of Athens*, *Pausanias* and *The Libertine*; there were also revivals and adaptations such as *Abdelazar*, *The Old Bachelor*, *The Rival Sisters* and *Oroonoko*, all of which had music by Henry Purcell. Rich was evidently making good use of his prized assets – Henry Purcell and the theatres themselves – in presenting so many new and large-scale productions. Betterton faced being beaten at his own game.

However, Henry Purcell's death was to rob Rich of his star composer after less than a year of competition in the theatres. To whom would he turn in his moment of need? Who would Rich choose to step into the shoes of the great Henry Purcell, a composer on whom he had gambled so much? After the frenetic activity of new productions in

staying, see Curtis Price, *Henry Purcell and the London Stage*, 17, and Roger Savage, 'The Theatre Music', in Michael Burden (ed.), *The Purcell Companion*, 321.

[30] In fact, Betterton had received some £50, a sum equivalent to an annual salary for most actors, 'for his care & trouble to gett up ye Indian Queen' (Reply of the Patentees, of 10 December 1694). See Robert D Hume, 'Opera in London, 1695-1706', in Shirley Strum Kenny (ed.), *British Theatre and the Other Arts, 1660-1800*, 70-71.

1695, had Rich's strategy proved too risky? It was into this pressure-cooker atmosphere that Daniel Purcell arrived on or shortly after 14 November 1695, during the last few days of Henry's life.

The role of music in late seventeenth-century plays

To the late seventeenth-century audience, theatre-going was an opportunity to see and to be seen, to meet with friends, perhaps flirt a little, and catch up on the recent gossip. Few amongst the largely upper-middle-class crowd were actually there to see the play, or even to hear the musical entertainments. Henri Misson, a French visitor to Drury Lane in 1698, described the scene:

> The Pit is an Amphitheater, fill'd with Benches without Backboards, and adorn'd and cover'd with green Cloth. Men of Quality, particularly the younger Sort, some Ladies of Reputation and Vertue, and abundance of Damsels that hunt for Prey, sit all together in this Place, Higgledy-piggledy, chatter, toy, play, hear, hear not. Farther up, against the Wall, under the first Gallery, and just opposite to the Stage, rises another Amphitheater, which is taken up by Persons of the best Quality, among whom are generally very few Men. The Galleries, whereof there are only two Rows [?tiers], are fill'd with none but ordinary People, particularly in the Upper one.[31]

A contemporary commentator questioned the purpose of going to the theatre:

> What wou'd you go to the Play for? To see a Whore that has Lain with all the Beaux of the Pit; nay, perhaps with ev'ry Player on the Stage, act a Virgin, or a Vertuous Wife? Or to be dun'd all around with the impertinent Discourse of Beardless Fops to the Orange-Wenches …: of the Rake-Hells, talking loud to one another; or the perpetual Chat of the Noisy Coquets, that come there to get Cullies, and to disturb, not mind the Play. Or what Effect has all the Plays upon you? Are not your Fops in the Pit and

[31] *M. Misson's Memoirs and Observations in his Travels over England*, 219-220.

> Boxes incorrigible to all the Endeavours of your Writers, in their Prologues and Epilogues, or the variety of Characters that have been made to reform them? Tho a Play be a generous Diversion, yet 'tis better to read than see, unless one cou'd see it without these Inconveniences.[32]

Before the curtain was raised, a small band would play the 'first' and 'second' music partly as an introduction to the performance, but also to entertain the public who had unreserved seats, and had arrived early in order to secure a good view. This introductory music also had an altogether different, and perhaps unintentional, purpose. If a member of the audience left sufficiently early, they would have their admission fee returned. This was of particular interest to any men who were only there to find one of the masked prostitutes who frequented the playhouse. Frank Wildblood, one of the characters in *The World in the Moon*, a play by Elkanah Settle with music by Daniel Purcell, makes this quite clear: 'I gallop round the Pit, hear the last Musick, pick up a Mask, and carry her off before the Play; and so save the poor Whore her Half Crown'.[33]

Music took a central role in plays of the 1680s and 1690s. Nearly all of the six hundred or so plays performed during these two decades required music, from single songs to whole masques and entertainments. These musical scenes contained instrumental music and dancing, as well as solo and chorus singing. Instrumental music between the acts, perhaps to cover any scene changes, were also common.

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[32] James Wright, *The Humours and Conversations of the Town* (London, 1693, reprinted 1961), 105-106, quoted in Roger Savage, 'The Theatre Music', in Michael Burden (ed.), *The Purcell Companion*, 314.

[33] Elkanah Settle, *The World in the Moon* (London, 1697), 3, quoted in Roger Savage, 'The Theatre Music', in Michael Burden (ed.), *The Purcell Companion*, 326.

Just before the start of the play came the overture or 'curtain tune', whilst 'act tunes' were played at the conclusion of each act of the play, often in dance forms such as jigs, hornpipes, minuets, chaconnes, sarabands or courantes. Single songs could be performed at the behest of a character in the play, or included during a 'freezing' of the action. Masques were often introduced during incantation, wedding or ritual scenes, or to mark a special celebration within the play.[34] However, there was an uneasy alliance between the two facets of entertainment: the narrative was communicated by spoken dialogue, and the musical episodes, which used different performers than the characters in the play, were almost always entirely para-dramatic.[35] The prologue to the anonymous adaptation of Ben Jonson's *Volpone*, in 1676, deplored the prominence of music found in plays:

> Did Ben now live, how would he fret, and rage,
> To see this musick-room outvye the stage?
> To see the French haut-boyes charm the listening pitt
> More than the raptures of his god-like wit!
> Yet 'tis too true that most who now are here,
> Come not to feast their judgment, but their ear.
> Musick, which was by intervals design'd
> To ease the weary'd actors voice and mind,
> You to the play judiciously prefer,
> 'Tis now the bus'ness of the theatre:
> They act, and if o're spent, for breath they stay,
> We serve but as the chorus to their play;
> In vain we chuse the best poetic strain,
> The teeming head's choice labours cull in vain,
> Whilst plyant fingers quite putt down the brain.
> The fox above our boasting play-bills shew,

[34] For a detailed account of the different places music could appear in spoken places, see Price, 1-65.

[35] Price, xvi.

Variety of musick stands below.
This fills the pitt so full, and solid sense
Is clear outweigh'd by empty circumstance.
So to charm beasts Orpheus in vain did use
The lofty transports of his heav'nly music,
Till waving those, all fidler he appear'd,
And drew with musick the unthinking herd.[36]

Roger North considered that 'by an error of mixing 2 capitall entertainments', the play would not survive,

> For some that would come to the play, hated the musick, and others that were very desirous of the musick, would not bear the interruption that so much rehearsal gave, so that it is best to have either by itself intire.[37]

Thomas Betterton took the idea of music within a spoken play one stage further, inserting lengthy music episodes, together with exotic costumes, extravagant scenery, dramatic staging effects and dancing, into slimmed-down versions of old plays, and produced a series of spectacular entertainments at Dorset Garden from the early 1670s. Although still using a spoken narrative, these 'dramatick operas', with their spectacular multimedia effects, were much more expensive to produce than ordinary plays, and had to attract larger audiences to the theatres. Burney, with his usual condescending tone, considered that dramatick opera was

[36] Cited in Robert Gayle Noyes, 'A Manuscript Restoration Prologue for *Volpone*', *Modern Language Notes* 42 (1937), 198-200, and quoted in Mark A Radice, 'Sites for Music in Purcell's Dorset Garden Theatre', 431.

[37] J Wilson (ed.), *Roger North on Music*, 353-354.

> ... a drama that is declaimed or spoken, and in which songs and symphonies are introduced; differing from real operas, where there is no speaking, and where the narrative part and dialogue is set to music.[38]

Early examples of dramatick operas included operatic versions of *Macbeth* (1673) and *The Tempest* (1674), which, together with Thomas Shadwell's *Psyche* (1675), Charles Davenant's *Circe* (1677), and John Dryden's through-composed *Albion and Albanius* (1685), were all produced at the Dorset Garden theatre.[39] The preface to Dryden's entertainment indicated that Betterton may even have had some part in its writing.

> The description of the Scene, and other decorations of the Stage, I had from Mr. *Betterton*, who has spar'd neither for industry, nor cost, to make this Entertainment perfect, nor for the Invention of the Amounts to Beautify it.[40]

The best-known dramatick operas have achieved such a status because of the music of Henry Purcell; *The Prophetess, or, the History of Dioclesian* (1690), *King Arthur* (1691), *The Fairy Queen* (1692) and *The Indian Queen* (1695) are now better known for their musical scenes than for the plays themselves, so it may be tempting to assume that the decade following the death of Henry Purcell was void of larger-scale musical-dramatic productions. However, nothing could be further from the truth: Rich staged a number of dramatick operas, at both Drury Lane and Dorset Garden, and even the Lincoln's Inn Fields company mounted similar works though, unlike Henry's works, which often used music

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[38] Burney, ii. 648.

[39] See Eugene Haun, *But Hark! More Harmony: The Libretti of Restoration Opera in English* for a study of the dramatic development of these works.

[40] John Dryden, *Albion and Albanius* (London, 1685), 5, quoted in Michael Burden 'Aspects of Purcell's Operas', in Michael Burden (ed.), *Henry Purcell's Operas: The Complete Texts*, 5-6.

to enhance spoken dialogue, the later dramatick operas largely confined music to intervals and afterpieces.[41]

Table 4. Dramatick Operas 1690 to 1701 [42]

Theatre	Date	Play	Playwright(s)	Composer(s)
DG	1690	*Dioclesian*	Massinger and Fletcher, altered by Betterton	Henry Purcell
DG	May? 1691	*King Arthur*	John Dryden	Henry Purcell
DG	May 1692	*The Fairy Queen*	Shakespeare, altered anon.	Henry Purcell
DG	mid 1695	*The Indian Queen*	After Robert Howard	Henry Purcell
DL	Oct 1695	*Bonduca*	Fletcher, altered anon.	Henry Purcell
DG	late Feb 1696	*The Indian Queen* – revival (H123)	After Robert Howard	Henry and Daniel Purcell
DG	26 Oct 1696	*Brutus of Alba* (H108)	Nahum Tate	Daniel Purcell
DL	16 Jan 1697[43]	*Cynthia and Endimion* (H113)	Thomas D'Urfey	Jeremiah Clarke and Daniel Purcell
DG	26? Jun? 1697	*The World in the Moon* (H150)	Elkanah Settle	Jeremiah Clarke and Daniel Purcell
LIF	Nov 1699	*Rinaldo and Armida*	John Dennis	John Eccles
DL	7? Feb 1699	*The Island Princess* (H124)	Fletcher, altered Tate, and later Peter Motteux	Jeremiah Clarke and Daniel Purcell
DL	19 Feb 1700	*The Grove* (H119)	John Oldmixon	Daniel Purcell
LIF	mid Jan 1701	*The Mad Lover*	Fletcher, altered Motteux	John Eccles
?DL	20 Feb 1701	*The Rival Queens* (H143)	Nathaniel Lee, adapted anon.	Daniel Purcell and Gottfried Finger
DL	May 1701	*The Virgin Prophetess*	Elkanah Settle	Gottfried Finger

[41] See Price, 111, and Fiske, 13-14.

[42] After Michael Burden 'Aspects of Purcell's Operas', in Michael Burden (ed.), *Henry Purcell's Operas: The Complete Texts*, 5, and Fiske, 8. *The Indian Queen* is included twice: it is argued below that initial performances contained just Henry Purcell's music, and that Daniel's masque was added for a revival after Henry's death. As such, it fits in the sequence of Henry's final works, when Rich was trying to produce new works to outdo Betterton at his own game, and in Daniel's early works, which involved Henry to a greater or lesser degree. (Key: DG = Dorset Garden, DL = Drury Lane, LIF = Lincoln's Inn Fields)

[43] Michael Burden suggests '16? June? 1697', but this must be a misprint which also escaped the proofreaders.

As shown in the above table, there was a gap of a year in new productions following Henry Purcell's death; such extravaganzas were extremely expensive, sometimes taking up to half the annual income of the company, and were clearly risky ventures without Rich's star composer.[44] Between *Circe* in 1677 and Henry Purcell's *Dioclesian* in 1690, the only spectacular presented at Dorset Garden was the failure *Albion and Albanius*, in 1685. The loss of Henry Purcell was undoubtedly a massive blow to Rich, coming so soon after his split with Betterton, and as Henry had a monopoly on the provision of music for these productions, there was no-one with the required experience to produce the works on which Rich was relying.

However, there soon followed two brief bursts of activity when new works were staged. The first flurry included three works, starting with *Brutus of Alba* and *Cynthia and Endimion*, and was brought to an abrupt halt following the catastrophic failure of Elkanah Settle's *The World in the Moon*. It was only in response to the rival company's *Rinaldo and Armida* that Rich again mounted a new large-scale production, the hastily-concocted *The Island Princess*, a Fletcher play altered by Nahum Tate, and 'made into an opera' by Peter Motteux. However, Rich did not not risk any capital on this work, the cost of the scenery being underwritten by the actors themselves.[45]

Rich had a virtual monopoly on large-scale spectacular productions. The reasons for this are simple: although the breakaway company had the better performers, they lacked

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[44] The large-scale productions cost 'up to £3000-£4000 against a total annual income of some £8000-£10000' (*NGII*, xv. 112).

[45] The spoken prologue contains the exhortation from the players to the audience 'Perhaps too, when you know we wave our Pay, | At our own Cost t'adorn these Scenes to day, | In Pity to the Play'rs, you'll kindly use the Play'. Peter Motteux, *The Island Princess*, [vi].

a suitable theatre and adequate financial backing. Although Betterton sought voluntary subscriptions to help fit out the theatre and buy costumes and scenery, he still could not afford to mount dramatick operas, producing instead straight plays with interpolated masques, smaller scale productions which were cheaper to produce.[46] Their one foray into the genre, John Dennis' highly-successful *Rinaldo and Armida*, with music by John Eccles, 'surpriz'd not only *Drury-lane*, but indeed all the Town, no body ever dreaming of an *Opera* there'.[47]

There then followed a second period of activity followed the runaway success of *The Island Princess*, which continued with John Oldmixon's *The Grove* (1700), Rich's first gamble since *The World in the Moon* three years earlier. However, neither this, nor an adaptation of Nathaniel Lee's *The Rival Queens, or the Death of Alexander the Great* (1701) was a success, and after another Settle failure, *The Virgin Prophetess* in 1701, Rich abandoned producing any further new dramatick operas completely.

Music in ordinary plays also came under threat. The support of the court had declined greatly following the death of Charles II, as first James II then William and Mary were less interested in supporting culture. Novelties such as foreign singers and dancers, and even jugglers, had to be introduced between the acts of plays to attract larger audiences, and as prominent older playwrights retired or died, the new generation was not so

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[46] According to Colley Cibber's *Apology* (p.109), there were voluntary subscriptions of twenty and forty guineas, but Robert Hume thinks it unlikely that this raised more than about a thousand pounds. In contrast, Betterton had previously spent £3000 to £4000 in staging a single new production. See Robert D Hume, 'Opera in London, 1695-1706', in Shirley Strum Kenny (ed.), *British Theatre and the Other Arts, 1660-1800*, 77-79 for further discussion. For a further account of the masques and entertainments produced by the Lincoln's Inn Fields company at this time, see Fiske, 13.

[47] *A Comparison between the Two Stages*, 21-22.

interested in the former style.[48] Indeed, by 1700 playwrights rarely took care properly to integrate musical scenes into spoken dramas, instead shoehorning music into existing plays or writing plays with detachable musical scenes which could be removed without causing damage to the either the play or the music.[49]

Cheaper plays and revivals were also much less of a risk than new dramatick operas. By the season 1706-7, the ordinary play was largely bereft of musical entertainment, the companies' resources for music being spent on all-sung opera, the successor to dramatick operas which had become fashionable, and those who came to dramatick operas to hear the latest English music could just as easily be entertained by London's fledgling concert scene.[50]

Daniel Purcell's Theatre Music

Daniel's music for the stage can be divided into three different periods, the nature of which is shown in tables 5, 6 and 7, which show the number of vocal and instrumental pieces Daniel wrote to each play. The first phase, from 1696 to 1699, contains a large number of plays which required single songs, together with six larger-scale works, a number of which would have been planned when Henry Purcell was still alive. During the period 1700 to 1701 there was a marked reduction in single songs, just one full-scale dramatick opera, and Daniel's first known set of instrumental act tunes. The third period, from 1702 to 1705, shows a further reduction in the music Daniel provided for

[48] Edward A Langhans, 'The Theatres', in Robert D Hume (ed.), *London Theatre World 1660-1800*, 44.

[49] See Price, 111.

[50] The reasons for the decline in theatre music during this period are discussed further in Curtis Price, 'Music as Drama', in Robert D Hume (ed.), *London Theatre World 1660-1800*, especially 231-235.

the theatre, with no major stage works and only odd songs. Instead, Daniel turned to instrumental act tunes, writing five sets during this time.

Theatre Music I: 1695/6-1698/9

Daniel's first music performed on the stage was a single song, 'What ungrateful devil moves you' (see fig. 13), included in performances of Colley Cibber's comedy *Love's Last Shift, or The Fool in Fashion* (H128), in January 1696. The song text is not included in the play, but it was published in the *Gentleman's Journal* over two years earlier, in July 1693. The song itself is also found in two Oxford manuscripts, suggesting that it may have been written for another purpose whilst Daniel was still in Oxford and later inserted into the play. On the other hand, its appearance in the 'Gresham Autograph' might indicate a later date.[51]

Fig 13. Daniel Purcell's first music written for the theatre, from Love's Last Shift (H128).



[51] Lgc Safe 3, published in facsimile as Margaret Laurie and Robert Thompson (eds.), *The Gresham Autograph* (London, 1995). Its appearance in this manuscript led Zimmerman to include it in his catalogue as ZD142. The Gresham Autograph seems to have passed to Daniel on Henry's death. This might suggest that the songs Daniel copied into the book were recent works, dating after November 1695.

Table 5. Theatre works, 1695/6-1698/9

Date	V	I	Title	No.
Jan 1696	1		*Love's Last Shift, or The Fool in Fashion*	H128
Feb 1696	1		*The Younger Brother, or The Amorous Jilt*	H151
mid Feb 1696	1		*Neglected Virtue, or The Unhappy Conqueror*	H132
?late Feb 1696	9	2	*The Indian Queen*	H123
Mar 1696	1		*The Lost Lover, or The Jealous Husband*	H126
?Apr 1696	7	1	*Pausanias, the Betrayer of his Country*	H137
late May 1696	1		*Ibrahim, the Thirteenth Emperor of the Turks*	H121
Aug 1696	1		*The Spanish Wives*	H145
Oct/Nov 1696	9+	[lost]	*Brutus of Alba, or Augusta's Triumph*	H108
Dec 1696	1		*The Emperor of the Moon*	H114
?16 Jan 1697	11+	6+[52]	*Cynthia and Endimion, or The Loves of the Deities*	H113
Feb 1697	1		*The Triumphs of Virtue*	H147
late Jun 1697	8+[53]		*The World in the Moon*	H150
?1697/8	1		*Amintas, or The Impossible Dowry*	H104
?1697/8	2		*Sauny the Scot, or The Taming of the Shrew*	H144
?1698	1		*Psyche*	H140
Mar 1698	1		*Caligula*	H109
Mar 1698	7		*Phaeton, or The Fatal Divorce*	H138
Jun 1698	3		*The Campaigners, or The Pleasant Adventures at Brussels*	H110
early Feb 1699	14	5	*The Island Princess, or The Generous Portuguese*	H124
May 1699	4		*The Famous History of the Rise and Fall of Massaniello*	H116

(Key: V = number of vocal pieces, I = number of instrumental pieces)

Aphra Behn's *The Younger Brother, or The Amorous Jilt* (H151), first staged in early February 1696, contains Daniel's next song, with words by Peter Motteux. This song, 'What life can compare with the jolly town rake's', is also found in an Oxford manuscript, perhaps indicating that Daniel still had contacts in Oxford to whom he was sending songs.

[52] In addition, a scene in Act IV, set by Daniel Purcell, is lost.

[53] In addition, a scene in Act II, set by Daniel Purcell, is lost.

Another single song, 'Olinda turn and though thine eyes', was performed in *Neglected Virtue, or The Unhappy Conqueror* (H132) in the middle of February 1696 though, again, this was not included in the printed playtext.[54] Indeed, as shown in table 5, eight of the first twelve plays for which Daniel wrote music required just a single song.

At least two of Henry Purcell's unfinished theatrical works contain a significant amount of music by Daniel. The circumstances surrounding Daniel's fifth-act masque for *The Indian Queen* (H123) have long been a matter of conjecture. This, Daniel's first extended composition for the stage, was added to the end of Act V, though not, it seems, in time for the first performances, which almost certainly did not contain any music by him, and probably took place between 1 April and 7 July, or between 9 October and 21 November 1695.[55] Although the music might seem incomplete without Daniel's masque, which brings the tonal structure back from F minor, where Henry's music finishes, to the home key of C,[56] the 'additional act' makes little dramatic sense. A celebratory masque following only a few lines after Zempoalla's suicide does seem slightly perverse to the modern audience, even if in adhering to the convention of a

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[54] The identity of the playwright is unclear; the playtext is anonymous, and the set of tunes in Lbl Add MS 35043 is headed 'Tunes to Mr Horden's Play by Mr. P.'. Hildebrand Horden wrote and performed the prologue, including the phrase 'Both myself and my friend, the author of this unsuccessful piece...'. Zimmerman (*Analytical Catalogue*, 442) suggests Charles Hopkins as the author.

[55] The timing of the first performance of this play is a matter of some debate. The first performance must have taken place in 1695, as the language of the introduction to the unauthorised collection of songs from the opera suggests publication before Henry's death in November. For a fuller debate on the dating of the first performance, see Curtis Price, *Henry Purcell and the London Stage*, 126ff, and Julia Wood, 'The Indian Queen', in Michael Burden (ed.), *Henry Purcell's Operas: The Complete Texts*, 412ff. The playhouses closed on 7 July this year (Julia Wood, 'The Indian Queen', in Michael Burden (ed.), *Henry Purcell's Operas: The Complete Texts*, 415).

[56] Though the preliminary music is in F, the overture and prologue are in C minor and major respectively.

final-act masque it would have seemed otherwise to a contemporary listener.[57] Although it has been suggested that Daniel's masque was intended to be a added as a birthday entertainment for Queen Mary, on 30 April 1696, and that it was added to enable the tragedy to end with a celebration, the music was first published in March 1696 where it is described as 'the Additional Musick to the Indian Queen ... 'as it is *now* Acted at His Majesties Theatre' (my italics), and so was therefore probably added for a revival in early spring 1696.[58]

For Daniel to add music to one of Henry's works, only a couple of months after Henry's death, was a daunting task. The juxtaposition of Daniel's first, and Henry's final, major contributions to the theatre has only encouraged subsequent commentators continually to compare Henry and Daniel's music without much reference to the contexts in which they were writing.

Henry Purcell's music for Richard Norton's tragedy *Pausanias* (Z585) was amongst his final works, but the duet 'My dearest, my fairest' (H603P) may well be by Daniel, if an ascription in a Nanki manuscript is to be trusted.[59] The only music which can be

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[57] 'The tasteless finale, added in late 1695 in a clumsy attempt to make the tragedy more like a semi-opera', wrote Curtis Price in a concert review, 'The Indian Queen', *MT* 127 (1986), 221. The same commentator, however, earlier wrote that 'despite the bland and spineless appearance of the music on the page, much of it would probably be very effective in the theatre', and that Henry 'either by neglect or by death, bequeathed to [Daniel] ... the difficult task of making the play fit for the stage by providing a happy ending', Curtis Price, *Henry Purcell and the London Stage*, 142-143.

[58] *Delicae Musicae ... The First Book of the Second Volume* (London, 1696). The publication advertised in the *Post Boy* of 2 March 1696, see Michael Tilmouth, 'A Calendar of References to Music in Newspapers published in London and the Provinces (1660-1719)', *RMARC,* I, 17. The suggestion of the happy ending for Queen Mary's birthday is found in John Buttrey, 'The Evolution of English Opera between 1656 and 1695: A Reinvestigation', 290-295.

[59] Nanki MS 0.O.10. An attempt to gain permission to consult this manuscript was refused by its present owners, the Yomiuri Nippon Symphony Orchestra. The only other early source is a single-sheet

attributed to Henry with any certainty is the song 'Sweeter than roses'. Daniel's prologue to *Pausanias* (H137) survives in a manuscript which now contains all of Daniel Purcell's surviving early larger theatre music contributions: *The Indian Queen* (H123), *Pausanias* (H137), and *Cynthia and Endimion* (H113), which all date from 1696 or 1697. It is in the hand of a close collaborator of Daniel Purcell, and may be that copyist's earliest examples of Daniel's music.[60]

In all, Daniel Purcell contributed music to no fewer than seven plays whilst still receiving payment from Magdalen College. His Oxford employers surely hoped for, if not expected, a return.

Almost all of Daniel's theatre compositions from this period were songs, often just an odd one or two, whilst no pieces were purely instrumental.[61] In addition, Daniel wrote whole musical scenes for a number of larger productions. Of these, *The Indian Queen, Pausanias,* and *Cynthia and Endimion*, all dated from 1696 and were, to various degrees, all 'held-over' works from Henry Purcell. To these can be added the 'extraordinary dramatic concoction' *Brutus of Alba* (H108),[62] the 'expensive fiasco' *The World in the Moon*

publication from 1700, which attributes the work to Henry Purcell, but such sources are not always completely reliable.

[60] Ob MS Tenbury 1175. *The Indian Queen* music is Daniel's contribution only, and does not include Henry Purcell's music. See also Shay and Thompson, *Purcell Manuscripts*, 317. Laurie suggests a starting date for this manuscript of ca. 1700 but it seems that this early music, all dating from 1696, was probably copied very shortly after composition, see *The Indian Queen* (Revised Purcell Society edition), p.xxv.

[61] It had previously been thought that Daniel Purcell's music to Vanbrugh's play *The Relapse, or Virtue in Danger* (H142) dated from the original production in 1696 (c.f. *LS*). However, at this time, Daniel had written no sets of act tunes, and was not to do so until 1701, being primarily engaged as a composer of vocal music. The advertised publication of 'Mr Daniel Purcell's Overture and Aires in the Reviv'd Play, call'd Vertue in Danger', in the *Daily Courant* of 22 March 1707, would seem to support this proposition.

[62] Eric Walter White, 'New light on Dido and Aeneas', in Imogen Holst (ed.), *Henry Purcell 1659-1695: Essays on his music*, 31. Hawkins evidently considered *Brutus of Alba* to be a significant work, naming only it

(H150),[63] and *Phaeton* (H138). All of the first group of works survive in manuscript sources, which contain instrumental music and entire scenes. The music of the latter three is known only by printed song collections, which provide just the highlights of the production. It seems likely that similar manuscripts existed, perhaps even by the same copyist, but that they have subsequently been lost.

Brutus of Alba, *The World in the Moon*, and *Cynthia and Endimion*, were contrasting attempts to produce a dramatick opera which could boost attendance, and takings, at the theatre. The extent of the musical scenes in *Brutus* is difficult to establish given the lack of surviving music, whilst *Cynthia and Endimion* contains small masque-like musical episodes which, though they are not fully integrated into the drama, do not stall the action as much as some dramatick operas. *The World in the Moon*, in contrast, was a real attempt at a credible opera by virtue of the innovative way it introduced music into the drama: the musical scenes are an opera rehearsal attended by members of the play's cast.[64]

Dramatically, *Brutus of Alba* was assembled from a number of sources,[65] but the few songs which survive give no indication of the extensive musical episodes described in the libretto. Certainly the star singers featured – the sopranos, Mrs Willis and Mrs Cross, the alto, Mr Freeman, the tenor, Mr Church, and the basses, Mr Edwards and Mr

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and the 'Prize Musick' *Judgment of Paris* in his description of Daniel's stage works. Perhaps Hawkins had access to the now-lost manuscript of Daniel's music.

[63] Introduction to facsimile edition of *The Island Princess* (MLE C/2), p.ix.

[64] Fiske, 9.

[65] Robert D Hume, 'Opera in London, 1695-1706', in Shirley Strum Kenny (ed.), *British Theatre and the Other Arts, 1660-1800*, 72.

Leveridge – and the amount of incidental music called for in the playtext would have needed an extensive contribution from Daniel Purcell.[66]

D'Urfey's play *Cynthia and Endimion* (H113) was, it seems, a complete failure. Although the title page description 'Designed to be Acted at Court, before the late Queen; and now Acted at the Theatre Royal' might suggest that it was actually performed at court (as the comparatively simple staging suggests), it seems more likely that the death of Queen Mary in 1695 prevented this.[67] The anonymous author of *A Comparison Between the Two Stages*, commented on its failure:

> 'Twas well for *Durfey* her late Majesty never saw it ; Gad if she had, People wou'd ha' said, it had first been the cause of her Illness, and then of her Death ; for 'tis a mortifying Piece o'my Word : Yes yes – it was Damn'd.[68]

A complete prologue by Daniel survives in manuscript,[69] whilst a single song in Act IV, 'The poor Endimion', was Daniel's only published music from this play. A subsequent musical scene, perhaps by Daniel, has since been lost. Another musical scene, probably

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[66] Examples of the dance music required include the direction in Act 1 Scene 1 (I.i) 'A dance of Nerieds', that in III.i 'After the Dialogue rises eight Statutes who leap of their Pedestals, and Dance', and two symphonies in V.ii. Not only was the music extensive, but its quality has also been praised (see Allardyce Nicoll, *A History of English Drama, 1660-1900*, i. 160).

[67] Robert D Hume, 'Opera in London, 1695-1706', in Shirley Strum Kenny (ed.), *British Theatre and the Other Arts, 1660-1800*, 73; Fiske, 8-9. Carolyn Kephart suggests that the play was originally intended to be a masque for Charles II, but Baldwin and Wilson demonstrate that if this was the case, it was subject to considerable alteration by the 1697 production. See Carolyn Kephart, 'Thomas D'Urfey's *Cinthia and Endimion*: A Reconsideration', and Olive Baldwin and Thelma Wilson, 'The Music for D'Urfey's *Cinthia and Endimion*'.

[68] *A Comparison between the Two Stages* (London, 1702), quoted in Eric Walter White, *A History of English Opera*, 129. A long-standing attribution to Charles Gildon was refuted by Staring B Wells, 'An Eighteenth-Century Attribution', in *Journal of English and German Philology*, 38 (1939), 233-246.

[69] Ob MS Tenbury 1175, p. 59-69. Baldwin and Wilson (see above) were evidently not aware that the prologue survived.

set by Jeremiah Clarke, is also lost, whilst Leveridge sang one of his own songs in Act V. The 'Song in two parts' from Act V is a celebratory ode, including parts for trumpets and 'Kettle Drums', and was 'composd by Mr: Dan: Purcell upon King Williams return from Flanders and pr.formed in ye. playhouse'.[70] All in all, *Cynthia and Endimion* was quite a substantial production, albeit masque-like in its construction.

In late 1696 rumours abounded of the collapse of Rich's Patent Company. The popularity of the Lincoln's Inn Fields production of *The Anatomist* had hit the Drury Lane company, a contemporary source noting 'the other house [i.e. DL] has no company at all, and unless a new play comes out on Saturday revives their reputation, they must break'.[71] The company survived, but Rich soon decided on an extremely risky strategy, gambling on Elkanah Settle's experimental, and expensive, *The World in the Moon*. An advertisement in *The Post Boy* proudly stated:

> Great Preparations are making for a new Opera in the Play-house in Dorset-Garden, of which there is a great Expectation, the Scenes being several new Sets and of a moddel different from all that have been used in any Theatre whatever, being twice as high as any of the former Scenes. And the whole Decoration of the Stage not only infinitely beyond all the Opera's ever yet performed in England, but also by the acknowledgement of several Gentlemen that have travell'd abroad, much exceeding all that has been seen on any of the Foreign Stages.[72]

Following the novelty of a musical prologue, and first-act scene by Jeremiah Clarke, Daniel Purcell provided an entertainment in Act II, of which only one song survives.

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[70] Source manuscript at Lbl Add MS 30934. See 'Royal Odes at Court and in the Concert Room', in chapter 4, for a further discussion of this ode.

[71] Letter from Robert Jennens to Thomas Coke, quoted in *LS*, i. 470.

[72] *Post Boy*, 12-15 June 1697.

The lavish staging continues: 'Above Fifty figures are seen upon the several Terras's, some of which descend upon the stage for the Entertainment. Set by Mr. D. Purcel'. However, the 'Ceremony of Nuptial Entertainment', supposedly set by Daniel Purcell, was in the end provided by Jeremiah Clarke.[73] It was certainly expensive, certainly spectacular and, according to a newspaper report, was greeted with 'great applause',[74] but it was equally certainly a total flop.

Drury Lane's attempts at dramatick opera since the death of Henry Purcell had been costly failures, and none more so than *The World in the Moon*, so when the Lincoln's Inn Fields company produced Dennis and Eccles' *Rinaldo and Armida*, the Drury Lane management was left in a dilemma. Although *Rinaldo and Armida* was not a large-scale extravaganza in the dramatick opera tradition, it was certainly an attempt to introduce larger musical episodes into a spoken drama and, by all accounts, it was a successful one. Rich had to choose between attempting to copy the rival theatre by producing his own dramatick opera, a risky strategy given the recent failures, or continuing with smaller-scale plays with incidental music, which were much cheaper to produce and so, although they would not attract great audiences, they would not risk ruining Rich financially.

Perhaps encouraged by his actors, who undertook to underwrite the cost of the scenery, Rich decided to answer Lincoln's Inn Fields' success with a grand new production. Peter Motteux provided the text, whilst the music was a joint effort by Daniel Purcell,

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[73] Clarke's music is in Lbl Add MS 31813.

[74] *Post Boy*, 1 July 1697.

Jeremiah Clarke, and Richard Leveridge. The choice of Motteux as adaptor was an interesting one, as although he had previously worked as the editor of *The Gentleman's Journal*, and wrote a number of masque libretti for the rival theatre, he had never previously worked on a dramatick opera. Indeed, an allusion to the this situation is found in the Epilogue to the play, where the actors hope that 'he who .. writes for t'other house' had not deliberately written a bad play in order to ruin the theatre, and that, if he had, then 'let none come his third day', the night that takings traditionally went to the playwright.

The text chosen was John Fletcher's *The Island Princess*, later altered by Nahum Tate. As time was short, Rich engaged three composers to work simultaneously. Even at this speed, corners were cut: 'the words were fitted to the music' says the playtext regarding Daniel's Act II masque.[75] The Drury Lane company must have been pleased with the results of *The Island Princess*, the first commercially successful dramatick opera since the death of Henry Purcell, and the most profitable English opera of its day.[76]

> The *Old House* have a Bawble offer'd 'em, made out of *Fletcher's Island Princess*, sometime alter'd by Mr *Tate*, and now erected into an Opera by *Motteux* : The Actors labour at this like so many Galley Slaves at an Oar, they call in the Fiddle, the Voice, the Painter, and the Carpenter to help 'em; and what neither the Poet nor the Player cou'd do, the Mechanick must do for him.[77]

[75] Peter Motteux, *The Island Princess* (London, 1699), 13.

[76] Fiske, 11, describes it as 'by far the most successful English opera before *The Beggar's Opera*.'

[77] *A Comparison between the Two Stages*, quoted in Eric Walter White, *The History of English Opera*, 129. Note, however, that *A Comparison between the Two Stages* erroneously reverses the order of production of *Rinaldo and Armida* and *The Island Princess*. For more on the dating of *The Island Princess* see *The Island Princess* (MLE C/2), p.vii ff.

Rich's success with *The Island Princess* was, for Betterton, a highly significant defeat, and set the tone for two further years of bitter rivalry. A mock-herioc poem, titled 'The Confederates: or the first Happy Day of the Island Princess', rubbed salt in his wounds with highly topical allusions to some of the major protagonists in the warring factions.[78]

One of the most interesting aspects of *The Island Princess* is the remarkable manuscript in which it survives, which contains virtually all music for the production, together with the play text interleaved at the appropriate points.[79] Similar manuscripts, by the same copyists, contain the text and music to *The Indian Queen* (1696) and *The Virgin Prophetess* (1701).[80] Where the *Island Princess* manuscript is unique is in the degree of collaboration between the scribes.[81] The copyist, who had worked closely with Henry Purcell from late 1684, was probably Francis Pigott, Daniel Purcell's Chapel Royal chorister contemporary and predecessor at Magdalen College, Oxford.[82]

Other than the comparatively small number of dramatick operas, Daniel was still busy contributing odd songs to a large number of ordinary plays, though it was left to others

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[78] The poem, originally published in *Poems on Affairs of State* ii (London, 1703), 248-250 is reprinted with commentary in *The Island Princess* (MLE C/2, Tunbridge Wells, 1985), p.xi-xiii.

[79] This noteworthy manuscript is at Lbl Add MS 15318. Only the song 'Lovely Charmer, dearest creature', a song performed separately in the middle of Act III, and the sung prologue and epilogue, are omitted.

[80] The similar manuscript with music from *The Indian Queen* is Lbl Add MS 31449, and that with the music from *The Virgin Prophetess* is Lcm MS 682.

[81] 'Some lines of text are written on the music pages, suggesting a closer collaboration between the scribes than is apparent in the other two', *Indian Queen* (Revised Purcell Society edition), p.xxiv.

[82] See *Indian Queen* (Revised Purcell Society edition), p.xxiv, and Shay and Thompson, *Purcell Manuscripts*, 312, for discussions of this copyist.

to provide the instrumental music.[83] A number of these ordinary plays contain songs not found in the play text: all three songs in *Sauny the Scot* (H144), two of the three songs in *The Campaigners* (H110), and two of the four songs in *Massaniello* (H116) all fall into this category, suggesting their relationship with the drama was even more tenuous than was often the case. Of the other plays from this period, Gildon's *Phaeton* also presents problems; it may have contained a number of larger musical scenes which do not survive.

Theatre Music II: 1699/1700-1700/01

Table 6. Theatre works, 1699/1700-1700/01

Date	V	I	Title	No.
28 Nov 1699	1		*The Constant Couple, or A Trip to the Jubilee*	H112
?1700	2		*Amalasont, Queen of Goths, or Vice Destroys Itself*	H103
19 Feb 1700	45	18	*The Grove, or Love's Paradise*	H119
Mar 1700	3		*The Reformed Wife, or The Lady's Cure*	H141
29 Apr 1700	8	1	*The Pilgrim (The Secular Masque)*	H139
9 Dec 1700	3		*Love Makes a Man, or The Fop's Fortune*	H127
?1700	1		*Achilles, or Iphigenia in Aulis*	H101
4 Feb 1701		8	*The Unhappy Penitent*	H148
20 Feb 1701	11	1	*The Rival Queens, or The Death of Alexander the Great*	H143
1 Mar 1701	3		*The Humour of the Age*	H120
11 Apr 1701	25	7	*The Judgment of Paris*	H125
31 May 1701	1		*The Bath, or The Western Lass*	H106

[83] Jacques Paisible contributed the incidental music to three plays of this period which featured Daniel's songs (*Love's Last Shift*, *Neglected Virtue*, and *The Spanish Wives*). Charles Morgan and William Lord Byron contributed one set apiece (*The Younger Brother* and *The Lost Lover*, respectively).

It may be surprising that Rich did not capitalise on the success of *The Island Princess* earlier than he did. However, Leveridge, arguably his star singer, was absent from the theatre during the latter part of 1699, having left for Ireland to escape debt, as described by in a letter to the Earl of Manchester: 'consequently there are no new operas, though [Daniel] Purcell and Finger have set a pair.'[84] Leveridge's performances were clearly seen as essential to a successful dramatick opera production.

However, Rich probably appreciated the chance to replenish his coffers, and pay off some debts of his own. That year, he had been ejected from Dorset Garden for non payment of rent; the theatre was in bad repair, and *The World in the Moon* of 1697 had been the last of Daniel's new works to be staged there. Despite this financial uncertainty and perhaps encouraged by the runaway success of *The Island Princess*, Rich, hitherto relying on revivals and straight plays, underwrote another dramatick opera. John Oldmixon's pastoral *The Grove, or Love's Paradise* (H119), Rich's first such venture since the disastrous *The World in the Moon* three years earlier, was first performed at Drury Lane in February 1700.[85] Even this was probably a reactive rather than proactive production; Lincoln's Inn Fields was at this time enjoying some success with Gildon's adaptation of *Measure for Measure*, which contained Henry Purcell's *Dido and Aeneas* inserted during the play as entertainments.

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[84] Printed in Vanbrugh, *Works*, iv. 4.

[85] Daniel may have composed the music for *The Grove* whilst visiting the wit and politician Anthony Henley, and Richard Norton; these men, Daniel's friends, had also been the subject of the dedicatory epistle to the publication of Daniel's songs in *Brutus of Alba*. See *DNB*, 'Anthony Henley', and William H Cummings, *Purcell*, 100. Cummings described *The Grove* as 'the work which has generally been considered his [Daniel's] greatest success' (99-100).

Containing sixty-six surviving musical numbers, and with large instrumental and vocal forces – four soprano soloists, three altos, a tenor and a bass, plus chorus, with two trumpets, two oboes, two flutes, a bassoon,[86] timpani plus strings – this is Daniel's largest surviving stage work by far, and contained two trumpet sonatas, in Acts II and III, and a number of instrumental symphonies.[87]

The score was copied by an unidentified copyist who worked closely with Daniel Purcell over a number of years, even contributing passages in manuscripts which are otherwise autograph scores,[88] and is one of a set with decorative title-page cartouches.[89] The act tunes, also by Daniel Purcell, survive in a separate manuscript, and a printed collection of the songs was published. One duet, 'Plenty mirth and gay delights', had longlasting success, appearing in a number of manuscripts and printed collections throughout the eighteenth century.

However, like all other dramatick operas since the death of Henry Purcell except *The Island Princess*, the production was a disappointing failure, blamed by Oldmixon in his preface on cuts made in the play:

> The Persons ... who thought the Catastrophe was not enough prepar'd, and that the discovery in the last Act was huddled and in confusion ... will now see if what he had

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[86] One of the earliest appearances of this instrument on the London stage (see Fiske, 10).

[87] The D major trumpet sonata in Act III is 'quite as good, one might think, as Henry's', Fiske, 10.

[88] Described as 'London E' in Shay and Thompson, *Purcell Manuscripts*, 317.

[89] Daniel's music is found in Lcm 988. Other decorative manuscripts of this type include Cfm Mus.MS.87, Ob MS Tenbury 1175 and Ooc Ua36.

> write had been spoken, everything wou'd have appear'd clear and natural, which, to shorten the Entertainment, had been before broken and disordered.[90]

The Grove was Daniel's last substantial new work for the stage, much of the music for *The Rival Queens* (H143) being recycled, and *The Judgment of Paris* (H125) being outside the normal theatre scene.

As table 6 shows, Daniel Purcell only provided music for three more new productions that season. Following a song in *The Constant Couple* (H112), came three songs in *The Reformed Wife* (H141), and music for 'The Secular Masque', an entertainment by John Dryden which was performed at the end of Vanbrugh's revision of Fletcher's comedy *The Pilgrim* (H139). The prologue, epilogue, dialogue and masque which Dryden wrote were the last of his works: he died on 1 May 1700, the third night of the play. Daniel and Finger shared the composition of this masque, later set by William Boyce.[91] Except for a single published song, Finger's music does not survive. A further play containing music by Daniel may have been performed this season, though no performances of John Hughes' *Amalasont* (H103) are known to have taken place. Indeed, Hughes went no further in his letters than saying that he hoped the play would soon be staged, yet Daniel's songs were published with singers' names associated with a performance.

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[90] John Oldmixon, *The Grove, or Love's Paradise* (London, 1700), quoted in Robert D Hume, 'Opera in London, 1695-1706', in Shirley Strum Kenny (ed.), *British Theatre and the Other Arts, 1660-1800*, 75. Hume describes Oldmixon's text as 'by no means without merit', and Daniel's music as 'well received', and he 'can see no intrinsic reason that this should not have been a popular show'.

[91] Daniel's music: 'includes some enterprising writing for trumpets, and a fine setting of Chronos's 'Weary, weary' ', Fiske, 14n.

Daniel's three songs for Colley Cibber's comedy *Love Makes a Man* (H127), were not the talking point of this production; an audience member's reaction to inter-act dancing, perhaps to Finger's act tune, resulting in chaos one night early in its run:

> Yesterday a new Play called, Love makes a Man: Or, the Fop's Good Luck, was acted at the Theatre Royal in Drury-lane, and there being a French Scaramouch Dance betwixt the second and third Acts, a certain Person went in a Frolick, Incognito, up into the upper Gallery, and so pelted the Dancers with Oranges, that they were forced to quit the Stage, and the Play-house was all in an Uproar; but some of the Auditory perceiving who threw them, cryed out, fling him down into the Pit, which so startled him, that he was forced to make the best of his way down Stairs; however, a Constable having been sent for in the mean time, he was secured; and, I am told, is since sent to the Gate-house.[92]

Daniel wrote a set of introductory music and act tunes for Catharine Trotter's tragedy *The Unhappy Penitent* (H148). Published in February 1701, this was the first of Daniel's seven such sets, the last of which dates from 1707.

The month of February seems to have become the favoured month for grand productions from the Drury Lane company. Perhaps, following the success of *The Island Princess* in 1699, Rich wanted to produce an established series of major works, or maybe he took the beginning of the new year as an impetus to attract the public to his theatres. All three of these works, however, were answers to successes staged by the Lincoln's Inn Fields company: *The Island Princess* was rushed into production after *Rinaldo and Armida* in February 1699, *The Grove* followed *Measure for Measure* in February 1700, though the sheer amount of music in the production indicates that it cannot have been produced in

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[92] *London Post*, 13-16 December 1700.

a hurry, and *The Rival Queens, or the Death of Alexander the Great* (H143), was staged in hurried response to *The Mad Lover* in February 1701.[93] *The Rival Queens*, an anonymous adaptation of Nathaniel Lee's 1677 play, has music in Acts III and V by Daniel Purcell, whilst Finger had a hand in the music for Acts II and IV. Recycling of old music hastened the speed of production somewhat; Daniel's episode in Act III is almost note-for-note the ode which he wrote for Princess Anne's birthday in February 1698. Ticket prices were not raised to the levels normally associated with more lavish entertainments but, with four large musical scenes, this was clearly more than just a straight drama.[94]

Following the three songs for *The Humour of the Age* (H120), a comedy by Thomas Baker with act music by Finger, came Daniel's last major new work presented on the stage, though it is removed from the normally competitive theatrical circumstances under which he worked and, in itself, does not fit neatly into a study of his theatre employment, though the result may well have affected Daniel's future theatrical situation.

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[93] *LS*, i. 390, suggests a date of 16 January 1690 for *The Rival Queens*, but this cannot be right. Daniel was not writing music for the theatre at this time, and the inclusion of an ode dating from 1698 point to a much later date, as does an advertisement for Daniel's instrumental music in several plays, including *Alexander the Great*, in *The Post Boy* of 17-19 July 1701. Milhous and Hume, in *LS (new version)*, suggest a date of 20 February 1701 for this new production. See also Curtis Price, 'Eight 'Lost' Restoration Plays 'Found' in Musical Sources', 297-299. Of *The Mad Lover*, little is known. Although the music was published, this seems to have been merely the highlights of the performance. As the play text does not survive, it is difficult to determine the role of the music within the drama.

[94] 'Ordinary' rather than 'raised' prices were charged, as shown in the list of performances attended on credit by Lady Morley. *The Island Princess*, *The Indian Queen* and *The Grove* all had raised prices, whereas smaller productions such as *Cynthia and Endimion* and *Bonduca* only charged ordinary prices. See Robert D Hume, 'Opera in London, 1695-1706', in Shirley Strum Kenny (ed.), *British Theatre and the Other Arts, 1660-1800*, 75. For a full list of performances in the Morley list, see Leslie Hotson, *The Commonwealth and Restoration Stage*, 377-379.

Daniel was one of the entrants in the so-called 'prize musick' competition, a challenge to decide which man 'shall be adjudged to compose the best'. A group of Whig politicians and writers called the Kit-Cat-Club were behind the competition, the patrons of at least three of the competitors having known Whiggish leanings,[95] whilst the playwright Congreve, who wrote the text to be set in the competition, was a member of the club. The advertisement for entries, published in March 1700, announced the competition thus:

> Several Persons of Quality having, for the Encouragement of Musick, advanced 200 Guineas, to be distributed in 4 Prizes, the First of 100, the Second of 50, the Third of 30, and the Fourth of 20 Guineas, to such Masters as shall be adjudged to Compose the best; This is therefore to give Notice, That those who intend to put in for the Prizes, are to repair to Jacob Tonson at Gray's-Inn-Gate before Easter-Day next, where they may be further Informed.[96]

This competition proved to be the social and musical highlight of the season. All entrants were to set the same text by Congreve, *The Judgment of Paris*, which described the competition between Juno, Pallas and Venus as to who was the most beautiful, the plot being a clear metaphor for the musical competition between the composers. Paris, who was to decide the outcome of the beauty contest, was beguiled by Venus, goddess of love, and awarded the golden apple to her, in return for the hand of the most beautiful woman in the world, Helen of Sparta (later Helen of Troy). Paris' misjudgement, which led to the Trojan wars, was compared by opposing sympathisers to the perceived

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[95] Lord Halifax was Eccles' patron, Anthony Henley, a Whig MP, was Daniel Purcell's, and John Weldon's patron was the Duke of Bedford.

[96] *London Gazette*, 18-21 March 1699 [i.e. 1700].

foolishness of either Charles II or James II. The choice of this story was certainly not an apolitical one.[97]

There were four known entrants: Finger and Daniel Purcell, both from Drury Lane, Eccles, from Lincoln's Inn Fields, and John Weldon, the organist of New College, Oxford. Their compositions were performed individually at Dorset Garden, a novelty in itself as the theatre was by now no longer in regular use, before being heard all together, in a musical feast, when the winner was decided.

Eccles, the favourite, had his masque performed on 21 March 1701 described by Congreve in a letter to his friend Joseph Keally.

> I wished particularly for you on Friday last, when Eccles his music for the prize was performed in Dorset Garden, and universally admired. Mr Finger's is to be to-morrow; and Purcell and Weldon's follow in their turn. The latter two I believe will not be before Easter. After all have been heard severally, they are all to be heard in one day, in order to a decision; and if you come at all this spring, you may come time enough to hear that. Indeed, I don't think any one place in the world can show such an assembly. The number of performers, besides the verse-singers, was 85. The front of the stage was all built into a concave with deal boards, all of which was faced with tin, to increase and throw forwards the sound. It was all hung with sconces of wax-candles, besides the common branches of lights usual in the play-houses. The boxes and pit were all thrown into one, so that all sat in common: and the whole was crammed with beauties and beaux, not one scrub being admitted. The place where formerly the music used to play,

[97] For more on the allegorical nature of *The Judgment of Paris*, see Amanda Eubanks Winkler, ' "O Ravishing Delight": The Politics of Pleasure in *The Judgment of Paris*'. Further investigation of allegory on the stage can be found in Curtis Price, 'Political Allegory in Late-Seventeenth-Century English Opera', in Nigel Fortune (ed.), *Music and Theatre: Essays in Honour of Winton Dean*, 1-19, Andrew Walkling, 'Court, Culture, and Politics in Restoration England: Charles II, James II, and the Performance of Baroque Monarchy', Andrew Walkling, 'Performance and Political Allegory in Restoration England: What to Interpret and When', in Michael Burden (ed.), *Performing the Music of Henry Purcell*, 163-179, and Robert D Hume, 'The Politics of Opera in Late Seventeenth-Century London'.

> between the pit and the stage, was turned into White's chocolate-house; the whole family being transplanted thither with chocolate, cool'd drinks, ratafia, Pontacq, &c. which every body that would called for, the whole experience of every thing being defrayed by the subscribers ... Our friend Venus [Anne Bracegirdle] performed to a miracle; so did Mrs Hodgson [as] Juno. Mrs Boman was not quite so well approved in Pallas.[98]

This performance was followed on 28 March by Finger's entry, before Daniel Purcell's, on 11 April. Finally, John Weldon's music was presented on 6 May, followed by the gala evening on 3 June. In a surprise and somewhat controversial outcome, John Weldon won the first prize of £100, with the pre-competition favourite, John Eccles, having to settle for the second prize of £50. Daniel Purcell finished third, winning £30, whereas a fourth-placed finish caused Finger to leave the country in protest, claiming that Daniel's music was the best, after his own, as noted in a letter from George Stepney, Envoy to Vienna, to Lord Halifax. Thanking Halifax for sending Eccles' score to Vienna, where it would be performed by Finger, Stepney writes

> notwithstanding the partiality which was shown by the Duke of Somersett and others in favour of Welding and Eccles, Mr. Purcell's Musick was the best (I mean after his [i.e. Finger's] own, for no Decision can destroy the love we have for ourselves).[99]

Eccles also felt the result of the competition to be questionable.[100]

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[98] John C Hodges (ed.), *Congreve: Letters and Documents*, 20-21. Evidence suggests that John Rich presented *The Island Princess* at Drury Lane just two days before Eccles' piece was performed. Perhaps this was a gentle reminder to the judges that his composer, Daniel Purcell, had contributed to the most successful work of its type and should be favourably considered. A more cynical suggestion would be that Rich was looking to cash in on the excitement caused by the competition. The evidence which suggests that there was a performance of *The Island Princess* on this date is the annotation '1701 ye 19 of march wen' in the Lbl copy of the 1699 edition of the play text (Lbl 841.c.5 [9]), as noted in *LS (new version)*, 19 March 1701.

[99] Recorded in Ob MS Montagu d.1, f.67.

[100] Eccles' dedication of his published score notes his displeasure, quoted in Fiske, 16-17.

Daniel's music for *The Judgment of Paris* (H125) is lavishly scored, its orchestral extravagance extending to a four-movement overture, two three-movement trumpet sonatas, and four further symphonies. It is perhaps the most historically interesting of the surviving scores, making high technical demands of the singers, and makes use of both the new, progressive techniques, such as the Italianate *motto* technique, as well as the more established *petite reprise*.[101] Only Eccles' and Daniel's settings, the latter dedicated to Daniel's patron and friend Anthony Henley, were published, both by Walsh. Weldon's music survives in manuscript form, but Finger's is lost.[102]

Roger North left this description of the Prize Musick competition:

> There was a musicall adventure which served as a *preludium* to the latter Operas, which was called the Prize Musick, of which only a word or two. A contention sprung among the Quality in Towne, who was the greatest master. Some were for one and some for others, and at last they agreed to make a subscription, and divers of the masters should have their nights. And the theater was fitted, and the tryalls being over, the subscribers judged by voting; but the sentences were not thought limpid and pure, and one [Finger] a forreiner, reputed a very good composer, having lost his cause, declared he was mistaken in his musick, for he thought he was to be judged by men, and not by boys, and thereupon left England, and hath not bin here since. And so ended the Prize Musick, which may be had in print if any is so curious to desire it.[103]

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[101] See Stoddard Lincoln, 'A Congreve Masque', and Fiske, 14-24, for further discussion of the musical styles of the three surviving scores, and Kenneth A McLeod, 'Judgment and choice: Politics and Ideology in Early Eighteenth-Century Masques', 129-136, for a closer analysis of Daniel's ode. McLeod suggests that Daniel's lowly showing might be due to his alienating the audience with 'adventurous and progressive use of foreign and unfamiliar Italianate techniques', p.136.

[102] A mid-eighteenth century copy of Weldon's score survives at the Folger library, W.b.526, and has been published in David W Music (ed.), *Recent Researches in Music of the Baroque Era* 94 (Madison, USA, 1999). Finger's score was apparently lost after being sent to Vienna for performance (see Stoddard Lincoln, 'A Congreve Masque', 1080n). Curtis Price, 'The Judgment of Paris', *Grove Opera*, iii. 1179, states that Clayton's *Arsinoe*, the first all-sung opera in the Italian style on the London stage, is 'musically inferior to all of the surviving editions of *The Judgment of Paris*'.

[103] John Wilson (ed.), *Roger North on Music*, 312.

The production of new dramatick operas came to an end shortly after *The Judgment of Paris*. Settle's *The Virgin Prophetess* of May 1701, with music by Finger alone, was the last new large-scale English dramatick opera. The failure of this elaborately-staged opera was a major disappointment, as the production had been much hyped in advance.

> Great Preparations have been making for som Months past, for a New Opera to be Ascted next Term at the Theatre Royal, which, for Grandeur, Decorations, Movements of Scenes, &c. will be infinitely superior to *Dioclesian*, which hitherto has been the greatest Performance of that Kind, in any of the foreign Theatres. The Musick is compos'd by the Ingenious Mr Finger, and the Paintings [i.e. scenery] made by Mr Robinson.[104]

This was the only dramatick opera to be staged by Rich since the death of Henry Purcell without any of Daniel's music. Perhaps Daniel was busy preparing his score for *The Judgment of Paris*, or perhaps Rich decided that Finger's music alone would be more successful, given the failure of *The Grove* the previous year. In any event, its failure must have been another factor, after his defeat in the 'Prize Musick' competition, in Finger's decision to leave the country.

Daniel's last music for the stage during the season was for D'Urfey's comedy *The Bath, or the Western Lass* (H106), presented at the end of May just before the gala evening of *The Judgment of Paris*. Daniel's single song was performed alongside others by D'Urfey himself, Jeremiah Clarke and Samuel Ackroyde.

[104] *Post Boy*, 14-16 May 1700, a year before the production was first staged.

The season of 1700-1701 was the last year of the intense and bitter rivalry between the two companies; indeed, talks were also underway, it seems, for a union of the companies. Though removed from normal theatrical circumstances, one masque, Motteux's *Britain's Happiness, A Musical Interlude*, was performed as part of the subscription music series at both Drury Lane and Lincoln's Inn Fields, with Mrs Tofts performing on both stages. The version at Drury Lane was composed by Weldon, and that at Lincoln's Inn Fields by the Drury Lane singer, Leveridge.

Theatre Music III: 1701/2-1705/6

Table 7. Theatre works, 1701/2-1705/6

Date	V	I	Title	No.
Dec 1701	4		*The Funeral, or Grief A-la-Mode*	H118
1702		7	*The Faithful Bride of Granada*	H115
Jan 1702	1		*The Modish Husband*	H131
late Feb 1702	1	9	*The Inconstant, or The Way to Win Him*	H122
early Nov 1702	2		*All for the better, or The Infallible Cure*	H102
3/4 Dec 1702		8	*The Patriot, or The Italian Conspiracy*	H136
23 Jun 1703	1		*Vice Reclaim'd, or The Passionate Mistress*	H149
21 Nov 1703	1		*Macbeth*	H130
2 Dec 1703	1		*The Lying Lover*	H129
8 Nov 1704		8	*The Northern Lass, or The Nest of Fools*	H133
7 Dec 1704	1		*The Careless Husband*	H111
?1704	[lost]	[lost]	*Orlando Furioso*	H134
18 Jan 1705	1		*Farewell Folly, or The Younger the Wiser*	H117
23 Apr 1705	2		*The Tender Husband, or The Accomplished Fools*	H146
20 Nov 1705		[lost]	*The Basset-table*	H105

The *Italian* Opera began first to steal into *England*; but in as rude a disguise and unlike itself, as possible; in a lame, hobling Translation, into our own Language, with false

> Quantities, or Metre out of Measure, to its original Notes, sung by our own unskilful Voices, with Graces misapply'd to almost every Sentiment, and with Action lifeless and unmeaning through every Character.[105]

The season of 1701/02 was the first for some time not to include a new dramatick opera, and also has the scantiest performance records of the period, but by all accounts the beginning of the season did not begin promisingly for Daniel Purcell, and English theatre music in general. Furthermore, the 'Italian infiltration'[106] around the turn of the eighteenth century, where Italian music and, perhaps more significantly, Italian musicians came to play on the London stage, struck a critical blow to the sorts of plays-with-musical-scenes which were Daniel's bread and butter in the theatre. During the first few years of the eighteenth century, this infiltration became more of an onslaught as Rich engaged more and more foreign musicians, on higher and higher wages, in order to try to cash in on the fad then popular with London playgoers.

These financial gambles meant that Rich was less willing, and, indeed, less able, to spend money on new, lavish, English dramatick operas. Additionally, perhaps he realised that having the third and fourth placed composers in the Prize Musick competition – and one of them had since left the country – was not a promising basis on which to market his dramatick operas.

Things went from bad to worse for Daniel's employer. Not only had Rich lost the Dorset Garden theatre, but when his lease on Drury Lane expired on 9 November

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[105] Colley Cibber, *Apology*, 2nd ed., 261, quoted in Fiske, 31.

[106] So-called in Price, 112, where he discusses a gradual infiltration from the early 1690s. See also his 'The Critical Decade for English Music Drama, 1700-1710' for more detailed information.

1701, the building's owners tried to eject him, having received an offer from Betterton's company to use the playhouse. Rich, however, refused to budge, despite having paid little rent for his use of the theatre. The owners even signed a formal lease with Betterton in 1702, but when they were unable to evict Rich this agreement collapsed. The loss of money during the closure of the theatres between the death of King William on 8 March 1702, and the coronation of Queen Anne on 23 April, only prompted more talk of a theatrical merger.

The plays which were produced now needed less and less new music. The catalyst behind many of Daniel's larger works, the state of competition between Drury Lane and Lincoln's Inn Fields, was losing its potency as Rich and Betterton avoided direct conflict. The theatre music industry, including playwrights, composers, singers, instrumentalists, dancers, had steadily grown through the 1690s, provided a good income for all involved but a lack of profits for the theatres who employed them; the industry was fast approaching a meltdown if costs were not cut.

The uneasy compromise between spoken dialogue on one hand, and music and dancing on the other, and the difficult relationship between the actors' and the musicians' camps caused many problems, and playwrights resented having to integrate the novelties of foreign singers and dancers within the dramatic narrative.

With Powderle-Pimp of Dance, Machine and Song
They'll spin ye out short Nonsense four hours long:
With Fountains, Groves, Bombast and airy Fancies
Larded with *Cynthias*, little Loves and Dances:
With put together, makes it hard to say,

If Poet, Painter, or Fidler made the Play.[107]

The reduction in new music required for the theatre after 1701 affected Daniel Purcell greatly. He was in considerably less demand to produce theatre songs, entertainments and masques. When Daniel first wrote for the theatre, he was writing songs in plays for which others had written the instrumental act tunes, yet in the first few years of the eighteenth century his output changed markedly; between 1702 and 1705 Daniel produced five sets of act tunes compared to a total of eleven songs for just nine plays.

The growing vogue for all things Italian made attempts at all-sung entertainments almost inevitable, though the concept of fully-sung drama was largely alien to the early eighteenth-century audience. Although four such works from the seventeenth century survive – Henry Purcell's *Dido and Aeneas*, John Blow's *Venus and Adonis*, Grabu's *Albion and Albanius*, and John Weldon and Richard Goodson's *Orpheus and Euridice* – these were all masques which were not designed for the public stage, so cannot be seen as attempts to introduce the genre into London's theatrical life.[108] However, with the opening of another playhouse in London, the beginnings of opera on the London stage took another step closer.

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[107] Mary Pix, *The Deceiver Deceived* (London, 1697), quoted in Judith Milhous, 'Theatre, Related Arts, and the Profit Motive', in Shirley Strum Kenny (ed.), *British Theatre and the Other Arts, 1660-1800*, 24.

[108] Weldon and Goodson, then Heather Professor of Music at Oxford, set *Orpheus and Euridice* to an unidentified poet's text, which was performed 'at the Boarding-School at Besselsleigh', near Oxford. See Neal Zaslaw, 'An English 'Orpheus and Euridice' of 1697'.

John Vanbrugh planned to build a new theatre and steal a march on Rich's Drury Lane company with the introduction of Italianate, all-sung, opera.[109] Rich was evidently concerned by the potential competition, announcing in May 1703 that the Dorset Garden theatre was to be refitted for major works.[110] Money for Vanbrugh's theatre was to be raised by subscription:

> To recover them [Betterton's 'elder actors'], therefore, to their due Estimation, a project was form'd of building them a stately Theatre in the *Hay-Market*, by Sir *John Vanbrugh*, for which he raised a Subscription of thirty Persons of Quality, at one hundred Pounds each, in consideration whereof every Subscriber, for his own Life, was to be admitted to whatever Entertainments should be publickly perform'd there, without farther Payment for his Entrance.[111]

Vanbrugh seems to have wanted to head a monopoly on London theatres, and soon drew up a financial plan for a united theatre company, including John Eccles as 'Master to oversee ye Musick'.[112] In 1704 the first advertisements for Vanbrugh's theatre were issued, declaring that it was close to completion, and would open with two operas, *Orlando Furioso*, by Daniel Purcell, and Thomas Clayton's *Arsinoe, Queen of Cyprus*.

> The Play-House in the Hay-Market (the Architect being John Vanbrugh Esq;) built by the Subscription Money of most of our Nobility, is almost finish'd, in the mean time two

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[109] *LS (new version)*, introduction to season 1704-1705.

[110] *Daily Courant*, 13 May 1703, see *LS (new version)*, for that day. 'The Queen's Theatre in Dorset-Garden is now fitting up for a new Opera; and the great Preparations that are to be made to forward it and bring it upon the Stage by the beginning of June, adds to every body's Expectation, who promise themselves mighty Satisfaction from so well order'd and regular an Undertaking as this is said to be, both in the Beauties of the Scenes, and Varieties of Entertainments in the Musick and Dances'. Nothing seems to have come from this plan.

[111] Cibber, *Apology*, i. 319-320, quoted in Judith Milhous, 'New Light on Vanbrugh's Haymarket', 143.

[112] Judith Milhous, 'The Date and Import of the Financial Plan for a United Theatre Company'. A transcription of the plan is available in Allardyce Nicoll, *A History of English Drama, 1660-1900*, ii. 276-278.

> Opera's translated from the Italian by good Hands, are setting to Musick, one by Mr. Daniel Purcel, which is called *Orlando Furioso*, and the other by Mr. Clayton, both Opera's are to be performed by the best Artists eminent both for Vocal and Instrumental Musick at the Opening of the House.[113]

However, not everything seems to have gone to plan. Christopher Rich managed to poach Clayton's *Arsinoe* for Drury Lane instead, performing it on 16 January 1705. Clayton's work was a pasticcio from various Italian sources whose novelty value, rather than quality, ensured a successful run, but even this was presented with an act of a play rather than a self-contained evening of musical theatre.[114]

Although no more was heard of Daniel Purcell's *Orlando Furioso* (H134), it was praised in the first edition of a new arts journal, the *Muses Mercury*. Interestingly, it was then to be performed at Drury Lane.

> The Opera of *Orlando Furioso*, the hint of which was taken from that of *Quinault*, famous for his Tallent in this Sort of Writing, is Set by Mr. *Daniel Purcell.* The Gentleman's Character who writ it, and who has distinguish'd himself as much by his Judgment in the Arts of *Music* and *Poetry*, as by his Bounty to the *Professors*, can leave no room to doubt but the Fineness of the Sentiments, and the Harmony of the Numbers, have given Mr. *Purcell* an Opportunity to do Honour to the Memory of his Brother.[115]

Perhaps negotiations finally to stage Daniel's opera took some part of the 'private business' described some years later:

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[113] *Diverting Post*, 28 October 1704.

[114] 'It is tragic that playhouse audiences were taken in by this nonsense. *Arsinoe* was monstrously successful, the silliness of both words and music passing unnoticed', Fiske, 33. Price, 114, mentions performances with the fifth act of Centlivre's *Love's Contrivance*, and the fourth act of Congreve's *The Old Batchelour*.

[115] *Muses Mercury*, January 1707, 11.

> Mr. *Purcell* and Mr. *Congreve* going into a Tavern, by chance met *D–s* [John Dennis, the playwright] who went in with 'em; after a Glass or two had pass'd, Mr. *Purcell*, having some private Business with Mr. *Congreve*, wanted *D–s* out of the Room, and not knowing a more certain Way than Punning, (for you are to understand, Sir, Mr. *D–s* is as much surpriz'd at a Pun as a Bailiff) he proceeded after the following Manner: He pull'd the Bell, and call'd two or three Times, but no One answering, he put his Hand under the Table, and looking full at *D–s*, he said, I think this table is like the Tavern; says *D–s,* (with all his usual prophane Phrase) God's Death, Sir, How is this Table like the Tavern? Why, says Mr. *Purcell*, because here's ne'er a Drawer in it. Says *D–s*, (starting up) God's Death, Sir, the Man will make such an execrable Pun as that in my Company, will pick my Pocket, so left the room.[116]

No trace of Daniel's *Orlando Furioso* survives, nor does any evidence that the work was ever performed, or even completed. Competition between Rich and Vanbrugh at this stage was intense, so perhaps Rich prevented Daniel Purcell from working for a rival theatre.[117]

In any case, the theatre world after 1705 was a very different place to that which Daniel joined ten years earlier. In August 1706 the Lord Chancellor effectively removed the element of competition by ordering that Drury Lane was to perform only 'operas', and

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[116] Benjamin Victor, *An Epistle To Sir Richard Steele, On his Play, call'd The Conscious Lovers* (London, 1722), 27-28. The text is dated 18 November 1722.

[117] The Queen's Theatre eventually opened with Jacomo Greber's *Gli amori d'Ergasto, or, The Loves of Ergasto.* A dual-language libretto was published, suggesting that the work was sung in Italian. It was, however, a costly failure. 'About the end of 1704, Mr. *Betterton* Assign'd his License, and his whole Company over to Captain *Vantbrugg* [i.e. Vanbrugh] to Act under his, at the Theatre in the *Hay Market.* And upon the 9*th*, of *April* 1705. Captain *Vantbrugg* open'd his new Theatre in the *Hay-Market*, with a Foriegn Opera, Perform'd by a new set of Singers, Arriv'd from *Italy*; (the worst that e're came from thence) for it lasted but 5 Days, and they being lik'd but indifferently by the Gentry; they in a little time marcht back to their own Country', John Downes, *Roscius Anglicanus*, 98-99. See also Curtis Price, 'The Critical Decade for English Music Drama 1700-1710', 46-47, and Judith Milhous, *Thomas Betterton and the Management of Lincoln's Inn Fields*, 198-199. The identity of the singers is still a matter of conjecture; Price considers that 'they assembled most of their shabby cast from among the foreigners at the rival Drury Lane theatre' (47).

the Haymarket theatre only plays.[118] All theatre musicians and dancers thus moved to Drury Lane, save for a small band who stayed to play act tunes and other minor incidental music. The question remains, however, as to whether Daniel took any part in this 'opera' company. It is known that he did not provide any new music; did Rich, therefore, freeze him out for his advertised involvement in the early stages of the rival Haymarket project? In any event, Rich was finally removed as manager in 1709, the same year as the demolition of the Dorset Garden theatre, but by this time Daniel had no known contact with the theatre at all.

After the first few years of the eighteenth century, Daniel became less and less involved in providing new music for the theatre. In 1705, Daniel composed songs for two plays, and instrumental music for one, practically his final compositions for the theatre. Indeed, only one song and a single set of act tunes are known to date from after 1705. That Daniel was no longer providing new music for the theatre was not a reflection on his talents or abilities, nor on the quality of the music he had provided for the theatre during a period of some ten years, but merely an indication that the service he provided was no longer required by the theatrical managers.[119] Italianate pasticcio operas, which often required little new music in any case, were the most popular form of musical entertainment, and there was simply no market for Daniel's type of music.[120]

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[118] The order was subsequently reversed in December 1707, when the Lord Chamberlain ordered that operas could only be produced at the Haymarket and plays at Drury Lane and Dorset Garden. See Judith Milhous and Robert D Hume, *A Register of English Theatrical Documents 1660-1737*, 420.

[119] For a breakdown of the shenanigans in theatrical management between 1705 and 1710, see Price, 117-134.

[120] Daniel had a brief flurry of activity in 1707, including the readvertising of *Orlando Furioso*. For more information, see chapter 5, 'Late Instrumental and Theatre Works', below.

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Daniel Purcell outside the Theatre (1695-1705)

Introduction

When, at the beginning of the eighteenth century, political machinations and changes in fashion caused Daniel Purcell to seek employment outside London's theatres, he was already well-placed to diversify his musical and money-making activities. Following his first appearance in the capital in 1695, he had been almost as busy outside the theatre as inside it, having also written music for Royal and other special occasions, held concerts for his benefit at York Buildings, and taken up a post as a church organist. Daniel could have found himself in dire financial straits but he had, perhaps surprisingly for someone who appears to have been somewhat less than careful with his money, already safeguarded his future by ensuring his income was not wholly reliant on the fickle theatre-going public's tastes, or the notoriously slippery impresario Christopher Rich.

Royal Odes at Court and in the Concert Room

It is possible that Daniel's initial forays into the concert world were prompted by commissions from the Royal family, though how Daniel came to their attention is not clear; by July 1696 he had composed little for the theatre, although his ode for St Cecilia's day in 1694, putatively performed in London, would have brought him to

notice.[1] Henry Purcell, whose final Royal composition was the birthday ode for the Prince the previous year, may initially have been commissioned to write an ode in 1696, but on his death the commission passed over to Daniel.[2]

Table 8. Odes by Daniel Purcell for the Royal Family

Year	Work	Occasion
27 Jul 1696	*Appear, Apollo's darling sons, appear* (H403)	Birthday of the Duke of Gloucester (son of Princess Anne)
1697	*The loud tongu'd war* (H406)	King William's return from Flanders
6 Feb 1698	*Welcome, welcome glorious day* (H409)	Birthday of Princess Anne
6 Feb 1700	*Again the welcome morn we sing* (H402)	Birthday of Princess Anne
?1702	*Phoebus, monarch of the skies* (H407)	Accession of Queen Anne

Daniel's birthday ode *Appear, Apollo's darling sons, appear* (H403), performed at Windsor on 27 July 1696, was written to celebrate the installation of eight-year-old Prince William Henry, Duke of Gloucester, son of Princess Anne, as a Knight of the Garter.[3] William was the only one of Anne's children by George, Prince of Denmark, to survive beyond infancy, though he died in 1700 aged just eleven. The ode, to an anonymous text, was written for three soloists (alto, tenor, bass), four-part chorus, a trumpet, two flutes,

[1] See 'St Cecilia's Day' below for a discussion of this ode and its place of performance.

[2] See Olive Baldwin and Thelma Wilson, 'Who Can from Joy Refraine? Purcell's Birthday Song for the Duke of Gloucester', for a discussion of Henry's ode. Baldwin and Wilson were presumably unaware that Daniel's ode survives, as they limited their discussion of his ode to the single published song (see p.597).

[3] The date of this performance is a matter of conjecture. A note in the manuscript suggests the ode was performed on 22 February 1696 (Ob MS Tenbury 1175, note by E H Fellowes). For the July date, see Trowles i. 177-178 and ii. 111. Jenkin Lewis, one of the young prince's servants, mentioned the occasion in his *Memoirs of Prince William Henry, Duke of Glocester* (London, 1789), 93, which refers to 'a new ode'. William had a Roman Catholic rival, the son of James II. His 7th birthday celebrations sparked the Drury Lane riots which saw the singer John Pate arrested (See 'Daniel Purcell and the Theatre', in Chapter 4 above).

strings and continuo. The title song, sung by Anthony Robart, was published by Thomas Cross.[4]

In October of that year, King William returned from campaigning in Flanders and, to celebrate, Daniel composed *The loud tongu'd war* (H406). As William was in poor health on his return there may have been no immediate performance, its first recorded airing being as the climax to D'urfey's play *Cynthia and Endimion* (H113) on the Drury Lane stage in January 1697. However, it remains possible that the ode received a performance shortly after William's return, and was later revived for use at the theatre.[5] Scored for countertenor and bass soloists, who imitate and are accompanied by trumpet and drums, the *The loud tongu'd war* was originally performed by Freeman and, presumably, Leveridge.

The years following these two Royal odes were Daniel's busiest in terms of large-scale compositions. As well as the dramatick operas *The Island Princess* (H124) and *The Grove* (H119), and his share of *The Secular Masque* from *The Pilgrim* (H139), Daniel also wrote five large-scale non-theatrical works, including odes for Royal occasions and for celebrations of St Cecilia's day, between 1698 and 1700.

During this time, Daniel was also busy performing on the stage of London's growing concert scene. The practice of concert-giving grew out of informal music-making in taverns in larger cities such as London and Oxford. Indeed, it is possible that the

[4] Anthony Robart also appeared in a number of odes by Henry Purcell at Court. See *BDECM*, 964.

[5] See Olive Baldwin and Thelma Wilson, 'The Music for Durfey's *Cinthia and Endimion*', particularly 72-73, for a further discussion of the ode.

Oxford Music Club, of which Daniel was a member whilst organist at Magdalen College, gave informal concerts at their meetings. Following John Banister's series of monthly concerts, which started in a room at a Whitefriars tavern in 1672, a second series was instituted after meetings in a Fleet Street tavern were transferred to a room in York Buildings, Villiers Street. This soon became a fashionable venue for concert-goers, and was 'for a long time the resort of all the idle and gay folk of the towne'.[6] It is not known what music was performed in many of these concerts, but what is known from contemporary advertisements, such as that reprinted below, is that they included repeat performances of Royal odes, or those for St Cecilia's day, which had previously been performed at court or at the annual St Cecilia's day celebrations.

After the initial rush of work at the theatre, Daniel Purcell evidently found his way onto the concert scene. The first known concert for his benefit was in May 1698:

> Wednesday next, the 25th of May, will be performed in York Buildings a new Entertainment of Vocal and Instrumental Musick, with the Song which was sung to her Royal Highness on her Birth Day. Compos'd by Mr. Daniel Purcell, and is for his benefit.[7]

The work performed was Daniel's ode *Welcome, welcome glorious day* (H409), written for the birthday of Princess (later Queen) Anne, and, as the advertisement suggests, first performed at an occasion to celebrate Anne's birthday in February that year.

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[6] Roger North, quoted in *NGII*, xv. 120. See John Harley, *Music in Purcell's London*, 135-151 for a detailed discussion of the antecedents to these concert series.

[7] *Post Boy*, 24 May 1698, also in *Flying Boy* of the same day. The concert advertised in the *London Gazette* on 21 April 1698 for the benefit of Dr Turner, may also have included this work.

Although the work was not published, a dedicatory preface survives, in which Daniel uses typically sycophantic language in order to gain the favour of his prospective patron.

> 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 You Royall Highness doubting nothing less that 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 faithful and
> most Obedient Servant
> Daniell Purcell.[8]

However, in Daniel's flowery prose pleading protection from 'censures and malice' he omits to mention that the entire opening movement of his work was taken from John Blow's ode for King William's birthday the previous year. It seems unlikely that no-one at court would have noticed this borrowing; perhaps it had been specifically requested by Anne, or maybe Daniel was trying particularly hard to gain the Princess's patronage by passing off arguably better music as his own.[9]

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[8] Manuscript sources of this work survive at Lcm Ms 989 and Cfm Mus.Ms.87, both of which contain this preface, but neither of which contains any performers' names. The ode was recycled by Daniel as part of the music to the operatic adaptation of Nathaniel Lee's *The Rival Queens* (H143), in 1701.

[9] See Rosamond McGuinness, 'The Chronology of John Blow's Court Odes', 116-117, for details of this borrowing. Her rather scathing opinion of Daniel's borrowing from Blow contrasts with Bruce Wood's more sympathetic description of Henry's borrowing from the same composer (see Bruce Wood, 'Purcell's Odes: A Reappraisal', in Michael Burden (ed.), *The Purcell Companion*, 225).

The following month, in June 1698, Daniel took part in another concert for his benefit:

> At York-Buildings, (this present Tuesday, being the 7th of June) will be performed an Entertainment of new Musick, Vocal and Instrumental: Mr. Pate Mr. Leveridge, Mr. Freeman, Mr. Bowin, and all the best Masters, performing their Parts. Composed by Mr. Daniel Purcell, for his benefit.[10]

The performers for this concert were the foremost theatre singers of their day, and for Daniel Purcell to have assembled them for his benefit suggests both a wide acquaintance among musicians, and a respect for his musicianship. That this was Daniel's second benefit concert in two months suggests either a high profile on which he was keen to capitalise, or a real need for further income to preserve his social lifestyle.

A puzzle, however, remains, as to the identity of this 'new Musick'. Daniel's latest ode, *Welcome, welcome glorious day* (H409), had been performed in public the previous month, and surely could not be described as new. One of Daniel's works which might date from this period, and which is a candidate for this 'new Musick', is his setting of Nahum Tate's ode on the death of Henry Purcell, *A gloomy mist o'erspreads the plains* (H401).[11] However, it seems unlikely that the connection with Henry Purcell would be omitted from any newspaper advertisement, nor it is apparent why it would have taken Daniel over two years to have the work performed in public.

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[10] *Flying Post*, 7 June 1698.

[11] Although the words for *A gloomy mist o'erspreads the plains* (H401) were not published until 1721, Eric Walter White dates this work to 1698. See 'New Light on Dido and Aeneas', in Imogen Holst (ed.), *Henry Purcell 1659-1695: Essays on his music*, 31. No further evidence could be found to corroborate this dating.

The music to this ode is lost; indeed, it is only the publication of the text in the third edition of *Orpheus Brittanicus* which records its existence:

I.

A Gloomy Mist o'erspreads the Plains,
More Gloomy Grief the Nymphs and Swains;
The Shepherd breaks his Tuneful Reed,
His pining Flocks refuse to feed.
Silent are the Lawns and Glades,
The Hills, the Vales, the Groves, the Dales,
All silent as *Elizian* Shades.
No more they Sing, no more Rejoice,
Eccho her self has lost her Voice.

II.

A Sighing Wind, a Murm'ring Rill,
Our Ears with doleful Accents fill:
They are heard, and only they,
For sadly, thus they seem to say,
The Joy, the Pride of Spring is Dead,
The Soul of Harmony is fled.
Pleasure's flown from *Albion*'s Shore,
Wit and Mirth's bright Reign is o're,
Strephon and *Music* are no more!

Since Nature thus pays Tribute to his Urn,
How should a sad, forsaken Brother mourn![12]

In 1700, Daniel again provided an ode for a celebration of Princess Anne's birthday. Although there are no recorded performances of his setting of the anonymous text, *Again the welcome morn we sing* (H402), the fact that some performers' names have been replaced

[12] 'A Lamentation for the Death of Mr. H. Purcell. Set to Music by his Brother, Mr. Daniel Purcell. The Words by N. Tate, Esq;', in *Orpheus Britannicus* (3rd ed.), 1721, Book I, p.iv-v.

by others in the manuscript (a page from which, including both Daniel's autograph and the writing of a copyist is reproduced as fig. 14 below) suggests that this work was performed on more than one occasion, perhaps at court and later at York Buildings.[13] Three leading countertenors who were already associated with Daniel's music – Pate, Freeman and Hughes – all performed roles, as did Leonard Woodson, a Gentleman of the Chapel Royal who had also appeared in three of Henry Purcell's odes.[14] It is a small-scale work, scored for three soloists, chorus, trumpet and strings.

Again the welcome morn we sing, together with later theatrical works such as *The Judgment of Paris* and *The Grove*, make use of trumpet sonatas as instrumental interludes, Daniel's entry in the Prize Musick containing no fewer than three, if one counts the overture which is also in this form. Although they are not virtuosic, they are certainly good examples of dramatic trumpet writing, and *Again the welcome morn* contains his first known work in this form.[15]

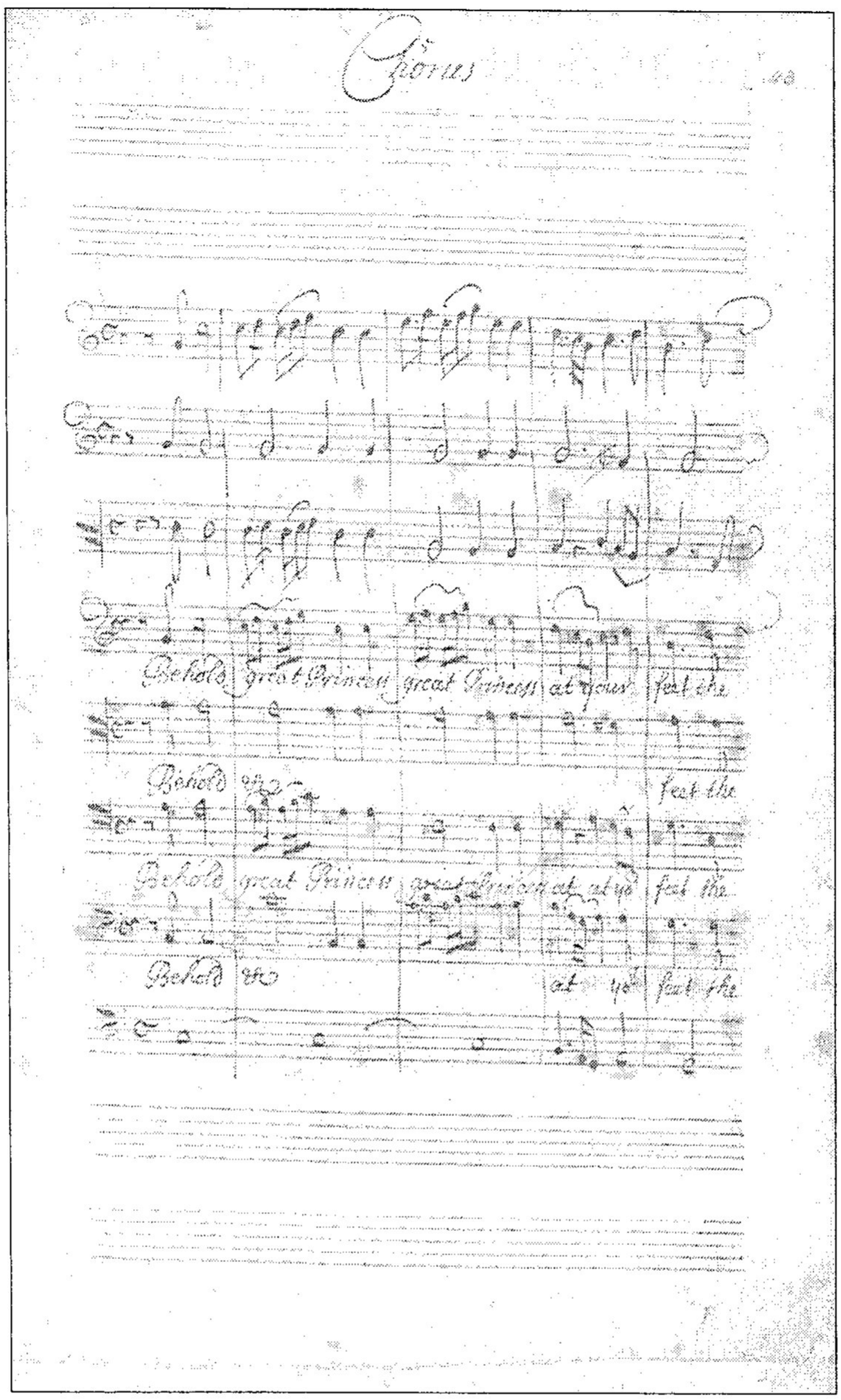
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[13] The music is at Lbl Add MS 30934, and the performers' names include Pate (later amended to Hughes), Freeman (also, later Hughes), Magnus, Woodson (later Laroon), and Bourdon.

[14] Woodson was also a member of the choir at Westminster Abbey from 1697 to 1716. See *BDECM*, 1170-1172.

[15] 'If the sonatas by [...] Daniel Purcell [...] to be found in an important set of manuscript orchestral parts in the British Library (Add. 49599) lack the virtuosity of those by Torelli or Vejvanovsky, they are certainly their equal in idiomatic instrumental writing and dramatic style', Peter Holman, 'The Trumpet Sonata in England', 426. Further discussion of Daniel's trumpet writing within the English context can be found in Don L Smithers, *The Music and History of the Baroque Trumpet before 1721*, 194-204. Smithers is also complimentary about Daniel's writing: 'The Daniel Purcell and Paisible sonatas compare quite favourably with the Darmstadt trumpet pieces of Telemann in the use of the second trumpet', p.202. However, his statement that timpani are 'often wanting in English trumpet music' (p.203), and particularly in the sonatas in Lbl Add MS 49599 (which contains all three of Daniel's sonatas from *The Judgment of Paris*) is misleading. Although that manuscript does not contain any indication of their use, two sources for the overture of *The Judgment of Paris* (Cfm Mus.MS.87 and the Walsh printed edition of 1701) clearly include a part for 'Kettle Drum'.

Fig. 14. A page from British Library Add MS 30934, Again the welcome morn we sing



King William died in 1702, and Anne, for whom Daniel Purcell had already written two birthday odes, in addition to the ode for her son, succeeded to the throne. To mark the occasion, Daniel composed a celebratory ode, *Phoebus, monarch of the skies* (H407), although there are no known contemporary performances. In fact, the work is only known by its appearance in a concert presented two years later. In January 1704, a newspaper advertisement announced the performance at Drury Lane of 'an Ode upon

the Happy Accession of Her Majesty to the Throne, set to Musick by Mr. *Daniel Purcell*, never perform'd before'.[16] Given the close ties between Anne and Daniel Purcell, it seems quite possible that the ode was first performed at court to mark the accession, and that the description 'never perform'd before' relates to public, rather than court, performances. Or, if it was an unofficial tribute to the monarchy, then this ode may well have been a gentle reminder to the monarch of Daniel's talents.

A programme, probably handed out on the door to subscribers (see fig. 15), contains the words to the works performed that evening.[17] The singers who performed in Daniel Purcell's work include Lindsey and Campion, the sopranos, Hughes, the alto, and Leveridge, the bass; however, the music does not survive.

This was Daniel's last known work for the Royal family, and also his last known ode. Perhaps when Anne succeeded to the throne she was discouraged from using Daniel Purcell for Royal compositions, in favour of the official Master of the Queen's Music, John Eccles. In any event, Daniel did not compose any further works for her, and on her death in 1714, George I was crowned King. George had been a patron of Handel

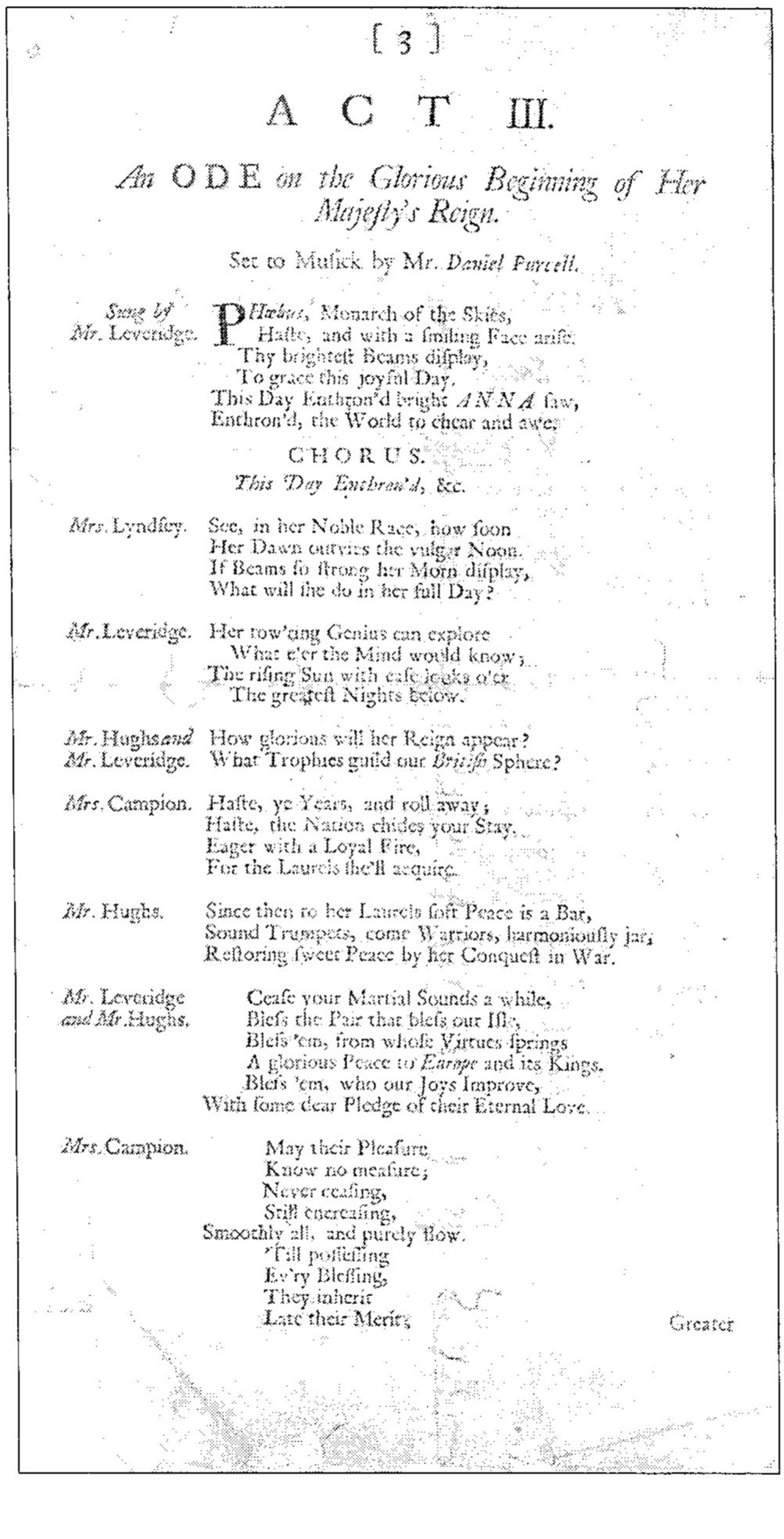
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[16] 'At the Theatre Royal in *Drury-Lane*, this present *Tuesday* being the Fourth of *January*, will be perform'd, *The Subscription Musick*. Wherein Mrs. *Tofts* sings several Songs in Italian and English. With several select pieces of Musick (compos'd by the late famous Mr. *Henry Purcell*) taken out of the Operas of *The Fairy Queen, King Arthur, Dioclesian,* and *Bonduca*. And an Ode upon the Happy Accession of Her Majesty to the Throne, set to Musick by Mr. *Daniel Purcell*, never perform'd before. Danceing by Monsieur *l'Abbe*, Monsieur *Du Ruell*, Monsieur *Cherrier*, Mrs. *Elford*, Mrs. *Campion*, the *Devonshire* Girl, and others. With a new Prologue and Epilogue. No Person to be admitted into the Pit or Boxes but by the Subscribers Tickets, which are deliver'd at Mr. *White*'s Chocolate-house. The Boxes on the Stage are for the Benefit of the Actors. The Stage Boxes 7*s.* 6*d.* the first Gallery 2*s.* 6*d.* upper Gallery 1*s.* 6*d.* To begin exactly at Six a clock.', *Daily Courant*, 4 January 1704.

[17] Folger Shakespeare Library PR 3291 S67 Cage.

in Hanover, and would have been highly unlikely to engage 'old-fashioned' English composers such as Daniel to compose music for his court.

Fig. 15. Wordbook programme of Phoebus, monarch of the skies.



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ACT III.

An ODE *on the Glorious Beginning of Her Majesty's Reign.*

Set to Muſick by Mr. *Daniel Purcell.*

Sung by Mr. Leveridge.

Phœbus, Monarch of the Skies,
Haſte, and with a ſmiling Face ariſe:
Thy brighteſt Beams diſplay,
To grace this joyful Day.
This Day Enthron'd bright *ANNA* ſaw,
Enthron'd, the World to chear and awe.

CHORUS.

This Day Enthron'd, &c.

Mrs. Lyndſey.

See, in her Noble Race, how ſoon
Her Dawn outvies the vulgar Noon.
If Beams ſo ſtrong her Morn diſplay,
What will ſhe do in her full Day?

Mr. Leveridge.

Her tow'ring Genius can explore
What e'er the Mind would know;
The riſing Sun with eaſe looks o'er
The greateſt Nights below.

Mr. Hughs *and Mr.* Leveridge.

How glorious will her Reign appear?
What Trophies guild our *Britiſh* Sphere?

Mrs. Campion.

Haſte, ye Years, and roll away;
Haſte, the Nation chides your Stay.
Eager with a Loyal Fire,
For the Laurels ſhe'll acquire.

Mr. Hughs.

Since then to her Laurels ſoft Peace is a Bar,
Sound Trumpets, come Warriors, harmoniouſly jar,
Reſtoring ſweet Peace by her Conqueſt in War.

Mr. Leveridge *and Mr.* Hughs.

Ceaſe your Martial Sounds a while,
Bleſs the Pair that bleſs our Iſle,
Bleſs 'em, from whoſe Virtues ſprings
A glorious Peace to *Europe* and its Kings.
Bleſs 'em, who our Joys Improve,
With ſome dear Pledge of their Eternal Love.

Mrs. Campion.

May their Pleaſure
Know no meaſure;
Never ceaſing,
Still encreaſing,
Smoothly all, and purely flow.
'Till poſſeſſing
Ev'ry Bleſſing,
They inherit
Late their Merit;

Greater

Although Daniel held no official appointment, his compositions for the royal family show a close court connection, particularly with Princess Anne. How this link was forged is not known; Anne was not known for her artistic interests nor had Daniel

composed for any royal before her, if one accepts that the ode for the return of King William (*The loud tongu'd war*) was probably a playhouse, rather than a court, composition.

Daniel returns to the organ loft: St Dunstan-in-the-East

Following his employment as Informator Choristarum at Magdalen College, Oxford, it is hardly surprising that shortly after Daniel's arrival in London, he found another organist's post. There is, however, some uncertainty as to the exact date he took up the appointment of organist of the church of St Dunstan-in-the-East.

The organist between 1683 and 1695 was John Moss, a member of Charles II's Private Musick between 1678 and 1685 who must surely have known the Purcell family, and possibly Daniel himself.[18] Other than Moss, there is another connection between Daniel and St Dunstan's. The Vicar, William Stringfellow, and Thomas Tenison, by now Archbishop of Canterbury but formerly Vicar of St Martin-in-the-Fields while Daniel lived in the parish as a child, were close friends, and Tenison may have recommended Daniel for the post.

It is possible that, between 1696 and 1698, either Daniel or someone else played the organ for no pay,[19] or perhaps, given that there are payments to 'mr Smith about removing ye Organ Pipes', in January 1697, and various other payments concerning

[18] *BDECM*, 812-813.

[19] Dawe, *Organists of the City of London*, 40, suggests that Daniel played for no pay, comparing this with the situation at St Andrew, Holborn, examined below. It seems doubtful that he played without remuneration at Holborn or St Dunstan's.

maintenance of the organ during April and May 1698, that the church may not have had an organist at all and was preparing its organ for Daniel's arrival.[20] The first payment to Daniel was actually for an anthem, the churchwardens' accounts recording a payment of 10 shillings, 'To an anthem by Mr Purcell', on 12 June 1698.[21] Daniel was first paid as organist on 3 November 1698, for 'halfe a years Sallary', suggesting he had taken up post in May of that year.[22]

The Churchwarden's accounts for this period include little more than Daniel's regular salary payments, but the payment, in March 1708, of 1s 6d for 'coach hire to Mr Purcells in ffleet street' details Daniel's previously unknown residency in Fleet Street, though it is not clear why the church should have paid for such a coach.

The old St Dunstan's church, 'a fair and large Church of an ancient building',[23] was one of many destroyed in the Great Fire of 1666.[24] An organ, maintained at the cost of the parish, had been there for 'some hundreds of years',[25] so, at a time when an organ was

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[20] 'Spent with mr Smith the organist', 1s, 1 October 1696 (Lgc MS 7882/5, p. 471); 'Spent with mr Smith about removing ye Organ Pipes', 2s, January 1697 (Lgc MS 7882/5, p. 472); 'Given Iles and Cook to move the Organ Pipes', 1s 6d, April 1697 (Lgc MS 7882/5, p. 475); 'given the Organ makers men', 1s, 18 April 1698 (Lgc MS 7882/5, p. 505); 'Spent upon mr Smith the Organ Maker', 6d, 23 May 1698 (Lgc MS 7882/5, p. 506).

[21] Lgc MS 7882/5, p. 529.

[22] Lgc MS 7882/5, p. 533. Moss had been paid £12 per year, whereas Daniel Purcell was on a rather more generous salary of £20.

[23] Stow, *Survey of London* (1598), quoted in Thomas Boyles Murray, *Chronicles of a City Church; being an account of the Parish Church of St Dunstan in the East, in the City of London*, 7.

[24] Located on Great Tower Street, in the east of the city, it was called 'in-the-east' to differentiate it from another St Dunstan's, in Fleet Street, which became known as 'St Dunstan-in-the-West', whilst St Dunstan's Stepney, also sometimes confused with St Dunstan-in-the-East, is yet a third church of this dedication.

[25] A vestry minute of 12 May 1669 recorded that 'The vestry thereupon making a search into their ancient records have found, that *for some hundreds of years* there hath been an organ maintained at the charge of the parish', quoted in Murray, *Chronicles of a City Church*, 12.

still unusual in a parish church,[26] it was perhaps expected that an instrument should be installed in the new church, one built by Christopher Wren and finished, with the completion of the tower and spire, in 1698. The new organ was given by Lady Dionys Williamson, of Hales Hall in Norfolk, who reserved £500 of a £4000 gift 'until some security should be given her by the parish "for the constant maintaining and using of the organ." '[27] It was built by a notable resident of the parish, the organ-builder 'Father' Smith, who lived 'in Suffolk Street over against the cock'.[28] A contemporary commentator described Smith's instrument as a 'pretty organ', and also wrote:

> As a farther ornament, here is a neat organ-gallery of the Corinthian order, adorn'd with bolection-work, and enrich'd with carv'd cherubims. It is very well pewed, and wainscotted 9 foot high.[29]

The carving in the church was mostly carried out by Grinling Gibbons. A panel on the north side of the organ gallery noted Lady Williamson's gift, reading 'after the late dreadful fire in 1666, Dame Dionys Williamson gave £4,000 towards the rebuilding of this Church, the bells, and organ'.[30] In those few churches with organs, the organist would lead congregational singing, which consisted largely of psalm tunes, adding his

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[26] Not all parish churches, even in London, had an organ. Of the 76 city churches which existed in 1700, only 18 had organs (*NGII*, xv. 95-96).

[27] Murray, *Chronicles of a City Church*, 39.

[28] James Boeringer, *Organa Britannica: Organs in Great Britain 1660-1860*, ii. 168, quoting a note in the flyleaf of the vestry book. This book also includes more information about the organ itself.

[29] Hatton, *New View of London* (1708), quoted in Murray, *Chronicles of a City Church*, 43.

[30] Quoted in the anonymous tract *Some account of the Church of St Dunstan in the East, in the City of London* (London, 1845), 4.

own embellishments between the lines, as well as performing voluntaries. In London, it was also usual to have a choir of charity children.[31]

The bells, on which the first ever peal of major was rung, were obviously equally well thought-of.[32]

> Whereas Mr. Abraham Rudhall of the city of Gloucester, bell-founder, was lately employed to cast 8 bells for the Parish Church of St. Dunstan's in London. This is to give notice that he has performed his contract to the universal satisfaction of the gentlemen of the said Parish, and in the opinion of the ablest judges has made them the best peal of bells in all England.[33]

Daniel continued as organist of St Dunstan's for the rest of his life, receiving his final payment on 11 November 1717, just days before his death.

St Cecilia's Day

Even before he moved to London, Daniel had composed an ode for one of the annual celebrations of the feast of St Cecilia, the patron saint of music. With a text by his Magdalen contemporary, Thomas Yalden, *Begin, and strike th'harmonious lyre* (H404) was Daniel's first known work for voices and orchestra, but its place of performance is a matter of confusion.

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[31] Nicholas Temperley, *The Music of the English Parish Church*, 129-134.

[32] A *peal* is a continuous piece of bellringing which consists of 5000 or more changes, or rows, during which any given row cannot be repeated. *Major* is used to describe bellringing patterns, or methods, on eight changing bells. The peal, of Oxford Treble Bob Major, was rung on 27 December 1718, by the Union Scholars.

[33] *Post Boy*, 25 July 1702.

The attribution to London's St Cecilia celebrations is proposed by a pencil annotation to the autograph manuscript, 'The following song was composd by Mr. Dan: Purcell and performd upon St. Caecilias Day att Stationers Hall'.[34] However, when the poem was first published in Dryden's *The Annual Miscellany: for the Year 1694*, its entry on the contents page read 'An Ode for St. Cecilia's Day, Oxford'. Certainly, the small scale scoring of the work, for five soloists and chorus and an orchestra of just strings and continuo, suggests a performance away from London, where more substantial odes had been the norm.

However, there remains an element of doubt to the attribution to an Oxford performance. Dryden's contents page gives the wrong page number for the ode (124 instead of 128), and Oxford is not mentioned on the pages containing the ode text itself where it is given the date 1693, not 1694. The poem immediately after, by Addison, starts on p.134 and was certainly written for Oxford. It may be, therefore, that a printer's transposition error in compiling the contents page caused Daniel's ode to be misattributed to a performance in Oxford, rather than London. It may be, of course, that the ode was originally performed in Oxford in 1693, if one brings together the 'mistakes' in Dryden's collection, and also in London in 1694.[35]

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[34] This annotation, whilst not contemporaneous with the manuscript, is probably not significantly later. A pencil note on f.2 suggests that the ascription was written by Croft. See Lbl Add MS 30934, f.58.

[35] Trowles, ii. 112, suggests London as the place for performance based on this printer's error, a suggestion refuted by Bryan White (in private correspondance) on the basis of the small-scale nature of the setting. Husk, 86, suggests it was performed twice, in London and Oxford.

Table 9. St Cecilia's Day Odes in London 1691-1699 [36]

Year	Work	Librettist	Composer
1691	*This Glorious Day is Come*	Thomas D'urfey	John Blow
1692	*Hail! Bright Cecilia*	Nicolas Brady	Henry Purcell
1693	*Cecilia, Look Down and See*	Theophilus Parsons	Godfrey Finger
1694	*Begin, and Strike th'Harmonious Lyre* (H404) or *The Consort of the Sprinkling Lute*	Thomas Yalden (unknown)	Daniel Purcell Mr Picket [37]
1695	*Great Quire of Heaven*	Peter Motteux	John Blow
1696	*Assist, Assist ye Mighty Sons of Art*	(unknown)	Nicola Matteis [38]
1697	*Alexander's Feast*	John Dryden	Jeremiah Clarke
1698	*Begin the Noble Song* (H405)	Samuel Wesley	Daniel Purcell [39]
1699	*Prepare the Hallow'd Strain* (H408)	Joseph Addison	Daniel Purcell [40]

The festival marking the feast of St Cecilia in London was instituted by the Musical Society in 1683, and continued throughout much of the following thirty years.[41] Originally, the evening concert was held at York Buildings, but by the 1690s it had moved to Stationers' Hall. The concert was followed by a banquet and, from 1693,

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[36] After Husk, Trowles, and Bryan White (private correspondance).

[37] Another setting for 1694 is suggested by the appearance in *Thesaurus Musicus* (1695), iv. 30-33 of 'Mr Picket's Song, Sung at St. Celia's Feast, by Mr. *Robart*'. It is a two-part song, published for two upper voices.

[38] Ob MS Mus.c.16, f.3-21. See Michael Tilmouth, 'The beginnings of provincial concert life in England', in Christopher Hogwood and Richard Luckett (eds.), *Music in Eighteenth-Century England*, 9n. A ticket for that year's celebrations, signed by the stewards (including Matteis), is reproduced in Zimmerman, 205.

[39] Edmund Malone, in *The Critical and Miscellaneous Prose Works of John Dryden* (London, 1800), i. 278, suggests that Daniel Purcell set a poem by Thomas Bishop, *Cecilia Charming Saint*, for the London celebration in 1698. This suggestion is repeated by Husk, and is examined further below.

[40] *Blest Cecilia, Charming Maid* was thought by Husk to be the ode for this year, on the basis of that date being assigned by Nichol in his *Select Collection of Poems*, v. 309. No poet or composer was identified by Nicols, though Husk suggests Parsons as the poet.

[41] *NGII*, v. 332-333.

preceded by a choral service at St Bride's, Fleet Street. A contemporary commentator described the occasion:

> On that day [22 November] or the next when it falls on a Sunday ... most of the lovers of music, whereof many are persons are of the first rank, meet at Stationers'-Hall in London, not thro' a principle of superstition, but to propagate the advancement of that divine science. A splendid entertainment is provided, and before it is always a performance of music by the best voices and hands in town; the words, which are always in the patronesses praise, are set by some of the greatest masters in town.[42]

Samuel Wesley's text to *Begin the Noble Song* (H405), an adapted version of which Daniel set for the celebration at Stationers' Hall on 22 November 1698, had been published in the *Gentleman's Journal* four years earlier, with the following commentary:

> I have here an Ode written sometime since by Mr. *Wesley*, which has not been seen in Town, and so cannot well be said to want the charms of Novelty. I am sure that it has all the others that can be expected in a piece of that nature, and we might be apt to censure its ingious Author's resolution not to *versifie* any more, if any thing could be attempted in a poetic style, after the *Life of Christ*, with which Mr. Wesley has taken his leave of the Muses.[43]

Daniel's ode is on a larger scale than his previous offering: four soloists and chorus, and a larger orchestra of 2 trumpets, 2 oboes, 2 flutes and timpani, together with strings and continuo. His compositional devices were also more developed, as shown by the

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[42] *Gentleman's Journal*, January 1692, quoted in *NGII*, xviii. 332.

[43] *The Gentleman's Journal* 3 (April, 1694), 75-79. The text was also set by William Norris, Daniel's Chapel Royal contemporary, and later by S S Wesley. Samuel Wesley was rector of Epworth, in the diocese of Lincoln, and may have written this text for a Lincoln occasion, with the master of the cathedral choristers providing the music. That two settings, by such closely connected composers, appeared within a few years of each other might be significant, although the fact that the text was published in 1694 does allow a degree of coincidence. Further speculation on Norris' setting can be found in Frank Dawes, 'Philip Hart and William Norris', 1076.

introduction of a canzona, an echo-chorus and a contrapuntal final grand chorus. A series of subsequent borrowings from this work show how busy Daniel was during the next few years. The final chorus can be found in a slightly altered form in the opera *The Grove, or Love's Paradise* (H119) a little over a year later, whilst the first two sections of the overture were reused over two years later in *The Judgment of Paris* (H125). A subsequent performance of this ode followed at York Buildings in January 1699:

> On Wednesday next, will be performed at York-Buildings Mr. Daniel Purcell's Musick for the last St. Cecilia's Feast, for the benefit of Mr. Howel and Mr. Shore; with an Addition of new Vocal and Instrumental Musick.[44]

In November 1699, Daniel provided the music for another St Cecilia ode, *Prepare the hallow'd strain* (H408), to words by Joseph Addison, another of Magdalen's Demys, though no music survives, though there has been some confusion about its place and date of performance. Addison's *Cupid's Bee-Hive: or, the Sting of Love* (1721) does not suggest a date of performance, and *The Works of the English Poets, With Prefaces, Biographical and Critical, by Samuel Johnson* (London, 1779) describes this work as 'An Ode for St. Cecilia's Day. Set to Musick by Mr. Daniel Purcell. Performed at Oxford 1699'. However, a contemporary broadside printing of the poem survives which gives the date 22 November 1699, and the names of the author and composer, makes no mention of

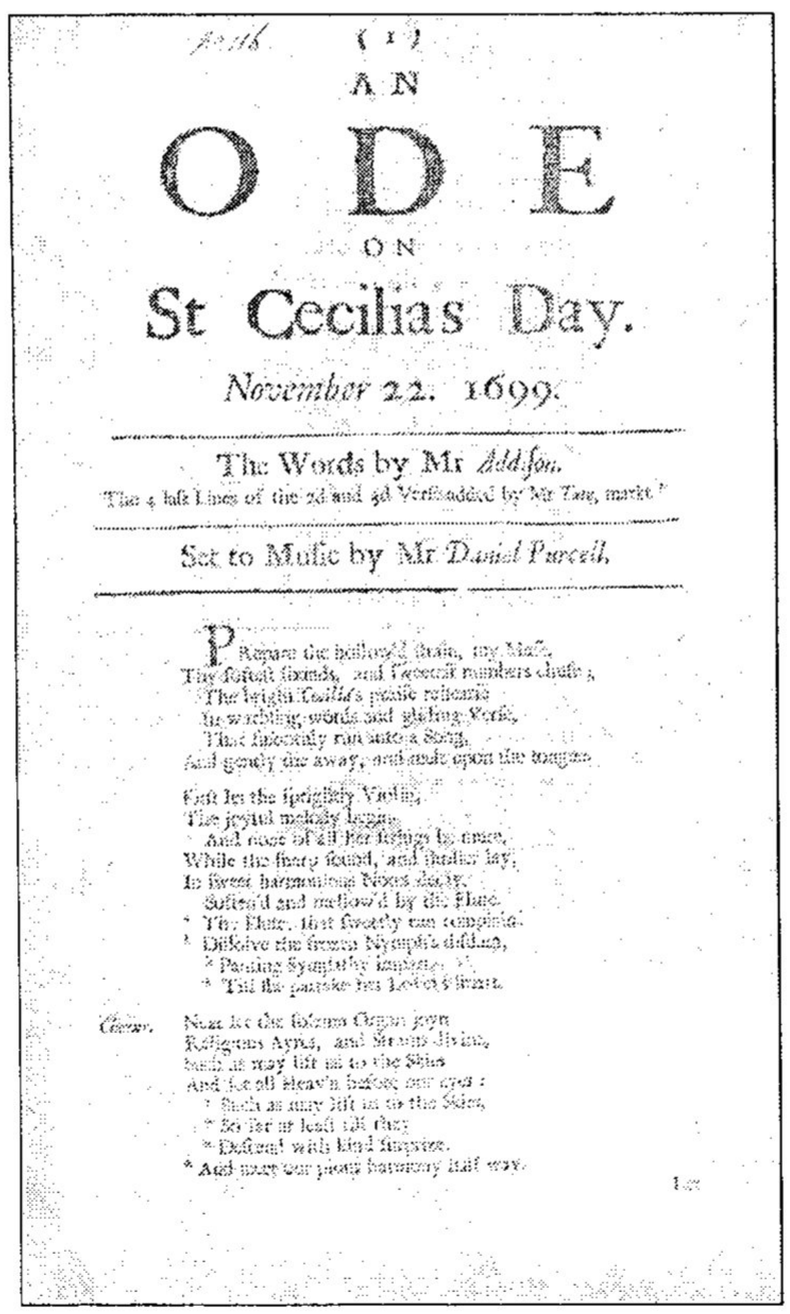
[44] *London Gazette*, 29 December 1698, repeated on 2 January 1699. John Howell was a child of the Chapel Royal at the coronation of James II in 1685, and later became a Gentleman, being sworn in without fee in August 1691, and with fee in December 1695. In 1697, he became a member of the King's Private Musick (*BDA*, viii. 6). John Shore was part of the trumpet-playing Shore dynasty, and was appointed trumpet-in-ordinary in the King's Musick in 1688.

Oxford. Its inclusion in Daniel's benefit concert late that year supports the theory that Daniel's work was produced for the London celebration.[45]

> On Wednesday next, the 13th Instant, will be performed at York-Buildings a Consort of Musick, with the last St. Cecilia's Song, for the Benefit of Mr. Pate and Mr. Purcell, beginning exactly at 8 at night.[46]

The description of 'the last St. Cecilia's Song' would almost certainly refer to the last London celebration ode which was, of course, Daniel's that year.[47]

Fig. 16. Broadside of the text of Daniel's ode, Prepare the hallow'd strain.



AN

ODE

ON

St Cecilias Day.

November 22. 1699.

The Words by Mr *Addison.*

The 4 last Lines of the 2d and 3d Verse added by Mr *Tate,* markt '

Set to Music by Mr *Daniel Purcell.*

PRepare the hallow'd Strain, my Muse,
Thy fervent Sounds, and Heavenly numbers chuse;
The bright Cecilia's praise rehearse
In warbling words and glowing Verse,
That Melody can suit to a Song,
And gently die away, and melt upon the tongue.

Soft let the sprightly Violin,
The joyful melody begin,
And most of all her Strings be seen,
While the merry Sound, and Motion lay,
In sweet harmonious Notes display,
Soften'd and mellow'd by the Flute.
* The Flute, that sweetly can complain,
* Dissolve the frozen Nymph's disdain,
* Passing Sympathy inspire,
* Till the passion her Lover's Breast.

Chorus. Next let the solemn Organ join
Religious Awful, and Majestic Airs,
Such as may lift us to the Skies
And let all Heav'n before our eyes:
* Such as may lift us to the Skies,
* So far us lead till Ours
* Defend with kind Surprize.
* And may our pious harmony that way.

Let

[45] The broadside survives in the Halliwell-Philips collection at Chetham's, Manchester, HP 116. With grateful thanks to Bryan White for bringing this to my attention.

[46] *London Gazette*, 11 December 1699.

[47] 'The 'last St. Cecilia's Song' probably referred to that performed in London, although it may have meant the ode produced this year at Oxford, which was composed by Daniel Purcell, one of the concert-givers', Huske, 48. Trowles also suggests this was a performance of *Prepare the hallow'd strain* (H408), i. 110.

Three further odes for St Cecilia's celebrations have been linked with Daniel Purcell. A manuscript of an ode once in the library of Magdalen College Oxford, possibly one of the above odes but also perhaps an unknown piece, has since been lost.[48] The others appear to be spurious. A setting of Bishop's ode *Cecilia, charming saint* (H708S), had been attributed to Daniel, though no evidence exists to prove that it was ever set to music. Indeed, the attribution to Daniel is based on a misunderstanding of the link between Bishop's poem and the celebration of 1698.[49] Finally, an ode by Daniel Purcell had been thought to have been performed at St Mary Hall in Oxford (H709S). However, this, too, is erroneous: the published broadside confirms that the work performed was by Henry Purcell:

> A SONG Compos'd by Mr. *HENRY PURCELL;* And to be Performed at St. *Mary Hall*, in *OXON*, on St. *CECILIA*'s – *DAY*, 1707. By Mr. *SAUNDERS* and Mr *COURT*, Assisted by the Best Voices and Hands.[50]

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[48] According to a note in the archive's card catalogue 'According to Bernard Rose, our MS disappeared while the organ room was being cleared out in 1938. He has had it deleted from the New Grove dictionary'.

[49] Husk, 47, suggests that this ode was the London St Cecilia ode for 1698, but this was *Begin the Noble Song* (H405). Husk seems to have been relying on Malone's erroneous link between the publication of the ode text in Nicol's *Select Collection of Poems*, iv. 28, and the *London Gazette* advertisment of 2 January 1699 quoted above, which describes the composer of the last ode as Daniel Purcell. However, there is no known link between Bishop's poem and the London celebration of that year. See Malone, *The Critical and Miscellaneous Prose Works of John Dryden*, i. 278, and Trowles, ii. 112.

[50] Malone suggests that an ode by Daniel was performed in Oxford in 1707, a suggestion repeated by Husk and in much derivative literature. However, elsewhere in Malone's own copy of his Dryden book (now in Ob Mal. E 61) of his book, he has inserted a manuscript note suggesting that the ode which was performed was by Henry Purcell. A broadside copy of *Hail Bright Cecilia* (Z328) in the Bodleian Library confirms a performance, including Mr Saunders and Mr Court, at St Mary's Hall in 1707. With grateful thanks to Bryan White for these references. See *The Critical and Miscellaneous Prose Works of John Dryden*, i. 280, with manuscript additions on p. 278 and 280, Husk, 89, and Ob G.Pamph. 2288 (14).

Publishing music

During this period, Daniel was also busy publishing music. He has been considered a likely candidate to have assisted Frances Purcell in preparing a set of Henry's sonatas for publication in 1697, though its error-ridden text may suggest otherwise; Daniel, certainly a competent musician, would surely have taken rather more care in its preparation.[51] Daniel may also have edited the collection of Henry's *Ayres for the Theatre*, published the same year.[52]

During the following year, Daniel published his first instrumental music, a collection of six sonatas, three each for violin and flute, which was the time Walsh used the distinctive Collins title-page.[53] The sonatas themselves may have been written earlier, if a comment in Daniel's dedicatory epistle, where he refers to the sonatas as 'the fruits of my juvenile years', is to be believed.

To the Hono.ble Francis Roberts Esqr

The regard you have been Pleas'd to show the memory of my Brother Henry Purcell (whose least perfection I shou'd esteem my Self happy to possess) and the favourable Countenance you have Upon all occasions afforded my weak Endeavours, embolden me to Present these trifles to you, the fruits of my Iuvenile Yeares, if they meet with your Approbation, I shall be most Happy for such a Patronage will fix a Value Upon them & me, which shall allwayes be Acknowledged with the Greatest respect by

Sr

[51] *Ten Sonatas of Four Parts* (Purcell Society Edition, vol. 7). In the introduction to this volume, Michael Tilmouth suggested that Daniel was a 'likely candidate', but that the editor obviously had not had access to the autograph sources (p. xi).

[52] Thurston Dart suggested Daniel as an editor for Henry's 1697 sonatas, quoted in Michael Tilmouth, 'The Technique and Forms of Purcell's Sonatas', *ML* 40 (1959), 110. The suggestion that Daniel also edited the collection of *Ayres* was made by Peter Holman in 'Consort Music', in Michael Burden (ed.), *The Purcell Companion*, 291.

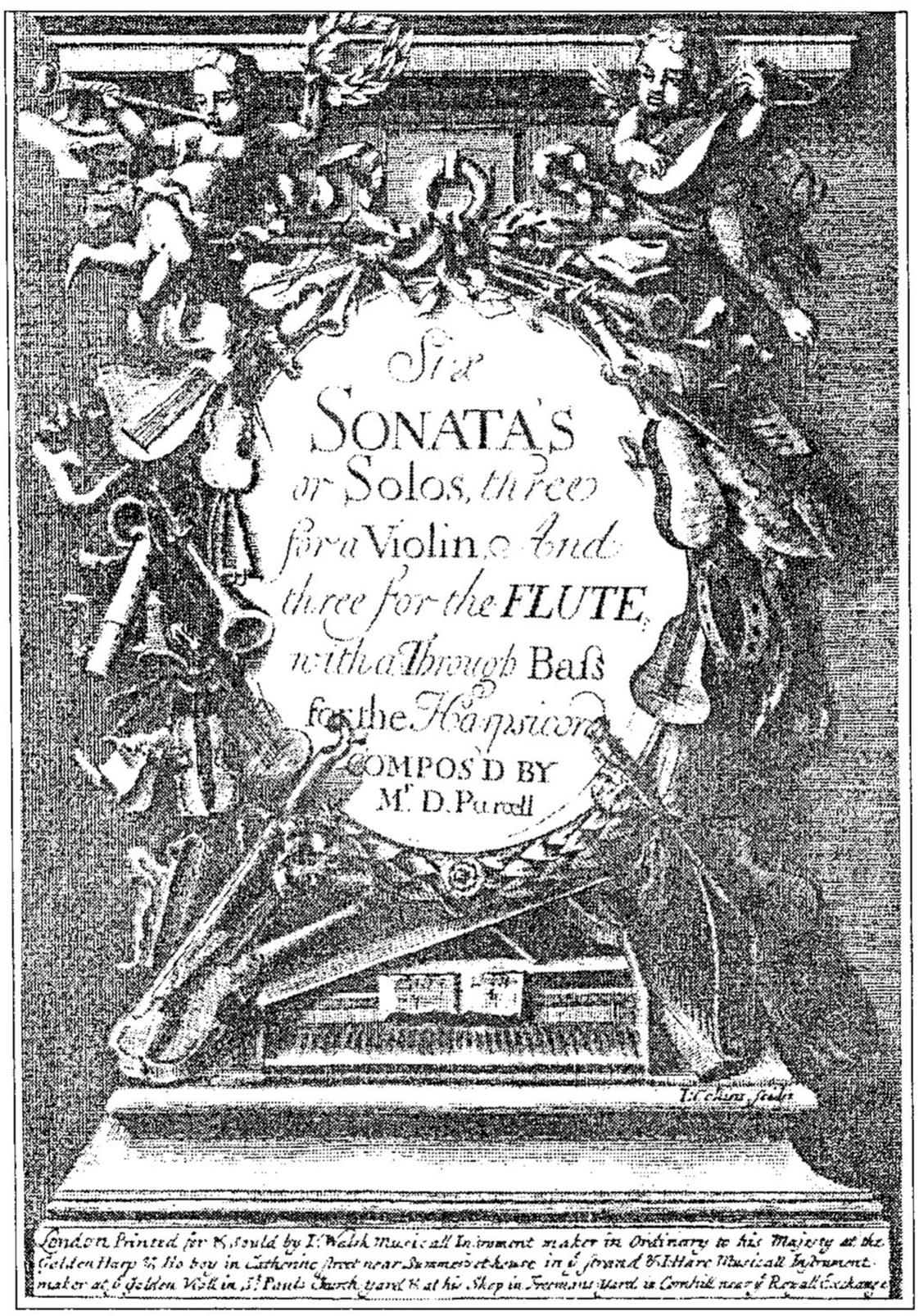
[53] The publication was advertised in the *London Gazette*, 6 June 1698. See Smith, *Bibliography of the Musical Works published by John Walsh 1695-1720*, 5-6.

Your most obliged humble Serv.t

Daniel Purcell[54]

The sonatas for flute were republished in 1709, together with three by Finger.

Fig. 17. Title Page to Daniel's Six Sonatas or Solos.



[54] *Six Sonata's or Solos, three for a violin, and three for the flute* (London, 1698). There is no record of Francis Roberts (1650-1718), an MP in various Cornwall constituencies, an amateur musician, and Vice-President of the Royal Society, becoming a patron of Daniel's works as was presumably intended by the dedication. For further information, see Romney Sedgwick, *The House of Commons, 1715-1754* (London, 1970), ii. 384-385.

Daniel Purcell's second instrumental publication dates from 1702. *A Collection of Lessons and Aires* contains six transcriptions of Daniel's instrumental works for the theatre (H551T to H556T), act tunes from *The Inconstant* (H122).[55] Together with airs by John Eccles, this volume was clearly aimed at amateur players. The surprising partnership with Eccles, then the chief composer at the rival theatre, may have been forged in order to provide additional income for both men when the demand for new music at the theatre was so low.

The period after 1703 saw an increase in Daniel's non-theatre songs published in periodicals such as 'The Monthly Mask'. His first such work in this publication, *Celestial harmony is in her tongue* (H208), dates from the August 1703 edition, whilst the last, *Wanton cupids cease to hover* (H225), was published posthumously, in August 1718.[56] *Let Marlborough's action inspire* (H214), which also appears in this collection, was probably written to celebrate Marlborough's victory at the Battle of Blenheim in August 1704.

As political changes and an increasing taste for pasticcio opera began to take over London's theatrical life, Daniel was no longer providing new music for the theatre, so during the last phase in his career Daniel became totally reliant on the church for income, as well as further publishing of songs and instrumental music.

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[55] First performed at the Theatre Royal in Drury Lane in February 1702. Daniel contributed a single song plus nine airs.

[56] When the latter was published in single-sheet form, it was titled '*A SONG by Mr.* D. Purcell *late Organist of St.* Andrew Holbourn' (RISM P5797).

- 5 -

The Final Years (1705-1717)

Introduction

In the years after 1705, the volume of Daniel Purcell's compositional output continued to decline markedly from its peak of the late 1690s. During the ten years since his move from Oxford, composition had taken most of his creative time and energy, but comparatively few, mostly smaller-scale, works date from the final few years of his life. Perhaps the most significant amongst Daniel's late works, and that which best shows Daniel's compositional direction at this time, is the set of six cantatas published in 1713. These cantatas were amongst the first by any composer to be set to texts in the English language, and contributed to the foundations then being laid for the further introduction of Italianate music into mainstream English culture.

The final twelve years of Daniel's life also saw changes in his working circumstances, including the acceptance of a second church post and the commissioning of a collection of solo anthems. Evidence also suggests further financial difficulties.[1] Changes to his personal life, foremost amongst which was his marriage in 1705, also raise a number of questions. Who was the woman he married, and why is nothing known of her except in the records of the marriage itself? Further, if he was married why was he described as

[1] A payment from St Dunstan's in the East, 'To so much pd Mr. Danl. Purcell ½ years Salary due 3. Feb: next', was made on 9 November 1702, four months early (Lgc MS 7882/5, p.675).

'celibis' (normally translated as bachelor) in a document at the time of his death? Nor are such questions limited to his personal life. Why was Daniel chosen to compose an anthem for the prestigious Corporation of the Sons of the Clergy festival service, and who were the two men who commissioned a set of solo anthems?

Til death us do part?

The records of the church of St Andrew-by-the-Wardrobe, Blackfriars, in the City of London, contain a marriage, on 9 May 1705, between a Daniel Purcell and Elizabeth Tozer. The marriage was by Vicar-General's marriage licence, issued the day before to 'Danl Purcell of St P[aul]. Covent Garden Gent', and 'Elizabeth Tozer of ye same [parish]', and, despite some seemingly contradictory information, the man who married Elizabeth was, in fact, Daniel Purcell the musician.[2] However, little is known of the woman Daniel married. The reference in a open letter to Daniel Purcell published shortly before his death,[3] that 'time was we could both of us have played upon the virginals; and particularly you have been a man of note for your many compositions upon them', suggests that Daniel may have had rather a roving eye as far as women were concerned.[4] She was presumably dead, or no longer with Daniel, by his death in 1717, as his brother Joseph proved his will.

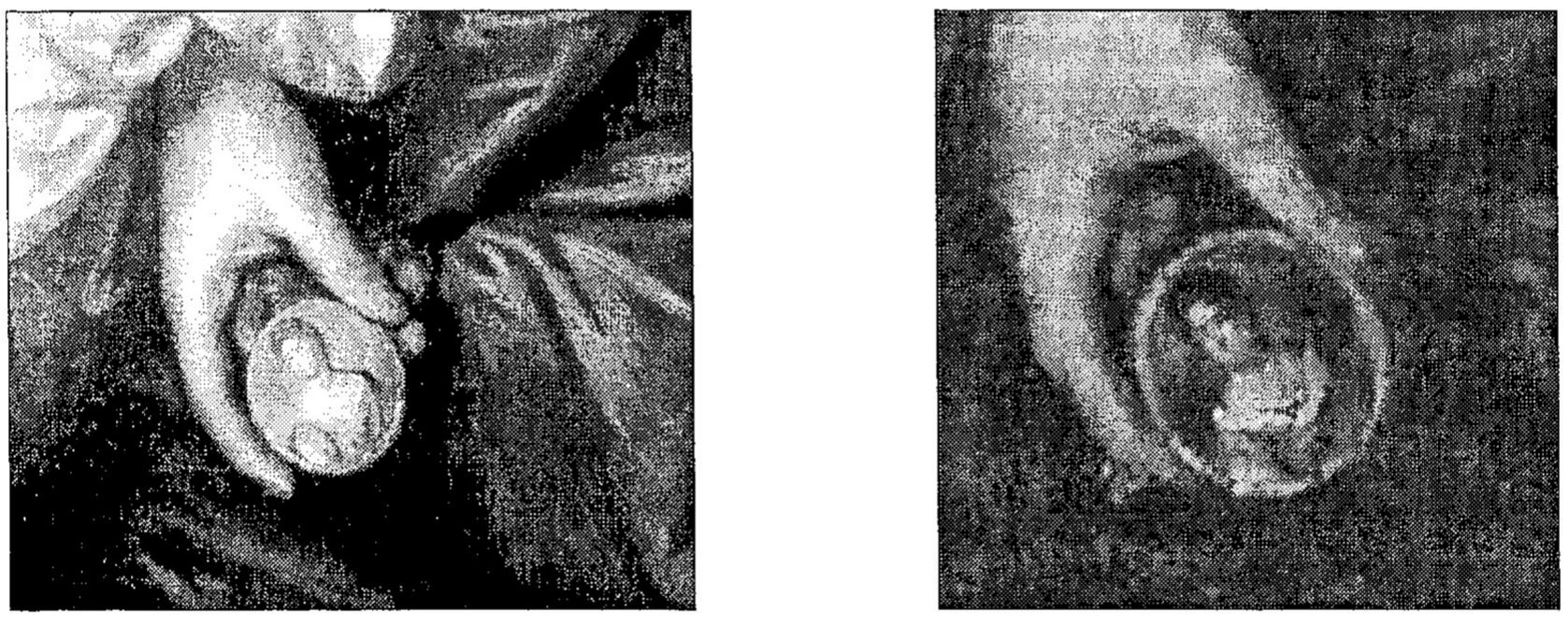
[2] Although he is described as 'Celibis', or unmarried, in the record of Administration granted to Joseph Purcell, the signature of Daniel Purcell on this licence matches well with other signatures of his from this time, and his residence within the parish of Covent Garden, whilst not recorded elsewhere, is entirely consistent with the church's theatrical connections.

[3] A letter full of puns on Daniel's political, religious, and social life. See 'Daniel Purcell and London Life', below.

[4] See *Weekly Journal*, 29 June 1717.

The bride is something of a mystery: there is no subsequent evidence of her existence, including the baptisms or burials of any children, nor is she mentioned in any other known documents relating to Daniel. It is possible that she had died shortly after marriage. The custom of people sitting for portraits holding miniatures of deceased loved-ones is relatively common; if the portraits thought to be of Daniel Purcell (see fig. 18 and Appendix I) do depict the composer, then, as the person in the miniature was almost certainly dead at the time of painting, it may well be that this woman is Elizabeth.[5]

Fig. 18. Detail from portraits putatively thought to be of Daniel Purcell (L: National Portrait Gallery, R: Worcester Cathedral)



'Tozer' was predominantly a Devon name, although it may be significant that wills for members of a Tozer family from the parish of St Mary-le-Strand show residency of a

[5] For a full discussion of the marriage documentation and its significance, together with reproductions of significant documents, see 'Daniel's Parentage: A new look at Purcell genealogy'. Note also that although the wedding was entered in the registers of St Ann, Blackfriars, this church was destroyed in the Great Fire of London and not rebuilt. The parish was united with that of St Andrew by the Wardrobe in 1670, so the wedding took place in that building. Further discussion of marriage licenses can be found in D E Gardiner and S Smith, *Genealogical Research in England and Wales* (2nd ed., Salt Lake City, 1956), i., ch. 14.

family of that name close to Daniel's family in London.[6] However, it is with an Exeter family that the most promising links can be found. In his will of July 1686, Aaron Tozer, an Exeter haberdasher, left to his daughter Elizabeth 'the sum of three hundred pounds to be paid her at the day of her marriage'.[7] Further, his widow Susanna's will, in April 1699, left a further £400 and an estate in Dartington, Devon, to Elizabeth, making her a very rich woman. It is possible that this family was in some way connected with the Cathedral in Exeter; Aaron's brother and youngest son were both called Soloman, the same christian name as a lay clerk at Exeter Cathedral who died in 1619.[8] Given the continuity of christian names within families – such as the Henrys, Edwards, and Charleses in the Purcell family – it is not impossible that this could have been the same family, and the fact that Susanna left twenty shillings each to a number of 'Ministers of the Gospell in Exon' suggests that they were a religious family.

Given Daniel's occasional financial impropriety, and putative links with Exeter (see chapter 1) it is not beyond the realms of possibility that he married a girl for her money, and cast her off shortly afterwards. If, however, she died shortly after the marriage, perhaps even in childbirth, it might explain how Daniel was able to live a prosperous London lifestyle on little more than minimum income from the theatre and the stipends of two church organists' posts.

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[6] *A Dictionary of English Surnames*, 452, notes its appearance in *The Place-Names of Devon* as 'Tozer's Farm', not far from St Marychurch, Babbacombe, near Torbay. Given Daniel's possible links to Exeter, a short distance up the coast, this connection cannot be discounted. For the Tozer wills in London, see Lpro PROB 11/213, of 23 September 1650, and PROB 11/313, of 26 February 1664.

[7] See Lpro PROB 11/384, dated 1 July 1686.

[8] See chapter 1.

Late Instrumental and Theatre Works

Although the demand for new compositions for the theatre had largely dried up after the first few years of the eighteenth-century, Daniel enjoyed something of a brief revival in 1707, and produced some further vocal and instrumental works.

A multi-sectional song, *Shepherds tune your pipes* (H219), was written as a 'Ball Song', and was performed on 7 November 1706. Some performers are also named, though in abbreviated forms which makes precise identification all but impossible.[9] Was the song written for a ball at Court, or some other special occasion? Even in these less busy times there was some self-borrowing: one of the sections was taken from Daniel's music for the 1696 production of Mary de la Riviere Manley's play *The Lost Lover, or the Jealous Husband* (H126), although the words to the song do not appear in the published play text.

A *Sonata for two flutes* (H522) was published in *A Choice Collection of Airs or Ariett's* (1707), whilst Daniel's second set of sonatas – in a 1709 publication with three each by Finger and Purcell – is merely a reprint of the flute sonatas from his 1698 publication. In 1710, however, Daniel produced six new sonatas, 'three for two flutes & and a bass, and three solos for a flute and a bass'. Daniel is perhaps best-known today for his flute sonatas, works probably produced for a domestic music-making market, or perhaps for performance by an informal music club or at concerts at York Buildings.

[9] The music is in Lbl Add MS 31405, f. 140, entitled, 'Ball Song No[vember]: ye 7th 1706', and the performers listed are 'Mrs E M', '[Mrs?] C', 'Mrs I M', 'Mrs B', and 'Mrs G'.

Table 10. Late theatre works

Date	V	I	Title	No.
?Feb 1707	[lost]	[lost]	*Orpheus and Euridice*	H135
8 Mar 1707	1		*Beaux' Stratagem*	H107
Mar 1707		9	*Relapse, or Virtue in Danger*	H142

Daniel staged a brief theatrical comeback during the first few months of 1707. In January 1707, a masque by John Dennis, *Orpheus and Euridice*, was announced:

> There is a Masque of Mr Dennis's on the Story of Orpheus and Euridicé, wherein ... [the reader] will see that our English Poets have not been behind hand with our English Hero's, in reducing the French Wit to as low a state as their Arms. We shall Print the Masque in our next *Mercury*; and the World will then perceive that the Author has done his Part, as well as the Composer, whose Musick, on this occasion, is very much commended.[10]

The text of the masque was, indeed, published the following month, naming Daniel Purcell as the composer:

> In our former Mercury we have spoken of this Masque, and the World will now see, that whatever Beauties there are in the Composition of the Musick, Mr. *Dennis* has not a little contributed to it, by the Opportunities he gave the composer to shew his Art. The whole is very well set by Mr. *Daniel Purcell*.[11]

The language of this comment certainly suggests that the music had been composed, and may even have been performed. Sadly, no music survives for what is putatively

[10] *Muses Mercury* (January 1707), 11. This comment is found in the same section as a further reference to *Orlando Furioso*.

[11] *Muses Mercury* (February 1707), 35.

Daniel's second all-sung theatrical work in English, nor does any firm evidence exist that the work was ever actually performed.

A single song for Farquar's *The Beaux' Stratagem* (H107) was performed at the Queen's Theatre in March. A set of tunes for a revival of *The Relapse* (H142), performed back at Drury Lane, also date from March 1707, and marks the end of Daniel's career in composing for the theatre.

The reason for Daniel's short-lived return into the theatrical world is not known, though it may have been precipitated by the theatrical re-organisation of summer 1706 which saw Drury Lane perform only operas, perhaps including *Orpheus and Euridice*, and the theatre in the Haymarket only plays.[12] Daniel's resurgence was also marked by the appearance of his *Orlando Furioso*, last heard of as an abortive piece with which to open the new Haymarket theatre two years previously, in a column in an arts journal.[13] Daniel's music was used in a later play, an adaptation by D'Urfey of Fletcher and Massinger's *The Sea Voyage* performed at Drury Lane in May 1710, but the 'several Entertainments of Musick, Vocal and Instrumental, set by the Late Mr Henry Purcell, Mr Daniel Purcell, Mr Jeremy Clark, and others' were almost certainly borrowed from earlier works.[14]

[12] See Milhous and Hume, *A Register of English Theatrical Documents*, i. 404, for reference to this document, and Price, 118-124, for a discussion of the reorganisation and its effect on the theatre companies.

[13] See 'Daniel Purcell and the Theatre', above, for a discussion of this work.

[14] See *LS (new version)*, 26 May 1710.

Whatever the circumstances surrounding Daniel's return to the stage it was a very brief affair, and there is no record of Daniel providing new music for the theatre after the spring of 1707, much to the chagrin of an anonymous letter sent to the *Tatler*, but not published:

> a Friend of Mine … has a very good Opera after the old Way, that is a perfect Tragedy (but with a happy Event) intermix'd with Music absolutely Necessary for the carrying on of the Plot … As for setting the Musical part, I do pretend to know so much that Daniel Purcel, & Clayton well instructed, & their Names conceald will do the Business much better, than any Foraigner.[15]

1709: Daniel Purcell and the Corporation of the Sons of the Clergy

In 1709, Daniel Purcell composed his largest sacred work for the festival service of the Corporation of the Sons of the Clergy, held at St Paul's Cathedral in December of that year. The annual gathering of this charitable organisation, founded in 1655, was largely a fund-raising opportunity and was followed by a festival dinner.[16] Previously, the service had been held at St Michael, Cornhill, and at St Mary le Bow, before moving to the newly-completed St Paul's Cathedral in 1698. Although the service originally contained some organ and choral music – John Blow contributed an anthem in 1698, when he was one of the stewards – the primary focus was on the service and collection.

However, in 1709, there were movements towards a service at which music took a more prominent part. Dean Godolphin had forbidden orchestral music within services at St Paul's, even at the thanksgiving service for the Battle of Oudenarde attended by Queen

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[15] Bond, *New Letters*, 96-98, quoted in *London Stage (new version)*, ca. late January 1710.

[16] Much of the information for this section is taken from Nicolas Cox, *Bridging the Gap*, 49-50 ff.

Anne the previous year.[17] However, approaches by Thomas Tennison, the Archbishop of Canterbury, together with Lord Keeper Wright and the Lord Mayor, Richard Brocas, seem to have caused the Dean to change his mind. In 1709, Henry Purcell's *Te Deum* (Z232) was performed, presumably with orchestral accompaniment, and a new anthem was commissioned by the stewards: Daniel Purcell's *The Lord Gave the Word* (H25). Daniel's anthem is an extended composition for alto, tenor, and two bass soloists and organ, with a closing full chorus.

The circumstances involving the choice of Daniel Purcell as the composer are not entirely clear, as by this time he was no longer providing new music for any major London events.[18] However, there are a number of possible, albeit in some cases rather tenuous, links. The preacher at the service that year, Francis Atterbury,[19] was a friend of Daniel's former Magdalen colleague Henry Sacheverell, and, like Daniel, was a known high-church Tory.[20] Sacheverell was a central figure in the early days of the charity, and therefore might have been in a position of influence in choosing a composer for a new anthem.[21] However, it is also possible that approaches were made to Daniel

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[17] The Battle of Oudenarde (1708), in east Flanders, saw a notable victory by Marlborough over the French. 'For the festival service in 1709, however, orchestrally accompanied music was reintroduced', Donald Burrows, 'Orchestras in the new cathedral', in Derek Keeane, Arthur Burns and Andrew Saint (eds.), *St Paul's: The Cathedral Church of London 604-2004*, 401. Burrows suggests that the Dean was persuaded to allow orchestral involvement in order to increase public attendance at the service.

[18] Not least the theatre, for which he had not composed for two years. Rich, his theatrical patron, had been dismissed from his post at Drury Lane earlier in 1709.

[19] See G V Bennett, *The Tory crisis in Church and State, 1688-1730: the career of Francis Atterbury, Bishop of Rochester* (Oxford, 1976), and Rex A Barrell, *Francis Atterbury (1662-1732), Bishop of Rochester, and his French correspondents* (Lampeter, 1990). Atterbury, born in 1662, was educated at Westminster School under Busby and therefore may have known Henry Purcell.

[20] See Nicolas Cox, *Bridging the Gap*, 79, for further information.

[21] Thomas Manningham, then rector of St Andrew, Holborn, was another prominent figure in the charity and was a friend of Sacheverell. He was the father of Richard Manningham, who may later have commissioned some anthems from Daniel Purcell. For further detail the involvement of Sacheverell and

Purcell by Thomas Tennison, the Archbishop of Canterbury, possibly through the latter's son who was one of the stewards in 1709. Tennison senior had been rector of St Martin-in-the-Fields from 1680 to 1692, during which time he may well have known Thomas Purcell and his family, who lived in the parish. Perhaps, then, Tennison knew the Purcell family directly and recommended that Daniel be asked to compose an anthem for their new, musical service.

A second, perhaps more tenuous, link between Daniel Purcell and Tennison also exists. In 1691, the diarist John Evelyn suggested to Tennison a candidate to be minister of the Trinity Chapel, Conduit Street, a post which was in the gift of the rector of the parish of St Martin-in-the-Fields. This man, William Stringfellow, later became rector at St Dunstan-in-the-East, where Daniel later became the organist. Indeed, the close connection between Tennison and St Dunstan's is shown by the erection there of a carving by Gibbons of Tennison's coat of arms.[22] Perhaps, therefore, Stringfellow recommended to his friend Tennison that his organist might compose them a suitable anthem.[23]

John Bacon, the secretary to the stewards in the late eighteenth century, recalled the circumstances of the first musical services, writing, 'accordingly the Dean did give leave [to include music], and it is said, that either Dr. Purcel, or Dr. Blow, conducted the

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Manningham in the charity, see E H Pearce, *The Sons of the Clergy 1655-1904*, 33. See 'Daniel Purcell's Solo Anthems', below, for a further discussion of Manninghams' connections with Daniel Purcell.

[22] Thomas Boyles Murray, *Chronicles of a City Church; being an account of the Parish Church of St Dunstan in the East, in the City of London*, 44.

[23] Further, if it was Tennison who knew Daniel Purcell, then he, in turn, might have recommended him to Stringfellow when St Dunstan's was looking for an organist.

music'.[24] Both Henry Purcell and John Blow were dead by this time, but the possibility remains that Bacon may have been referring to Daniel Purcell (for 'Dr', read 'Dnl', or something similar), as he had contributed music to the service and might be a candidate to direct it.[25]

1713: Italianate cantatas

Following a brief pause in Daniel's creative life, punctuated only by a low-key return to the concert stage,[26] Daniel published a set of six cantatas, two with violin accompaniment, 'after the Italian manner'. He had already experimented with the cantata genre in a setting of a text by John Hughes, *Love, I defy thee* (H305), which may have been composed as early as 1706 and was probably the first Italianate cantata in the English language.[27] If this was the case, it may well have been the piece sung by Margaretta de l'Epine in a performance of Farquar's *The Recruiting Officer* at Drury Lane in April 1706, described as 'an English Cantata, written and compos'd after the Italian manner'.[28] *Love, I defy thee* is a three-part cantata, with the first and third parts in da capo form and a brief central section of quasi-recitative. Published in 1710, a second

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[24] Quoted in E H Pearce, *The Sons of the Clergy 1655-1904*, 208.

[25] This is a viewpoint not shared by Pearce: 'It is true that Daniel Purcell was in London in 1709, but he stood scarcely high enough in his profession to wield the *bâton* in the Cathedral', E H Pearce, *The Sons of the Clergy 1655-1904*, 208.

[26] 'On Wednesday the 3rd of April, at Stationers' Hall, Mr. Daniel Purcell, brother of the memorable Mr. Henry Purcell, will exhibit an entertainment of Vocal and Instrumental Musick entirely new, and all parts to be performed with the greatest excellence', *The Spectator*, 31 March 1712. It is not known what 'new music' was performed.

[27] Goodall considers that this is indeed the case, though he continues, 'on the surface, the work displays all the technical characteristics of the contemporary Italian style, but beneath there lies hardly a spark of genuine inspiration' (Goodall, i. 127).

[28] 'And the famous Signiora Margaretta de l'Epine will perform several Entertainments of Singing in Italian and English, particularly an English Cantata, written and compos'd after the Italian manner, which will this day be in Print to be dispos'd of at the Playhouse', *Daily Courant*, quoted in *LS (new version)*, 13 April 1706.

cantata, *By silver Thames's flow'ry side* (H302), was composed in a slightly extended form: recit – da capo – recit – da capo, though the recitative sections, and central parts of da capo arias remain comparatively short.

Daniel's foreword to the 1713 publication is of considerable interest, not least because in a publication of Italianate cantatas, Daniel seems to concentrate on discussing the dramatick opera form.[29] Although such prefaces rarely contain considered critical opinion (compare this preface to the rather pithy dedicatory epistle to Daniel's *Six Sonatas* reproduced above), this does seem to be a real attempt to compare the fashion for Italianate all-sung drama, particularly opera performed in the Italian language, against traditional English dramatick opera. Although Daniel slips into self-deprecation ('tho' I happen not to succeed, either to my own Wishes; or other People's Expectations in the Attempt … it may encourage abler Persons to improve upon the Method I have taken'), it is clear that in putting forward compositions in an Italian style but in the English language, Daniel saw himself as starting a concerted attempt to re-establish the precedence on the London scene of English music by native composers over the Italian impact.

Daniel used the texts of Henry Carey for two of these cantatas, *She whom above myself I prize* (H307), and *Wild as despair the tim'rous Daphne flew* (H309). These were probably brand new texts, as their appearance in Carey's *Poems on Several Occasions*, published the

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[29] The preface is transcribed in Appendix III below. Daniel's works were published as 'Six CANTATAS *For a Voice, with a Through Bass* two of which are accompanied with a *VIOLIN; Compos'd (after the Italian Manner) by Mr. Daniel Purcell. none of which were ever before Publish'd. by the Author's direction. Carefully Engrav'd on Copper Plates by T. Cross. Printed for* J. Cullen *at the Buck without Temple Barr.*' The publication was first advertised in the *Post Boy*, 24 March 1713.

same year, would seem to suggest.[30] Although the works are limited in their thematic and tonal variation, and perhaps tend to over-rely on repetition and sequence, Daniel Purcell was producing the first works of their type. The recitatives and central sections of da capo arias are still relatively short (as was the English style), but these cantatas are built on a larger scale than Daniel's earlier attempts: one, *The Beauteous Daphne*, contains six sections, alternating recitative with da capo airs.

Many composers followed in producing similar Italianate cantatas, notably John Ernest Galliard, but Daniel's experimentation laid down important foundations on which to build.

1713: St Andrew Holborn

In about 1713, Daniel accepted his second church post when, in addition to his responsibilities at St Dunstan-in-the-East, he was appointed organist at St Andrew Holborn. Daniel's appointment came, unusually, without election and was almost certainly precipitated by the arrival of his acquaintance Henry Sacheverell as rector of St Andrew's. Sacheverell was a controversial high-church Tory who had just been appointed to his first post following a three-year suspension imposed by the House of Lords for using seditious language in a sermon at St Paul's Cathedral.[31] As soon as his sentence had been served, Queen Anne appointed him to the living of St Andrew Holborn; a more prestigious post, and a more ringing approval from the monarch,

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[30] See Joseph Gillespie, 'The Life and Work of Henry Carey (1687-1743)', Ph.D. diss., Royal Holloway College, University of London, 1982.

[31] G Holmes, *Trial of Doctor Sacheverell*, 220, notes that for these votes, Manningham, the Bishop of Chichester and a friend of Sacheverell (and probably later of Daniel) was conspicuous by his absence.

would be difficult to imagine. The parish of St Andrew, Holborn, was one of the most wealthy and prestigious areas of London. Although it had not been damaged in the Great Fire of 1666, Wren rebuilt the body of the church, and re-faced the existing tower.[32]

The organ, by Renatus Harris, was part of one of two organs designed for the Temple Church and, although it had been erected in St Andrew's in around 1700, had been shut up, while Harris's bill remained unpaid.[33] Sacheverell, one of Daniel's contemporaries at Magdalen College, Oxford, arrived at St Andrew's on 17 April 1713, and raised sufficient money to pay Harris and opened the organ for use. It seems he then appointed his friend Daniel Purcell as organist, and may even have used the appointment of a famous musician as a selling point in his fund-raising venture.[34]

According to a contemporary account, Daniel initially played voluntarily and without appointment:

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[32] For further information on the parish, see Caroline M Barron with Penelope Huntingdon and Jane Roscoe, *The Parish of St Andrew Holborn*.

[33] In 1683, a competition was held to find the best organ for use at the Temple Church. Bernhard Smith (1630-1708) and Renatus Harris (1652-1708) were the entrants, and both set up their organs in the church. Smith engaged Henry Purcell and John Blow to show off his instrument, whilst Harris's organ was demonstrated by Draghi. The contest was not finished until 1688, when Smith's organ was adjudged to be the better. Parts of Harris's losing organ formed the basis of a new organ for St Andrew's. See Hawkins, ii. 759, James Boeringer, *Organa Britannica: Organs in Great Britain 1660-1860*, ii. 220-222, Donovan Dawe, *Organists of the City of London 1666-1850*, 28, and, for further discussion of this battle, Michael Burden (ed.), *Purcell Remembered*, 42-44.

[34] There are, however, arguments against this chain of events, as it is possible that the organ was not, in fact, silent at this time. A large Charity School annual service was held at St Andrew's in 1704, when the church contained nearly 2,000 children; it seems unlikely that this service was conducted without organ Further, a commentator in 1708 described the organ as 'a very fine organ made by Mr. Harris' (Hatton's *New View of London*), a comment which would surely be difficult to substantiate if the organ were silent. (Both of these arguments are found in [Dotted Crotchet], 'St Andrew's Church, Holborn', 159). However, this second argument against the organ being played is flawed – it could be surmised that the organ would be fine as parts of it had been heard in the Temple Church as part of the organ competition.

> About 27 years ago an organ was erected in the church, but no organist was appointed for many years afterwards. About the year 1715 Dr. Sacheverell, being then rector, and the organ being unpaid for, went about the parish and raised money sufficient to pay the debt. At that time one Mr. Purcell played the said organ, without being elected or appointed organist or without having any fixed salary.[35]

The churchwardens' accounts from this period do not survive, nor do the vestry minutes contain any references to organists. A vestry minute from 26 June 1713, however, does show how close the church came to giving up its organ:

> Ordered that the Clerk waite upon Mr Harris ye Organmaker and acquaint him tis ye opinion of the Vestry that he may remove ye Organ if hee thinks fitting.[36]

Daniel remained organist of St Andrew's for the rest of his life. He had two known residences in the parish: Land Tax records from 1717 include him amongst the residents of Scroop's Court, immediately opposite the church, and his residence in Fetter Lane is recorded in the burial register at the church.[37]

The vestry may have been unhappy with the manner in which Daniel was appointed (however that was) as, on his death, they set up a vote amongst parishioners to decide who should be the next organist.[38] A candidate for this election was Edward Purcell, who took advertisements in the press.

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[35] Serjeant Pengelly, quoted in *The Historical Documents Commission Report*, vii. 689, taken from [Dotted Crotchet], 'St Andrew's Church, Holborn', 159.

[36] Lgc MS 4251 (1).

[37] See Lgc MS 11316/56 and Lgc MS 6673/8 respectively.

[38] See Vestry Minutes for 19 February 1718. Perhaps the dating of these minutes (1717 in old style) caused Hawkins (ii. 759) mistakenly to conclude that the vestry had been unhappy with Daniel as organist,

> Whereas Edward Purcell, only Son to the late famous Henry Purcell, stands Candidate for the Organist's Place of St. Andrews Holbourn, in the Room of his Uncle Mr. Daniel Purcell, deceas'd. This is to give Notice, that the Place is to be decided by a general Poll of the House-keepers of the said Parish whom he humbly hopes, notwithstanding the false and malicious Reports of his being a Papist, will be assistant to him in obtaining the said Place. N.B. The Election will begin on Tuesday the 17th at Nine in the Morning, and continue til Friday following, to Four in the Afternoon. [39]

Another advertisement, placed by Maurice Greene, appeared in the *Post Boy* of 5 December,[40] but the parishioners' vote came to nothing. In a vestry meeting on 19 February 1718 it was decided that the vestry, not the rector or, presumably, the parishioners, would choose the organist, whereby they selected Maurice Greene. It is not recorded who won December's popular vote, but Greene gained six of the vestry votes whilst the other candidates, Short, Isham, Young, Edward Purcell, Haydon, Harris and Hart all failed to get a vote. The vestry, however, cannot have been pleased when their chosen candidate for the post resigned after just two months in the job to become organist of St Paul's Cathedral.[41]

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and that Daniel had submitted to stand in an election, but lost to Greene. In fact, no organist was sought until after Daniel's death.

[39] *Daily Courant* of 11, 12 and 13 December 1717.

[40] For more information on Maurice Greene's appointment at St Andrew's, see H Diack Johnstone, 'The Life of Maurice Greene (1696-1755)', D.Phil. diss., Oxford University, 1967, i. 32-37.

[41] Hawkins was evidently confused by the proceedings here: 'The occasion of his [Daniel's] coming to London was as follows: Dr Sacheverell, who had been a friend of his brother Henry, having been presented to the living of St Andrew Holborn, found an organ in the church, of Harris's building, which, never having been paid for, had from the time of its erection in 1699, been shut up. The doctor upon his coming to the living, by a collection from the parishioners, raised money to pay for it, but the title to the place of organist was litigated, the right of election being in question between the rector, the vestry, and the parish at large: Nevertheless he invited Daniel Purcell to London, and he accepted it; but in February 1717, the vestry, which in that parish is a select one, thought proper to elect Mr. Maurice Greene, afterwards Dr. Greene, in preference to Purcell, who submitted to stand as a candidate. In the following year Greene was made organist of St Paul's, and Daniel Purcell being then dead, his nephew Edward was a candidate for the place, but it was conferred on Mr. John Isum, who died in June 1726' (Hawkins, ii. 759n).

It is possible that Daniel was connected with yet a third church. A 'Purcell' (without christian name, but surely Daniel) was unsuccessful in an election for the organist's job at St Bride's, Fleet Street, on 18 June 1702. Ironically, the post went to John Weldon, to whom Daniel had lost out in the 'Prize Musick', for the best setting of *The Judgment of Paris*, the previous year.

Daniel Purcell's London Church Music

Around this time, Daniel Purcell wrote a number of solo anthems for soprano and continuo, some more fully integrated verse anthems, and two full anthems. Each of the solo anthems appears in both one of the two British Library manuscripts detailed below, and also a Bodleian manuscript,[42] embossed with the title 'ANTHEM'S COMPOSED BY DANIEL PURCELL AT THE REQUEST OF IN° ECTON & R^d MANNINGHAM'.

Ecton is almost certainly John Ecton (d.1730), of Winchester, a noted antiquary who, as a prominent amateur musician in the city, would surely have known Vaughan Richardson, organist of Winchester Cathedral and previously one of Daniel's contemporaries at the Chapel Royal. Richardson was probably the person who introduced Daniel to his patron. Further, there is a direct link between this John Ecton and manuscripts containing these anthems. On his death, Ecton bequeathed his music and instruments to his friend James Kent (1700-1776), organist of Winchester

[42] There are only two following very minor anomalies: *Bow down thine ear, O Lord* (H2) seems also to appear in the lost Omc organ book, and therefore might be an earlier work. However, no incipit survives from the organ book, so we cannot be sure it is the same piece. In addition to this, although the RISM manuscript catalogue describes the Magdalen piece as 'Bow down thine ear', Christopher Dearnley has 'Bow thine ear', which might be a different piece altogether. In addition, H4 is a verse, not solo, anthem but appears in Lbl Add MS 17841, and possibly also in the lost Omc manuscript.

Cathedral, whose bookplate appears on the manuscripts of Daniel's anthems now in the British Library. It is, therefore, quite likely that these manuscripts were once owned by Ecton.[43]

Table 11. Solo anthems composed by Daniel Purcell

		Lbl Add MS 17841	Lbl Add MS 31461	Ob MS Mus.d.226	Other[44]
H1	*Blessed is he whose unrighteousness is forgiven*		■	■	
H2	*Bow down thine ear, O Lord*			■	Omc[45]
H3	*Have mercy upon me, O God*		■	■	
H7	*I will magnify thee, O Lord, my God*	■		■	Lsp
H8	*I will sing unto the Lord*		■	■	Ob ptbk
H9	*In thee, O Lord, have I put my trust*		■	■	
H10	*It is a good thing to give thanks*		■	■	
H12	*Lord, let me know my end*		■	■	
H13	*My God, my God, look upon me*		■	■	Och
H16	*O God, thou art my God*	■		■	
H17	*O let my mouth be filled*		■	■	Och
H18	*O Lord, rebuke me not*		■	■	
H19	*O Lord, thou has searched me out*		■	■	
H21	*Praise the Lord, O my soul*	■		■	
H22	*Put me not to rebuke, O Lord*	■		■	

[43] As the works are complimentary, when taken in comparison with the Bodleian manuscript, it seems likely that the pages containing anthems by Daniel Purcell in the two manuscripts were originally bound together, and have subsequently been rebound in separate manuscripts.

[44] Lsp = Lsp Alto 3, Bas 3, Tenor 4 (partbooks). Ob ptbk = Ob MS Mus.d.158, 161, 166 (partbooks from New College, contain chorus only). Omc = Omc MS T.14.8 (lost). Och = Och Mus.49.

[45] An anthem of this, or similar, title appears in the lost Omc organ book. It appears unlikely that an earlier work would be added to this commission but, without the lost manuscript, this cannot be stated with any certainty.

The other dedicatee, Richard Manningham, is more problematic. He cannot have been the Richard Manningham who was rector of Michelmersh, Hampshire, who had died in 1682, though it seems certain that it was a member of that family. Richard's son, Thomas, who was the rector of St Andrew Holborn from 1691 to 1713, and continued to live within the parish, whilst being rector of Great Haseley, Oxfordshire, Dean of Windsor and Bishop of Chichester, until his death there in 1722. Daniel only became organist in 1713, but it seems more than likely that he would have come into contact with Thomas Manningham, and, through him, his family, whilst carrying out his parish duties. Indeed, Daniel would almost certainly have known Thomas Manningham before his arrival at St Andrew's since Thomas, along with his friend Sacheverell, was a prominent figure in the Corporation of the Sons of the Clergy, for whom Daniel composed an anthem in 1709. The most likely candidate, therefore, is Richard Manningham the Whiggish 'man-midwife', who was Thomas's second son, but who is not known otherwise to have had any musical interests.[46]

The anthems contained in the Bodleian manuscript, and by extension in the two British Library manuscripts, were composed for Ecton and Manningham, and it seems that Manningham received one manuscript, a copy with occasional autograph markings, now the Bodleian manuscript, and Ecton received the other, which was passed to James Kent, and is now in the British Library.[47] The dating of the anthems is not

[46] See Philip Rhodes, 'Manningham, Sir Richard (*bap.* 1685, *d.* 1759)', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, 2004), [accessed 10 Oct 2004: http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/17982].

[47] Zimmerman confuses the issue by describing the *Bodleian* anthem manuscript as being from the library of James Kent (Zimmerman, 272), but there is no evidence to show that this might be the case and it seems an obvious mix-up between the Bodleian and British Library manuscripts. The Bodleian manuscript's provenance is not known; it was bought from Baron's in a sale in 1960.

straightforward, as although Daniel Purcell did not become organist of St Andrew's Holborn until 1713, his connections with Thomas Manningham do not preclude an earlier date. However, a reference to 'Dr Crofts' in one of the British Library manuscripts (Lbl Add MS 17841) must place at least some parts of this manuscript after 1713, when Croft received his Oxford doctorate.

A second connection between the Manningham family and the Bodleian manuscript exists. Bound into the front of the manuscript is a moving elegy on Daniel Purcell's death (reproduced below), entitled 'An Elegy on the Death of Mr. Dan. Purcell', and said to be by 'L. Man.'. It seems likely that this 'Man' in fact one of the Manningham family, who placed the elegy in their own copy of Daniel's anthems.

The other church music which dates from Daniel's London period is the posthumously published psalm interludes, *The Psalms Set Full for the Organ or Harpsicord as they are Plaid in Churches and Chappels in the man[n]er given out; as also with their Interludes of great Variety by Mr. Danl Purcell late Organist of St Andrew's Holbourn.* Daniel's collection of some eleven psalms seems to have been only the second such publication, after John Blow's set published in 1703. The psalm tune was 'given out', in an ornamented form, and then appears in an ordinary harmonisation with interludes between each line of the psalm.[48] This publication was probably a record of the sort of harmonisations and improvisations which Daniel used in services at St Dunstan's and St Andrew's, Holborn.

[48] See John Caldwell, *The Oxford History of English Music I*, 567, and Willi Apel, *The History of Keyboard Music to 1700*, 763. An example of the psalm interludes can be found in Dotted Crotchet, 'St Andrew Holborn'.

Daniel Purcell and London Life

It was not just musical life in which Daniel Purcell was well-known in early eighteenth-century London society. In describing Daniel's works, Hawkins considered that 'in general, they have but little to recommend them, and Daniel Purcell is at this day better known by his puns, with which the jest-books abound, than by his musical compositions',[49] whereas Burney recalled that Daniel was 'a wicked punster, and no less wicked composer'.[50] Daniel had obviously brought his reputation for punning – in Oxford he was known as the 'Pun-master General'[51] – when he moved to London.

This reputation was evidently well-founded, as the following examples of his jests which found their way into a contemporary jest book show.

> *Daniel Purcell*, the famous Punster, and a Friend of his, having a Desire to drink a Glass of Wine together, upon the 30th of *January* [a fast day marking the martyrdom of Charles I], they went to the *Salutation Tavern* upon *Holburn-Hill*, and finding the Door shut, they knock'd at it, but it was not opened to 'em, only one of the Drawers look'd through a little Wicket, and asked what they would please to have, why, open your Door, said *Daniel*, and draw us a Pint of Wine, the Drawer said, his master would not allow of it that Day, it was a *Fast*; D—mn your Master cry'd he, for a precise Cockscomb, is he not contented to *fast* himself but he must make his Doors *fast* too.

More than one of Daniel's published puns centre around taverns, and socialising with a pint or two of wine.

> The same Gentleman calling for some Pipes in a Tavern, complained they were too *short;* the Drawer said, they had no other, and those were but *just come in:* Ay, said *Daniel*, I see you have not bought them *very long*.

[49] Hawkins, ii. 760.

[50] Burney, ii. 984.

[51] See chapter 2 below for a description of his wit at Oxford.

Daniel was evidently not averse to showing off his punning talents to impress the assembled company.

> The same Gentleman as he had the Character of a great Punster, was desired one Night in Company, by a Gentleman, to make a *Pun extempore,* upon what Subject, said *Daniel,* the *King,* answered the other, the *King*, Sir, said he, is no *Subject.*

Dr Sewel, a noted literary figure known for his defence of Addison's play *Cato*, was not immune to Daniel's sharp wit.[52]

> Dr. *Sewel*, and two or three Gentlemen, walking towards *Hampstead* on a Summer's Day, were met by the famous *Daniel Purcel*, who was very importunate with them to know upon what Account they were going there, the Doctor merrily answering him, to *make Hay*; Very well, reply'd the other, you'll be there at a very convenient Season, the Country wants *Rakes*.[53]

Indeed, a couple of months before his death, an open letter to Daniel was published. Doubtless from his friends, it is full of the sort of puns Daniel must have appreciated:

> A Punni-Musical Epistle to Mr. Daniel P – :
>
> Or, a Letter in his own Way.
>
> ..... Thus I
>
> In Baralypton Blunderbuss ye.
>
> Ox. and Camb. Miscel. p. 189
>
> Cremona, 20 Nov. 1716
>
> Honest Dan,
>
> I have beaten time so often at the overture of your resting place, without playing upon you at sight, that I perceive the tenor of your life to be chiefly in taverns, where you will never leave

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[52] 'Cato had yet other honours. It was censured as a party-play by a *scholar of Oxford*; and defended in a favourable examination by Dr. Sewel.', see Samuel Johnson, *The lives of the English poets; and a criticism on their works* (London 1779-81), v. 47.

[53] [John Mottley], *Joe Miller's Jests: or, the Wits Vade-mecum*, 14 (no. 49), 14 (no. 50), 15 (no. 51), 39 (no. 137). A comedian called Joe Miller was the star of the Drury Lane stage in the early-to-mid-18th century, and died in 1738. A year later, John Mottley, seemingly a hard-up writer, put together a jest book in the famous comedian's name, which continued to be published in various versions for over a hundred years.

drinking a treble quantity, till your hand quavers. If this be any slur to your reputation, and you think me a Jew to harp upon a harsh string, I shall use no flourish or rondeau of words, but tell you plainly, that it frets me to the guts, that you are so hard to be found when a man is solo in an evening. I know sometimes you take some fugues into the country air, and I wish it prove no more than an opera pretium to you; if it does, I must needs say you manage your purse ill. I design to watch your ritornellos to town, and will strive to bring you to my bow; and knowing we shall agree to an hair, I desire we may wet our whistles together, and make some recitativo's of the past crotchets of our long acquaintance. Time was we could both of us have played upon the virginals; and particularly you have been a man of note for your many compositions upon them. I know you to be in alt, as to your religion; and should you continue to be above Ela in your politics, I shall never suffer myself, I assure ye, to be out of tune with my friend on such fiddlefaddle accounts.

If the sharpest of the critics should censure this letter as flat, they are entirely out of the key, and have not their fantasias screwed up to the present pitch of

Dear Dan,

Yours, from the merry violin to the

german flute and the recorder,

Signior Allegro[54]

Daniel's liking for puns and, for that matter, a drink and some 'playing upon the virginals' (which, we can presume, did not refer to any keyboard instrument) was obviously well-known. This letter also seems to suggest that Daniel was in some need of cheer, possibly owing to the illness which would soon take his life.

In November 1717, Daniel Purcell died and was buried in his parish church of St Andrew Holborn on 26 November,[55] though there is no memorial to him in the church,

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[54] *Weekly Journal*, 29 June 1717.

[55] 'Daniel Purcell from Fetter Lane ye 26th', recorded in Lgc MS 6673/8. Although the cause of his death is unknown, there is a slight possibility that he committed suicide. First, the fact that no will was made, and administration of Daniel's estate had to be arranged after his death. Second, a puzzling note in a notebook belonging to Richard Roach, one of Daniel's contemporaries in the Oxford Music Club. In a barely-legible passage, Roach writes that, 'De Run. Mr Clark striking fr..st Keel Halling (?) & D...ur s...e thein (?) at yt own Hand – This I had fro[m] S[i]r R[ichar]d Steel who was one of ye company at ye Time' (Ob MS Rawl. D.833, f.169). Although the next sentence is about Daniel Purcell ('I was ... acqantd w[i]th him at Oxford w[here] he was Organist at Maudlin Col[lege] where he exertd ... so notably in yt [ie that] Faculty yt all ye W...s thereof yt semd were submitted to him - & allowd him ye Title of Pun-Master General'), it seems perhaps more likely that Roach is referring to Jeremiah Clarke's death 'at his own hand', in 1707.

and the whereabouts of his remains are not known.[56] Daniel's estate was administered by Joseph Purcell, probably after Daniel died intestate. Joseph would have applied to the court, whereupon he was given letters of administration, the issuing of which was recorded in the court's registers.[57]

An elegy, bound with a manuscript of Daniel's anthems (see above), laments Daniel's untimely death and shows the affection in which he was held by his friends and contemporaries. Together with the punni-musical epistle, this lamentation provides a glimpse of Daniel Purcell the man, and shows what a loss was suffered when he died.

In softer accents or more tuneful lays
Others may mourn his death, or sing his praise
Yet none more truly can his fate bewail
But alas! will fruitless grief avail?
To paint in words the man, and faintly show
What once he was, is all we now can do.
His modest and obliging carriage gain'd
Him real friends, who always friends remain'd.
In him, two very rare perfections met,
Great skill in music, and a ready wit.
His wit, peculiar in the grace alone;
Pleas'd all who heard it, but offended none.
In th'art of music, he perform'd so well
That him, only his brother cou'd excell.[58]

[56] Many of the graves have since been moved to enable the building of the Holborn viaduct: in 1869, up to 12,000 bodies were moved from the north and west churchyards to the Ilford City Cemetery, where they were re-interred in a single mass grave (see *A Medieval Legacy: John Thavie's Bequest to St Andrew Holborn*, 48). More recently, the crypt, damaged in the church's near-destruction in the Second World War, has been restored during which a further 3,000 bodies were removed in 2002. It is possible, however, that Daniel's remains were moved some time earlier, if he was one of the victims of the grave robbers who, in 1747, stole 150 lead coffins from the vault of the church including, it is said, that of Sacheverell (see *A Medieval Legacy: John Thavie's Bequest to St Andrew Holborn*, 39).

[57] Daniel's estate was administered through the Prerogative Court of Canterbury, the record of Joseph's application being at Lpro PROB 6/94, f.10.

[58] From a leaf inserted into Ob Ms. Mus. d. 226.

Appendix I

Portraiture

Introduction

There are no portraits which can in all certainty be said to be of Daniel Purcell; indeed, those described below were all originally thought to depict Henry. It was only when obvious incompatibilities with genuine portraits of Henry were noticed that were they connected with Daniel.[1] Although the evidence to justify this process is slight, if these portraits are *not* of Daniel then they certainly depict another high-profile musician during the last few years of the seventeenth century, and the first few of the eighteenth.

Of the eight putative portraits, there are two distinct groupings and two further single portraits. The portraits at the National Portrait Gallery and Worcester Cathedral are almost identical save for the music open at the harpsichord, whilst the drawings at Christ Church, Oxford, and at Nottingham Castle Museum are almost certainly copied from one of them. Further, the engraving at the British Museum is copied from the portrait at the Royal Society of Musicians.

The oils that are in private hands and at the Royal College of Music are potentially of the same man, but are not obviously connected with any other portraits of Daniel.

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[1] This connection was first made by C J Holmes, 'The Portraits of Arne and Purcell'.

Table 12. Portraits said to be of Daniel Purcell [2]

No.	Thumbnail	Format	Artist	Location	Size (mm)
DP1		Oil	?John Closterman	National Portrait Gallery, London	559 x 470
DP2		Oil		Worcester Cathedral	559 x 470
DP3		Oil	?John Closterman	Royal Society of Musicians, London	
DP4		Oil		Royal College of Music, London	495 x 440
DP5		Oil	?John Closterman	Privately owned (sold by Sotheby's 15 July 1998	1240 x 1010
DP6		Mezzotint	George Zobel after ?John Closterman	British Museum	329 x 252

[2] The portrait by Thomas Clarke at Dulwich College, which Zimmerman includes as no. 18 in his appendix on Iconography (Zimmerman, 352) is described as 'a myth' by Jan Piggott, the Keeper of the Archives at the college (in private correspondence).

DP7		Black and white chalks	After ?John Closterman	Christ Church Picture Gallery, Oxford	224 x 153
DP8		Drawing	Edward Francis Burney after ?John Closterman	Nottingham Castle Museum	235 x 194

DP1: National Portrait Gallery, London

Fig 19. DP1: Portrait possibly of Daniel Purcell, perhaps by John Closterman



In this portrait, the subject is seated at a harpsichord, his left elbow resting on the top of the instrument and pointing at a portrait miniature in his right hand. The music is

entitled 'Sonata Settima', though the music, a bass line, cannot easily be distinguished. Between the top two lines of music is a word resembling 'Abel', though this surely cannot refer to the composer Carl Friedrich Abel, who was not born until 1723, nor to John Abell, the singer, who is not known to have composed any sonatas. It might, perhaps, relate to a piece in memory of John Abell, who died around 1716. Also on the harpsichord is a pile of books, perhaps eight or nine, one of which has the shelfmark 'O 22' on the spine, whilst the walls behind are wood-panelled.

The portrait featured in Archdeacon Burney's sale, on 8 August 1814, when it was thought to be a portrait of Henry Purcell; somewhat bizarrely, the woman in the miniature was said to be Queen Mary. It was donated to the National Portrait Gallery in 1907.[3]

DP2: Worcester Cathedral

The portrait at Worcester Cathedral is almost identical to that at the National Portrait Gallery, with the exception of the music at the harpsichord, entitled 'A Verse in Bonduca', which is Henry Purcell's 'Britons strike home', from *Bonduca* (Z574). The picture has two handwritten labels on the back. The first states that the portrait was attributed by the Barrey family to Sir Godfrey Kneller. The second says it was given by Dr. Done of Worcester, presumably William Done, of Worcester Cathedral. He

[3] See David Piper, *Catalogue of Seventeenth-Century Portraits in the National Portrait Gallery*, 289-290. The suggestion that this portrait was of Daniel Purcell was first made in C J Holmes, 'The Portraits of Arne and Purcell', 187-188.

presented it to the Worcester Cathedral Music Library, which is now part of the cathedral library.

Fig 20. DP2: Portrait possibly of Daniel Purcell, perhaps by John Closterman



DP3: Royal Society of Musicians

This portrait is of an older man, who seems to be the same as depicted in DP1 and DP2.

The sitter, facing slightly towards the right, has a roll of unidentified music in his right hand. It was presented to the Royal Society of Musicians in a deed of gift dated 1785 by Redmond Simpson (c.1730-1787), but received only in 1851. Seemingly, the portrait hung with three others given by Simpson in George III's box at the Concerts of Ancient Music at the Tottenham Street Rooms. A note left by Simpson suggested the portrait

was executed in 1694 or 1695, and that it was originally owned by Henry's son Edward Purcell, one of the applicants for the post of organist at St Andrew Holborn on Daniel's death in 1717. Simpson continued, 'On his [Edward's] death in 1740 it came into the hands of his [Henry's] Grandson [Edward] Henry (who by the way was the first child taken care of by the M[usical?] Society) of whom Dr. W. Boys [William Boyce] purchased it – on whose death in 1779 I bought it'.[4] Further, Simpson cited the opinion of people who knew Henry Purcell and declared it a good likeness, though it is now clear that it is almost certainly not. The putative attribution to Closterman is similarly doubtful.

Fig 21. DP3: Portrait possibly of Daniel Purcell, by an unknown artist



[4] Quoted in Betty Matthews, *A History of the Royal Society of Musicians 1738-1988*, 60.

It is the provenance of this portrait, its links with the Purcell family from the early eighteenth century, which suggests that the subject might be someone close to the family. Daniel is therefore an obvious candidate.

DP4: Royal College of Music

Fig 22. DP4: Portrait possibly of Daniel Purcell, by an unknown artist



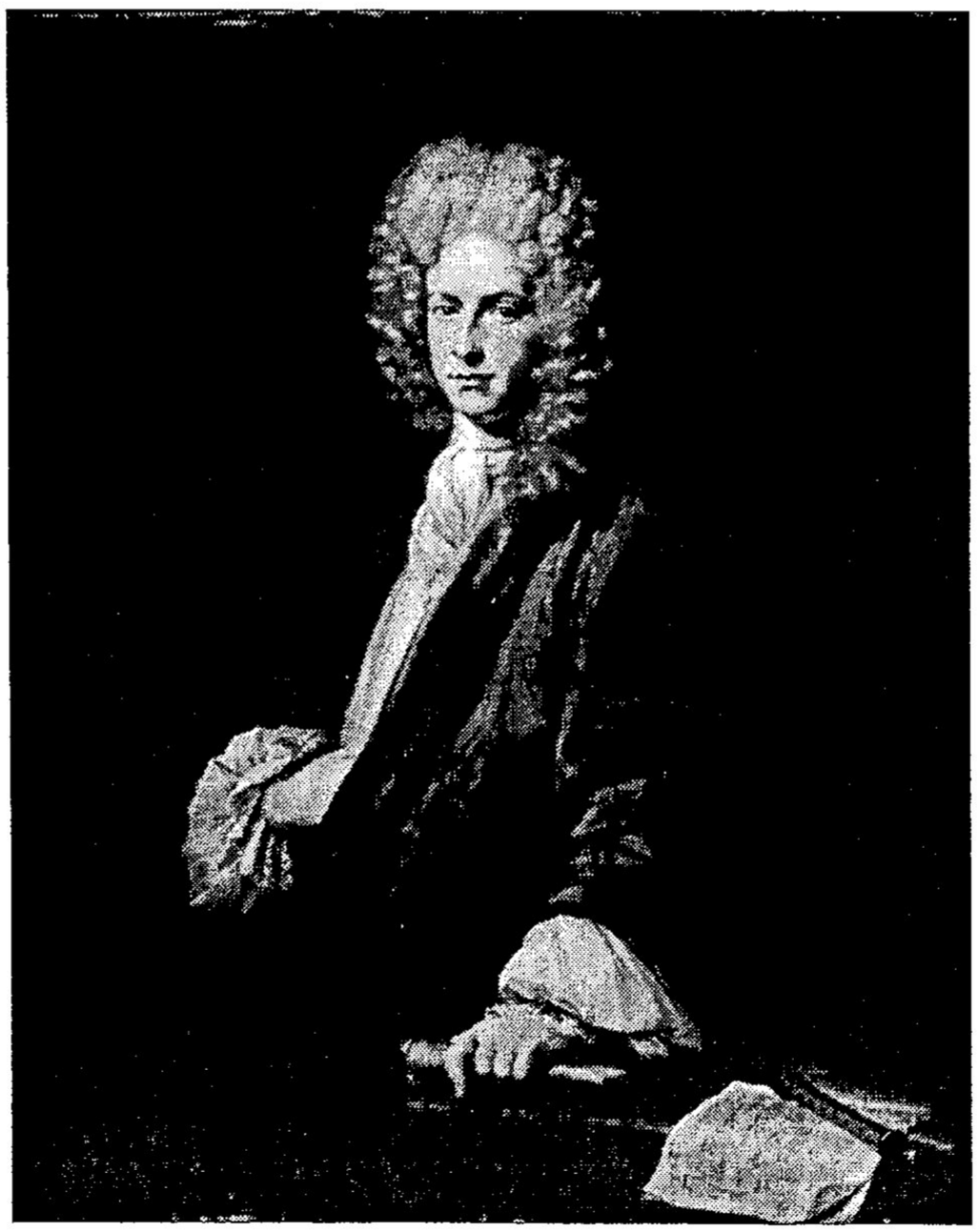
A fourth portrait, at the Royal College of Music, shows a man playing the harpsichord and looking over his left shoulder. He is dressed similarly to the man in DP1 and DP2, though his coat has buttons after the initial clasp, whereas DP1 and DP2 has further clasps.

In the top left-hand corner is the text 'HENRI PURCELL', and 'A DNI 1693', though it is by no means certain that this is contemporary with the portrait. It certainly does not resemble the genuine portraits of Henry Purcell, but does seem to be the same person as that depicted in DP1 and DP2, notably in the eyes and, particularly, distinctive nose (also seen in DP3).

This portrait is anonymous and of unknown provenance.

DP5: Privately Owned

Fig 23. DP5: Portrait possibly of Daniel Purcell, by an unknown artist



A portrait sold at Sotheby's on 15 July 1998, described as 'attributed to John Closterman' and 'said to be of Daniel Purcell',[5] is three-quarter-length, with the sitter's right hand tucked into his coat, and his left hand holding a roll of paper and learning on a table. Also on this table is a recorder and an open book of music. The coat is blue with red lapels and cuffs. Unlike DP1 to DP4, which show the sitter wearing a dark wig, the wig in this portrait is grey. At first glance, it does not seem to resemble any of the other pictures thought to be of Daniel, and as its provenance is unknown, it is not clear when this portrait came to be tentatively described as Daniel Purcell.

DP6: British Museum

Fig 24. DP6: Portrait possibly of Daniel Purcell, a mezzotint by Zobel



[5] Lot 36 in Sale LN8437, British Paintings 1500-1850.

A mezzotint by George Zobel of DP3, the portrait in the Royal Society of Musicians, is in the collection of the British Museum's Department of Prints and Drawings. When published, it carried the title 'HENRY PURCELL. Born 1658 _ Died 1695'. It also carried the attribution of the painting to Closterman.

DP7: Christ Church Picture Gallery

Fig 25. DP7: Portrait possibly of Daniel Purcell, a drawing by an unknown artist



This portrait, in black and white chalks with some grey wash, is almost certainly a copy rather than a study, and closely corresponds to DP1 and DP2.[6] It is a poor drawing, the

[6] C F Bell ('Portrait drawings in Oxford Collections', *Walpole Society* V (1917), 2, suggests that the Christ Church drawing is a study, but both Piper (*Catalogue of Seventeenth-Century Portraits in the National Portrait*

size of the head seeming out of proportion to that of the shoulders and upper body. Its provenance is unknown, save that it came to Christ Church as part of the Guise Collection.[7]

DP8: Nottingham Castle

Fig 26. DP8: Portrait possibly of Daniel Purcell, an unfinished drawing by Edward Francis Burney



Edward Francis Burney was a nephew of Charles Burney, and his drawing is an unfinished copy of either DP1 or DP2. Little is known of the drawing or its provenance.

Gallery, 289-290) and Shaw (*Drawings by Old Masters at Christ Church Oxford*, 360) suggest that its poor quality makes this unlikely.

[7] General John Guise, a soldier and former undergraduate at Christ Church, was a collector of drawings, and left over 200 to Christ Church on his death in 1765.

Appendix II

Signatures and autograph documents

Introduction

Although these documents are often difficult to date, a study of the signatures and musical autographs of Daniel Purcell sheds light on both musical and biographical issues. The signatures appear in the payment records of Magdalen College, Oxford, and in various musical sources including the collection of autograph anthems at Lbl Add MS 31461.

Daniel's musical and textual hand resembles that of Henry very closely, suggesting, perhaps, that Henry had a hand in Daniel's musical education, or that they were both taught by the same person, perhaps Thomas Purcell or John Blow. No extended examples of Daniel's textual hand, such as letters, survive, but the text in musical sources shows a close affinity with Henry's later hand.

Daniel Purcell's signatures

Table 13 shows a complete list of all twenty-three known signatures of Daniel Purcell. Those from the Magdalen College daybooks, the day-to-day financial records of the college, and the Vicar-General's marriage licence, are datable. One of the musical sources which contains a signature has the date of the first performance, though this is not necessarily a guide to the date of the signature, whilst the remainder of the musical sources where signatures are found are not dated.

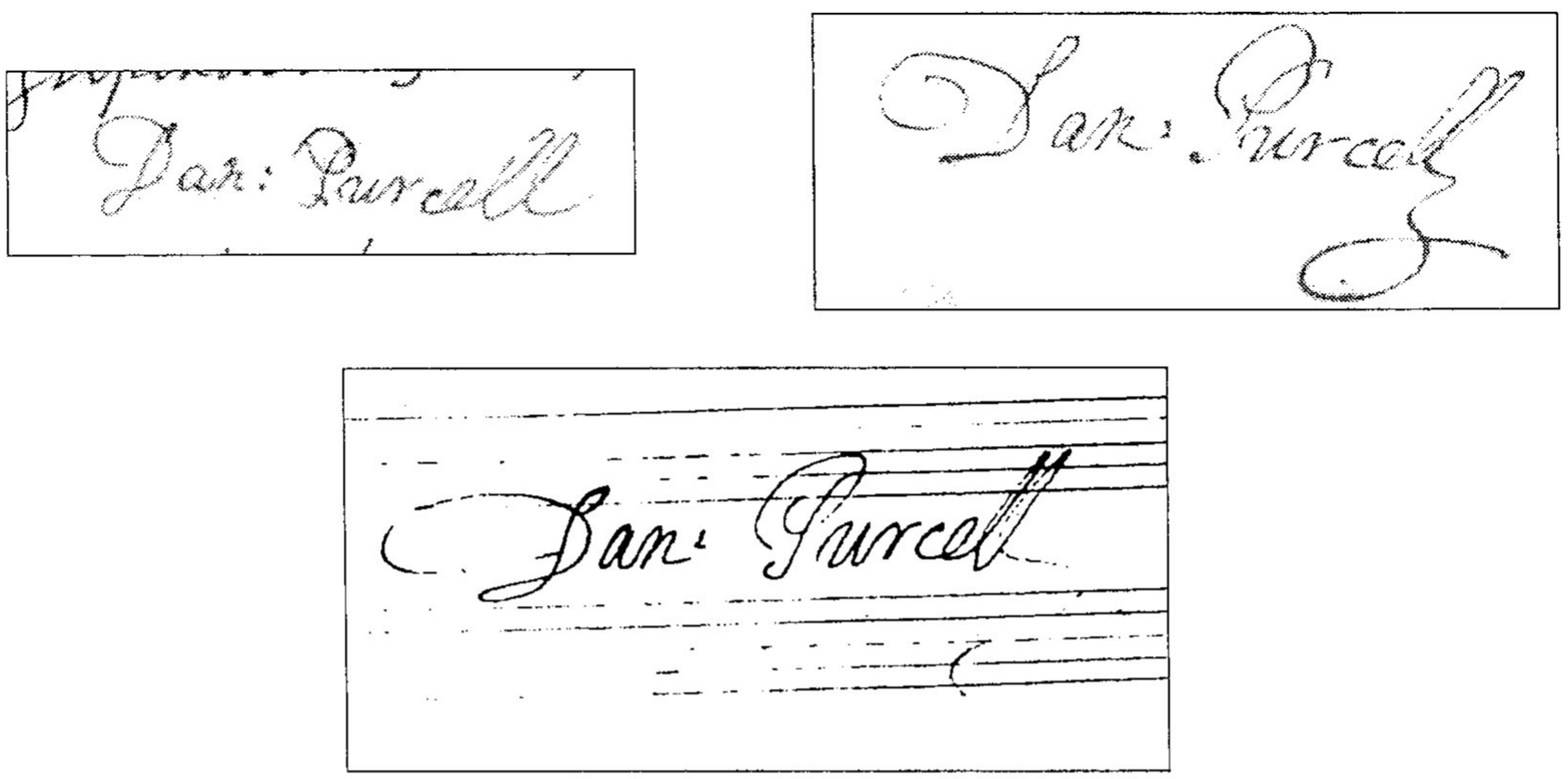
Table 13. A Chronological list of the signatures of Daniel Purcell

Library	Source	Fol./Pg.	Date	Details
Omc	DBJ/7	f.7	11 May 1691	Receipt of salary payment
Omc	DBJ/7	f.27	29 Dec 1691	Receipt of salary payment
Omc	DBJ/7	f.27	29 Dec 1691	Receipt of salary payment
Omc	DBJ/8	f.8	11 May 1694	Additional payment
Omc	DBJ/8	f.8	18 May 1694	Additional payment. Signature has been cut out
Omc	DBJ/8	f.9	6 Jun 1694	Additional payment
Omc	DBJ/8	f.34	14 Feb 1695	Receipt of salary payment
Omc	DBJ/9	f.6	25 Mar 1695	Receipt of salary payment
Omc	CS/36/18/24		9 Aug 1695	Organ maintenance contract
Omc	DBJ/9	f.26	14 Sep 1695	Additional payment
Omc	DBJ/9	f.34	14 Nov 1695	Receipt of part of salary payment
Unknown			19 Sep 1698	Indenture between Edward and Temperance Purcell, and their daughter Katherine
Lambeth Palace			May 1705	Vicar-General's marriage licence (allegation)
Lambeth Palace			May 1705	Vicar-General's marriage licence (bond)
Ob	MS Tenbury 310	p.157	?c.1709	H25 *The Lord gave the word* (end)
Lbl	Add MS 17841	f.87	[undated]	H22 *Put me not to rebuke, O Lord* (beginning)
Lbl	Add MS 31461	f.21	[undated]	H13 *My God, my God, look upon me* (beginning)
Lbl	Add MS 31461	f.27	[undated]	H9 *In thee, O Lord, have I put my trust* (beginning)
Lbl	Add MS 31461	f.35	[undated]	H19 *O Lord, thou hast searched me out* (beginning)
Lbl	Add MS 31461	f.38	[undated]	H19 *O Lord, thou hast searched me out* (end)
Lbl	Add MS 31461	f.39	[undated]	H18 *O Lord, rebuke me not* (beginning)
Lbl	Add MS 31461	f.48v	[undated]	H8 *I will sing unto the Lord* (beginning)
Lbl	Add MS 31461	f.54	[undated]	*O let my mouth be filled* (beginning).

Two of the signatures listed above have not been examined: an early signature has been removed from the Day Books of Magdalen College, and the indenture witnessed by Daniel could not be traced. The anthems which carry Daniel's signature were probably composed after his arrival as organist of St Andrew Holborn, probably in 1713. They date, therefore, from after the last known datable example.

The style of Daniel's signature changes through time, the datable examples from 1705 to 1709 showing a degree of development from the Magdalen signatures some ten years earlier.

Fig. 27 Signatures dated 14 November 1695 (L), from the Magdalen College Daybooks, May 1705 (R), from the Vicar General's Marriage Licence Bond and, bottom, around December 1709, from the manuscript for the anthem 'The Lord gave the word' (H25).



Daniel Purcell's autograph manuscripts

The majority of the works which survive in Daniel Purcell's autograph are anthems; other than his output in this genre there are a mere three songs, two of which are copied into the so-called Henry Purcell 'Gresham Autograph', and two odes. Two of his manuscripts mix considerable amounts of autograph and a copyist's hand: Lbl Add MS 30934, which contains the ode *Again the welcome morn we sing* (H402), and Lbl Add MS 31461, a collection of anthems, both contain contributions by the same copyist.[1]

There are no examples known of works by composers other than Daniel Purcell in his hand, though a number, notably *Sing we merrily* (H24) are credited to Daniel largely because of their appearance in his handwriting.

One of the most interesting aspects of Daniel Purcell's autographs is the degree with which he works in consultation with a particular copyist. In both Lbl Add MS 31461, the collection of largely autograph anthems, and Lbl Add MS 30934, which contains a number of his odes, Daniel Purcell's hand is found side by side with that of the same copyist.[2] Ob Tenbury 1175 also contains further works by Daniel Purcell in the hand of this same copyist, viz: the first part of *Cynthia and Endimion* (H113.1-9), *The Indian Queen* (H123), *Pausanias* (H137), and the ode *Appear, Apollo's darling sons appear* (H403). All of these works date from the late 1690s.

[1] Described by Shay and Thompson as 'London E', *Purcell Manuscripts*, 317.

[2] The connection between this copyist and Daniel Purcell is further detailed by Shay and Thompson: 'Tenbury 1175, of little importance as a source of music by Henry Purcell, underlies the relationship between London E and Daniel Purcell: the whole of this large manuscript is a single bound volume, and the end of the London E section on p. 79 is followed by a work in Daniel Purcell's autograph, the trumpet song *Arise great dead* [H118.4] from Act V of Richard Steele's *The Funeral, Or, Grief A-la-mode* (1702).', Shay and Thompson, *Purcell Manuscripts*, 241.

Table 14. The musical autographs of Daniel Purcell

Library	Source	Fol./Pg.	Date[3]	Details
Lbl	Add MS 17841	f.13v-20		*Praise the Lord, O my soul* (H21)
Lbl	Add MS 17841	f.65-71v		*I will magnify thee, O Lord, my God* (H7)
Lbl	Add MS 17841	f.81-86		*Hear my prayer, O Lord* (H4)
Lbl	Add MS 17841	f.87-89		*Put me not to rebuke, O Lord* (H22)
Lbl	Add MS 17841	f.90v-93		*O God, thou art my God* (H16)
Lbl	Add MS 30934	f.36-57	Feb 1700	*Again the welcome morn we sing* (H402), partial autograph
Lbl	Add MS 30934	f.58-78v	Nov 1694	*Begin, and strike th'harmonious lyre* (H404)
Lbl	Add MS 30934	f.94-104v	early 1697	*The Loud tongu'd war* (H406 = H113.11-13)
Lbl	Add MS 31461	f.21-26		*My God, my God, look upon me* (H13)
Lbl	Add MS 31461	f.27-30		*In thee, O Lord, have I put my trust* (H9)
Lbl	Add MS 31461	f.31-34		*It is a good thing to give thanks* (H10)
Lbl	Add MS 31461	f.35-38		*O Lord, thou hast searched me out* (H19)
Lbl	Add MS 31461	f.39-42		*O Lord, rebuke me not* (H18)
Lbl	Add MS 31461	f.43-47v		*Have mercy upon me, O God* (H3)
Lbl	Add MS 31461	f.48v-53		*I will sing unto the Lord* (H8), except final chorus
Lbl	Add MS 31461	f.54-57v		*O let my mouth be filled* (H17), title only
Lbl	Add MS 31461	f.62v-67		*Blessed is he whose unrighteousness is forgiven* (H1)
Lbl	Add MS 31461	f.70v-73		*Lord, let me know my end* (H12)
Lgc	Safe 3	f.70v-72	1696	*Tis vain to fly like wounded deer* (H222)
Lgc	Safe 3	f.72v-73	1696	'What ungrateful devil moves you' from *Love's Last Shift, or The Fool in Fashion* (H128)
Ob	MS Mus.c.437	f.1-1v		*Symphony to Carissimi's Mass in C* (H71), putative
Ob	MS Mus.d.226	p.1-14		*O let my mouth be filled* (H17), some rubrics only

[3] Date of known performances in all cases: no manuscripts are actually dated.

Ob	MS Mus.d.226	p.44-46		*My God, my God, look upon me* (H13), section 1a only
Ob	MS Mus.d.226	p.126-130		*Put me not to rebuke, O Lord* (H22), part
Ob	MS Tenbury 310	p.141-157	6 Dec 1709	*The Lord gave the word* (H25)
Ob	MS Tenbury 310	p.158-165		*Sing we merrily unto God* (H24)
Ob	MS Tenbury 1175	p.81-85	Dec 1701	'Arise great dead', from *The Funeral, or Grief A-la-Mode* (H118.4)
Och	Mus. 1215	no. 11		*In spite of despair* (H210), some corrections could well be autograph

London E's hand appears many times in works by Daniel Purcell, in a wide variety of his works; if the anthems were considered as a private commission (see Daniel Purcell's London Church Music above), then the closeness of this copyist to Daniel cannot be overestimated. Copying his works for the theatre might indicate employment by Drury Lane, but his involvement in the copying of these private works indicates a very close working relationship. If the two Lbl anthem manuscripts do date from the mid 1710s, this would mean that this copyist was acquainted with Daniel Purcell from when he first arrived in London to almost the end of his life. It would appear that this relationship alone is deserving of considerable further study.

By far the greatest proportion of Daniel's output – his theatre music – does not survive in autograph at all. Only a tiny number of solo songs, presumably copied for some other purpose (e.g. the Gresham Autograph) are found in the composer's own writing, so the number of other manuscripts in which his theatre works are found is quite surprising. Complete copies of dramatick operas and other substantial stage works survive in what would appear to be library copies, though some, such as *Brutus of Alba*, are lost.

Appendix III

Register of Documents including transcriptions

1 – CHAPEL ROYAL

Chapel Royal Payments
Ashbee, i. 183, 185-186, 205-206.

LC to TC. Warrant to pay £224. 8s. to Mr. Thomas Blagrave, for 16 gentlemen and an organist of his Majesty's Chapel Royal, for their riding charges and other expenses in their attendance upon his Majesty at Windsor for 44 days, from 14 August to 26 September, 1678, at 6s. a day to each of them:

Mr. John Harding	Mr. Henry Frost
Mr. Stephen Crespion	Mr. James Cobb
Mr. Thomas Purcell	Mr. Alph: Marsh sen
Mr. James Hart	Mr. Richard Hart
Mr. Tho: Blagrave	Mr. Alph: Marsh jun
Mr. Will: Hopwood	Mr. Tho: Heywood
Mr. Edw: Braddock	Mr. Tho: Richardson
Mr. Will: Turner	Mr. Henry Smyth

Dr. John Blow, organist

Also the following children of the Chapel, for the like, at 3s. a day, amounting to £52. 16s.:

Gilbert Cunisbe	John Thatcher
Rich: Carrington	Hugh Bradock
Fran: Piggett	Vaughan Richardson
Will: Goodgroome	Daniel Purcell

And to Dr. John Blow, master of the children of the Chapel, for the same at 6s. a day: £13. 4s.

LC to TC. Warrant to pay £432 to Thomas Blagrave for the following 17 gentlemen of the Chapel Royal and an organist, for their attendance on his Majesty at Windsor from 30 June to 17 September 1679

Henry Smith	Thomas Heywood
Thomas Blagrave	William Hopwood
John Abell	George Bettenham
Edward Braddock	Henry Frost
Stephen Crespion	John Gostling
William Turner	Nathaniel Watkins
Thomas Purcell	James Cobb
James Hart	Thomas Richardson
Dr. John Blow, organist	Richard Hart

[Also]	Thomas Haynes, sergeant of the Vestry:	£24
	George Whitaker, yeoman of the Vestry:	£24
	Marmaduke Alford, yeoman of the Vestry:	£24
	George Oldner, groom of the Vestry:	£12

Dr. John Blow, master of the children: £24

[Children of the Chapel]: £120

Rich: Cherrington	Fran: Piggott
Wm. Goodgroome	Vaughan Richardson
Edw. Buttler	Daniel Purcell
John Thatcher	Hugh Bradock

LC to TC. Warrant to pay £680. 8s. to Thomas Blagrave, for himself and 17 other men of the Chapel Royal, for their attendance on his Majesty at Windsor for 126 days, from 22 April to 23 June, and 8 July to 10 September 1682, at 6s. a day to each of them:

Henry Smyth	George Yardley	Wm. Powell
Thomas Blagrave	Thomas Richardson	John Sharole
Edward Bradock	Wm. Heywood	Thomas Heywood
James Cobb	Wm. Turner	John Abell
Nathaniel Watkins	Richard Hart	Morgan Harris
Blase White	Stephen Crespion	Dr. John Blow Organist

[Also]

Thomas Haynes	Sergeant of the Vestry:	£37. 16.
M. Alford	Yeoman of the Vestry:	£37. 16s.
Morrice Mercer	Yeoman of the Vestry:	£37. 16s.
George Oldner	Groom of the Vestry:	£18. 18s.
Dr. John Blow	Master of the children of the Chapel:	£37. 16s.

[Children]:

Francis: Piggott	Wm. Norrice
John Thatcher	Vaughan Richardson
Hugh Bradock	Will: Smith
Daniell Purcell	Charles Husbands
[each £18. 18s.]	[in all £963. 18s.]

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2 – MAGDALEN COLLEGE, OXFORD

Magdalen College Day Books

Table 15. Magdalen College DBJ/7, February 1691-February 1692

fol.	Year	Date	Ref.	Amount	Signature
2	1691	[c.Feb 16]	Solut Mr° Purcell organistæ p ter 1°.	10 00 00	no
6	1691	Apr 22	Solut Organistæ et choristis p Dividentiâ Perrot	00 06 08	no
7	1691	May 11	Solut Mr° Purcell Organistæ p Ter 2°	10 00 00	Dan: Purcell
15	1691	Aug 17	Harris Emendati organa	100 00 00	no

26v	1691	Dec 29	Ret. a Mro Purcell p Battellis	21 11 00	no
26v	1691	Dec 29	Ad Eodem p Cam: Com:	00 12 00	no
27	1691	Dec 29	Solut Mro Purcill organistæ p Ter. 3o et 4o	20 00 00	Dan: Purcell
27	1691	Dec 29	Eidem p Ter. primo 1692	10 00 00	Dan: Purcell

Table 16. Magdalen College DBJ/8, February 1694-February 1695

fol.	Year	Date	Ref.	Amount	Signature
1	1694	Feb 19	Mro Purcell Organ: pro Ter: 1mo	10 00 00	No
5	1694	Apr 28	Solut organistæ et Choristis p divident Perrot	00 06 08	no
8	1694	May 11	Sol: Mro Purcell organ: duo libræ super compl.	02 00 00	Dan: Purcell
8	1694	May 18	Sol: Mro Purcell super comp: una libra	01 00 00	[removed]
9	1694	Jun 6	Solut Mro Purcell duæ libræ sup comp	02 00 00	Dan: Purcell
10	1694	Jun 21	paid then to John Cooke the sum of five pounds by ye order of Mr Dan: Purcell & uppon his account	05 00 00	no
34	1695	Feb 14	paid then to Mr Purcell ten pounds for the first Quarter of the year 1695	10 00 00	Dan: Purcell

Table 17. Magdalen College DBJ/9, February 1695-February 1696

fol.	Year	Date	Ref.	Amount	Signature
1	[n.d.]		pro. Bat. Mri Purcill et cam~ com~	02 14 03	no
2	[n.d.]		Mro Purcill term~: 1o	10 00 00	no
5v	[n.d.]		Rec de Mro Purcill pro Battell: transmiss:	02 14 06	no
6	1695	Mar 25	Mro Purcill Organista prp stipendio ter: 2o	10 00 00	Dan: Purcell
16	1695	Apr 24	Informatori Chorisaru~ et choristis die Lunæ ante festu~ Sti Marci	00 06 08	no
20	1695	Sept 14	Mro Harris noficienti organu~ in pleno	02 00 00	Dan: Purcell
34	1695	Nov 14	Mro Purcill in parti pro Stipendiator~ 3o	05 00 00	Dan: Purcell
34	1696	c.Feb 7	[payments to choristers]		

Table 18. Magdalen College DBJ/11, February 1696-February 1697

Pg.	Year	Date	Ref.	Amount	Signature
3	[n.d.]		pro Batt. Mri Purcill Organ: 00 [?]	05 11 04	no
12	1696	Apr 25	Choristis ['^et Organistis' added later] pro ___ Perrot	00 06 08	no
18	[n.d.]		Mr Purcill in parti pro stipendio term:~ 1o 1696. Per Mro [?] Wickham	07 00 00	no
19	[1696]	[Jun]	Rec: de Mro Purcill pro Batellis An:~. 1695 transmiss	05 11 06	no
19	[1696]	[Jun]	Rec. ad. eod. pro Battellis An. 1696	04 17 06	no
20	[1696]	[Jun]	Mro Purcill in pleno pro stipendio term:~ 1o et 2o An:~ 1696	13 00 00	no
24	[1696]	[Jul]	Organistæ Quinqe libræ et decem ____	05 10 00	no

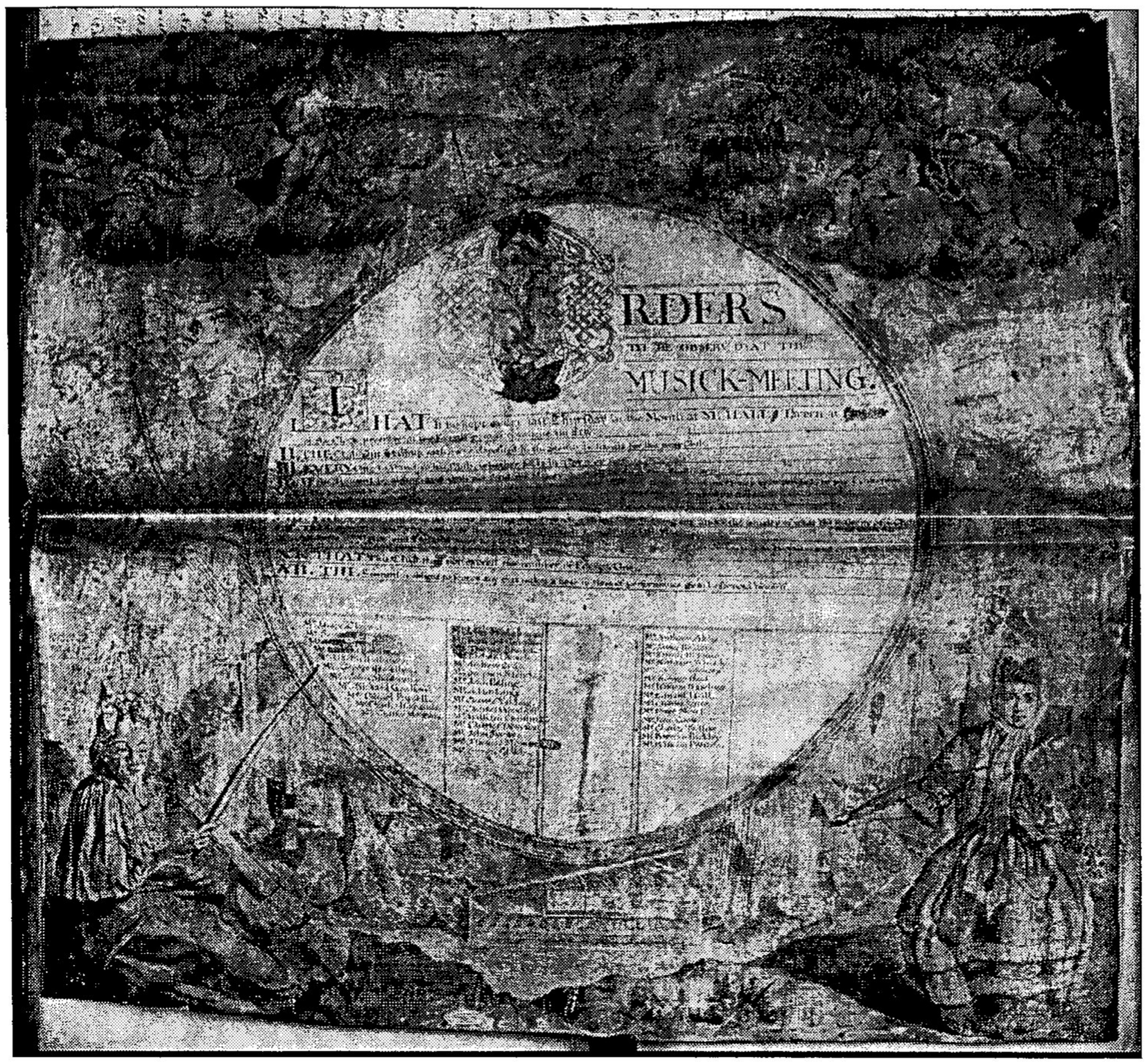
Magdalen College Libri Computi

Table 19. Magdalen College Libri Computi, 1689-February 1696

Year	Ref.	Amount
1689	Mro Percell Organistæ	36 13 04
1691	Mro Purcell Organistæ	40 00 00
1692	Mro Purcell Organistæ	40 00 00
1693	Mro Purcell Organistæ	40 00 00
1694	Mro Purcell Organistæ	40 00 00
1965	Mro Purcell Organistæ	40 00 00
1696	Mro Heicht Organist ['et Pursell' added later]	40 00 00

Oxford Music Club
Ob MS Top.Oxon a.76.

Fig. 28. 'Orders to be observ'd at the Musick-Meeting'



ORDERS

TO BE OBSERV'D AT THE

MUSICK-MEETING.

I. THAT It be kept every last Thursday in the Month at Mr. HALL's Tavern at five of the Clock precisely in the Evening, and continute till Ten.

II. THE Club One Shilling each, to be deposited in the Steward's hands for the next Club.

III. EVERY One to stand to his Club, whether he in is Town or not.

IV. IF the Steward be absent, and doth not send the Money; he shall be fin'd Five Shillings.

V. THE Steward is to call for every thing himself; and if he does not give notice when the Money is expended, to pay ye Overplus himself.

VI. THE Stewards to serve in Order, as they are entered of the Club.

VII. WHOEVER does not come before Seven a Clock is to forfeit Six Pence, besides his Club.

VIII. THE Steward shall have the liberty to bring three Friends, & nobody else to bring any under the penalty of what the majority of ye Club shall think fit.

IX. THE Steward must give notice to the next who succeeds him of the last Forfeits.

X. ALL the Overplus and Forfeits must be given by the Steward that is going out of his Office, to Mr. HALL, and once a Quarter to be Examin'd and Spent, as the Company shall sgree.

XI. THAT This Club shall not exceed the number of Forty-One.

XII. THE Steward is obliged to sconce any that makes a noise in time of performance, or to be sconced himself.

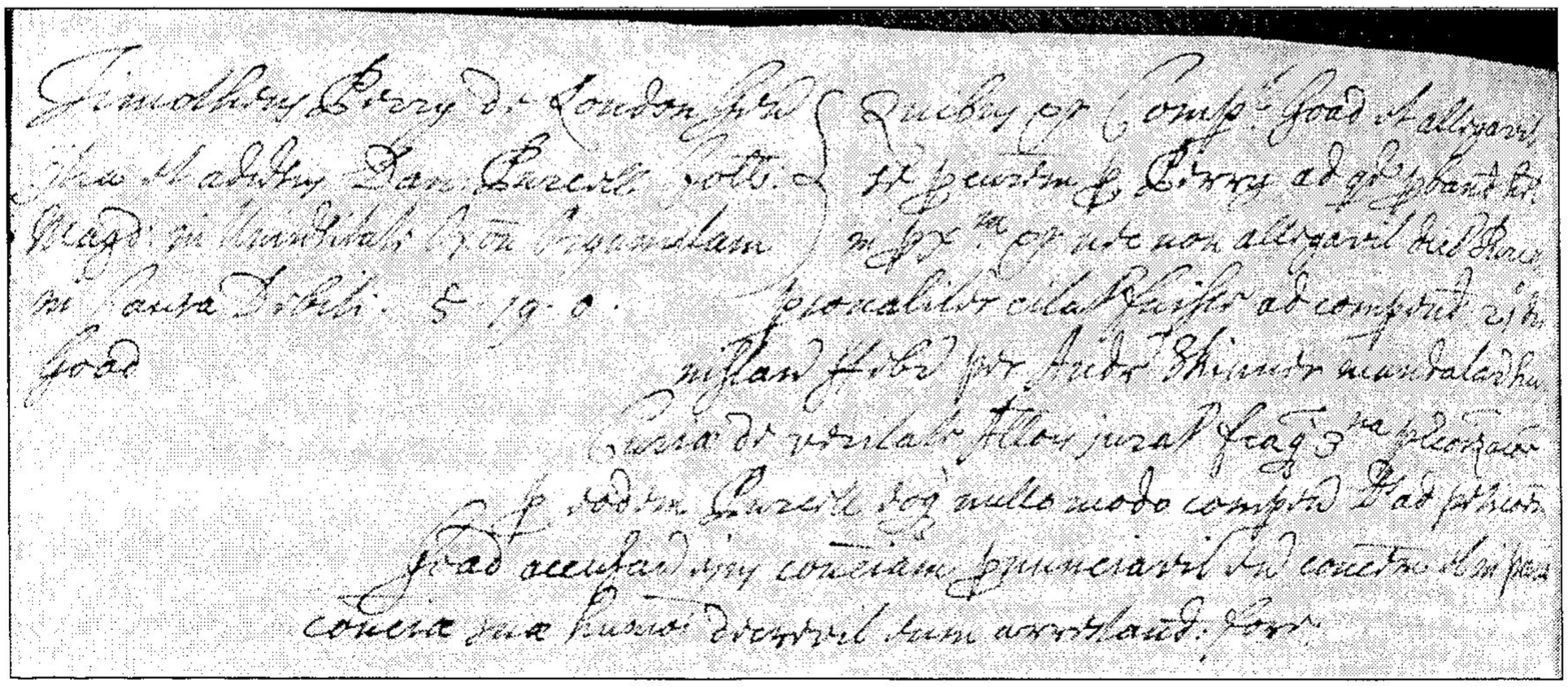
Mr. James Clayton
Mr. Sampson Estwicke
Mr. Henry Izod
Mr. Richard Coleire
Mr. William Husbands
Mr. George Llewellyn
Mr. John Shadwell
Mr. Richard Goodson
Mr. Daniel Purcell
Mr. Charles Husbands
Mr. Charles Morgan

Mr. John Haslewood
Mr. Bernard Gardiner
Mr. Thomas Brown
Mr. Richard Roach
Mr. Andrew Crisp
Mr. Stephen Nichols
Mr. John Pelling
Mr. Adam Lugg
Mr. Charles Yalding
Mr. Charles Woodroffe
Mr. William Christmas
Mr. Charles Dowson
Mr. John Swift
Mr. Thomas Mompesson
Mr. Simon Child

Mr. Anthony Alsop
Mr. James Bridges
Mr. Francis Hickman
Mr. Nathaniel Wheatly
Mr. Sibthorp
Mr. Scroggs Goad
Mr. William Rawlings
Mr. Edward Hutt
Mr. Charles Jones
Mr. Peter Mews
Mr. John Cook
Mr. Charles Tadlow
Mr. Brewin Bickley
Mr. William Preston

Oxford University Chancellor's Court
Chancellor's Court Act Book, Hyp/A/52, f.4.

Fig. 29. Chancellor's Court Act Book, February 1695



[Under 22 February 1695]

Timotheus Perry de London Gen[erosus]
contra et adversus Dan[ielem]: Purcell Coll[egii]:
Magd[alenensis]: in Universitate Oxon[iensis] Organistam
in Causa Debiti. 5. 19. 0
Goad

Quibus p[e]r Comp[arentem] Goad et allegavit
se procuratorem p[ro] Perry ad q[uo]d p[ro]band[um] h[abitu]m
in[troductis] p[ro]x[imu]m p[e]r inde non allegavit dict[um] Purcell
personaliter citat[um] fuisse ad comperiend[um] 21° die
instant~ Febr~ per Andr[eam] Skinner mandatar[ium] huius
Curiae de veritate All[egation]is jurat~ fa[cta]q[ue] 3ª preconiza[tion]e
p[ro] eodem Purcell eoq[ue] nullo modo comp[ertu]m D[ominu]s ad petitionem
Goad accusan[tis] eius con[sci]e[nt]iam pronunciavit eum cons[ciente]m et in poenam
con[scient]iae suae huiusmodi decrevit eum arrestand[um] fore.

Timothy Perry of London, Gentleman
against and opposing Daniel Purcell, Organist of
Magdalen College in the University of Oxford,
in a case of debt, the sum being £5 19 0.
Goad

Whereas this matter was raised by Comparentem Goad, and he claimed that he was acting as proctor for Perry in respect of what was to be proved, and whereas he did not claim that the said Purcell had been summoned in person for hearing concerning the truth of the sworn allegation on the 21st day of this month of February by Andrew Skinner, agent of this court, and after the third proclamation had been made for the same Purcell, and whereas for that reason in no way was the matter heard, in answer to the petition of Goad who claimed that Purcell was aware of the hearing, the Lord pronounced that he was aware and as penalty for such awareness he decreed that he was to be arrested.

[Under 1 March 1695]

Timo: Perry contra Dan: Purcell
Goad

Timothy Perry against Daniel Purcell
Goad

Warrantum contra dictum Purcell
Quibus per

Warrant against said Purcell
Whereas

Anthony a Wood
Ob Wood D 19 (4), f.106.

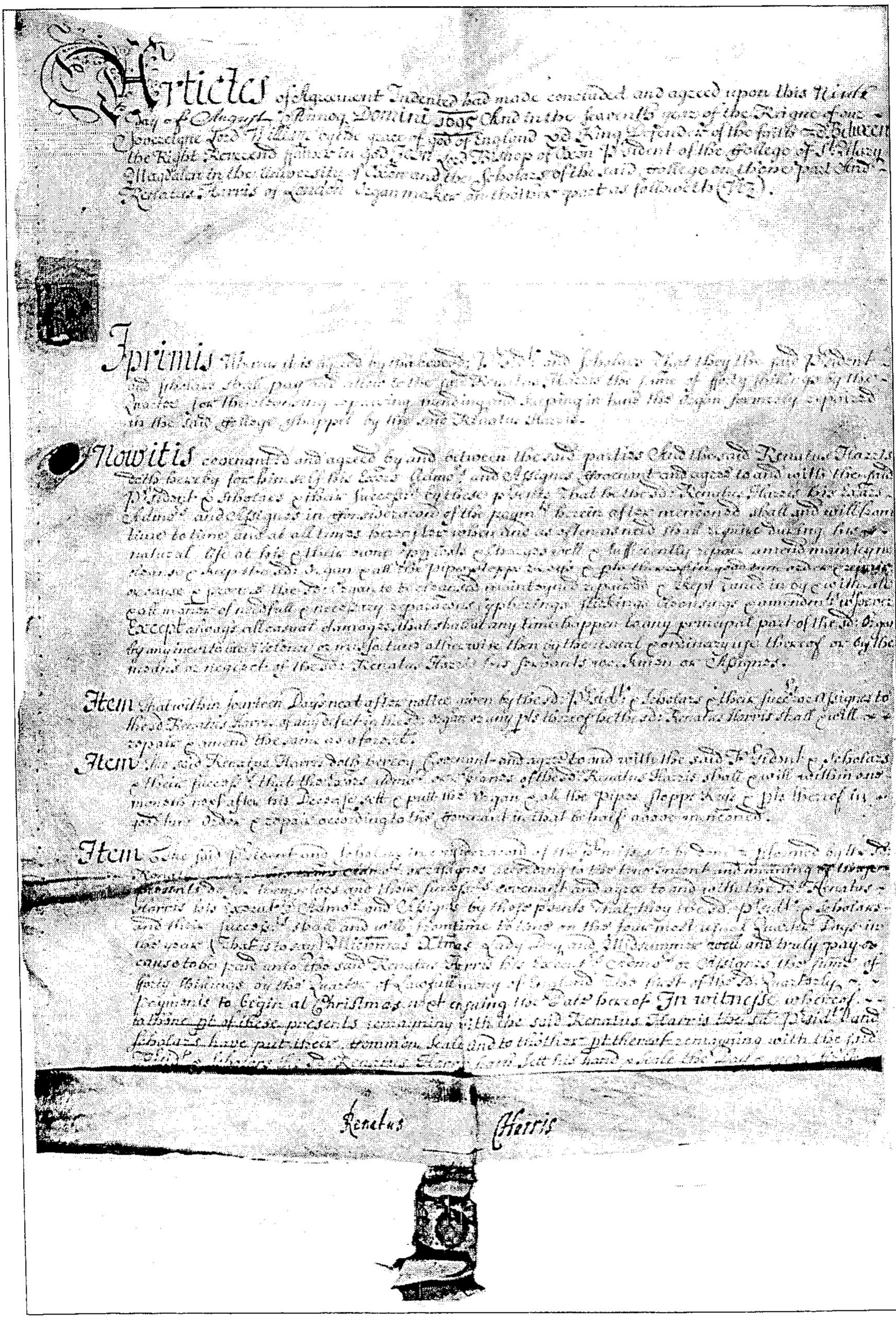
Purcell Daniel Organist of Magd. Coll. in Oxon Son of [later corrected to] brother to Hen. Purcell.

Thomas Ford
Ob MS Mus.e.17, f.40.

Purcel (Daniel) Bro: to Hen. Orgt of Magd Col Ox whence he movd to Lond.

Magdalen College Organ contract
Omc CSD/36/18/24.

Fig. 30. Magdalen College Organ Contract, August 1695



Articles of Agreement Indented had made concluded and agreed upon this Ninth Day of August in the Yeare of our Lord Christ 1695 And in the fourteenth yeare of the Reigne of our Soveraigne Lord William by the grace of God of England &c King & Defender of the faith &c Between the Right Reverend Father in God Henry Lord Bishop of Oxon President of the College of St Mary Magdalen in the University of Oxon and the Scholars of the said College on the one part And Renatus Harris of London Organ maker &c on the other part as followeth (viz).

Imprimis It is covenanted by and between the said President & Scholars That they the said President Scholars shall pay or cause to be paid unto the said Renatus Harris the Sume of fifty pounds of lawfull money of England for the true and due making mending and keeping in tune the Organ formerly erected in the said College Chappell by the said Renatus Harris.

Itt is covenanted and agreed by and between the said parties That the said Renatus Harris doth for himself his Exors Admrs and Assigns covenant and agree to and with the said President & Scholars & their Successors by these presents That he the said Renatus Harris his Exors Admrs and Assigns in consideration of the payments herein after mentioned shall and will from time to time and at all times hereafter when and as often as need shall require during the naturall life of him the said Renatus Harris well & sufficiently repair amend maintain & keep the said Organ & all the pipes stopps & other the appurtenances thereunto belonging or appertaining And shall & will from time to time & at all times hereafter during the said terme of life of him the said Renatus Harris find & provide all manner of materialls & necessary implements whatsoever for the same Except casualties by fire & other casualties not occasioned by the wilfull neglect or default of him the said Renatus Harris his Servants workmen or Assignes.

Item That within fourteen Dayes next after notice given by the said President & Scholars & their Successors or Assignes to the said Renatus Harris of any defect in the said Organ or any pte thereof the said Renatus Harris shall & will repair & amend the same as aforesaid.

Item The said Renatus Harris doth hereby Covenant and agree to and with the said President & Scholars & their Successors & that the said Renatus Harris shall & will within one moneth next after the Decease &c repair the Organ & all the pipes stopps Keys & pts thereof in good tune Order & repair according to this Covenant in that behalf above mencioned.

Item The said President and Scholars in consideration of the premisses to be done performed by the said Renatus Harris his Exors Admrs and Assigns according to the true intent and meaning of these presents do for themselves and their Successors covenant and agree to and with the said Renatus Harris his Exors Admrs and Assigns by these presents That they the said President & Scholars and their Successors shall and will from time to time and at all times yearely and every yeare during the naturall life of him the said Renatus Harris well & truly pay or cause to be paid unto the said Renatus Harris his Exors Admrs or Assignes the Sume of fifty pounds of lawfull money of England The first of the said Quarterly payments to begin at Christmas next ensuing the Date hereof In witnesse whereof to one part of these presents remaining with the said Renatus Harris the said President and Scholars have put their Common Seale and to the other part thereof remaining with the said President & Scholars the said Renatus Harris hath set his hand & seale the Day & yeare first above written.

Renatus Harris

Articles of Agreement Indented had made concluded and agreed upon this Ninth day of August Annoq Domini 1695 And in the seaventh year of the Reigne of our Sovereigne Lord William by the grace of god of England &c King Defender of the faith zd. Between the Right Reverend father in god John Lord Bishop of Oxon~ President of the College of St. Mary Magdalen in the University of Oxon~ and the Scholars of the said College on th'one part And Renatus Harris of London Organmaker on th'other past as followeth (viz).

Iprimis Whereas it is agreed by th'above sd: Presidt: and Scholars That they the said President and Scholars shall pay and allow to the said Renatus Harris the sume~ of forty shillings by the Quarter for the cleansing repairing mending and keeping in tune the Organ formerly repaired in the said College Chappel by the said Renatus Harris.

Now it is covenanted and agreed by and between the said parties And the said Renatus Harris doth hereby for himself his Exors Admols: and Assignes Covenant and agree to and with the said President & Scholars & their successrs: by these presents That the sd: Renatus Harris his Exors Admols: and Assignes in Consideracon of the paymts: herein after menconed shall and will from time to time and at all times hereafter when and as often as need shall require during his natural life at his & their owne pp costs & charges well & sufficiently repair and amend mainteyne cleanse & keep the sd: Organ & all the pipes stopps Key's & pts thereof in good tune oder & repair or cause & procure the sd: Organ to be cleansed mainteyned repaired & kept Tuned in by & with all & all manor of needfull & necessary reparacons cypherings stickings cleansings & amendts: w'soever except always's all casual damages that shall at any time happen to any principal part of the sd: Organ by any inevitable violence or misfortune otherwise then by the usual & ordinary use thereof or by the mean's or neglect of the sd: Renatus Harris his servants workmen or Assignes.

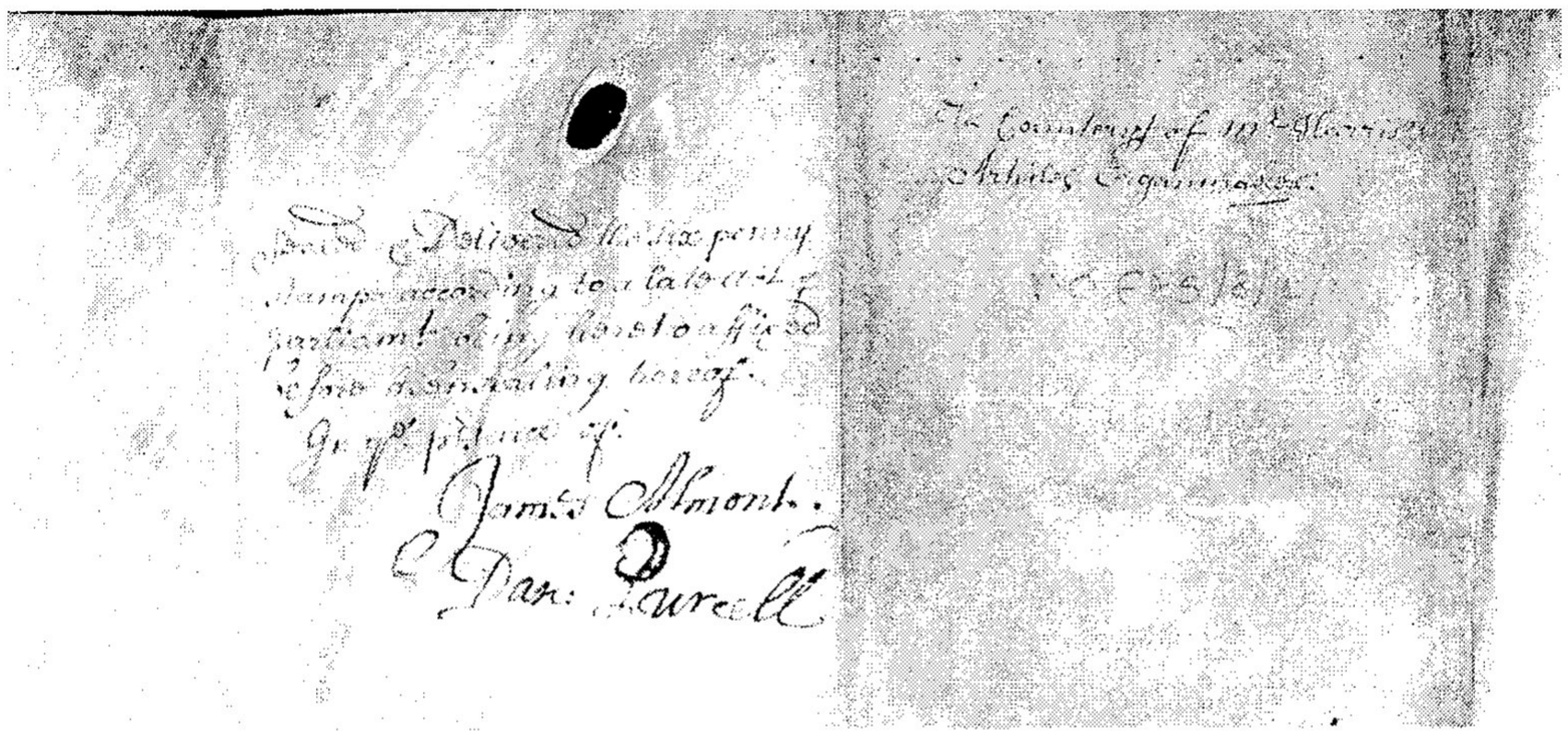
Item That within fourteen Day's next after notice given by the sd: Presidt: & Scholars & their succrs: or Assignes to the sd: Renatus Harris of any defect in the sd: Organ or any pts thereof he the sd: Renatus Harris shall & will repair & amend the same as aforesd.

Item The said Renatus Harris doth hereby Covenant and agree to and with the said President & Scholars & their successrs: that the Exors Admors: or Assignes of the sd: Renatus Harris shall & will within one month next after his Decease sett & putt the Organ & all the pipes stopps Key's & pts thereof in good tune order & repair according to the Covenant in that behalf above menconed.

Item The said Presient and Scholars in consideracon of the premisses to be done z. pformed by the sd: Renatus Harris his Exors Admors: or Assignes according to the true intent and meaning of these presents do so themselves and their successrs: covenant and agree to and with the sd: Renatus Harris his Executrs: Admors: and Assignes by these presents That they the sd: Presidt: & Scholars and their successrs: shall and will from time to time one the four most usual Quarter Days in the year (that is to say) Michmas Xtmas Lady Day and Midsummer well and truly pay or cause to be laid unto the said Renatus Harris his Executrs: Admors: or Assignes the sum of forty shilling by the Quarter of Lawful mony of England The first of the sd: Quarterly payments to begin at Christmas next ensuing the Date hereof In witnesse whereof to th'one pt of these presents remayning with the said Renatus Harris the sd: Presidt and Scholars have put their Common Seale and to th'other pt thereof remayning with the said Presidt & Scholars the sd: Renatus Harris hath sett his hand & seale the Day & year first

Renatus Harris

Fig. 31. Magdalen College Organ Contract, August 1695 (reverse)



The Countersgt of Mr. Harris's Articles Organmaker.

Sealed & Delivered the six penny stamps according to a late act of Parliamt. being hereto affixed before th'ensealing hereof.

In ye presence of.
James Almont.
Dan: Purcell

3 – LONDON

Introductions to published play texts

Phaeton
Charles Gildon, *Phaeton* (London, 1698), xvi-xvii.

But the *Music* was so admirable, that the best Judges tell me (for I dare not give it as my own bare Sentiment) that there is the true *Purcellian Air* through the whole: that tho' it be so very different in the several Acts, it is every where Excellent; and that Mr. *Daniel Purcells* Composition in this Play is a certain Proof, that as long as he lives Mr. *Henry Purcel* will never die; or our *English* harmony give place to any of our Neighbours.

Island Princess
Peter Motteux, *The Island Princess, or The Generous Portuguese* (London, 1699), 'To the Reader', [v].

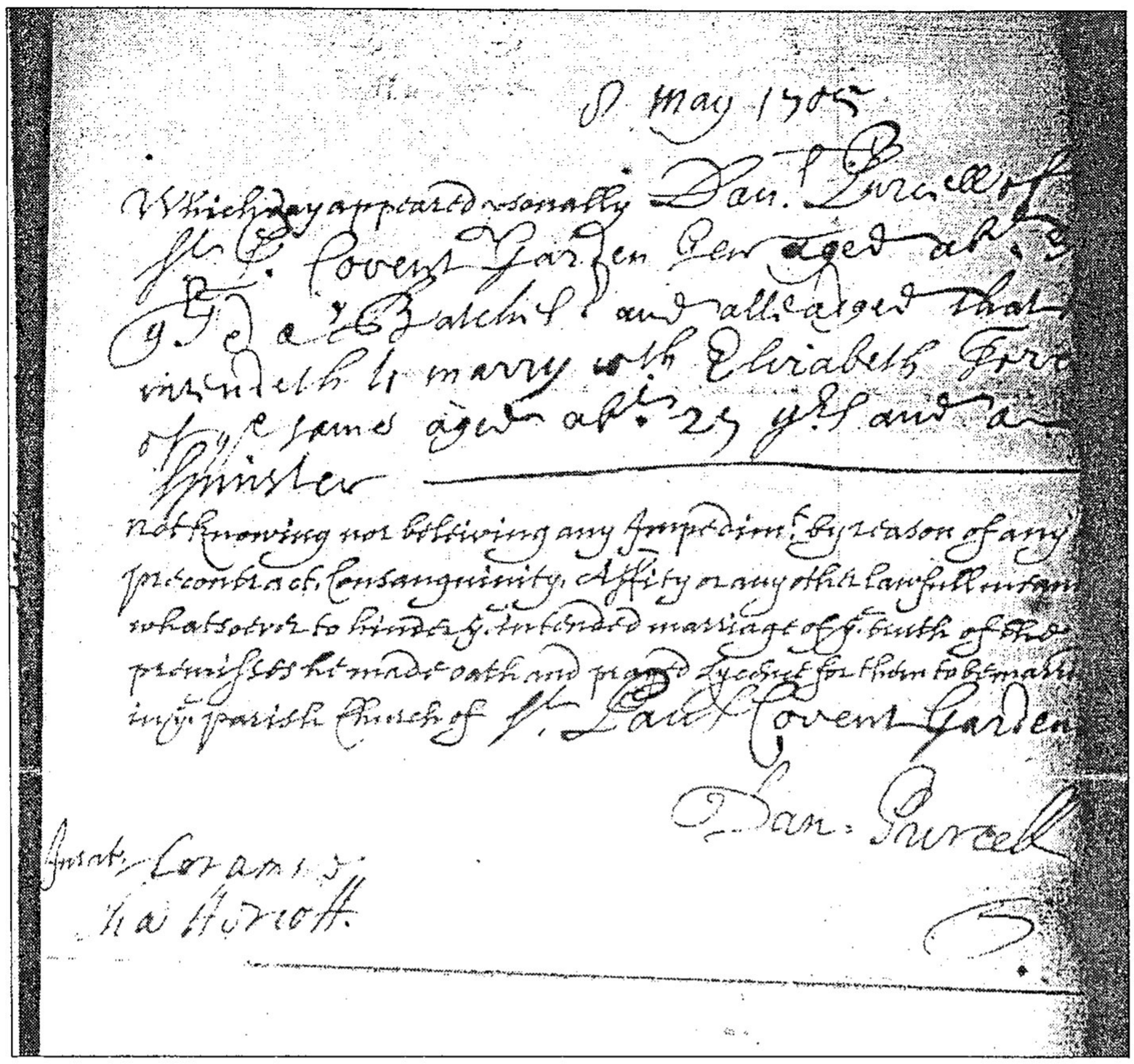
What Mr. Daniel Purcel has set is so fine, that as he seems inspir'd with his Brother's wonderful Genius, it cannot but be equally admir'd.

Grove
John Oldmixon, *The Grove, or, Love's Paradise* (London, 1700), preface.

As to what relates to the composition, no man ever consulted the meaning of Words more than Mr Purcel has done, and he has succeeded too well with the Publick, to want the applause of his Author.

Vicar-General's Marriage Licence (Allegation)

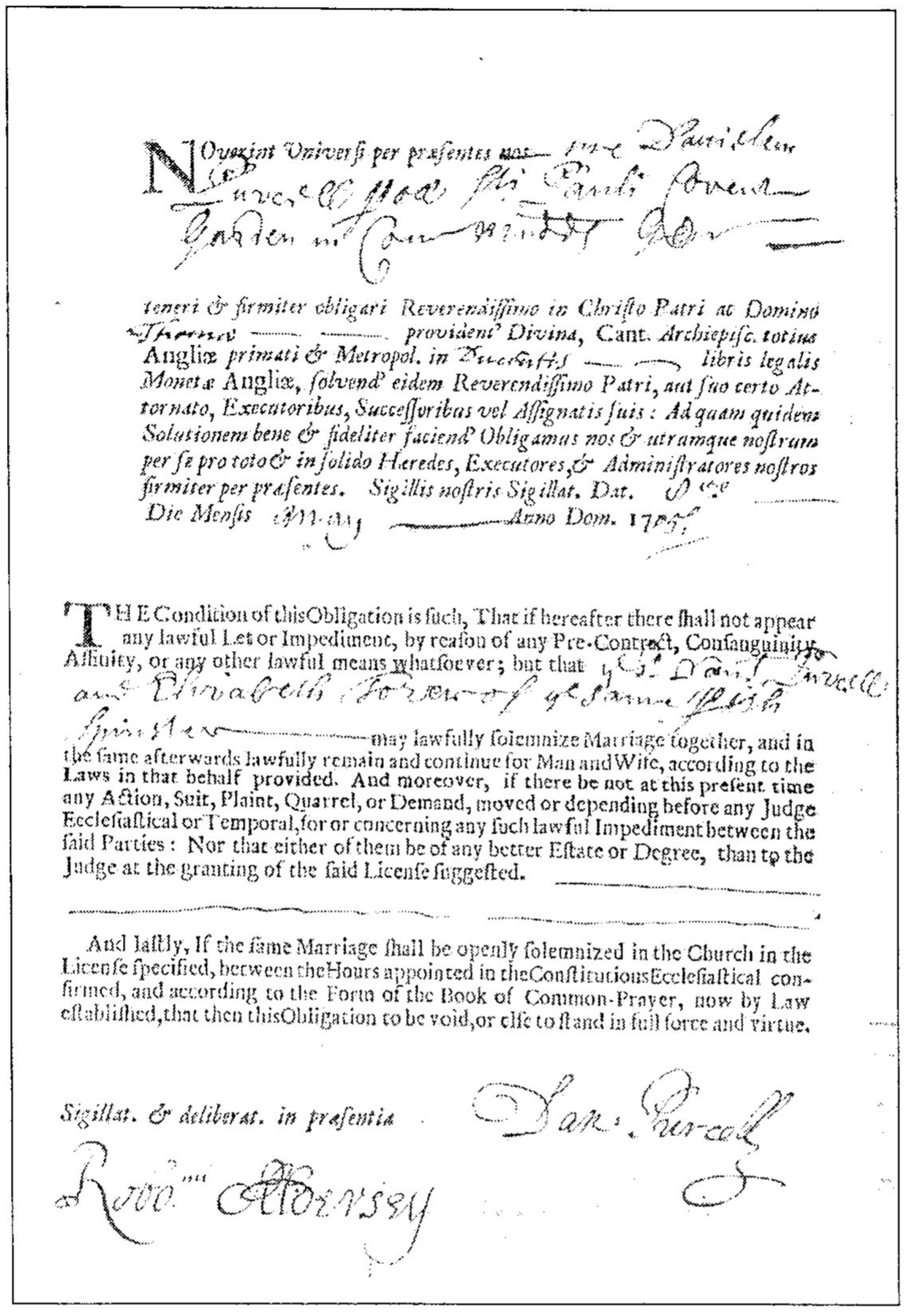
Fig. 32. Vicar-General's Marriage Licence (Allegation)



8 May 1705
Which day appeared personally Danl. Purcell of
St P. Covent Garden Gent aged abt. 35
yrs a Batchelor and alleadged that
he intended to marry w[i]th Elizabeth Tozer
of ye same aged abt. 25 yrs. and a
spinster
not knowing nor beleiving any Impedimt. by reason of any
pre contract, consanguinity, Affi[ni]ty or any other lawfull means
whatsoever to hinder ye intended marriage of ye truth of which
promises he made oath and pray'd Lycence for them to be married
in ye Parish Church of St. Paul Covent Garden.

Vicar-General's Marriage Licence (Bond)

Fig. 33. Vicar-General's Marriage Licence (Bond)



Noverint Universi per præsentes nos [illegible] Daniel[illegible]
[illegible] de Hoo [illegible] Parish [illegible]
[illegible] in [illegible]

teneri & firmiter obligari Reverendissimo in Christo Patri ac Domino [illegible] providentiâ Divina, Cant. Archiepisc. totius Angliæ primati & Metropol. in [illegible] libris legalis Monetæ Angliæ, solvendâ eidem Reverendissimo Patri, aut suo certo Attornato, Executoribus, Successoribus vel Assignatis suis: Ad quam quidem Solutionem bene & fideliter faciend' Obligamus nos & utramque nostrum per se pro toto & in solido Heredes, Executores, & Administratores nostros firmiter per præsentes. Sigillis nostris Sigillat. Dat. [illegible]
Die Mensis [illegible] Anno Dom. 1705.

THE Condition of this Obligation is such, That if hereafter there shall not appear any lawful Let or Impediment, by reason of any Pre-Contract, Consanguinity, Affinity, or any other lawful means whatsoever; but that [illegible] may lawfully solemnize Marriage together, and in the same afterwards lawfully remain and continue for Man and Wife, according to the Laws in that behalf provided. And moreover, if there be not at this present time any Action, Suit, Plaint, Quarrel, or Demand, moved or depending before any Judge Ecclesiastical or Temporal, for or concerning any such lawful Impediment between the said Parties: Nor that either of them be of any better Estate or Degree, than to the Judge at the granting of the said License suggested.

And lastly, If the same Marriage shall be openly solemnized in the Church in the License specified, between the Hours appointed in the Constitutions Ecclesiastical confirmed, and according to the Form of the Book of Common-Prayer, now by Law established, that then this Obligation to be void, or else to stand in full force and virtue.

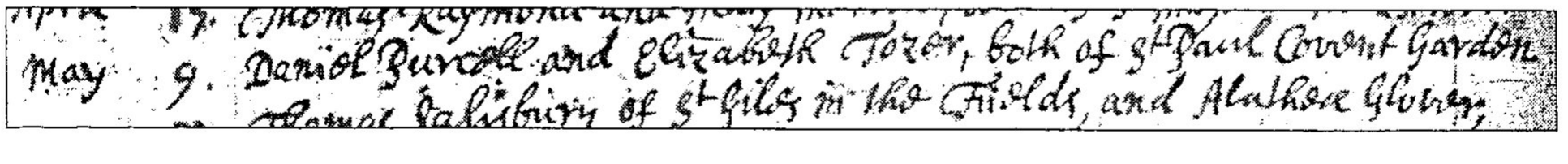
Sigillat. & deliberat. in præsentia [illegible]

[illegible]

Marriage record

Records of St Ann, Blackfriars, 9 May 1705.

Fig. 34. Marriage Record of St Ann, Blackfriars



May 9. Daniel Purcell and Elizabeth Tozer, both of St Paul Covent Garden
[illegible] of St Giles in the Fields, and Alathea Glover,

Orlando Furioso

Diverting Post, 28 October 1704.

The Play-House in the Hay-Market (the Architect being John Vanbrugh Esq;) built by the Subscription Money of most of our Nobility, is almost finish'd, in the mean time two Opera's translated from the

Italian by good Hands, are setting to Musick, one by Mr. Daniel Purcel, which is called *Orlando Furioso*, and the other by Mr. Clayton, both Opera's are to be performed by the best Artists eminent both for Vocal and Instrumental Musick at the Opening of the House.

Muses Mercury, January 1707, 11.
The Opera of *Orlando Furioso*, the hint of which was taken from that of *Quinault*, famous for his Tallent in this Sort of Writing, is Set by Mr. *Daniel Purcell.* The Gentleman's Character who writ it, and who has distinguish'd himself as much by his Judgment in the Arts of *Music* and *Poetry*, as by his Bounty to the *Professors*, can leave no room to doubt but the Fineness of the Sentiments, and the Harmony of the Numbers, have given Mr. *Purcell* an Opportunity to do Honour to the Memory of his Brother.

Orpheus and Euridice
Muses Mercury (January 1707), 11.

There is a Masque of Mr Dennis's on the Story of Orpheus and Euridicé, wherein ... [the reader] will see that our English Poets have not been behind hand with our English Hero's, in reducing the French Wit to as low a state as their Arms. We shall Print the Masque in our next Mercury; and the World will then perceive that the Author has done his Part, as well as the Composer, whose Musick, on this occasion, is very much commended.

Muses Mercury (February 1707), 35.
In our former Mercury we have spoken of this Masque, and the World will now see, that whatever Beauties there are in the Composition of the Musick, Mr. Dennis has not a little contributed to it, by the Opportunities he gave the composer to shew his Art. The whole is very well set by Mr. Daniel Purcell.

St Dunstan-in-the-East Parish Records
Lgc MS 7882/3
(All listed under 'Casuall Payments')

Table 20. St Dunstan-in-the-East Churchwardens' Accounts, 1684-1705

Year	Pg.	Date	Text	Amount
1698/9	529	12 Jun 1698	To an anthem by Mr Purcell	0-10-0
	533	3 Nov 1698	Pd mr Purcell for halfe a years Sallary	10-0-0
	536	6 Feb 1699	Paid mr Purcell a Quarters Sallary	5-0-0
1699/1700	572	[nd, end of seq]	To the Organist for a year due this present May	20-0-0
1700/1	601	15 Aug 1700	Paid Mr. Danl. Purcell for his quarters Sallary to ye 1st Instant	5-0-0
	601	16 Nov 1700	Pd Mr. Daniel Purcell his Sallary due ye first Novr.	5-0-0
	601	1 Feb 1701	Pd Mr. Purcell his Sallary to ye first Instant	5-0-0
	605	3 Apr 1701	Paid Mr Purcell Organist his Sallary to ye 1st May next [unidentified word]	5-0-0
1701/2	637	7 Oct 1701	Paid Mr Danl: Purcell organist ½ a years Sallary	10-0-0

	641	19 Feb 1702	Paid Mr Dan. Purcell a quarters Sallary	5-0-0
	645	24 Apr 1702	Paid to Mr. Danl: Purcell his quarters Sallary	5-0-0
1702/3	673	1 Aug 1702	To Mr. Danl. Purcell Organist for a Qs Sallary due 3d Instant	5-0-0
	675	9 Nov 1702	To so much pd Mr. Danl. Purcell ½ years Salary due 3. Feb: next	10-0-0
	677	26 Apr 1703	To so much pd. Mr. Danl Purcell organist qr due 3. May next	5-0-0
1703/4	704	3 Aug 1703	Pd Mr: Purcell Organist a Quarter Sallary due this day	5-0-0
	705	3 Nov 1703	Pd Mr: Purcell a Quarters Sallary due this day	5-0-0
	706	11 Feb 1704	Pd Mr: Purcell Organist a qs Sallary due ye 3d. Inst.	5-0-0
	707	8 May 1704	Pd Mr: Purcell qu Sallary due 3d. Instant	5-0-0
1704/5	284[1]	5 Aug 1704	To Mr. Daniel Purcell Organist a qu Sallary due 3d. Instant	5-0-0
	285	11 Nov 1704	To Mr: Danl: Purcell a qs Sallary due ye 3d. Instant	5-0-0
	287	27 Jan 1705	To Mr: Daniel Purcell Organist a qs Sallary due 3d Feb: next	5-0-0
	289	3 May 1705	To Mr: Purcell a qs Sallary due this day	5-0-0

Lgc MS 7882/4

Table 21. St Dunstan-in-the-East Churchwardens' Accounts, 1705/6-1722

Year	Pg.	Date	Text	Amount
1705/6	32	27 Apr 1706	By ditto pd Daniel Purcell ye Organist 3. quarters Salary due 3d. Feby: last at £5 p qr: the 4th. qr. not being due before audit day	15-0-0
1706/7	66	7 May 1706	By ditto pd Daniel Purcell Organist a Quarters Sallary due ye 3d. Instant	5-0-0
	67	15 Aug 1706	By ditto pd Mr: Purcell a Quarters Sallary due 3d. Inst.	5-0-0
	69	9 Nov 1706	By ditto pd Mr: Daniel Purcell a quarters Sallasy due 3d. Inst	5-0-0
	70	7 Mar 1707	By money pd Mr: Daniel Purcell a Quarters Sallary due ye 3d. of Feby. last	5-0-0
	71	20 May 1707	By ditto pd Mr: Daniel Purcell Organist a Quarters Sallary due ye 3d May Instant	5-0-0
1707/8	106	20 Aug 1707	By Do. pd. Mr. Daniell Purcell Organist a Quarters Sallery due the	5-0-0

[1] New pagination sequence.

			3d Ins.	
	108	15 Nov 1707	By Do. pd. Mr Daniel Purcell Organist one Quarter due. ye 3d Inst.	5-0-0
	110	4 Feb 1708	By do. pd. Mr. Daniel Purcel Organist a quarters Sallery dur 3 Int.	5-0-0
	112	20 Mar 1708	By Do. pd. coach hire to Mr Purcells in ffleet street	0-1-6
	112	7 May 1708	By Do. pd. Mr: Danll. Purcell Organist a Quarters Sallery due ye 3d Inst.	5-0-0
1708/9	159	28 May 1709	By Do. pd Mr Daniel Purcell Organist	20-0-0
1709/10	191	20 Jul 1709	By ditto paid Mr. Daniel Purcell organist a quarter's Sallary due 3d August	5-0-0
	192	17 Nov 1709	By Ditto paid Mr. Daniel Purcell his quarter's Sallary due 3d Instant	5-0-0
	194	2 Feb 1710	By Do. pd. Danl. Purcell a quarter's Sallary due 3d. Inst.	5-0-0
	195	10 May 1710	By Ditto paid Mr. Daniel Purcell organist a quart. Sallary due 3d Instant	5-0-0
1710/11	233	21 Sep 1710	By Do. paid Mr. Daniel Purcell organist his quarter's Sallary due the 3d of August last	5-0-0
	236	21 Feb 1711	By Ditto pd. Mr. Purcell a quarter's Sallary due the third Inst.	5-0-0
1711	251	10 Aug 1711	By do. pd Mr Danl. Purcell organist a Qr Sallary	5-0-0
	253	10 Nov 1711	By do pd Mr Danl: Purcell Organist a Qr Sallary due at Michmas last	5-0-0
1712 [part]	281	27 Feb 1712	By Do: paid Mr. Purcell Organisr ¼ Salary due 3d Instant	5-0-0
	283	7 May 1712	By Do. pd Danl Purcell for a Quas. Sallary due 3d Instant	5-0-0
1712/13	314	5 Aug 1712	By Do. pd Mr. Purcell a Qr: Sallary due 3d: Instant	5-0-0
	317	30 Nov 1712	By Do. pd Mr. Purcell a Qrs. Salary due ye 3d: Instant	5-0-0
	319	7 Feb 1713	By Do, pd Mr Purcell a Qr. Salary due 3d: Instant	5-0-0
	323	8 May 1713	By Do pd Mr. Pursell a Qr Salary due ye 3d May	5-0-0
1713/14	359	29 Apr 1714	By Doto Mr Purwell [sic] the Organist his Years Salary	20-0-0
1714/15	392	21 May 1715	By money paid Mr. Purcell the organist his years Salary, ending the 3d. instant	20-0-0
1715/16	425	7 May 1716	To Mr. Daniel Purcell organist a year's Salary, ending the 3d. instant	20-0-0
1716/17	455	[undated, at end of year]	To Mr Daniel Purcell Organist for a Years Salary sue the 3d. May 1717	20-0-0
1717/18	482	11 Nov 1717	To half a years Salary pd: Daniel Purcell organist due 3d instant	10-0-0

Six Sonatas
Six Sonata's or Solos, three for a violin, and three for the flute (London, 1698).

To the Hono.ble Francis Roberts Esqr
The regard you have been Pleas'd to show the memory of my Brother Henry Purcell (whose least perfection I shou'd esteem my Self happy to possess) and the favourable Countenance you have Upon all occasions afforded my weak Endeavours, embolden me to Present these trifles to you, the fruits of my Iuvenile Yeares, if they meet with your Approbation, I shall be most Happy for such a Patronage will fix a Value Upon them & me, which shall allwayes be Acknowledged with the Greatest respect by

Sr
Your most obliged humble Serv.t
Daniel Purcell

Six Cantatas
Six CANTATAS For a Voice, with a Through Bass two of which are accompanied with a VIOLIN; Compos'd (after the Italian Manner) by Mr. Daniel Purcell (London, 1713).

THE PREFACE.

THE Introducing *Italian Opera's* upon the *English* Stage, has so altered the Taste of this Nation, as to MUSICK, that scarce any thing, but what bears some Resemblance of the *Italian* Style and Manner, is received with Favour or heard with Patience.

It must be acknowledg'd that those *Opera's* have a great deal of *Beauty* and *Spirit :* That Part of their Compositions call'd *Recitative* (to such as have Judgment in Musick and understand their Language) is very affecting : Most of their *Airs* also are very Skilfully compos'd, and well adapted; But for want of understanding their Language, a great deal of their *Beauty* is undiscovered by US: We seem pleas'd, we know not why; the Performance leaves none, or at best, but very confus'd Impressions on our Minds, and our Satisfaction ceases, when the *Curtain* is faln: So the Most that we make of it is a transient *Amusement. Italy* is confess'd to be the proper *Soil* for a true Relish, as well as Improvement of such Representations, which (like other Things) by Transplanting, lose much of their Agreeableness and Delicacy, the End of *Vocal-Musick* (the affecting the Passions) being wholly lost to Us.

This is Evident from the Method our *English* Audience takes of giving Applause.; their Approbation is shown in the wrong Place, and generally runs highest upon the slightest Occasions : The Theatre shall ring with *Encore's* to such Stuff, as an *English* Master would blush to own himself the Author of; when their most Solemn and Pathetick Musick, and most Masterly Compositions shall not only pass by unregarded, but to a great part of the Audience, they shall seem tedious and tiresome. As well all the Beautiful Passages and Incidents of the *Drama,* as most of the affecting Touches and Elegancies of the *Musick* adapted to them, are undiscern'd, and like a Beautiful Object at too great a Distance from the Eye; no distinct, or truly pleasing *Idea's* can be formed from it.

This indeed is a Calamity to be lamented, but hard to be redress'd, unless the Composing Opera's in our *own* Language was promoted, which would very probably answer any Encouragement that should be given to such Undertakings.

But I cannot join in Opinion with those who think, that if our *English Operas* were exactly modell'd by the *Italians,* that is, if they were All Musick, that they would be better receiv'd on that Account. I remember the Reputa- tion of those in *my Brother's* Time (which were of a different Kind) to have subsisted longer than the *Italian Opera's* have generally done since, though the latter have been supported by the Excellent Performances of Seignior *Nicolini,* and other Celebrated *Italian* Artists, which was wanting in the former.

Were the same kind of Opera's to be again reviv'd and encouraged, there is no doubt but our Nation would produce Genius's suitable to such Undertakings, and we should then be capable of a true

Enjoyment of these Diversions, because we should understand them better, than as they are now obscured and darkned by a Language to which we are utterly Strangers.

I am pleas'd with the Remembrance of my Brother's good Successes this way; His Works speak too well for themselves, that they cannot receive any Advantage from any thing offer'd by me in their Behalf, and are themselves the best Answer that can be given to the Calumnies of some few who call themselves MASTERS, who will not allow that HE ever compos'd any thing that was tolerable, or had any *true Genius* for MUSICK: This is not only traducing his Memory, but calling in Question the Taste and Judgment of all those who had any Relish for, or Skill in MUSICK in His time; whose *Approbation* have been confirm'd by the Impartial Opinions of the best Judges in *Europe,* ever since.

As to the following *Peices,* tho' they are not of the *Dramatick* kind, yet they are intended as an *Essay* towards the Imitation of such Competitions, and 'tis hoped they will not fare the worse for speaking *English:* My End in it, was only to try an Experiment; and tho' I happen not to succeed, either to my own Wishes; or other People's Expectations in the Attempt, yet thus far I am convinc'd, that our Nation is capable of Improvement as well in This, as in all other Sciences; were it not for the Humour of promoting Novelties, and discouraging our own Country-men, by being too fond of every thing that's *Foreign,* tho'. in many Cases inferior to the Productions of *our own Country.*

If my Endeavours herein mail be candidly receiv'd, it may encourage abler Persons to improve upon the Method I have taken, and by that means we may hope to take some Pleasure in the Labours of *our own Country-men,* to whose Judgments these Compositions are humbly submitted, by

DAN: PVRCELL.

Preface to *Welcome, welcome glorious day* (H409)
Lcm MS 989

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 You Royall | Highness doubting nothing less that 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 faithful and | most Obedient Servant | Daniell Purcell.

Preface to *The Judgment of Paris* (H125)
THE JUDGMENT OF PARIS A PASTORAL Composed for the *MUSIC=PRIZE* by *Mr: D: Purcell* (London, 1701).

To Anthony Henly Esqr. of the Grange, in Hant=shire. | | Sr. The favourable opinion you had of this piece of Musick | has so far strengthen'd the approbation it met with from Gentlemen of | no less Candour, than knowledge in this science, that thereby I have ga= | thered assurance enough to lay it at your feet in this publick manner, | as some attonement for those other less perfect essays of this, Nature, That | I have presum'd to address to so generous a Lover of this art, so esteem'd by | the Antients that they thought their Heroes and Poetts unaccomplish'd | without a Perfection in it, which in this age is so far sunk that the nearer | a man approaches to the mastery, the farther he is generaly from | meeting with a due encouragement. | | There is a justness of Composition a true Harmony of parts; | The makeing the notes and air's expressive of the numbers and meaning of the | words, the pathetique or comanding Force that Stirs the Passions, which many | censurers regard no more, than some Masters in their composures, There is a | sort of Painting in musick, as well as Poetry, which if a Master misses he may | be fortunate with the unknowing, but never with such Judges as you Sr: whose | Skill is too great to

be imposed on by false Charms, or glaring defects or to | neglect, or over look any reall Beauty and perfection. | | This Sr: ought to awe me from Thrusting my Self on a Second | Tryal before a Judge so knowing, that he can want no true Information of | the Cause, and so Candid and impartial, that he will not lett his favour | byass his Judgment, but from you Sr:, being sure of an animadversion on | my real, not imaginary Errors, I hope so farr to improve by it, as to be able | hereafter to present the world with something more worthy your Patronage | and the desire Sr. | | Of your most humble servt. | Daniel Purcell

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Puns: Joe Miller

[John Mottley], *Joe Miller's Jests: or, the Wits Vade-mecum*, 14 (no. 49), 14 (no. 50), 15 (no. 51), 39 (no. 137).

Daniel Purcell, the famous Punster, and a Friend of his, having a Desire to drink a Glass of Wine together, upon the 30th of *January* [a fast day marking the martyrdom of Charles I], they went to the *Salutation Tavern* upon *Holburn-Hill*, and finding the Door shut, they knock'd at it, but it was not opened to 'em, only one of the Drawers look'd through a little Wicket, and asked what they would please to have, why, open your Door, said *Daniel*, and draw us a Pint of Wine, the Drawer said, his master would not allow of it that Day, it was a *Fast*; D—mn your Master cry'd he, for a precise Cockscomb, is he not contented to *fast* himself but he must make his Doors *fast* too.

The same Gentleman calling for some Pipes in a Tavern, complained they were too *short;* the Drawer said, they had no other, and those were but *just come in:* Ay, said *Daniel*, I see you have not bought them *very long*.

The same Gentleman as he had the Character of a great Punster, was desired one Night in Company, by a Gentleman, to make a *Pun extempore,* upon what Subject, said *Daniel,* the *King*, answered the other, the *King*, Sir, said he, is no *Subject.*

Dr. *Sewel*, and two or three Gentlemen, walking towards *Hampstead* on a Summer's Day, were met by the famous *Daniel Purcel*, who was very importunate with them to know upon what Account they were going there, the Doctor merrily answering him, to *make Hay*; Very well, reply'd the other, you'll be there at a very convenient Season, the Country wants *Rakes*.

Congreve/Steele

Benjamin Victor, *An Epistle To Sir Richard Steele, On his Play, call'd The Conscious Lovers* (London, 1722), 27-28.

Mr. *Purcell* and Mr. *Congreve* going into a Tavern, by chance met *D–s* [John Dennis, the playwright] who went in with 'em; after a Glass or two had pass'd, Mr. *Purcell*, having some private Business with Mr. *Congreve*, wanted *D–s* out of the Room, and not knowing a more certain Way than Punning, (for you are to understand, Sir, Mr. *D–s* is as much surpriz'd at a Pun as a Bailiff) he proceeded after the following Manner: He pull'd the Bell, and call'd two or three Times, but no One answering, he put his Hand under the Table, and looking full at *D–s*, he said, I think this table is like the Tavern; says *D–s,* (with all his usual prophane Phrase) God's Death, Sir, How is this Table like the Tavern? Why, says Mr. *Purcell*, because here's ne'er a Drawer in it. Says *D–s*, (starting up) God's Death, Sir, the Man will make such an execrable Pun as that in my Company, will pick my Pocket, so left the room.

Green Room Gossip
Gridiron Gabble [really Joseph Hazlewood], *Green Room Gossip*, 44.

When Mr. Rich was bringing on the stage one of his new pantomimes, as he was bustling between the side scenes, and giving his orders to prepare for the entertainment, during the play his wig took fire from one of the candles, which occasioned some confusion among the players, who ran off the stage to his assistance. The audience not knowing the occasion of such a sudden interruption, imagined some accident had happened to the house, and were rising in great disorder; when the witty Dan. Purcell, who saw from the orchestra the accident, stood up, and desired the people to be composed, assuring them *that Mr. Rich was only taken light-headed, with over eagerness, in preparing for their diversion; that all would be soon well again, and the actors return to their business.*

Land Tax Assessment 1716-1717
Records of the parish of St Andrew Holborn
Lgc MS 11316/56

[Scroop's Court]
Danll Pursell – 8 –

Punni-Epistle
Weekly Journal, 29 June 1717.

A Punni-Musical Epistle to Mr. Daniel P – :
Or, a Letter in his own Way.
..... Thus I
In Baralypton Blunderbuss ye.

Ox. and Camb. Miscel. p. 189
Cremona, 20 Nov. 1716

Honest Dan,

I have beaten time so often at the overture of your resting place, without playing upon you at sight, that I perceive the tenor of your life to be chiefly in taverns, where you will never leave drinking a treble quantity, till your hand quavers. If this be any slur to your reputation, and you think me a Jew to harp upon a harsh string, I shall use no flourish or rondeau of words, but tell you plainly, that it frets me to the guts, that you are so hard to be found when a man is solo in an evening. I know sometimes you take some fugues into the country air, and I wish it prove no more than an opera pretium to you; if it does, I must needs say you manage your purse ill. I design to watch your ritornellos to town, and will strive to bring you to my bow; and knowing we shall agree to an hair, I desire we may wet our whistles together, and make some recitativo's of the past crotchets of our long acquaintance. Time was we could both of us have played upon the virginals; and particularly you have been a man of note for your many compositions upon them. I know you to be in alt, as to your religion; and should you continue to be above Ela in your politics, I shall never suffer myself, I assure ye, to be out of tune with my friend on such fiddlefaddle accounts.

If the sharpest of the critics should censure this letter as flat, they are entirely out of the key, and have not their fantasias screwed up to the present pitch of

Dear Dan,
Yours, from the merry violin to the
german flute and the recorder,
Signior Allegro

Elegy on the death of Daniel Purcell
Ob Ms. Mus. d. 226.

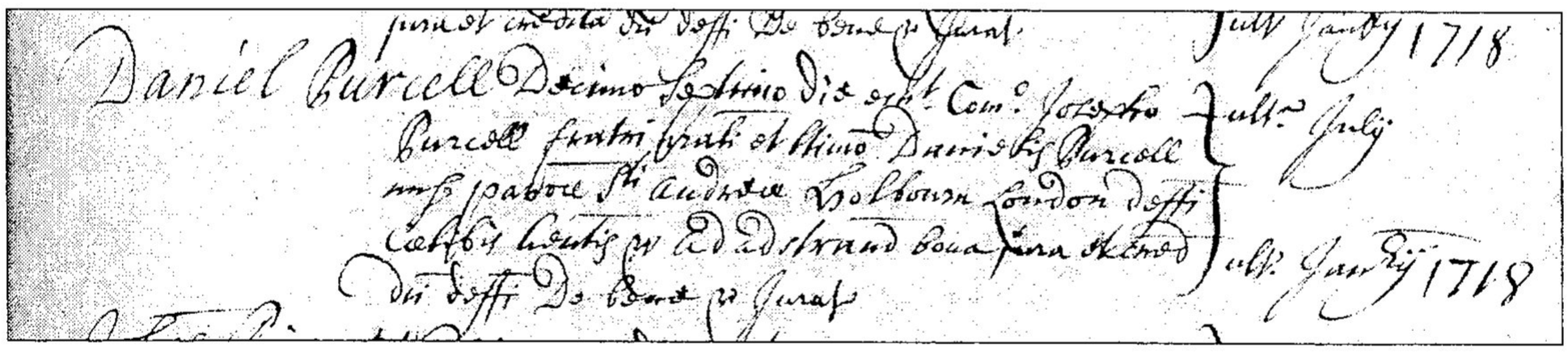
In softer accents or more tuneful lays
Others may mourn his death, or sing his praise
Yet none more truly can his fate bewail
But alas! will fruitless grief avail?
To paint in words the man, and faintly show
What once he was, is all we now can do.
His modest and obliging carriage gain'd
Him real friends, who always friends remain'd.
In him, two very rare perfections met,
Great skill in music, and a ready wit.
His wit, peculiar in the grace alone;
Pleas'd all who heard it, but offended none.
In th'art of music, he perform'd so well
That him, only his brother cou'd excell.

Burial
Burial Records of St Andrew Holborn
Lgc MS 6673/8.

[November 1717]
Daniel Purcell from Fetter Lane ye 26th

Administration of Estate
Lpro PROB 6/94 (f.10).

Fig. 35. Adminstration Record for Daniel's Estate



Daniel Purcell Decimo Septimo die em[anavi]t Com[missi]o Josepho
Purcell fratri n[atu]rali et l[egi]timo Danielis Purcell
nup[er] paroc[hi]e S[anc]ti Andree Holbourn London def[unc]ti

Celibis h[ab]entis &c[etera] [representing the standard phrase 'dum vixit et mortis sue tempore bona jura sive credita in diversis diocesibus sive peculiaribus jurisdictionibus sufficientia ad fundandum jurisdictionem Curie Prerogative Cantuariensis'] Ad ad[mini]strand[um] bona jura et cred[ita]

d[i]c[t]i def[unc]ti De bene &c[etera] [representing the standard phrase et fideliter administrando eadem ad Sancta Dei Evangelia] Jurat[us]

[bracketed to the right of the entry]
ult[imo die][3] Julij
ult[imo die][3] Jan[ua]rij 1718

Daniel Purcell On the 17th day a commission was issued to Joseph Purcell, natural and legitimate brother of Daniel Purcell late of the parish of St Andrew Holborn, deceased, unmarried, having etc [while he lived and at the time of his death sufficient goods, rights or credits in different dioceses or peculiar jurisdictions to fall within the jurisdiction of the Prerogative Court of Canterbury], to administer the goods, rights and credits of the said deceased, having been sworn to well etc. [and faithfully administer the same, [sworn] on the holy Gospels]
(on) the last day of July
(on) the last day of January 1718

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The following abbreviations for journals are used:

BLR	Bodleian Library Record
EM	Early Music
JAMS	Journal of the American Musicological Society
M&L	Music and Letters
MQ	Musical Quarterly
MR	Music Review
MT	Musical Times
PRMA	Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association
RMARC	Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle
TN	Theatre Notebook

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