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Faculty of Music

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**Local Culture, Wider Influences - a Study of Provincial Music, Education and Society -
Wimborne Minster 1743 – 1765**

Together with an edition of the works of George Combes

Volume 1 of 2

by

David Matthew Gostick

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Thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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University of Southampton

Abstract

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Local Culture, Wider Influences - a Study of Provincial Music, Education and Society -

Wimborne Minster 1743 - 1765

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David Matthew Gostick

Wimborne Minster, former monastery, collegiate church and Royal Peculiar, has a long choral tradition, and was amongst the earliest churches to resume choral worship after the Commonwealth. This study focusses on a particularly rich musical period for the Minster, the mid-18th century, and its leading light, George Combes.

The composition of the choir is examined through detailed reference to the rich surviving archives, tracking many members from birth to death, and establishing their social standing. This builds up a picture of the age range of the choristers, the family relationships within the choir, and the prevalence of former choristers providing the lower parts, showing an institution that was, to a large extent, musically self-sufficient.

However, outside influence remained a positive force over the musical life of the Minster, with organists coming from Salisbury and Winchester. The main organist and composer examined, George Combes, spent a period away from Wimborne as Organist of Bristol Cathedral, and the impact of his time there is examined through the lens of the Annual Meeting of the Friendly Society of Wimborne Minster. This social and musical event grew to take on the style of a music festival, featuring substantial works of Handel. It brought musicians from a wide area to the town, further broadening Wimborne's musical horizons.

A remarkable survival, held in the Chained Library of the Minster, is an extensive collection of manuscript and printed music, further evidence of the vibrant musical activity of the church. The collection grew and was in practical use for two centuries. Order is sought within the challenging array of books, and dating attempted through the archival evidence. This provides essential groundwork for the final section of this thesis, a critical edition of the works of George Combes.

29 pieces survive complete, and are presented in performing editions, with full critical apparatus. Partially lost works and earlier versions are included in their extant state, to give a rounded picture of George Combes's musical development.

Through this research we find new material to broaden the understanding of a number of areas of 18th century musical culture – the lives of musicians working in the zone between professional and amateur, the interconnectedness of sacred and secular institutions, the functioning of an ancient and distinctive organisation in a time of change, the relationship between regional centres of various sizes. It also provides a corrective to the narrative of neglect associated with liturgical music of the period. The critical edition brings an attractive and functional repertoire to church choirs.

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Research Thesis: Declaration of Authorship

Print name: David Matthew Gostick

Title of thesis: Local Culture, Wider Influences - a Study of Provincial Music, Education and Society - Wimborne Minster 1743 – 1765. Together with an edition of the works of George Combes.

I declare that this thesis and the work presented in it are my own and has been generated by me as the result of my own original research.

I confirm that:

1. This work was done wholly or mainly while in candidature for a research degree at this University;
2. Where any part of this thesis has previously been submitted for a degree or any other qualification at this University or any other institution, this has been clearly stated;
3. Where I have consulted the published work of others, this is always clearly attributed;
4. Where I have quoted from the work of others, the source is always given. With the exception of such quotations, this thesis is entirely my own work;
5. I have acknowledged all main sources of help;
6. Where the thesis is based on work done by myself jointly with others, I have made clear exactly what was done by others and what I have contributed myself;
7. None of this work has been published before submission
8. Signature: D. Gostick Date: 20/10/2022

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Definitions and Abbreviations

BCP Book of Common Prayer

BL..... British Library

Can. Cantoris, the side of the choir traditionally singing lower parts

CW Churchwardens

Dec Decani, the side of the choir traditionally singing upper parts

DHC Dorset History Centre, which holds the archive of Wimborne Minster.

GN The Governors of Wimborne Minster

PCC Prerogative Court of Canterbury, responsible for probate of wills

TNA..... The National Archives, Kew

WM Wimborne Minster

Chapter 1 Introduction

Wimborne Minster has always been a church that has stood apart. From its foundation as monastery in 705 by St Cuthburga, sister of Ine, the King of Wessex, through time as a secular college of canons, and centuries as a royal peculiar, it has had a remarkable ecclesiastical standing. It was a site of pilgrimage to its sainted founder; another of the monastery's members, Lioba, led a mission to Germany and was also canonised. For the historian, the church and town are fertile ground, with a remarkably well-preserved set of Churchwardens' records going back to 1403, as well as a wealth of other records of sacred and secular administration for the institution and its surrounding area.¹

From a musical standpoint, the Minster is equally notable. In 1562 a charter from Elizabeth I vested the properties of the church in a group of 12 Governors, a group still in existence today, and the main controlling force of the Minster at the period of this study. A second charter from Charles I added provision for choristers and singing men, thereby formalising the musical foundation in a format that endured into the nineteenth century. These foundations allowed for a remarkably swift re-establishment of its choral tradition after the Commonwealth, with a choir appointed by 1663.

The main aim of this thesis is to investigate and illuminate a particularly rich period in the cultural history of a provincial town, and to probe the extent of its independence from, and reliance on, other local centres. I examine the musical foundation of its principal institution, looking at the personnel, their background, education and relationships, at the musical sources resulting from their activity, and at particular moments of cultural endeavour. The central figure in this study is the Organist of the Minster from 1743 - 1765, George Combes. His agency in bringing broader influences to Wimborne through his time in Bristol had significant impact on the artistic life of the town, as well as on the repertoire and performance of the Minster choir. A complete edition of his works forms the final part of the thesis, with a commentary that discusses compositional development and the role of performance tradition in the preparation of an edition.

¹ This richness has already led to a number of other research projects into the social and religious history of the area. See Alison Boag-Monroe, 'P10-17An Assessment of a Little Known Provincial Source' (MA, Bangor, 2006), Charles. Cornish-Dale, 'Migrations of the Holy: The Devotional Culture of Wimborne Minster, C.1400-1640' (PhD, Oxford, 2018), Patricia Coulstock, *The Collegiate Church of Wimborne Minster* (Woodbridge, Suffolk ; Rochester, NY, USA: Boydell Press, 1993), David Reeve, 'A Study of a Small Town - Wimborne Minster 1620-1690' (PhD, Exeter, 2002). Doctoral research projects are also underway into the nearby Banks estate of Kingston Lacy.

Chapter 1

In broader terms, I attempt to challenge the prevailing historiography of eighteenth-century church music. Musicological research into England in the period has tended to focus on burgeoning concert life, the operas and oratorios of Handel, and the major cultural centres, with church music relegated to a low position. Christopher Dearnley sums up the traditional position: 'as the years passed English cathedral music became more and more impoverished, weakened internally by arguments concerning style and purpose, by inadequate resources, and facing increasing indifference'.² However, Wimborne was not the only provincial centre where the musical life of the church was the cultural focus of the town. The importance of church music, and the significance of music making in the provinces has become a more significant focus of study over recent decades, and this work aims to contribute to that trend.

In Chapter 1 I explore in detail the composition of the choir of the Minster, investigating the background, education and relationships of its members. This has been made possible by the distinctive situation of the church and town. The records of the Minster are notably well preserved, including parish records holding details of baptisms, marriages and deaths, Churchwardens' records covering the day to day running of the church, and Governors' accounts and minutes which address matters of the financial organisation and, crucially, the personnel of the musical foundation. This archival richness has allowed a very full picture of the choir to be built up, with connections across the community shown.

An added advantage for the researcher is the particular geographical situation of Wimborne. Whereas in a larger town there would have been mobility between parishes, the whole town of Wimborne fell under a single parish. Therefore it has been possible to trace members of choir through the parish records from cradle to grave, often furnishing details of family relationships and professions. I have used this information to address a question of musical practicality often raised by those familiar with current Cathedral choir practice – how did a choir manage to function with only four boys? To our current mindset, which generally expects 16 boys to 6 men, the balance of 4 boys to 6 men seems extraordinary. A certain part of it is related to repertoire, of course. However, I demonstrate that the average age of boys singing in the mid-18th century was considerably older than can be expected in modern times, and discuss the musical implications of that.

² Christopher Dearnley, *English Church Music, 1650-1750 : In Royal Chapel, Cathedral and Parish Church*. (New York ; London: Oxford University Press, 1970) 92

The speed with which the musical foundation was reengaged in the 1660s was certainly very unusual – among the country’s parish churches it was only matched by Ripon, Manchester and Southwell, now all cathedrals. However, how unusual was the offering of Wimborne Minster at the period under scrutiny – the mid-18th century? In a time often associated with laxity in cathedral music, what can we learn from the apparently flourishing musical life of the Minster?

I investigate the extent to which the Minster was, in Ian Spink’s words, a ‘satellite’ of ‘larger and richer neighbours’ on the one hand, balanced with its unique and self-contained identity on the other.³

The second chapter examines a distinctive flowering of musical life in Wimborne in the form of the Annual Meeting of the Friendly Society. In its structure it shows echoes of the larger music festivals burgeoning in the period. Over the period of its existence, it featured increasingly involved music making, in later years incorporating Handel oratorios with orchestral accompaniment. The personnel as well as the physical structure of the Minster were central to the society’s celebrations, demonstrating the cultural influence the institution had over wider civic and social life. I investigate this from the perspective of wider cultural practice, seeing what it can tell us about Wimborne’s relationship with other local centres. I also discuss the extra light this smaller festival sheds on the well documented movement of music festivals across the country.

In the course of analysing this event, I look more closely at the leading musical light behind it, also the composer at the centre of this thesis, George Combes. I consider his experiences in Bristol, and discuss the impact of this period on musical making back in Wimborne.

The third chapter turns the focus on to the music collection held in the Chained Library at Wimborne. This is a large and amorphous collection, with usage stretching from the Restoration to the mid-19th century. It is a notable feature of the collection that no two books have exactly the same repertoire, so their grouping into sets is challenging. I attempt to provide a sense of order to the books, and to suggest some groupings. I have approached this using a variety of techniques. Examination of the physical appearance of the books and of the handwriting of both text and musical notation give initial information that indicates the age and grouping of sources. Further detail can be found through consideration of the repertoire and patterns of shared music, though this demonstrates rather less clear sets than might be expected. Correlations with the publications of collections used as sources for copying, and references to music books in other

³ Ian Spink, *Restoration Cathedral Music*, (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1995), 407

Chapter 1

records, give weight to possible datings. Shared patterns of variants, particularly in the works of George Combes, demonstrate kinship between particular books. Inscriptions in the books are examined and referenced against personal information in other archival material to provide further clues as to the date range of usage.

A catalogue of the music was made in 1988 by a local historian, and revised in 2008 by a member of the Minster Choir. It is an essential resource in approaching the collection. The detailed examination of the manuscripts involved in the preparation of the edition has uncovered additional information that clarifies, and in some cases corrects, details in the catalogue. Most significantly for this study, they include a number of additional copyings of the works of George Combes. Findings are presented here, and could provide a foundation for a revised version of the catalogue.

The edition

Transmitted through seventeen partbooks and four organ books held in the Chined Library at Wimborne is a large corpus of works by George Combes, amounting to some 300 entries. This includes 6 extended anthems in verse style, choral settings of liturgical music for Book of Common Prayer worship, and metrical psalm tunes. In addition, a publication from Bristol also contains psalm tunes by Combes, and a catch he wrote was published by Warren.

The majority of the pieces are missing a treble part – there is only one section of treble music bound at the front of an alto part book. However, treble parts can be reconstructed from organ books, where present. All pieces in this position are presented here in practical editions with full critical apparatus and commentary. Some pieces are in a fragmentary state, with one or more part missing, and are presented in their extant state.

Within the liturgical music there is provision for all the standard services (Matins, Communion, Evensong) in three keys, A major, D major and E major, and some other short Communion settings. The relationship between pieces in the same key should not be taken for granted, and is examined in the commentary.

Several of the works have been copied on a number of occasions, over a period of time. Often these versions display significant variants, particularly of rhythm, but also of harmony. It cannot be ascertained with certainty from the sources which of these come direct from George Combes himself. Indeed, I show that there is a strong likelihood that a set of copies emanated from his son Richard after his death. However, these variants clearly represent the developing performance tradition of the Minster. The commentary on the edition tackles these issues, and presents the

works in a way that gives performers the opportunity to make informed decisions about the options.

I look further at the development of Combes's music through some fragmentary material found in earlier part books. One consists of small parts of a Te Deum, whose ideas were developed later. The other is an early version of a much-copied set of evening canticles. Whilst not complete, enough of this remains to gain insight into the evolution of Combes' style, and the material we have is presented here with commentary.

Chapter 2 Wimborne Minster Choir 1660 – 1810

Wimborne Minster was notable in being one of the earliest churches with an endowment for choral music to resume full activities after the Restoration. There was a flurry of appointments in 1663, including an organist, three choristers, and two singing men to complement the three clerks already in place from 1661. In 1664 a new organ was installed, the first in Dorset since the Commonwealth, which stood almost alone in the area for over a hundred years. This renewed tradition continued strongly throughout the eighteenth century, the strongest evidence for which is the remarkable collection of manuscript part books held in the Minster's Chained Library. These books contain a wealth of service music and anthems by nationally recognised composers, as well as a significant corpus by composers working at the Minster, which give us an insight into the choral programme undertaken.

This portion of the study, however, focuses on the extensive archival material available, that also supports the claim that Wimborne had an extremely lively musical life throughout the period. During a period seen as 'the nadir of fortunes of the cathedral choral tradition', Wimborne saw full choir stalls with promptly filled vacancies, stable membership, and even the addition of two extra choristers in 1778.⁴ This chapter sets out and analyses some details about the membership of the choir, and begins to place this rather unusual institution in a broader context.

2.1 Sources

The principal source of information about membership of the choir comes from the Minute Book of the Governors of Wimborne Minster, their annual accounts, and sundry bills and receipts, currently held at the Dorset History Centre.⁵ The Governors are a body of 'twelve of the more discreet and honest inhabitants of the Parish', defined by a number of charters, culminating in that from Charles I, granted in 1639.⁶ This document explicitly entitles them to appoint three ministers, three clerks, three singing men and four choristers, as well as a schoolmaster and usher

⁴ Alan Mould *The English Chorister : A History* (London ; New York: Hambledon Continuum, 2007), ch 10. This picture of neglect has been most recently painted in Peter Holman, "Heard but Not Seen": Leading Anglican Cathedral Music from the Organ.' In *Before the Baton: Musical Direction and Conducting in Stuart and Georgian Britain*, (Boydell & Brewer, 2020), 43-68.

⁵ Minute book - Dorset History Centre (DHC) PE-WM/GN/2/1/1, accounts – PE-WM/GM/3/80-236, bills and receipts - PE-WM/GM/5/4-8

⁶ DHC PE-WM/GN/1/7

for the Grammar School founded by Lady Margaret Beaufort. Their regular meeting was on St Thomas' Day, 21st December, each year, though they met at other times when necessary, and an Easter meeting to settle accounts became a regular fixture later in the eighteenth century. Their records are extant back to 1566, when the minutes of meetings begin. Accounts are held from 1574, though in this period there are gaps 1708 - 1710 and 1780 - 1806.

The Minute Book contains details of the appointment of all choristers, singing men, clerks and organists, detailing whom each one replaced, and often furnishing information about choristers' parents. It is very largely complete, but as a later binding of loose sheets there are some meetings missed, so there are some gaps in the information. As will be seen later in Table 1, we sometimes only have a date of joining or of leaving for particular choristers. In some cases, this is due to meetings missing from the minute book. For example, in 1754 no meeting is minuted, which is a likely time for George Oakley and John King to have passed the baton to Richard Oakley and John Combes. On the other hand, at times it would appear that we have a full set of minutes, but not all appointments have been noted.

The Governors' Accounts are extremely helpful in filling these gaps earlier in the period, but later become less informative. The bulk of each year's accounts details tithes received and still to be collected. Regular and extraordinary payments are recorded. Regular payments are to the ministers, schoolmaster, usher (undermaster at the school), organist, clerks, singingmen and singingboys. In earlier years all names are listed, allowing us to fill in the gaps that are particularly noticeable in the earlier minutes. However, from 1693 the listing of the choir moves to 'the 3 clerkes' (sic), 'the 3 singing men', 'the 4 choiresters' (sic), giving us much less information, although they are still useful in corroborating details in the minute book. Extraordinary payments include building works on the various places under the control of the Governors as well as musical items such as music books, reading desks, and additional payments to the organist. They also provide a window into other work undertaken by members of the choir, discussed later.

In addition to these, there is a wealth of archival material relating to Wimborne Minster, church and town. Of relevance to this study are Churchwardens' accounts, bills and receipts, Parish records, and wills.⁷ Owing to the unusual administrative structure of the Minster, Churchwardens had little direct involvement with the music of the church, but their accounts provide valuable insight into the community of the Minster and the place of members of the choir within it. Parish

⁷ Churchwardens' accounts DHC *PE-WM/CW/1/43 – 44*, Churchwardens' bills and receipts DHC *PW-WM/CW/2/1*, Parish records *PE-WM/RE/1-4*, wills from Prerogative Court of Canterbury, see below for individual references.

records have been consulted in particular to establish the age of choristers and to discover familial relationships within the choir, and between choir members and other groups within the church. Wills have been examined to attempt to identify the status and occupation of members of the community, though this has not yielded a great deal of information, as only wills of persons with surnames beginning with A and E have survived from the Wimborne Minster Peculiar Court.⁸

Outside the Minster, the archives of Salisbury and Winchester cathedrals provide valuable comparisons of salaries, structures and personnel, and yield specific information on the background of the organists.⁹ Due to the nature of these larger institutions and towns it is less likely to be able to correlate cathedral records with parish ones as I have done with Wimborne, so I have not consulted the latter.

2.2 The Three Ranks

2.2.1 Pay

There were three ranks within the choir at Wimborne. The role of Singing Boy is self-explanatory, boys providing the treble line of the choir until their voices broke. We will look at the background and age range of this group later. They were paid one pound, six shillings and eightpence from the first appointment after the Commonwealth in 1664 until 1684, forty shillings a year until 1709, and fifty shillings thereafter.¹⁰ The lower parts of the choir were provided by three Singing Men and three Clerks. The salaries of the Singing Men were two pounds, thirteen shillings and fourpence until 1684, then four pounds, and five pounds after 1709. At the very start of the period the Clerks were paid different amounts, with Nicholas Pope, the most senior who held his post during the Commonwealth, being paid six pounds, thirteen shillings and fourpence, with others on lower pay until they reached parity in 1670. This amount was raised to eight pounds in 1709.

According to Joseph Massie's calculations in 1760 a husbandman could expect to earn £15 a year, a country labourer £12.5; earlier in 1688 Gregory King cited a labourer's wage as £15.¹¹ These

⁸ DHC PJ-WM/W/A and PJ-WM/W/E

⁹ Salisbury Cathedral archives are held in the Chapter Office. The Choir (CO) sub-fond has been consulted, including Choristers (CH) and Vicars Choral (VC). Winchester Cathedral's archives are held at the Hampshire Record Office. The Chapter Act Books (DC/B3) contain records of members of the foundation.

¹⁰ DHC PE-WM/GN/2/1/1 p92 and DHC PE-WM/GN/3/88 onwards

¹¹ J Massie *A Computation of the Money ... Raised upon the People of Great Britain by the Sugar-Planters, in One Year ... Shewing How Much Money a Family of Each Rank ... Hath Lost by That ... Monopoly, Etc.* (1760), Gregory King's calculations are reprinted in J. Gregory & J. Stevenson, *The Routledge Companion to Britain*

were clearly, then, supplementary forms of income, and we will look later at the other employment of members of the choir. The poor pay for clerks of the church was often commented upon, for example in Motte's *Parish Clerk's Guide* of 1709.¹² It is often suggested that Clerks were frequently appointed from those with no other source of income, so that they might not be a burden to the parish in poor rates.¹³ Given the special responsibilities at the Minster, and the recruitment policy inferred below, this was clearly not the case at Wimborne. To put these salaries in the context of other Minster staff, in the middle of the eighteenth century the three Presbyters were each paid £66, the schoolmaster £38, the organist £25, the sexton £6 and the ringers corporately £3. The last two were the responsibility of the Churchwardens, rather than the Governors.¹⁴

Twenty five miles to the North, in Salisbury Cathedral, the eight choristers were on a sliding pay scale, each boy normally rising through the ranks. The three levels were £8 (four boys), £10 (two boys) and £12 (two boys).¹⁵ As this was a much larger institution with a fuller liturgical round, the considerably higher choristers' fees is unsurprising. The cathedral also regularly paid apprenticeship fees for boys as they left the choir.

The payments for adult singers at Salisbury are not included in the Cathedral accounts, as they were paid directly by the Vicars Choral for whom they deputised (more on that arrangement later). However, the records of a pay dispute from 1797 give us clear information. The first page reads:

About the time of the Establishment of the Cathedral; Endowments were provided for every part of the Offices of the Church, and particularly for that capital part for singing the duties of the Cathedral Service, which was vested in a Body under the denomination of procurator and Vicars Choral, who to strengthen the Harmony, had assistants appointed by the Dean and Chapter, who were recommended by the Vicars Choral, as being men well skilled in music of the Church duty, & about 300 years past, they paid their assistants, & what was termed the lay Vicars 8 pounds per annum each from their Fund, & in course of time provisions etc raising higher in price they were again raised from 8 to 12 pounds per annum & then again about 150

in the Eighteenth Century (1st ed.) (2007), section 9. There has been much debate about the accuracy of both of these calculations, however. See, for example, Peter H. Lindert and Jeffrey G. Williamson, *Revising England's Social Tables 1688-1867*. (Davis, California: Department of Economics University of California, 1981)

¹² Benjamin Motte, *The Parish-Clerk's Guide*, (1709).

¹³ Nicholas Temperley, *The Music of the English Parish Church*, (Cambridge Studies in Music, 1983) 90

¹⁴ Payments for sexton and ringers are therefore found in Churchwardens' accounts, DHC PE-WM/CW/1

¹⁵ Salisbury Cathedral Archive CO/CH/1/3/68

years since were raised again to twenty pounds per annum, & so remain to this day on that scanty stipend, notwithstanding the extraordinary price of taxes, & provisions.¹⁶

So, from the time of the Restoration through the 18th century, the singers at Salisbury were paid £20, to compare to the £5 for a singer and £8 for a clerk at Wimborne. The proportions between the institutions are therefore similar, with the men at Wimborne doing a little better out of the deal than the choristers.

The organist at Salisbury was paid £46. It is notable is that the organist of the Minster was paid more than half what his contemporary at the Cathedral received, indicating that this was a desirable position. He was also paid more than a singing man at the larger institution, a point that will become important when we look at the origins of the Minster Organists.

2.2.2 Division of roles

To understand the division of the men of the choir into singingmen and clerks it is necessary to consider the unusual ecclesiastical status of the Minster. As 'the King's Free Chapel' it was a royal peculiar, and therefore exempt from diocesan jurisdiction. However, it functioned as the parish church for Wimborne and therefore retained the administrative functions of a parish church. It was endowed for choral music and so, whilst not a Cathedral, maintained a Cathedral style of service, the only one in Dorset during this period.¹⁷ With that background, the roles of singingboys and singingmen are clear. Their function was to provide choral music in the cathedral tradition, albeit with a weekly rather than daily liturgical round. When considering the clerks, however, we need to look to parochial life to gain an understanding of their context.

In a standard parish church, the clerk had two functions, as laid out in Motte (1709). The first was administrative. This involved keeping the parish records, or births, marriages and deaths. Whilst in Motte there are some requirements specific to churches within the Bills of Mortality, these duties were common to all clerks. The second was liturgical, involving leading the congregation in worship and singing. In particular, the clerk was responsible for the practice of 'lining out' - reading the text of each line of metrical psalm before it was sung. This implies that a certain degree of musical education was expected of a clerk, although it would seem that in practice this was often lacking.¹⁸ A good deal of liturgical responsibility was laid on the clerk, most especially

¹⁶ SCA CO/VC/6/1

¹⁷ Hutchins, *History and Antiquities of the County of Dorset*, (1773).

¹⁸ Temperley, *The Music of the English Parish Church*.

where there was no organ, as was common through this period. Even where an organist was employed, it still fell to the clerk to choose the psalm and its tune.¹⁹

What evidence do we have as to the relationship between the parochial and choral aspects of the Wimborne Minster Clerks? Job descriptions naturally do not exist, but we can make inferences from the surviving archives.

We need to look further back to gain an insight into the possible responsibilities of the Clerks. As the end of the Commonwealth approached there was only one clerk in post - Nicholas Pope, who held the role from the reign of Charles I until 1672. Clearly for much of that period his job would not have been a musical one, but would have encompassed administrative matters, and possibly a part in services. At a meeting on 25th January 1658 the Governors reasserted their right to appoint three Ministers, three Clerkes, a Schoolmaster and an usher, according to the Charter of Charles I, though no mention is made of other choir members. Indeed, two other Clerkes, Edward Foster and Robert Pope were paid from 1658 - 1660, though the relatively small amount of £2 per year. They were replaced in 1661 by Robert Higdon and Nicholas Pope Junior, who were to hold the posts for substantial periods. Whilst they were appointed two years before John Silver, the new Organist arrived, it is not inconceivable that they were chosen to replace the other two Clerkes because of their ability to contribute to choral music.

The details of their appointments are suggestive:

Robert Higdon formerly chosen to be one of the Clarkes was confirmed in his sayd place, and allowed to have Foure pounds a yeare...

Nicholas Pope the younger was confirmed to be one of the Clarkes of the Pish Church and was allowed to have Forty shillings a yeare...²⁰

Firstly, it could be inferred that the appointments had been made previously, and held in abeyance during the time of the Commonwealth, although it has not been possible to find a reference to these in the records. Both men died in post, Nicholas Pope in 1671, and Robert Higdon in 1682, so it is not inconceivable that they could have been appointed early in the 1640s. Secondly, the salaries are rather lower than those paid once the choir had been fully re-established - the younger Nicholas Pope's initial £2 rising after a year to £4, then both advancing

¹⁹ Ibid 115

²⁰ DHC PE-WM/GN/2/1/1

to £5 in 1664 and £6 13s 4d in 1671. This may imply that the performance of choral music was a major and valued part of the role, attracting more money.²¹

Whilst most references are simply to 'Clerks', in 1688 Robert Higdon was appointed 'to be Reading or Secondary Clarke', and in 1694 Henry Gould 'to be one of the Reading Clerks' which would indicate a greater involvement in the delivery of divine service than simply choral singing.²² Both roles would have required a level of literacy that may not have been found amongst the general population.

Further on the role of Clerks there are two references that give us a clue to their functions. In September 1714:

Ordered that the Dep.ty Receiver when he pays the three reading Clerks their Sallarys at Michas next do stop out of their sallaries five shillings each and pay the same to Tho: Moones that performed their Duty at Holt Chappell this year past

This order to continue good from half yeare to half yeare till further order. ²³

And in December 1737:

Thomas Barfoot is appointed to do the Duty of the Clarkes at Holt Chapple and the Receiver is to deduct 16s per annum out of the three Clarkes Salary for his allowance. ²⁴

Holt Chapel was a church in a small settlement about three miles north of Wimborne, and under the care of the Minster. It would not have had choral music, but clearly needed the liturgical and administrative support of a Clerk. His functions are likely to have very similar to those of any other parish clerk, and the pittance he was paid chimes in with the frequent complaints about the poor pay of clerks.

In addition, we frequently find the signature of Clerkes entered as witnesses in marriage services, after the practice was adopted in 1754.²⁵ This is particularly the case when the couple were illiterate, and family members able to sign their name were unavailable. This again implies a role in the management of the church beyond a musical contribution.

²¹ For more on the role of clerkes before the Commonwealth see Charles Cornish-Dale, 'Migrations of the Holy: the Devotional Culture of Wimborne Minster, C.1400-1640.' (DPhil thesis, University of Oxford, 2018), chapter VI

²² DHC PE-WM/GN/2/1/1

²³ *ibid*

²⁴ *ibid*

²⁵ DHC PE-WM/RE/3/1-4

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There are a number of references to cleaning of the church to be carried out by Clerkes. For example, from the Governors' meeting of 11th April 1790:

It is ordered that George Chorrett one of the Clerks do on every Saturday previous to the Sacrament Sundays clean in a decent manner the choir & chancel of the Church for which he is to be paid one Shilling each time by the Receiver²⁶

There is also evidence of Clerkes performing other administrative tasks beyond their employment in that role. Robert Higdon, Clerke from 1661 - 1682 was paid six pounds a year in 1665 - 1667 for receiving the rents and paying salaries.²⁷ This adds further weight to the evidence for a certain level of literacy and numeracy amongst the choir members.

These pieces of evidence add up to the Clerkes fulfilling something similar to the administrative and liturgical function within a standard parish church, but do not show that they had a musical function. Why then the certainty that they were involved in the choir? The first is that, with the exception of George Matthews, of the City of Winchester, all the Clerkes were drawn from the ranks of singing men, once the choir had become sufficiently established to be able to provide that path of promotion. That does not disprove the possibility that Clerkes were drawn from a body of literate, liturgically aware men, the Singing Men, who then swapped their singing role for a new, non-choral, function, though the consistency of the pattern makes this unlikely.

Comparison with the role of Clerk at Holt, which was much less well paid and was filled by men without experience of the Minster choir, strengthens the case that Clerks at the Minster contributed to the music, and received higher salaries in recognition of that.

That the Clerkes were, at least in part, under the control of the Organist, and therefore involved in choral music, is evidenced by the periodic attempts to enforce attendance. Between 1697-1704 there are a number of references to fines for non-attendance, with George Day, the Organist, being required to keep a register and pass on information about absences to the Receiver of the Governors. The issue was raised a number of times in later years, such as 1769, 1785, 1793, though in these cases it was the Official (one of the clergy) who was to keep record. A list of fines from 1805 includes penalties for the Organist, alongside Clerkes, Singingmen and Singingboys.²⁸

The strongest indication that the Clerkes were involved in choral singing comes from the partbooks preserved in the Minster's Chained Library. To take an example, we can look at George

²⁶ DHC PE-WM/GN/2/1/1

²⁷ *ibid*

²⁸ *ibid*

Combes' Te Deum in A. This is a large scale setting in the verse style, lasting nearly ten minutes. There are indications of different verse trios to be taken by singers on different sides of the choir, implying a full complement of parts on each side. Furthermore, there is a duet to be sung by two basses, as well as a quartet for two trebles and two basses, and a trio involving two altos. Therefore a full back row of six men, each able to hold an independent line, is required, and with three Singingmen appointed at any given time, they must have been supplemented by the three Clerkes. The situation is complicated, however, by certain passages being written out in books belonging to other parts. The first bass part in the duet appears in a margin of a tenor book, and the second alto part in the double alto trio appears in a tenor book. As we shall see later the choir maintained a full back row throughout this period, so these expediciencies can only be attributed to absenteeism, or by some members of the choir being drawn away for other duties.

A comparison can be drawn with the situation at Salisbury Cathedral. Here six Vicars Choral were appointed, clergymen financially supported by income from property. They were supplemented by lay vicars 'to strengthen the Harmony'.²⁹ It is less clear in this case whether the lay vicars deputised for or complemented the Vicars Choral – in other words whether there were regularly six or twelve men singing. Certainly it would seem that by the end of the 18th century it was only the lay vicars singing. The records of the pay dispute between the lay vicars and the vicars choral from 1797 includes the phrase:

Many applications have been made by the Lay Vicars to what is now falsely called the Vicars Choral³⁰

The implication is that the Vicars Choral are no longer truly choral, as they do not undertake a singing role. Also, by this time, they had reduced in number to four.

If at some stage both Vicars Choral and Lay Vicars sang, those twelve voices would keep the same proportion of voices as the Minster, though would not be necessary for the repertoire. We can be sure, on the other hand, that six singers were needed in Wimborne to meet the musical demands contained in the part books.

With only one exception, discussed below, the Clerkes were appointed from the ranks of the Singingmen, as an internal promotion. They therefore came to the role with a great deal of experience in the musical traditions of the Minster, and it seems certain that they would have continued to use that expertise within the new role.

²⁹ SCA CO/VC/6/1

³⁰ SCA CO/VC/6/1, p2

2.3 The Choristers

Table 1 is a list of choristers from the Restoration until 1851. This information was taken in the first instance from the Governors' Minute Book, where choristers are appointed, often with information about their father, or in one case mother, and generally whom they replaced. Owing to a number of missing appointments or departures it was necessary to cross check this information with the Governors' accounts. In the period up to 1693 these were very informative, listing the names and amounts paid in detail. However, from that date until the accounts beginning in 1807 the specific names are not listed, with a simple total for each of the groups provided.

For clarity, dates have been given as whole years. We do have more precise information in many cases about in which quarter a chorister began and ended his time. However, for the purposes of this overview these have not been included. Ages are estimated from baptism dates. These are commonly soon after birth, and the records show exceptions to that general rule, detailed in the chart. Dates in the baptism column marked with an asterisk are taken from the 1841 census.³¹

Table 1 - The Choristers of Wimborne Minster 1663-1851

Name		Time as Singing Boy	Years as boy	Age Join	Age Left	Baptised	Notes
John	Willis	1663 - 1672	7				
William	Pope	1663 - 1669	6	8	14	20/6/1655	Son of Nicholas Pope
Joseph	Oates	1663 - 1665	2				
Richard	Thedam	1664 - 1672	8	8	16	30/6/1656	son of Nicholas
John	Thedam	1664 - 1675	11	8	19	4/5/1656	son of Richard
Richard	Russell	1668 - 1673	5	14	19	26/6/1654	
Christopher	Shipton	1671 - 1678	7				
Richard	Browne	1672 - 1680	8				junr
William	Russell	1673 - 1678	5	11	16	11/1/1662	son of William
Francis	Browne	1675 - 1677	2				
John	Silver	1677 - 1682	5				junr

³¹ The National Archives, *HO 107*, searched at <https://discovery.nationalarchives.gov.uk/details/r/C8971> accessed September 2022

Name		Time as Singing Boy	Years as boy	Age Join	Age Left	Baptised	Notes
Robert	Higdon	1677 - 1683	6				junr
Fardinando	Silver	1678 - 1685	7	10	17	28/3/1668	son of John
James	Purchase	1679 - 1688	9	10	19	4/5/1669	son of James
Nicholas	Pope	1681 - 1688	7				
James	Harbey	1683 - 1684	1				
Samuel	Harvey	1684 - 1690	6				
Nicholas	Bolter	- 1688					Ran away
John	Brown	1685 - 1691	6	11	17	Apr 1674	Son of Thomas
John	Franklyn	1688 - 1693	5				son of James, voyce broken
Edward	Guy	1688 - 1691	3	8	11	?/9/1680	son of James.
Roger	Willis	1690 -					
Henry	Silver	1691 -					son of John Silver
John	Willis	1691 - 1698	7	10	17	21/7/1681	son of John Willis
Augustine	Skutt	1693 -					
William	King	1698 -		10		June 1688	son of William King
James	Fabian	-1708			17	June 1691	Son of Jason
Roger	Tilsed	1708 - 1710	2	12	14	Apr 1696	Roger
William	Jubberey	1710 - 1715	5				gone to sea
James	Gill	-1711			19	June 1692	
John	Barnes	1711 - 1719	8	10	18	2/7/1701	
Roger	Gill	1712 - 1722	10	9	20	1/2/1702	son of James
Nicholas	Watten	-1712					voice broke
Thomas	Day	1715 -					voice broke
John	Gill	-1718					voice broke
William	Bezar	1718 -		11		7/6/1707	son of Thomas
John	Willis	1719 - 1728	9	8	17	22/11/1711	son of Roger
Arthur	Thomas	1715 - 1720	5				
Christopher	Meadar	1720 -		11		3/4/1709	
Will	Thorne	1722 -		12		7/11/1710	
Nicholas	Russell	1725 - 1731	6	12	18	13/9/1713	son of Francis
John	Harwood	1725 - 1731	6	10	16	29/12/1715	son of Henry
Thomas	Harwood	1725 - 1731	6	9	15	11/1/1716	son of Thomas
James	King	1728 -		9		22/6/1719	
Roger	Willis	1731 - 1741	10	7	17	12/11/1724	son of Roger
Reuben	Gill	1731 - 1741	10	10	20	27/6/21	son of John

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Name		Time as Singing Boy	Years as boy	Age Join	Age Left	Baptised	Notes
William	Willis	1731 -		10		21/2/1721	son of Roger
Robert	Gill	1741 - 1747	6	14	20	15/6/1727	Son of John
Robert	Grey	1741 - 1744	3				
Thomas	Willis	- 1742			17	10/1/1725	
John	Tilsed	1742 - 1748	6	10	16	29/3/1732	son of Thomas Tilsed
Thomas	Gill	-1743					
John	Mitchell	1743 - 1751	8	10	18	10/7/1733	
George	Oakley	1744 -		7		2/2/1737	son of Thomas Oakley
Peter	Fabian	1747 - 1757	10	8	18	26/4/1739	son of William Fabian
Richard	Combes	1748 - 1755	7	8	15	22/5/1740	son of George Combes
John	King	1751 -		11		24/6/1740	son of Joseph King
William	Thorn	1755 - 1763	8	10	18	7/1/1745	son of William Thorne of Pamphill voice broken
Charles	Willis	1757 -		12		25/2/1745	son of Roger Willis, Singingman
Richard	Oakley	- 1759/61?			14	1/1/1745	son of Thomas Oakley
John Harvey	Willis	1759 - 1766	7	11	18	11/1748	son of Roger Willis, Singingman
John	Combes	-1759					son of George Combes
John	Oakley	1759 - 1765	6	11	17	29/9/1748	son of Richard Oakley
Thomas	Druitt	1761 - 1766	5				son of Mr Sacheverell Druit
Richard	Austen	1763 - 1766	3	11	14	30/3/1752	son of Mr W Austen, Register
Robert	Thacker	1765 -		10		27/8/1755	
James	Oakley	1766 -		11		9/9/1755	
George	Dike	1766 - 1773	7	9	16	9/2/1757	
Edward	Lambert	1766 -		9		4/1/1757	
George	Cherrett	1769 - 1773	4	13	17	30/11/1756	son of Susanna Chorrett, widow
Joseph	Hookey	1769 - 1769	1	12	12	20/9/1757	John Snook, uncle/gone out of parish
Thomas	Oliver	1769 - 1773	4				Apprentice to James King, Clerk
James	Hardey	1773 - 1776	3	12	15	29/6/1761	
John	Hiscock	1773 -		13		28/2/1760	
John	Harvey	1773 -		8		17/2/1765	
John	Dooson	-1776					
Daniel	Dooson	1776 - 1783	7				
Robert	Harvey	1776 -		9		29/10/1767	
Richard	Tory	1778 - 1784	6	9	15	26/11/1769	Additional choristers

Name		Time as Singing Boy	Years as boy	Age Join	Age Left	Baptised	Notes
William	Mitchell	1778 - 1782	4	12	16	29/12/1766	Additional chorister/voice broken
William	Hiscock	-1780			17	25/1/1763	
Charles	Tory	1780 - 1784	4	10	14	27/11/1770	
Charles	Harvey	-1780					
Edward	Hart	1780 - 1785	5	10	15	13/3/1770	
Isaac	Joy	1783 -		10		27/8/1773	Son of Richard and Mary ³²
John	Matchem	1784 -					
Richard	Poiter	1784 - 1787	3	?11	?14	12/9/1773	
Samuel	Joy	-1784			12	Nov 1762 ³³	Son of Samuel
William	Jolly	1784 - 1790	6				
John	Bessant	1785 - 1790	5	11	16	12/1/1774	
John	Lacey	-1787			15	30/12/1772	
Richard	Reekes	1787 - 1790	3	11	14	15/12/1776	resigned
James	Lambert	-1787			12	6/3/1775	Son of David
John	Reekes	1787 -					resigned
John	Church	1787 - 1793	6				resigned
Charles	Matcham	-1788					
Thomas	Elms	1788 -		7		2/9/1781	resigned
Richard	Reynolds	1790 - 1793	3	11	14	24/5/1779	voice broken
John	Reeks	1790 - 1799	9	9	18	6/4/1782- b13/9/1781	voice broken
Samuel	Elms	-1790			15	7/6/1775	
Charles	Dyke	1790 - 1798	8	11	19	28/12/1779	resigned
Thomas	Drew	1790 - 1793	3	12	15	21/7/1778	resigned
John	Hooper	1793 - 1803	10	7	17	13/2/1786	
William	Painter	1793 - 1800	7	11	18	28/1/1782	voice broken
James	Hooper	1793 - 1796	3	9	12	14/4/1784	voice broken
William	Reeks	-1794			16	17/8/1779 b yr earlier	
John	Warland	1794 - 1798	4				resigned
Samuel	French	1796 - 1803	7				resigned

³² Isaac Willis Joy in parish records

³³ There is another possible Samuel Joy, baptised 16/9/1764

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Name		Time as Singing Boy	Years as boy	Age Join	Age Left	Baptised	Notes
John	Butler	1798 -					
William	Ayres	1798 -					
William	Barfoot	1799 - 1805	6	9	17	7/8/1791 ³⁴	upon Probation
John	Michell	1800 - 1806	6				voice broken
David	Butler	-1803			17	19/2/1786	
George	Belben	1803 - 1810	7	8	13	8/2/1797 16 months	
John	Harvey	1803 - 1806	3	7	10	28/3/1796 ³⁵	
David	Hooper	-1803					
James	Lacey	1803 -		7		6/5/1796	
James	Harvey	-1804					
James	Frampton	1804 - 1809	5				
Robert	Ayres	-1804			17	22/7/1787	
James	Rulhound	1804 - 1810	6				
David	Lewis	1805 - 1806	1				deceased
James	Gray	1806 -		10		25/10/1796	
Benjamin	North Jun	1806 - 1809	3	7	10	23/8/1799	
Henry	Frampton	1806 -		8		18/6/1798	
John	Smith	1809 - 1810	1	11	12	8/1/1798	
George	Rowthorn	1809 -					
John	Crow/Crew	1809 - 1814	5				
James	Rolesits	1810 -					
John	Rulhound	1810 -					
John	Mitchell	1810 - 1818	8	9	17	7/1/1811 8 years old	deceased
Charles	Reekes	1812 - 1823	11	7	18	26/12/1805	son of William & Mary
James	Roberts	-1813			14	10/10/1799	Displaced. Son of John
Augustus	Martin	1814 - 1820	6				Left the town
Charles	Roberts	1815 - 1818	3				
Robert	Tucker	1815 - 1821	6	10	16	3/11/1805	son of James & Sarah
Richard	Harvey	-1818			15	30/12/1803	son of Richard

³⁴ There is another possible William Barfoot, baptised 7/8/1792. The baptism listed here was of a 1-year-old.

³⁵ John Snook Harvey in parish records

Name		Time as Singing Boy	Years as boy	Age Join	Age Left	Baptised	Notes
John	Scadding	1818 - 1823	5				
Edward	Hooper	1818 - 1819	1				quitted the parish
Frederick	Blount	1819 - 1828	9	6	15	4/6/1813	son of John & Ann, Organist
Richard	Reynolds	1819 - 1827	8	7	15	3/8/1817 (5 yrs)	son of Richard & Ann, Butcher
Joseph	Harris	1820 -		9		18/1/1811	son of James
Henry	Ayres	1821 - 1825	4				
Henry	Blount	1823 - 1831	8	6	14	4/2/1817	son of John & Ann, Organist
Henry	Reekes	1823 - 1829	6	8	14	22/4/1815	son of John & Maria, Tailor
Robert	Ayres	1825 - 1831	6				
John	Spence	1827 - 1830	3				
Richard	Hoskins	1827 - 1831	4	10	14	7/9/1817	son of Joseph & Mary, Labourer
Frederick	Page	1828 - 1832	4	10	14	27/9/1818	Son of Thomas & Mary
Henry	Frampton	1830 - 1835	5	11	16	20/12/1819	John & Sarah
Wm	Warland	1830 - 1836	6	10	16	1820	son of John & Anne, Painter
Frederick	Freeman	1831 - 1832	1	11	12	26/4/1820	William & Anna, in Blandford
Thomas	Keeping	1831 - 1835	4	8	12	17/11/1823	Joseph & Mary
Richard	Reeks	1831 - 1838	7	8	15	21/7/1823	son of John & Maria, Tailor
Henry	Warland	1832 - 1838	6	10	16	30/12/1822	son of John & Ann, Glazier
Charles	Burrows	1832 -		10		1/12/1822	son of Charles & Anne, Joiner
John	Seward	1835 - 1839	4	10	14	14/8/1836- b16/9/1825	ill health, son of John Glyde & Mary, Cooper
Benjamin	Harris	1835 -		11		4/1/1824	son of Thomas & Maria, Baker
James	Sims	1836 - 1838	2	12	14	5/9/1824	James & Ann, Carpenter
Frederick	Barfoot	1838 -		10		1828 *	John & Mary, Surveyor of taxes
James	Barfoot	1838 - 1845	7	8	15	1830 *	John & Mary, Surveyor of taxes
George	Stay	1838 -		10		1828*	
Stephen	Budden	1839 -		11		1828*	
Henry	Stodart	-1841				1826*	voice broken. Son of John & Catherine, Tailor
Frederick	Budden	-1841			15	20/8/1826	son of Stephen & Sarah, Carpenter
Robert	Freeman	1841 - 1847	6	10	16	7/9/1831	son of William & Jane, Surveyor of roads
John	Eaton	1841 -					
George	Stodart	-1845					
William	Suchland	1845 -					
Wm Henry	Reeks	1845 - 1851	6	9	15	10/5/1836	son of John & Jane

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Name	Time as Singing Boy	Years as boy	Age Join	Age Left	Baptised	Notes
Frederick	Seward	1847 -		11		14/8/1836 son of William & Jane, Tailor
Henry	Chislett	-1849				
Thomas	Kellaway	1849 -				
Samuel	Stodart	-1850				
Charles	French	1850 -				
Matthew	Blount	1851 -				

We now focus only on the years 1660 - 1810. By removing all choristers for whom we do not have a reliable date of joining or leaving, or of baptism, we come to the following list of 51 choristers for whom we can, with reasonable security, give an age range for their time in the choir.

Table 2 - choristers with full date information 1663-1810

Name		Time as Singing Boy	Years as boy	Age Join	Age Left	Baptised
William	Pope	1663 - 1669	6	8	14	20/6/1655
Richard	Thedam	1664 - 1672	8	8	16	30/6/1656
John	Thedam	1664 - 1675	11	8	19	4/5/1656
Richard	Russell	1668 - 1673	5	14	19	26/6/1654
William	Russell	1673 - 1678	5	11	16	11/1/1662
Fardinando	Silver	1678 - 1685	7	10	17	28/3/1668
James	Purchase	1679 - 1688	9	10	19	4/5/1669
John	Brown	1685 - 1691	6	11	17	Apr 1674
Edward	Guy	1688 - 1691	3	8	11	?/9/1680
John	Willis	1691 - 1698	7	10	17	21/7/1681
Roger	Tilsed	1708 - 1710	2	12	14	Apr 1696
John	Barnes	1711 - 1719	8	10	18	2/7/1701
Roger	Gill	1712 - 1722	10	9	20	?/2/1702
John	Willis	1719 - 1728	9	8	17	22/11/1711
Nicholas	Russell	1725 - 1731	6	12	18	13/9/1713
John	Harwood	1725 - 1731	6	10	16	29/12/1715
Thomas	Harwood	1725 - 1731	6	9	15	11/1/1716
Roger	Willis	1731 - 1741	10	7	17	12/11/1724
Reuben	Gill	1731 - 1741	10	10	20	27/6/21
Robert	Gill	1741 - 1747	6	14	20	15/6/1727
John	Tilsed	1742 - 1748	6	10	16	29/3/1732

Name		Time as Singing Boy	Years as boy	Age Join	Age Left	Baptised
John	Mitchell	1743 - 1751	8	10	18	10/7/1733
Peter	Fabian	1747 - 1757	10	8	18	26/4/1739
Richard	Combes	1748 - 1755	7	8	15	22/5/1740
William	Thorn	1755 - 1763	8	10	18	7/1/1745
John Harvey	Willis	1759 - 1766	7	11	18	11/1748
John	Oakley	1759 - 1765	6	11	17	29/9/1748
Richard	Austen	1763 - 1766	3	11	14	30/3/1752
George	Dike	1766 - 1773	7	9	16	9/2/1757
George	Cherrett	1769 - 1773	4	13	17	30/11/1756
Joseph	Hookey	1769 - 1769	1	12	12	20/9/1757
James	Hardey	1773 - 1776	3	12	15	29/6/1761
Richard	Tory	1778 - 1784	6	9	15	26/11/1769
William	Mitchell	1778 - 1782	4	12	16	29/12/1766
Charles	Tory	1780 - 1784	4	10	14	27/11/1770
Edward	Hart	1780 - 1785	5	10	15	13/3/1770
Richard	Poiter	1784 - 1787	3	11	14	12/9/1773
John	Bessant	1785 - 1790	5	11	16	12/1/1774
Richard	Reekes	1787 - 1790	3	11	14	15/12/1776
Richard	Reynolds	1790 - 1793	3	11	14	24/5/1779
John	Reeks	1790 - 1799	9	9	18	6/4/1782-b13/9/1781
Charles	Dyke	1790 - 1798	8	11	19	28/12/1779
Thomas	Drew	1790 - 1793	3	12	15	21/7/1778
John	Hooper	1793 - 1803	10	7	17	13/2/1786
William	Painter	1793 - 1800	7	11	18	28/1/1782
James	Hooper	1793 - 1796	3	9	12	14/4/1784
William	Barfoot	1799 - 1805	6	9	17	7/8/1791
George	Belben	1803 - 1810	7	8	13	8/2/1797 16 months
John	Harvey	1803 - 1806	3	7	10	28/3/1796
Benjamin	North Jun	1806 - 1809	3	7	10	23/8/1799
John	Smith	1809 - 1810	1	11	12	8/1/1798

This shows an average age on joining of 10, and on leaving of 15 years, 8 months.

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The following table shows the number of choristers joining and leaving the choir at particular ages.

Table 3 - Ages of joining and leaving

Joining Age	Number	Leaving Age	Number
7	4	10	2
8	8	11	1
9	6	12	3
10	12	13	1
11	12	14	7
12	6	15	6
13	1	16	7
14	2	17	9
		18	8
		19	4
		20	3

This shows us that a significant proportion of boys (48%) joined at the ages of 10 and 11, rising to 76% between 8 and 11. The dates of leaving are more widely spread, but the bulk lie within the range 14 - 18 years (72%). There are outliers in both directions, and some of these could of course be accounted for by the approximate nature of the data. The three boys who left the choir aged 20 were all of the same family. Roger Gill, the earliest example, spent eleven years as a treble in the choir, from age 9, later becoming a singing man. The later two were brothers, sons of the singing man John Gill. We cannot know whether they were genuinely singing treble at that age. Perhaps genetics is at play, perhaps an important choir family (whilst the brothers were in the choir, half of the back row was made up of Gills, as indeed it was for 38 years) was able to hold on to the posts even after the boys were no longer able to contribute properly.

However, the evidence here, for all its statistical unreliability, strongly indicates a much older age profile than would be experienced by a 21st century cathedral or parish choir.³⁶

³⁶ Mould, *The English Chorister*, 230-31. The modern cathedral choir is often tied to the prep school system, capping the age of boys at 13, though practical experience is that many boys do not keep their treble voice to the end of their tenure.

Table 4 - length of time in choir statistics

Years in choir	Number
1	5
2	1
3	11
4	6
5	6
6	15
7	8
8	4
9	3
10	5
11	1
5.8	Average

For length of time in the choir we have a larger statistical sample. We have reliable dates of arrival and departure for 63 choristers. There is considerable variability in the length of tenure, indicating a less formalised structure than would be expected in a modern cathedral or collegiate choir. A significant number (27%) did not remain for more than three years, in which time it may be supposed that their musical contribution to the choir may have been somewhat limited. However, 37% sang for six or seven years, which is longer than a modern average, as is the overall average of nearly six years.

It is interesting to look at the longest serving members, the eight who were in post for nine, ten or eleven years. They were:

John Thedam (11), Roger Gill (10) John Willis (9), Roger Willis (10), Reuben Gill (10), Peter Fabian (10), John Reeks (9) and John Hooper (10).

Apart from Peter Fabian these were all from strong Minster Choir families, with parents and other family members in the choir. Roger Gill, Roger Willis and John Reeks also went on to become singing men. Whether these singers were kept on the payroll until a singingman position became vacant, beyond their useful life as a treble, is impossible to know, but must make us a little cautious about the more extreme ages in the data.

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The reasons for choristers leaving are rarely given. John Oakley, was 'discharged as unfit', though it would seem much more likely that this is to do with a broken voice than competence, as he had been in the choir for six years, from ages 11 to 17. Sometimes choristers are described as having 'resigned', though details are not given, so it may be that a vocal break brought on the resignation. In eleven instances it is explicitly stated that boys' voices have broken. Of those we have five ages - one 12-year-old, one 14-year-old and three at 18.

Within the main list, we see 76 different surnames. Of those, some families are extremely well represented, with 9 Willis, 7 Gill, 5 Harvey and Pope, and 4 Brown(e), Mitchell, Oakley, Reeks and Thedam. It is notable that these family names also have a considerable presence amongst the singing-men and clerks, indicating the extent to which the choir functioned as a 'family business'. Two of these family names, Pope and Thedam, were also prominent in choir records before the Commonwealth.³⁷

As an example of the importance of families in the choir of Wimborne in this extended period, one particular 'dynasty' will serve. In the first wave of choristers to be appointed after the Restoration was a John Willis, in 1663. He went on to become a Singingman and then a Clerke, dying in post in 1719 after 55 years of membership of the choir. However, his genes can claim more than twice that length of involvement, as his great grandson John Harvey Willis left the choir in 1781 in his early thirties. In total, there were nine members of the Willis direct line in the choir. In addition to the records of the Minute Book we also have two Willis signatures in the alto part book P34 - those of Roger Willis, and of John Willis, dated 1766.³⁸

³⁷ Cornish-Dale, 'Migrations of the Holy', 187

³⁸ Wimborne Minster Chained Library P34

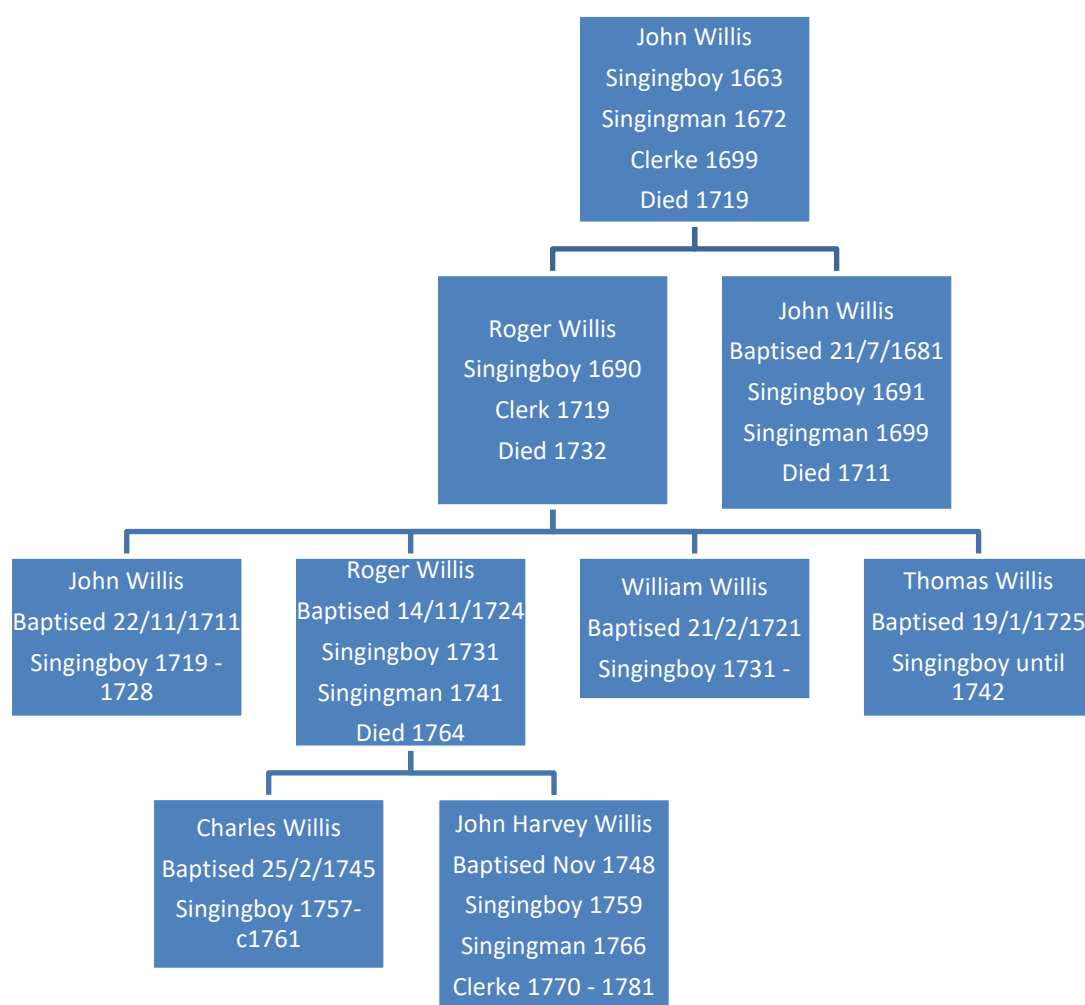


Figure 1 - The Willis Family

Unfortunately, information about the education of choristers is sketchy at best. Whilst the Royal Free Grammar School of Queen Elizabeth was under the administration of the Governors, its potential role in the education of choristers has not been possible to ascertain. As is unfortunately frequently the case, there are few records of the school, with details of pupils and curriculum absent, beyond the stipulation that the school should follow the curriculum followed in Winchester or Eton.³⁹ The only reference to schooling of choristers contained in the Governors' minutes dates from 21st November 1711:

four shillings to Jeremiah Farrar to teach the said Roger [Gill] and John Barnes (who is now chosen a singing boy in the roome of James Gill) for to teach them to write.⁴⁰

³⁹ For speculation on the relationship between the Grammar School and the Minster choir in an earlier period, see Cornish-Dale, 'Migrations of the Holy', 180-181.

⁴⁰ DHC PE-WM/GN/2/1/1

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Jeremiah Farrar was the schoolmaster at the Pamphill Almshouses, another charity managed by the Governors providing for a home for 8 worthy poor men and women, and an elementary school. This was founded under the terms of the will of Roger Gillingham in 1695.⁴¹ Whilst no further references such as this appear, it may be that the school was involved in the education of choristers in addition to, or perhaps instead of, the Grammar School.

The responsibility for training the choristers for their choral duty naturally landed on the shoulders of the organist. It is first mentioned in the same meeting in 1711, where Mr Day, the organist, is given extra payment for undertaking this.⁴² There are references throughout the period to the rehearsing of boys, often taking place on a Saturday morning.

In addition, there are references to the organist occasionally receiving part of a singing man's fee in recompense for time spent training him. From 4th January 1769:

Ordered that Isaac Hooper, a Candidate for a Singing Man's place, do attend our Organist Mr Combes twice a week to be instructed in Singing the Services of the Church until St Thomas Day next, when, if approved of by us as capable he is to be chosen Singing Man of this Church. But his year's Salary to that time is to be paid to our said Organist for his trouble in instructing and qualifying him for such place. But if disapproved of and rejected as incapable, then our Organist to have such satisfaction only, as we shall think proper.⁴³

This in-house training leads us on to the selection, background and education of the singingmen and clerks.

⁴¹ DHC PE-WM/CH/1/1/1

⁴² DHC PE-WM/GN/2/1/1

⁴³ *ibid*

2.4 The Men

Table 5 is a list of singingmen and clerks from 1658 to 1851. Listed is any time they spent as a chorister, and their time in either of the two adult roles, which will be explained below. The information is again taken from the Governors' records.

Table 5 - the Singingmen and Clerkes of Wimborne Minster 1658 - 1851

Name		Time as Singingboy	Time as Singingman	Time as Clerk
Nicholas	Pope			-1672
Edward	Foster			1658 - 1660
Robert	Pope			1658 - 1660
Robert	Higdon			1661 - 1682
Nicholas	Pope			1660 - 1671
Richard	The dam		1663 - 1665	
Nicholas	The dam		1663 - 1668	
John	Willis	1664 - 1672	1672 - 1681	1681 - 1719
Joseph	Oates	1664 - 1665	1666, 1673-1675	
Richard	The dam	1665 - 1672	1672 - 1673	
John	The dam	1665 - 1675	1675 - 1676	
Thomas	Browne		1666 - 1671	1671 - 1688
Henry	Pope		1667 - 1672	1672 - 1681
William	White		1669 - 1672	
Richard	?T?		1672 - 1673	
Christopher	Shipton	1672 - 1678	1678 - 1682	1682 - 1741
Ausutus/in	Smallwell		1673 - 1680	
Richard	Browne	1672 - 1680	1780 only	
Nicholas	Chedaw		(-1684)	
William	Hill		1680 - 1683	
Jeffrey	Harvey		1681 - 1696	
Will	Hazard		1696 - 1719	
Henry	Gould		1683 - 1694	1694 - 1699
James	Purchase		1677 - 1678	
Robert	Higdon	1678 - 1683	1683 - 1688	1688 - 1694

Name		Time as Singingboy	Time as Singingman	Time as Clerk
James	Purchase	-1688	1688 - 1699	1699 - 1729
Sam	Harvey		1694 - 1720 ⁴⁴	
Roger	Willis	1690 -		1719 - 1732
John	Willis	1691 - 1698	1699 - 1711	
William	King	1698 -	1720 - 1729	1729 - 1764
James	Gill	-1711	1711 - 1732	1732 - 1770
Roger	Gill	1711 - 1722	1729 - 1767	
John	Gill	-1718	1719 - 1741	1741 - 1771
James	King	1728 -	1734 - 1764	1764 - c1773
Roger	Willis	1731 - 1741	1741 - 1764	
George	Oakley	1744 -	1764 - 1771	1771 - 1773
Isaac	Hooper		1767 - 1805	
William	Thorn	1755 - 1763	1767 / 1773 ⁴⁵	1773 -
Richard	Oakley	- 1759/61?	1764 -	
John Harvey	Willis	1759 - 1766	1766 - 1770	1770 - 1781
John	Combes	-1759	?1770?	
George	Hanniford		1773 only	
George	Matthews			1773-?1776
Thomas	Oliver	1769 - 1773	1773 -	
George	Cherrett	1769 - 1773	1773 - 1781	1781 - 1813
John	Hiscock	1773 -	-1788	
John	Harvey	1773 -	1788 -	-1805
John	Dooson	-1776	1780 -	
William	Hiscock	-1780	1780 -	
James	King		-1789	
Henry	Lacey		1789 - 1790	

⁴⁴ The date 1720 is unclear, and could be 1710. This also affects the date of William King's appointment as singingman. Either option is plausible.

⁴⁵ William Thorne and Isaac Hooper were both on probation for one place in 1767, with the latter finally being appointed. William Thorne gained a place as singing man in January 1773 and was promoted to Clerke in September of that year.

Name		Time as Singingboy	Time as Singingman	Time as Clerk
Edward	Hart	1780 - 1785	1790 - 1793	
John	North		1793 - 1794	
John	Reeks	1790 - 1799	1800 - 1813	1813 - 1841
Charles	Dyke	1790 - 1798	1798 - 1805	1805 -
William	Reeks	-1794	1798 - 1800	1800 - 1813
David	Butler	-1803	1805 -	1820 -
George	Belben	1803 - 1810	1810 -	
John	Clench		1805-1810	
Samuel	Roberts		1813 -	
William	Thorne		1813 - 1815	
James	Hardey	-1804	-1814	
John	Eaton		1814 -	
John	Miles		1814 - 1820	
	Whiffen		1815 -	
William	Miles			-1819
John	Fey		1820 - 1833	
James	Horder		1820 - 1831	
John Glyde	Seward		1831 - 1841	1841 -
Charles	Reekes	1812 - 1823	1833 - 1838	
Richard	Reekes	1831 - 1838	1838 -	
F W	Freeman	1831 - 1832	1841 -	
Joseph	Hitch		1847 - 1848	
Thomas	Cozens		1848	

One of the most notable features when looking at the composition of singing men and clerks is the preponderance of former singing boys. This is not a surprising phenomenon, as the training of a chorister would seem to be a natural preparation for life on the back row. However, the degree of prevalence indicates the lack of any other readily available means of preparation for this role, and the lack of mobility of singers. There is just noted one example of a singer coming in from a distance - on January 21st 1773 George Matthews, described as 'of the City of Winchester' was

appointed Clerk.⁴⁶ The appointment straight to that role is itself unusual, as most clerks were promoted from amongst the singing men, exclusively so in the 18th century apart from this appointment. No record could be found of Matthews within the Cathedral foundation, though he could have come with training and experience from the College.

Further evidence of the lack of suitable preparation for the choir apart from a singing boy post is provided from the time of Richard Combes (Organist 1765 - 1798). On St Thomas' Day 1789 Henry Lacey was appointed Singing Man in place of the longstanding James King, who had been in the choir an impressive 45 years. However, on the same day in 1790 Lacey was dismissed 'on Mr Coombes' opinion of his not being competent to that appointment'. His replacement was Edward Hart, who was a chorister 1780 - 1785. This was no guarantee of the skills required, however, for he was also dismissed as incompetent. However, that dismissal took three years to come about - we can only conjecture as to the level of incompetence that allowed him to serve in the choir for three years, but still caused his ejection from it. He in turn was replaced, on St Thomas' Day 1793, by John North, who does not previously appear in the record. His tenure was short - a year later he was dismissed. However, the Minute Book notes a year after that, at the end of 1795, 'It is ordered that the Receiver do pay unto John North the Sum of Five pounds as a Compensation for his having stood as a Probationer for a Singingman's Place for the last two years'.

The search for a competent replacement was put on hold on 21st December 1797:

It is agreed that if Mr Coombes's Infirmitys shall continue until the next Easter Meeting, and he shall not adopt some proper measures for having his Duty as Organist regularly and duly performed to the Satisfaction of the Governors that they will then proceed to the Election of a new Organist and a Copy of this Order is directed to be sent to Mr Coombes by the Register. It is agreed that no vacancy in the Choir shall be fill'd up until the duty of the Organist is better attended to.

By January 9th 1798 the Governors had received his resignation. Early the next year William Reeks and Charles Dyke were appointed singingmen.⁴⁷ Both were former choristers, both went on to become Clerks, and Charles Dyke was still in post in 1850.⁴⁸

⁴⁶ DHC PE-WM/GN/2/1/1

⁴⁷ *ibid*

⁴⁸ DHC PE-WM/GN/3/235

2.5 George Combes' Choir

The principal focus of this study is the time of George Combes as organist, 1743 - 1765. This was a period of great stability in the lower parts of the choir. From 1741 until 1764 the same six men served as Clerkes and Singingmen. They were

Clerkes	William King
	John Gill
	James Gill
Singingmen	Roger Willis
	Roger Gill
	James King

These men were steeped in the traditions of the Minster. All of them had served as Singingboys before progressing to the back row, generally without a break, though Roger Gill spent seven years between his voice breaking and rejoining the choir, and the gap in William King's career is indeterminate. Moreover, each one died whilst in his position, at least two, and likely three, of them having served for over 60 years.

Table 6 - George Combes's singers

Name	Baptised	Chorister	Singingman	Clerke	Years	Died aged
William King	June 1688	From 1698	1720 - 1729	1729-1764	66	76
James Gill	June 1692	To 1711	1711 - 1732	1732-1770	Over 61	78
John Gill		To 1718	1719 - 1741	1741-1771	Over 53	
Roger Gill	Feb 1702	1711-1722	1729-1766		56	65
James King	22/6/1719	From 1728	1734-1764	1764-1773	45	54
Roger Willis	14/11/1724	1731-1741	1741-1764		33	40

This stability allowed for an adventurous music programme. It has already been noted that strong forces were required for George Combes' setting of the full Anglican service in A. The range of music composed for the choir, including virtuosic solos work, can be seen in the edition of his works.

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The members of the choir named above have left traces elsewhere in the records, allowing us to glean information about their other activities and employment.

John Gill is often mentioned in the Churchwardens' Accounts, partly as he rented a house from the church, at an annual rate of £1, 13s 4d.⁴⁹ He appears to take on a wide range of tasks. The Churchwarden's accounts of 1745 - 1750 list payments to him for 'two gates in the churchyard - 16 shillings' as well as other repairs in the grounds and houses belonging to the church. He was also paid for 'collecting some arrears due to the church', indicating the administrative trust placed in the clerks of the church. In that year he received £4 10s for this additional work, as well as his Clerk's salary of £8. He is often noted as collecting arrears; later in his life William Gill and John Gill junr were frequently employed for manual work.⁵⁰

The presence of a name such as this in the Churchwardens' accounts must be treated with caution, as is shown in 1744-1745. There, we have two adjacent entries, reading:

John Gill for a Right in the Seat no 8 North side Middle Ally for the life of his son William 0-10-0

William Gill son of John Gill Wheelwright for a place in Scollars Ally no 6 0-1-0⁵¹

These are clearly two father-son pairs of the same name. It might be reasonable to suppose that the John who was less familiar to the church was defined by his profession. There was a John Gill who was a shoemaker at this time in Wimborne, as shown in an apprenticeship indenture of 1729.⁵² We will see below that this may have been a family business.

William King was a tailor. There are several payments to him for 'making the Pall' (1758 - 1759); 'a loop and string for the pulpit' (1751 - 1752); 'for mending Mr Trahern's and Mr Swan's hoods' (these were two of the Presbyters) and 'for making a Minister's hood' (1748 - 1749).⁵³ Roger Willis is referred to in the Governors' Minutes of 1757 as a cooper.⁵⁴

For Roger Gill we only have one rather curious reference, in this case from Hutchins' History of Dorset:⁵⁵

⁴⁹ DHC PE-WM/CW/1/43

⁵⁰ DHC PE-WM/CW/1/44

⁵¹ DHC PE-WM/CW/1/43

⁵² DHC PE-WM/OV/11/1/129 Apprenticeship indenture of Anne Forrest – Apprenticed to John Gill, shoemaker, and his wife Mary, 13th June 1729

⁵³ DHC PE-WM-CW/1/43-44

⁵⁴ DHC PE-WM/GN/2/1

⁵⁵ Hutchins, *History and Antiquities*

In October 1767, died here, Roger Gill, shoemaker, a native of this place, and one of the singing men belonging to the church, aged about 67, remarkable for chewing his meat or cud twice over, like an ox or sheep. Being examined 1765, when he was 64 years old, he said, he seldom made any breakfast in his latter days. He generally dined about twelve or one o'clock, eat pretty heartily and quickly, without much chewing or mastication. He never drank with his dinner, but sometime afterwards about a pint of such malt liquor as he could procure. He had an aversion to all kinds of spiritous liquors; nor did he ever take them in any shape, except a little punch, and was never fond of that. He eat but little butter; pease, pancake, and freshwater fish, he could not touch, except a little bit of broiled eel, they all returning greasy into his throat. He ate all garden stuff, except carrots. He usually began his second chewing about a quarter or half an hour, sometimes later, after dinner, when every morsel came up successively sweeter and sweeter to the taste. Sometimes a morsel would prove offensive and crude; in which case he spit it out. The chewing continued usually about an hour, or more; and sometimes would leave him a little while, in which case he would be sick at stomach, troubled with the heart-burn, loss of appetite, foul breath, &c. Smoking tobacco would sometimes stop his chewing, but was not attended with any ill consequences. On the 10th day of June, about four months before he died, this faculty of chewing entirely forsook him, and the poor man remained in great agonies till the time of his death. He was some years ago examined as to this case, by Dr Archer, of Dorchester, Thomas Baskett, surgeon, and Nicholas Russell, attorney at Wimborne, and last by Mr Russell's son, to whom he produced a morsel of beef and cabbage which stuck in his stomach while he was talking to him about it.

One fact we can, with confidence, take from this tale - he was a shoemaker, as was John Gill. However, we perhaps should not be so quick to dismiss this anecdote. Whilst of course anything can be found on the internet, there is discussion of this subject, with many people sharing their own experience of this phenomenon.⁵⁶ Furthermore, research into autistic spectrum disorders indicates that rumination occurs in 6%-10% of autistic children.⁵⁷ Perhaps this is the genuine experience of Roger Gill.

We have then a picture, familiar to scholars of the eighteenth century, of the 'middling sort'. Craftsmen and traders closely woven into their community, for whom the choir at the Minster was an opportunity for education and social advancement, as well as a valuable source of extra income. What is less familiar is the remarkable level of music making that was resumed at such an early date after the Restoration, and continued with such vigour throughout the Eighteenth century, when many cathedrals were noted for a rather lacklustre offering. It is also remarkable

⁵⁶ <https://patient.info/forums/discuss/chewing-cud-and-human-beings--296999> accessed 31/08/2021. My thanks to Kate Andrews for suggesting this line of thought.

⁵⁷ <https://eatingdisordersreview.com/a-broad-view-disordered-eating-on-the-autism-spectrum/> accessed 31/08/2021

that this tradition was able to sustain itself with so little input from outside, the musicians growing organically, as it were, from the soil of Wimborne.

2.6 The Organists

The Minster organists across the broad period of this study are as follows:

Table 7 - The Organists of Wimborne Minster from the Restoration to the mid-19th century

1664	John Silver
1695	George Day
1713	John Fyler
1743/4	George Combes
1765	Richard Combes
1798	William Mitchell
1808	John Wright Blount
1835	Frederick Stanley Blount

The degree to which the Minster choir operated as a 'closed circuit' is clear from the details in the previous sections. I have discussed the preponderance of former choristers filling the adult posts in the choir, and the table of choristers demonstrates the proportion of boys in the choir from the singing families. That this is a tradition of long standing is established in the work of Charles Cornish Dale on the earlier history of music in the Minster.⁵⁸ Of the 26 choristers he is able to identify by name before 1640, ten are the children of clerks.

However, the Minster did not function entirely without outside influence or expertise. The leaders of the musical establishment, the organists, were frequently brought in from outside institutions, and carried with them experience of cathedral life. The greater responsibility, and concomitant salary, of the post meant that its holders tended to relocate to take up its benefits, bringing with them a greater degree of professionalism than might have been found locally. Their origins demonstrate the spheres of influence within which Wimborne moved, which are not entirely along the lines expected by geography or ecclesiastical organisation. From 1542 Wimborne lay in the diocese of Bristol, although, as a Royal Peculiar, it was not under its direct control. At around

⁵⁸ Cornish-Dale, 'Migrations of the Holy' ch VI

70 miles distant, it is unsurprising that this was not the most influential of the region's cathedrals on Wimborne's music across the centuries, though the next chapter will demonstrate its crucial input to George Combes's development, and what that brought to the Minster. The nearest cathedral, just 25 miles away, is Salisbury, and more influence can be seen here in the appointment of one organist, George Day, and in the influence on concert life discussed in the next chapter. However, it was Winchester Cathedral and College, 38 miles to the north-east, that had the longest-lasting effect on Wimborne's music. Cornish-Dale highlights the modelling of the Grammar School curriculum on that of Winchester, and discusses the 'star signing' of William Emes from Winchester in 1610.⁵⁹

It was to Winchester that Wimborne turned again after the Restoration. The appointment of John Silver in 1663 is well documented in Matthews's *The Organs and Organists of Wimborne Minster*.⁶⁰ The son of the Cathedral Organist, also John Silver, he was a chorister there from 1640 and a Lay Vicar from 1661, resigning to move to Wimborne. The move from singer at a cathedral to organist at Wimborne is one we see repeated, giving an idea of the respective importance, and salary, of those two positions.

The origins of the next two organists of the Minster, George Day and John Tyler are given as unknown in the Matthews work, though Ian Spink presents some theories.⁶¹ However, investigations in the archives of Salisbury and Winchester have thrown further light upon them.

Spink speculates that George Day may have had an unsatisfactory probationary year at Salisbury.⁶² However, more detail on this can be found in the Salisbury Cathedral Archives. George Day is found in a document entitled 'The Vicars Account Book'.⁶³ He appears as a character in a dispute over pay and appointments. The first section reads:

Memorandum, that the Vicars agreed with the Dean and Chapter to give a good Bass 30L a year Provided that they did keep another place void there being two places void at that time, And they send to Oxford for Mr Hall and admitted him a Lay Singing Man at 30L a year also

⁵⁹ Ibid 187-188

⁶⁰ Betty Matthews, *The Organs and Organists of Wimborne Minster*, (Wimborne: Minster Press, 2002), 28. The original document relating to this appointment in DHC PE-WM/GN/2/2/5

⁶¹ Matthews, *Organs and Organists*, 29; Ian Spink, *Restoration Cathedral Music*, (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1995), 411

⁶² Spink, *Restoration Cathedral Music*, 411

⁶³ Salisbury Cathedral Archives CO/VC/1/3/2 The front cover states 'Copied March 1802'. Despite this late date, there is considerable evidence within the contents that the material copied in 1802 relates to this period, including dated memoranda and details of rents, with two memoranda dated 1806 and 1808 at the very back. It is a varied collection of details of fees payable for a variety of services, as well as sources of income and miscellaneous notes.

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they admitted George Day to 10L a year, upon which the Vicars carried their Tripartite Writing to Sr John Hawls, Solicitor General, who upon perusing the writing gave his opinion that we could not pay less than 20L a year to each of them nor could we be obliged to pay more to any one of the lay singing men; so we paid the 20L a year each; notwithstanding the Dear and Chapter admitted them as above written and their Chapter Act was upon the same to oblige us to pay as above.

John Hawl(e)s was Solicitor General from 1695 – 1702, and MP for nearby Wilton at the time. Perhaps George Day was not entirely content with the situation, as the next memorandum goes on:

Memorandum, that George Day Removed to Wimborne and we refused to pay Mr Hall more than 20L a year because the Chapter Act was made and entered without showing it to us; for they had put into it that the Vicars did consent to pay Mr Hall 30L a year out of their own proper estates but did not mention that it should only be while there was a place void, so that for half a year they paid the over plus of 30L a year and then the Dean of Chapter made another Act which they read to the Vicars at Whitby House before they enter'd it into their book. And inserted the clause that the Vicars did consent to pay both to Mr Hall while there was a lay place void and no longer.

Day's experience at Salisbury therefore seems to be short-lived – he was appointed at Wimborne in 1695, and he clearly did not have as much respect from the Vicars Choral at the former as did Mr Hall. Perhaps he would have got his £20 if he had stayed, but the increase of salary at Wimborne was clearly enough. It is also possible that Wimborne allowed him a better outlet for his talents than Salisbury, and his attractive compositions in the partbooks indicate a gifted musician.

Another move from cathedral to church is seen in the case of the next organist John Fyler, returning us again to Winchester. There was a chorister there of that name from 1704 – 1708, who then became a singing man until 1713, when Thomas Waghorn was appointed in his place.⁶⁴ This ties in with the appointment of John Fyler as Organist at Wimborne that year. This move is again an indication that Wimborne was a serious enough musical institution to attract a member of an ostensibly more prestigious organisation.⁶⁵

⁶⁴ Winchester Cathedral Chapter Act Book, held at Hampshire Record Office, DC/B3/4 f54v – f83r

⁶⁵ I suggest that Spink's speculation that Fyler could have been a son of the Salisbury succentor from 1683 – 1703, Samuel Filer, is superseded by this new, more convincing evidence. Spink, *Restoration Cathedral Music*, 411.

The first two of these organists left music in the manuscript part books, George Day most extensively. John Silver's contributions to the books are likely to have been his father's work.⁶⁶ These contributions left a lasting mark on the Minster's music, bringing the influence of their previous places of work with them. The continued importance of Winchester to the musical life of the Minster can be seen in the contents of the part books, in particular the extensive copyings of music by Kent, organist of Winchester Cathedral 1737-1774.

A different pattern is seen in the case of George Combes, for whom no musical record has been found before his time at the Minster. However, cathedral influence continued in his time through tenures at Bristol, which will be considered in the next chapter. From this point there was an extent to which the Minster became self-sufficient even in organists, with George Combes being followed by his son Richard, who in turn was succeeded by another former Minster chorister, William Mitchell in 1798. Furthermore, Wimborne itself provided the first post-restoration organist to another nearby major church, Christchurch Priory. William Hiscock became organist there in 1788 after time in the Minster choir as chorister and singing man.

2.7 The Organ

An assessment of the musical life of the Minster would of course be incomplete without a mention of the organ. After the ravages of the civil war and Commonwealth, Wimborne was the first church in Dorset to build a new organ. Sherborne Abbey was next, with a modest instrument built in 1700, but it was not until the end of the eighteenth century that the organ began to have a wider presence in Dorset. Organs were built in Lulworth Castle (Seede, 1785), Christchurch Priory (Cummings, 1788), Blandford Parish Church in (England, 1794) and St James's Poole (England, 1799).⁶⁷ There is a significant Wimborne connection with the first two of these, Richard Combes teaching the children of the Weld family in Lulworth, and a former Minster chorister, William Hiscock, being the first organist of Christchurch Priory since the Commonwealth.

Details of the organ have not been a major part of my researches, a fact that is, in itself, significant. Apart from five items in the earliest organ book, solo repertoire does not form a part of the musical sources, and the function of those early voluntaries was subsumed by a choral item in later years (See 'Sanctus' in the Critical Commentary). The organ was very much an adjunct to the choral part of the liturgy. However, it was essential to worship, and the delaying of the

⁶⁶ Spink, *Restoration Cathedral Music*, 362-3. Spink points to the bass partbook of Winchester provenance *Ob* Tenbury 1442 which contains the service setting and three of the five anthems found in the Minster partbooks.

⁶⁷ National Pipe Organ Register, npor.org.uk, accessed 1/5/23

Friendly Society festival awaiting the 1764 rebuild indicates that it was valued in concert life as well, although its mention in press reports is limited to a reference to a 'grand charge upon the organs'.⁶⁸

As part of the recent rebuild of the instrument, a comprehensive assessment of the old pipework still in use was undertaken by Dominic Gwynn, with the report in progress.⁶⁹ Significant amounts of the pipework from 1664 and 1764 have remained within the organ through 19th, 20th and 21st century rebuilds. Although, inevitably, the conclusions that can be drawn from them are somewhat shrouded by their changes in use, this work should provide a more detailed picture of the instrument's development.

Although the specification is unknown, we can be certain from a drawing in the Sperling Notebooks that it was a two manual instrument, with a main and chair case facing eastwards from a screen in the eastern arch of the crossing.⁷⁰ This is supported by remaining pipework identified from that period, with evidence of at least eight ranks surviving at least in part, and by the presence in the organ book P10 of a voluntary for double organ by Richard Portman. It would have been pitched in 'gamut in Dsolre', meaning that the organist would play C but hear a (sharp) F, and would have transposed choral accompaniments to produce choir pitch.⁷¹ The presence of 10 foot pipes means that by transposing down a fifth, rather than up a fourth, the organist would have had access to notes an octave lower than the vocal range.

The organ was rebuilt and enlarged by Brice Seede in 1764. Significant additions were a swell organ and a west facing case, shown below.⁷² The latter could be an indication of a growing interest in congregational singing, which could be linked to the set of books of metrical psalm tunes started at around this time, O11-O12 and O18-O20, discussed in Chapter 4.⁷³ Likely additions are a trumpet stop and extra mutations. There are mentions of both the trumpet stop and the swell organ in the later organ books. At this point the pitch is likely to have been reset. The 'transposing' element would have been removed, and the overall pitch lowered by a tone, the great and choir keyboards being given a GG compass, with the swell extending to 'fiddle g'.

⁶⁸ Salisbury Journal, June 21st, 1756. See Chapter 3.2

⁶⁹ I am grateful to Dominic Gwynn for sharing his insights and early findings with me.

⁷⁰ James Boeringer *Organa Britannica : Organs in Great Britain 1660-1860 : A Complete Edition of the Sperling Notebooks and Drawings in the Library of the Royal College of Organists*. (Lewisburg : London and Toronto: Bucknell U P ; Associated University Press, 1983). The specification given for this organ in Matthews *Organs and Organists* p9 and the online National Pipe Organ Register is entirely speculative.

⁷¹ Andrew Johnstone, "'As It Was in the Beginning': Organ and Choir Pitch in Early Anglican Church Music." *Early Music* 31, no. 4 (2003): 507–25.

⁷² Nathaniel Whittock, *Views of the exterior and interior of the Collegiate Church of St Cuthberga, Wimborne Minster, Dorset* (1839)

⁷³ Temperley, *The Music of the English Parish Church*, ch6

The rarity of the organ in the region further underlines the distinctiveness of the offering at Wimborne. The delivery of the 'cathedral style' of service demanded the use of an organ. While there were clearly periods in time when the organ was beset with mechanical failings, the Minster was at pains to maintain it, spending significant sums on upkeep.⁷⁴ This culminated in a rebuild in 1764 that produced an instrument that rivalled any of the nearby organs built in the coming decades, maintaining Wimborne's position as the foremost musical church in Dorset.

⁷⁴ Details of various tuners and of routine and major work across this period are given in Matthews *Organs and Organists* p8-11

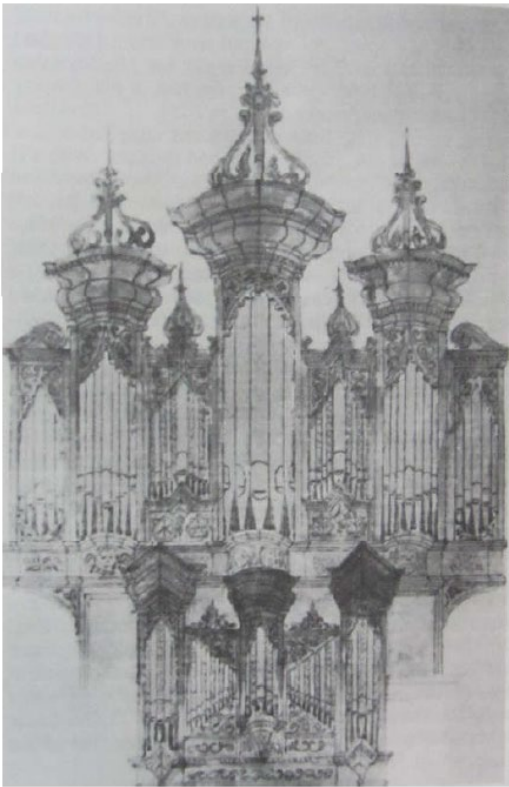


Figure 2 - The east-facing case of Hayward's 1664 organ, from the Sperling notebooks

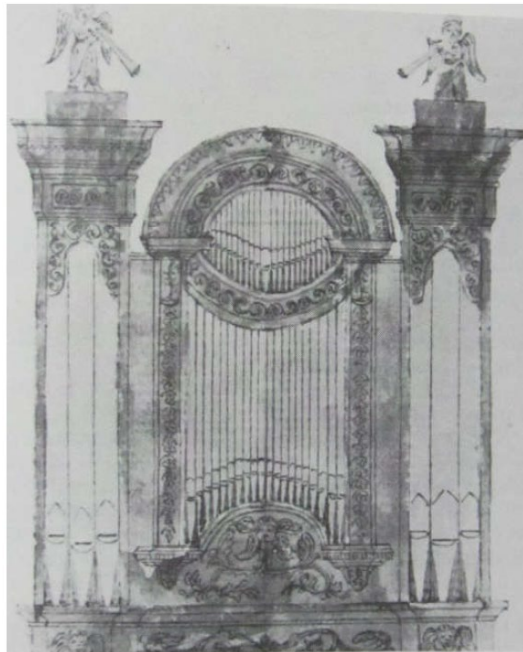


Figure 3 - the west-facing case of Seede's 1764 organ, from the Sperling notebooks

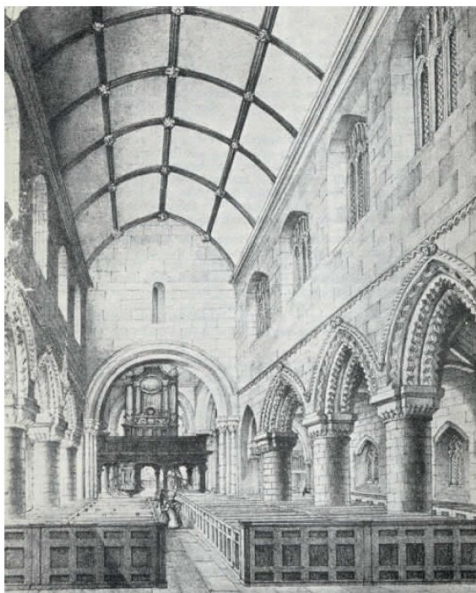


Figure 4 - A view of the organ and screen from the nave, drawn by Nathaniel Whittock



Figure 5 - A drawing by Whittock across the transepts, showing the western end of the screen and case

2.8 Conclusion

These findings lead us to a number of conclusions about musical life in Wimborne in the eighteenth century, its relationship to the wider musical world, and its standing in the traditions of ecclesiastical music making as they stood at the time. It is clear that music was energetically pursued in the Minster, with none of the empty pews described in contemporary cathedrals. The stability in the men of the choir, combined with their almost exclusive origins from amongst the choristers could imply a somewhat insular and stultified institution. However, I would contend that the musical output implied by the extensive part books and by compositions specifically for the choir rather demonstrate that this was a successful and sustainable model for the choir. It is clear that the importance of wider experience was appreciated at the Minster, with organists sought out who had experience of the larger institutions of Salisbury and Winchester to bring musical life to the church. The next chapter investigates in more detail the exception to that pattern, and looks closely at the influence of another major musical centre.

Chapter 3 George Combes and the Friendly Society

This chapter has two related aims: firstly, to shed light on the life of the composer central to this thesis, George Combes; secondly, to describe a remarkable flowering of musical life in Wimborne, the annual meeting of the Friendly Society.

An extensive search of the archives of Salisbury and Winchester Cathedrals has thrown up no evidence of George Combes, setting him apart from all of the previous post-Restoration organists of Wimborne Minster, each of whom was linked with one of those institutions. However, the more local Parish Registers, alongside records of the Minster Governors and Churchwardens, and probate records, provide a weight of evidence that links Combes through family ties to Wimborne long before his appointment at the Minster. Whilst definitive conclusions cannot be drawn, there is sufficient support for the theory that George Combes was a member of a prominent local family, that he received his training elsewhere, and that he retained connections and influence in Wimborne during periods working elsewhere.

As well as setting out conclusions about his background from the records that are available, I will look at his later professional career. This will show a pattern of regional connections enabling new, and at times more complex, music to reach Wimborne. I will show that this cultural phenomenon and the life and experiences of George Combes are inextricably linked, with Combes proving a driving force in the artistic life of Wimborne.

Newspaper archives of the Salisbury Journal (later the Salisbury and Winchester Journal) and the Western Flying Post or Sherborne and Yeovil Mercury provide evidence of an increasingly involved annual musical celebration in Wimborne, which shows clear parallels to the rising music festivals across the country. Direct references to his involvement, as well as the dating of these events, show George Combes to be an integral part of their development. This is particularly clear after the experiences of his first period in Bristol. I describe the evolution of this festival, demonstrating the influence the exposure to the musical life of Bristol had on Combes and on the musical life of Wimborne, and place the event in a broader regional context.

3.1 A Biography of George Combes

3.1.1 A short biography

The evidence shown below is complex, and not absolutely definitive. However, it contains enough to suggest the following short biography of George Combes.

He was born in 1720, the son of William Combes, a yeoman who took a seat as Governor of the Minster in 1743. He had siblings John, Richard and Sarah, although Richard died aged around 6, and a younger half-brother Thomas. His wife was called Ann/e, possibly Anne Willis who married a George Combes in Gussage All Saints on 3rd May 1739. They had two sons, Richard in 1740 and John in 1743. Both went on to sing in the Minster choir, with Richard eventually succeeding George as organist.

Of his education nothing is known, except that it did not involve the Minster choir, possibly due to the social status of his family. His presence in Wimborne before his appointment at the Minster is evidenced by his sons' appearances in the baptismal records, and by two references in the Governors' Minute Book to him providing music.

In 1743/4 he was appointed Organist of Wimborne Minster, retaining the post for 21 years. He left a major legacy in the form of three complete sets of service music, six anthems and a number of metrical psalms and other liturgical items, all transmitted uniquely through the Minster partbooks.

In 1756 he went to Bristol as Organist at the Cathedral. While there he also held a number of other posts, and was involved in performances of Handel oratorios. He did not relinquish his post at Wimborne, his duties most likely being covered by his son Richard. He returned to Wimborne in 1759, and the musical life of the town benefitted from his experiences in the city. 6 years later, in 1765, he made a final move to Bristol, being replaced formally in his Minster role by Richard, and died in 1769.

I now examine in detail the evidence supporting these conclusions.

3.1.2 A detailed biography

Investigations into Combes before his appointment to the post of Organist yield a few tantalising hints, though not the comprehensive information on his background and education that might be hoped. The Combes name is one that crops up frequently in Wimborne records, beginning with a land deeds record from 1414.⁷⁵ From the beginning of the extant parish records in the 1630s the family name is well represented, as seen below in Table 1. The frequent appearance of the same first name in close proximity indicates several branches to the family, or indeed completely unrelated families, suggested by the presence of paupers alongside the wealthy branches of the family. That there were wealthy Combeses becomes clear from the later seventeenth century in a variety of documents. In 1674 papers of the Bankes family of Kingston Lacy record a lease of a tenement to Richard Combes, yeoman.⁷⁶ Records of the Overseers of the Poor record apprenticeships to Richard Combes, yeoman, in 1696/7 and 1698/99, and to William Combes, yeoman, in 1718/19.⁷⁷

In the ecclesiastical records we see that Richard Combes was churchwarden in 1699-1700.⁷⁸ In 1709 Richard Combes of Bothenwood was appointed Governor of the Minster in place of the late Sir John Hanham.⁷⁹ Bothenwood is a farm two miles to the north of the Minster. In 1726 he acted as Receiver, the member of the Governors nominally responsible for the finances that year. However, in the minute book for the annual meetings in 1725 and 1726 he inscribed a mark instead of signing his name as previously, possibly an indication of failing health. His name was entered and crossed out in 1727, and he is not noted as attending any meetings thereafter. In 1729 he was mentioned as owing tythes of £11-0s-6d for 1722, 1723 and 1724, payable by next Michaelmas. Finally, in 1730, he was replaced as a Governor on his death by Thomas Deane. We have to wait until 1743 for a Combes to reappear, this time William Combes, replacing William Russell.

From the Churchwardens' records for 1742-1743 we see:

Willm Combes son of Richard for a place in the Head seat against the Great Pillar in the south side of the middle isle	8s ⁸⁰
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⁷⁵ Dorset History Centre (DHC) *PE-WM/TD/1/16/18*. This and the items in the next two footnotes were found using The National Archives website - <https://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/>

⁷⁶ DHC *D-BKL/A/K/646*

⁷⁷ DHC *PE-WM/OV/11/1/55*, *PE-WM/OV/11/1/33*, *PE-WM/OV/11/1/113*

⁷⁸ DHC *PE-WM/CW/1/43*

⁷⁹ DHC *PE-WM/GN/2/1/1*

⁸⁰ DHC *PE-WM/CW/1/43*

Chapter 3

This is a prestigious seat at the front of the nave, in the top price bracket for seats, as befits a prominent local family, especially on the elevation of its head to the ranks of the Governors.

To find out more about William Combes and his relations, we turn to the Parish Records. There we find the information in the table below.

Table 8 - details relating to Combes family members in the Parish Records of Wimborne Minster.

Entry	Date	Firstname	Surname spelling	Father	Record type	Notes	PE-WM/RE/ ⁸¹
1	31 Jan 1638	Mary	Combe		marriage	m William Chambers	1/1
2	27 Nov 1638	William	Coombe		marriage	m Elizabeth Moore	1/2
3	21 Feb 1641/2	Margary	Combe		marriage	m Will Capen	1/2
4	4 Oct 1641	Andrew	Combe		marriage	m Edeth Thedam	1/2
5	29 Aug 1642	Jone	Combe		marriage	m John Rabins	1/2
6	4 May 1643	Jane	Coombe		marriage	m Sampson Elliott	1/2
7	14 Nov 1644	Richard	Coombe		marriage	M Elizabeth Barnes	1/2
8	17 Mar 1660	Else (?)	Combes		burial		1/1
9	11 Jan 1670/1	Andrew	Coombes	William	burial		1/1
10	8 May 1679	Richard	Coombes		marriage	m Mary Skott	1/1
11	August 1681	Mary	Combs	Richard	Christening		1/1
12	Mar 1683/4	George	Combs	Richard	Christening		1/1
13	20 Jun 1693	Ann	Combe		burial		1/1
14	20 Mar 1698/9	Sarah	Combes		burial	wife of Richard	1/3
15	26 Jul 1696	Mary	Combes		burial		1/3
16	8 May 1701	Richard	Combes		marriage	m Mary Galpin	1/3
17	29 Mar 1703	Richard	Combes		burial	of Houndhill	1/3
18	06 Sep 1703	George	Combes	Richard	burial		1/3
19	23 Jan 1706/7	John	Combs		marriage	m Eliz Sommers	1/3
20	25 Jan 1707/8	Mary	Combs	John	Christening		1/3
21	9 July 1707	Andrew	Combes		marriage	m Margaret Scott	1/3
22	9 Aug 1708	Andrew	Combs	Andrew	Christening		1/3
23	2 Feb 1709/10	Elizab	Combs	John	Christening		1/3
24	9 Feb 1709/10	Eliz	Combes	John	Burial		1/3
25	4 Jun 1711	Margarett	Combes	Andrew	Christening		1/3
26	10 Aug 1711	George	Combes	William	christening		1/3
27	10 Aug 1711	Eliz	Combes		burial	wife of William	1/3
28	12 Aug 1711	Margarett	Combes	Andrew	burial		1/3
29	19 Feb 1711/12	George	Combes	William	burial		1/3
30	27 Jun 1714	Eliz	Combes	John	Christening		1/3
31	18 Jan 1715/16	John	Coombs	John	burial	son of John Coombs	1/3
32	8 Nov 1716	Janet(a) Maria	Coombs	John	Christening		1/3

⁸¹ These are taken from the Wimborne Minster Parish Records, held at the Dorset History Centre. DHC/PE-WM/RE/1/1-4. The final column indicates the volume from which the record is taken. They can be accessed through <https://www.familysearch.org/>.

Entry	Date	Firstname	Surname spelling	Father	Record type	Notes	PE-WM/RE/ ⁸¹
33	12 Feb 1717/18	William	Combs	William	Christening		1/3
34	16 Oct 1718	John	Combes		burial		1/3
35	4 June 1719	Rebeckah	Coombs	John	Christening		1/3
36	5 Apr 1720	George	Coombs	William	Christening		1/3
37	20 Mar 1721/22	John	Coombs	William	Christening		1/3
38	5 Jan 1724/5	Richard	Coombs	William	Christening		1/3
39	5 Apr 1727	Sarah	Coombs	William	Christening		1/3
40	1 May 1730	Richard	Combs		burial		1/3
41	22 May 1730	Richard	Combes		burial		1/3
42	1 Feb 1731/2	Thomas	Coombs	William	Christening		1/3
43	16 Dec 1738	Richard	Combs	Wm.	burial		1/3
44	22 May 1740	Richd	Coombs	George	Christening		1/3
45	3 Jul 1740	Elizth	Coombs		burial		1/3
46	2 Sep 1741	Jon	Combs		marriage	M Ann Bennett	1/3
47	19 Oct 1743	Jo(h)n	Coombs	George	Christening		1/3
48	11 Sep 1744	Eliz	Combes		burial	wife of William	1/3
49	21 Jun 1745	Wilm	Combes		marriage	M Elizh Hart	1/3
50	8 Aug 1745	Wm.	Combes		marriage	m Mary Goff	1/3
51	19 Nov 1746	Elizth.	Combs	Wm	Christening		1/3
52	24 Mar 1748	Wm.	Combes	Wm.	Christening		1/3
53	10 Sep 1749	Mary	Combes	Wm.	Christening		1/3
54	16 Jun 1750	Wm	Combes		burial		1/3
55	16 Oct 1751	John	Coombs	Wm.	Christening		1/3
56	11 Nov 1755	George	Combes	William	burial		1/3
57	17 Jul 1760	William	Combes		burial		1/3
58	4 Sep 1764	Mary	Coombs		burial	widow	1/4
59	28 May 1772	Mary	Combes		burial		1/4
60	28 Oct 1777	Eliz	Combes		burial	wido'	1/4
61	28 Dec 1777	Job	Combes		burial		1/4
62	17 Jan 1780	Ann	Combes		burial	wido of Mr George Combes	1/4
63	9 Sep 1786	William	Combe		burial	pauper	1/4
64	30 Apr 1790	Mary	Combe		burial	pauper	1/4
65	17 Jun 1796	Sarah	Combes		burial		1/4
66	2 Jan 1802	Richard	Combes		burial	late organist of this church	1/4
67	20 Jul 1804	John	Combes		burial		1/4

It must be noted that these records are not absolutely complete, and some pages have illegible areas. Therefore the lack of a record of a particular person's baptism or burial can not be taken as evidence that they did not live their whole life in Wimborne. Equally, the frequent repetition of first names such as George, William and Richard pose a challenge in identifying particular individuals and kinship. The variability in surname spelling is also found in the manuscript

partbooks, clearly referring to the same person, and therefore can not be considered indicative of different identities. I will use the spelling 'Combes' as elsewhere.

An important figure to look at is William, the Governor of the Minster appointed in 1743. He is described as 'son of Richard', and it is reasonable to suppose that the Richard referred to was the earlier Governor. Richard's will of 1736, lodged at the Prerogative Court of Canterbury, mentions William as his son and refers to properties in Culverhays, to the west side of Wimborne.⁸²

William's will is dated 1750, and we are able to cross-reference it with the parish records.⁸³ In the table above, entries 26, 27, 28, 29 and 42 give the births of his children George, John, Richard, Sarah and Thomas. His first wife, Elizabeth, died in 1744, (we see her grave in the church and a ringing of the Great Bell in the Churchwarden's accounts), and he remarried in 1745, to Mary Goff.⁸⁴ His son Richard died aged 8.

This William Combes himself died in June 1750. As well as the Parish Records this is found in the Churchwarden's Account for the year 1749 -1750, where there are payments for both the Great Bell, tolled to mark a death, and for a grave in the church for William Combes.⁸⁵ The former cost 2 shillings and 6 pence, the latter 6 shillings and 8 pence. Graves in the church were a mark of standing in the community, fitting for a Governor. There are no further records of his attendance at Governor's meetings from 1749.

We can find out more about his family and status from his last will and testament. It was drawn up under the jurisdiction of the Prerogative Court of Canterbury on 30th April 1750 in the presence of Nicholas Russell, a fellow Governor, and John White. This appears in Appendix B. It mentions sons George, John and Thomas, a wife Mary, a daughter Sarah, and a late father Richard. This is presumably his predecessor in the role of Governor, as well as in the role of *paterfamilias*.

Thomas is only afforded one mention, being left all the household goods. As we saw in the parish records, he was born in February 1731/2, and would therefore be reaching adulthood. A legacy of household goods would seem fitting, therefore, as would assigning the role of executors to his older brothers. George and John, having been bequeathed a tankard and six silver spoons respectively, are then given charge of the estate of leasehold properties. Much of the will is concerned with the maintenance of Sarah, who is blind, and is to be secured an annuity of £12 for life. This is to be provided from the rents and profits of the properties, or through their sale and the calling in of a debt, if more profitable. These properties had previously been bought by

⁸² The National Archives, Kew (TNA) – Prerogative Court of Canterbury, *PROB 11/677/6*

⁸³ TNA *PROB 11/788/250*

⁸⁴ DHC *PE-WM/CW/1/43*

⁸⁵ *ibid*

Richard, and lie in an area called Culverhays, which is by a chapel and almshouse of the Minster, St Margaret's, and now contains Wimborne Cemetery. His current wife, Mary, referred to as 'my now wife', is given a small legacy.

To take a brief side-step, another William Combes married Elizabeth Hart in July 1745 (entry 49). It seems reasonable to think that the Elizabeth, William, Mary and John of entries 51, 52, 53 and 55 are his, with William's death recorded in entry 54. Likewise, the listing of the burial of George Combes in 1755 as 'son of William' would indicate an infant burial, rather than an adult, which may indicate another progeny of this William whose baptism is lost, or never took place (56). The Churchwarden's accounts of 1751 – 1752 and of 1755 – 1756 show payments for burial in the church of children of William Combes.⁸⁶ That this Combes had standing in the town is implied by the listing of another grave in the Minster and a ringing of the Great Bell in 1759 – 1760 for his death, as well as the graves in church for his two children.⁸⁷ After his death, his wife had to move pews- from the Churchwardens' accounts of the same year:

of Eliz.th Combes Widow for a right in No ?? from Sir Edward Uvedale's tomb to the
Reading Desk 0-10-0⁸⁸

This is not such a prime position as we saw the older William Combes sat in, though you will note the price inflation of pews over the intervening 16 years.

We come, then, to the main point, the search for George Combes. Within a reasonable timeframe we first see a George in 1711, entry 26. Unfortunately, his mother would seem to have died in childbirth (27), and he survived only a few months (28). So we are led strongly to George, the son of William the Governor, born in 1720 (36).

To move ahead a little, it seems certain that the Richard born in 1740 (44) and the John born in 1743 (47) are George the Organist's. They both appear in the Governors' Minute Book when joining the choir as sons of the organist, and the age ranges are extremely plausible.⁸⁹ That this George is the George born in 1720 is absolutely possible, though would indicate a marriage on the younger side of average. A marriage is recorded in Gussage All Saints, 8 miles to the north of Wimborne, on 3rd May 1739 of George Combes to Anne Willis, which may be the union that led to

⁸⁶ DHC PE-WM/CW/1/44

⁸⁷ *ibid*

⁸⁸ *ibid*

⁸⁹ DHC PE-WM/GN/2/1/1

the issue described.⁹⁰ If this Ann(e) is the Ann christened in Wimborne in 1713, then she is the daughter of longstanding choir member Roger Willis, who sang from 1690 – 1732, and had 6 descendants in the choir.⁹¹ Certainly George's wife was called Ann, as seen in entry 62, the record of her burial on 17th January 1780. If she had accompanied her husband to Bristol it is natural for her to return to Wimborne where her son was organist after his death, and where she may have had more extended family.

There are two possible deductions from this, one more secure than the other. One is that George was the son of a Minster Governor, and part of an established and wealthy local family, possibly linked by marriage to an important family in the musical life of Wimborne. A certain amount of conjecture is required to support this, but there is nothing in the facts to negate it. The other, unavoidable conclusion is that George Combes lived in Wimborne in the years before his appointment in 1743/4, his two sons being christened there in 1740 and 1743. This is an important distinction from his predecessors in the role, and further supported by evidence from the Governors' Minute Book, to which I will return.

One notable omission is any lack of reference to the Combes family within the choir, prior to George's arrival as organist. If, as I would suggest is possible, our organist George is the son of the Governor William, who in turn is the son of the Governor Richard, then these are people very much of the town. What education led George into the profession of organist if not a training at the Minster? If his family were encouraging of his musical talent, what could be more obvious than availing themselves of the opportunities available at the church with which they were so closely linked? But there is no mention of George, John, or Thomas in the records as choirboys. There are certainly a few small gaps in the records, but the period in question is very complete, and I would suggest that the gaps are not big enough for these boys to fall through. When it comes to the back row of the choir it is possible to identify the line-up for almost every year from the restoration onwards, and there was certainly no space for George within it.

There is a possible answer to the question of the absence of the Combes boys from the choir in the social structure of Wimborne. David Reeve, in his PhD thesis at the University of Exeter, looked closely at the strata of society in Wimborne town and church in the 17th century.⁹² As the town was so dominated by the Minster, and had no separate corporation of its own, the town's

⁹⁰ 'England, Dorset, Parish Registers, 1538-2001', database with images, FamilySearch (<https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:QJD4-BK65> : 2 June 2020), George Coomes and Anne Willis, 1739.

⁹¹ (<https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:QJDC-HQ6Q> : 14 May 2020), Ann Willis, 1713.

⁹² David Reeve, 'A Study of a Small Town - Wimborne Minster 1620-1690' (PhD, Exeter, 2002).

hierarchy was the Minster's. He identifies three clear levels – the Governors, the Churchwardens and the Sidesmen/Overseers of the Poor. We are therefore looking at the family being a part of the highest level of Wimborne society – perhaps a rung down from the Hanham and Bankes families, who always have multiple representations on the board of Governors, but nevertheless in a high position. These are simply not the families who presented their sons to be choristers at the Minster. The first record of the son of a governor in the choir is Richard, the son of William Austen, who joined the choir in 1763 for three years.⁹³ Even in this case, William Austen held the paid role of Deputy Registrar to the Governors whilst also having his own seat, and was agent to the Bankes family, so he was perhaps not quite of the first order of rank. As I have shown in the chapter on the composition of the choir, it was the middling sort, tradesmen and artisans, who provided the bulk of the choir. It would seem more likely that the sons of the Combes family were sent away for their education to a public school, where they may have found ample opportunity for a musical education. However, I have not been able to find George's name in any records, such as the Winchester Long Rolls, so far.⁹⁴

That George Combes was known at the Minster prior to his appointment is further indicated by two entries in the Governors' records. Firstly from the accounts of 1739:

Mr Combes in pl of Musick for the choir 1-1-0⁹⁵

No first name, of course, but it indicates musical involvement from the family before they have any formal appointment in the musical ranks, and it would seem likely that George is the Combes involved. And from the accounts of 1743, when Fyler was still organist:

Mr Coombes for Musick by order of the Corporation 2-2-0⁹⁶

In these cases I think it is reasonable to interpret 'Musick' as compositions or copies, rather than services rendered, which indicates that Combes' prowess as a composer was already valued by the church. This is supported by the presence of works by Combes in some of the earliest books in the collection, P12 and P13, discussed further in the chapter on sources. Whilst exact dating is impossible, it is a further hint towards Combes's early involvement with the Minster.

⁹³ DHC PE-WM/GN/2/1/1

⁹⁴ Clifford Wyndham Holgate, *The Winchester Long Rolls, 1653 – 1812*, (Winchester, P & G Wells, 1899)

⁹⁵ DHC PE-WM/GN/2/1/1

⁹⁶ *ibid*

Chapter 3

This brings us to the point of Combes's appointment as Organist of Wimborne Minster. At an extraordinary meeting of the Governors on 8th January 1743 (old style – so 1744 new style) the single item of business was:

George Combes chosen Organist in Room of John Tyler. £25 pa to commence St Thomas' Last⁹⁷

It is worth noting that this follows very shortly on from William Combes' first meeting as Governor.

None of this, of course, proves the direct family connection I have suggested, particularly given the common nature of the forenames involved. Indeed, another very conceivable option is that the organist George was a more distant relation of musical note brought in to the role, though this supposition is undermined by his clear presence in the town before his appointment. Or equally, a great deal of coincidence may be at work. However, I think the weight of evidence links our composer to an established and influential family, thoroughly embedded in the soil of Wimborne. It also raises the possibility that George had an income, and concomitant responsibilities, separate from his professional work.

This takes further two aspects highlighted in the previous chapter. Firstly, developing the tendency towards self-sufficiency seen within the choir, where the men received their training as choristers, and the choristers were, to the extent that was biologically possible, provided by the men. The appointment of 'local talent' can be seen as continuing that tradition, even if, as I suggest, Combes may have received his education elsewhere. That chimes in with the second feature seen with organists over the years, that this was a role of greater significance than membership of the choir. In previous appointments this has been expressed in the bringing in of men with cathedral experience. In the case of Combes, it can be read that the role of Organist was suitable for a member of a more elite family, in a way that joining the choir as a chorister was not.⁹⁸

Further evidence of George Combes's status within the town is provided by his appointment as a Churchwarden for the year 1753 – 1754. That this is the same George Combes as the organist is shown by the signature below, which matches several other examples, discussed in Chapter 5.

⁹⁷ *ibid*

⁹⁸ For more on the social strata of the choir, see Reeve, 'A Study of a Small Town', and Cornish-Dale, 'Migrations of the Holy', chapter VI.

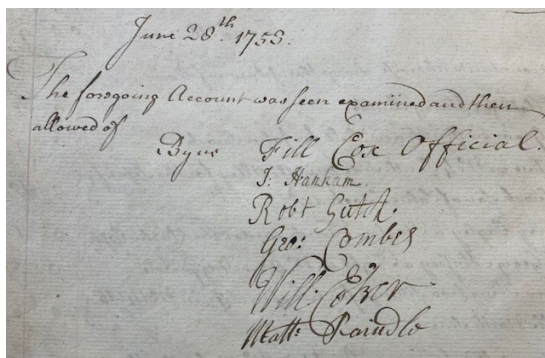


Figure 6 - George Combes's signature among names signing off the Churchwardens' accounts of 1752 - 1753⁹⁹

During Combes time at the Minster, in 1756, he was appointed to Bristol Cathedral, and whilst there is no record of his absence from the Minster, there is plenty of evidence of his presence in Bristol.¹⁰⁰ He was not only Organist at the Cathedral from 1756-1759, he was also employed there for some time as a singing man, and was organist of All Saints, Bristol from 1756 - 1758. He advertised in 1757 that he could teach ladies on the harpsichord and guitar, and that he would attend ladies in the countryside.¹⁰¹ Such plurality of posts was not uncommon.¹⁰² Whilst in Bristol he published a book of psalm tunes - the copy in the British Library bears the signature of Samuel Wesley.¹⁰³ Combes left Bristol to return to Wimborne in 1759, finally settling back in Bristol in 1765 for the remainder of his life. What led to his return, and what was happening in Wimborne during his tenure in Bristol? Family may be the answer to these questions.

George's son Richard was baptised on 22nd May 1740, and admitted as a Minster chorister in 1748. He left the choir in 1755, aged 15.¹⁰⁴ He went to Southampton, to be organist of the Holy Rood Church in 1759, aged around 19, and subsequently returned to the Minster when his father left for Bristol a second time, staying until his death.¹⁰⁵ Perhaps from the ages of 16 to 19 he took on the work of his father in Wimborne whilst his father drew the salary. His move to

⁹⁹ DHC PE-WM/CW/1/44

¹⁰⁰ The lack of evidence for his leaving Wimborne, but not the evidence for his presence in Bristol, is noted in Matthews, *Organs and Organists*

¹⁰¹ Jonathan Barry 'Charles Wesley's Family and the Musical Life of Bristol', in *Music and the Wesleys*, by Nicholas Temperley, Stephen Banfield, and Jonathan Barry (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2010).

¹⁰² Stephen Banfield, *Music in the West Country : Social and Cultural History across an English Region* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2018), Cyril Ehrlich, *The Music Profession in Britain since the Eighteenth Century : A Social History*, New ed. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1988).

¹⁰³ George Coombes, *Twenty Psalm Tunes in three Parts, adapted and sung to the new version of the Psalms at the Cathedral & most other places of public worship in Bristol ... Composed by the late Mr Coombes and other eminent masters*. (Bristol: Longmans, Lukey & Co : London, for T. Naish, 1772).

¹⁰⁴ DHC PE-WM/RE/1/3, PE-WM/GN/2/1/1

¹⁰⁵ Matthews, *Organs and Organists*

Southampton may have been prompted by his father's return, or alternatively may perhaps have been a factor contributing to George needing to be back in Wimborne in person.

A final family correlation, or perhaps a final coincidence. Our 'other' William Combes died around the time of George's return from Bristol – we have seen that the Churchwarden's accounts of 1759-1760 record a grave in the church and a ringing of the great bell for him.¹⁰⁶ If we are dealing with one large family, might this be the cause of George's return?

As a postscript to this family history, and to introduce a familiar composer whose influence over Wimborne we will consider next, an interesting score has come to light, this time in the private possession of Dr Richard Hall. It is a full score of Handel's *Coronation Anthems*, printed by Walsh. The front of the volume has various inscriptions, including the signature of William Hiscock, the Minster chorister who went on to be Organist of Christchurch Priory for 63 years (see chapter on the Minster choir), that of George Ferry, his successor, and our own George Combes. Inside the front cover is a brief account of Richard Coombs, as follows:

This Book, as many others, were once the property of Mr Richard Coombs Organist of Wimborne – one of the first organ players in the Kingdom, After the Death of his Brother John Coombs (who survived him) they came into the possession of Mr Rd Austen of Wimborne in the manner as follows. Rd/his Brother/ left his Brother John £400 – He sold this to Rd Austen for an Annuity, after which about 2 years, fearing He should live to want (as reported) starved himself to death, killed himself with fear and grief as he knew his remittances was doubtful of their ever being made good to him – so Austen got all his money & books for a mere trifle, of whom I bought them.¹⁰⁷

A tale of underhand dealing between former choristers, all three of the protagonists having been in the choir. Two other aspects are significant to this study. Firstly, the bequest of £400. In fact, an examination of Richard's will (in appendix B) shows the bequest as £500, a subsidiary legacy to the main inheritance, which went to his wife.¹⁰⁸ This indicates a family living in reasonable comfort, despite John's irrational response to his financial situation, and further supports the theory that these Combeses are part of the wealthy local family. Second, the existence of a full orchestral score of Handel's *Coronation Anthems* in the possession of George Combes. That this was a valued item is demonstrated by its careful passing down through successions of organists,

¹⁰⁶ DHC PE-WM/CW/1/44

¹⁰⁷ The pencilled text has been altered, sometimes making the sense more clear, sometimes less. I have presented what seems to be a reasonable reading.

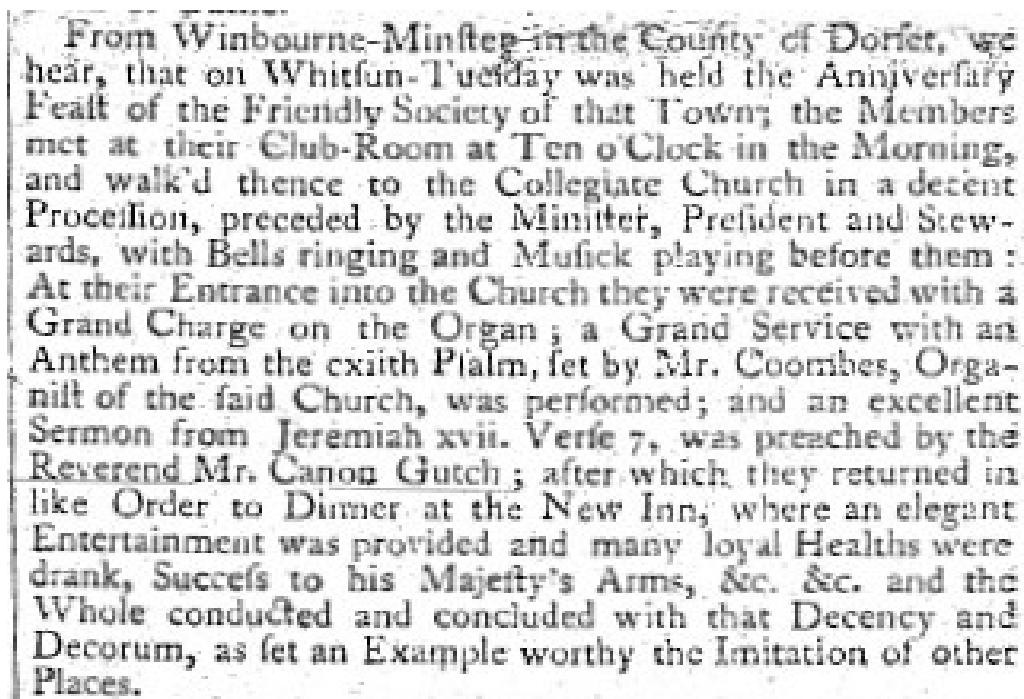
¹⁰⁸ TNA PROB 11/1368/186

with the brief piece of trading described above. It seems unlikely that it was ornamental, and therefore implies orchestral performance in Wimborne. This hypothesis is supported by further evidence of a burgeoning civic musical culture in late 18th century Wimborne, in which George Combes played a central role, and to which we turn next.

3.2 George Combes and the Annual Meeting of the Friendly Society

The rise of the provincial music festival is a well-attested phenomenon of the 18th century, with events in cathedral cities and larger towns, often spanning a number of days, serving to unite polite society from across the region in artistic enjoyment and charitable support.¹⁰⁹ The role of the music of Handel in this phenomenon is also well known. That a town the size of Wimborne should undertake a similar event is more surprising, and demonstrates that the musical establishment of the town, synonymous with the Minster, had aspirations more in keeping with larger centres. This became particularly pronounced after George Combes's first period in Bristol, but the annual occurrence seems to have ceased after his eventual return there. In this section I will analyse the growth of the event and the forces in play that drove its development and demise, and at the web of local relationships that made it possible.

The first reference to this event is found in the Salisbury Journal, June 21st, 1756:¹¹⁰



From Winbourne-Minster in the County of Dorset, we hear, that on Whitfun-Tuesday was held the Anniversary Feast of the Friendly Society of that Town; the Members met at their Club-Room at Ten o'Clock in the Morning, and walk'd thence to the Collegiate Church in a decent Procession, preceded by the Minister, President and Stewards, with Bells ringing and Musick playing before them: At their Entrance into the Church they were received with a Grand Charge on the Organ; a Grand Service with an Anthem from the cxiith Psalm, set by Mr. Coombes, Organist of the said Church, was performed; and an excellent Sermon from Jeremiah xvii. Verse 7, was preached by the Reverend Mr. Canon Gutch; after which they returned in like Order to Dinner at the New Inn; where an elegant Entertainment was provided and many loyal Healths were drank, Success to his Majesty's Arms, &c. &c. and the Whole conducted and concluded with that Decency and Decorum, as set an Example worthy the Imitation of other Places.

Figure 7 – from Salisbury Journal, June 21st, 1756

¹⁰⁹ See, amongst many others, Pippa Drummond, *The Provincial Music Festival in England 1784-1918* (Routledge, 2016), Anthony Boden and Christian Wilson, *The Three Choirs: A History of the Festival - Gloucester, Hereford, Worcester, with Annals of the Three Choirs by Christian Wilson*. (Alan Sutton, 1992). Peter Borsay, 'The English Urban Renaissance: The Development of Provincial Urban Culture c. 1680-c. 1760', *Social History*, 1977. Rachel Cowgill and Peter Holman, *Music in the British Provinces, 1690-1914* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007). John Brewer, *The Pleasures of the Imagination: English Culture in the Eighteenth Century*, (New York: Farrar Straus Giroux, 1997).

¹¹⁰ All newspaper references here can be found at the British Newspaper Archive - <https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/>

The emphasis placed here on decency, decorum, loyalty and excellence are significant markers of the social intention of the function. The combination of religion with conviviality and art is seen across all such festivals, although the singling out of the sermon in this case perhaps shifts the weight a little more strongly to the ecclesiastical side. There is importance placed on the choreography of display – the procession laid out in order of rank, the mention of specially designated spaces and of markers of a wealthy church, the bells and organ – intended to promote the importance of the organising group. That Wimborne saw itself as a local leader is clear from the final sentence.

A question that arises from this event is 'what is the Friendly Society of Wimborne Minster'? Unfortunately, this annual event is nearly all that can be found out about it. The term Friendly Society is most strongly associated with mutual support organisations for 19th century workers.¹¹¹ The 1793 Friendly Societies Act sought to regularise the early rise of these institutions, rather later than our period. Also after the time of this study, and after the musical festivities had ceased, is reference from 1775, part of the annual notice of the meeting:¹¹²

N. B. The Society now being established by its excellent rules on a permanent and lasting footing, and the stock, which is daily encreasing, properly secured, will be an inducement to many to become members thereof....

However, this is the first notice of its kind and, by its content, seems to imply a change of direction and establishment for the society. In the earlier period of its existence, it seems to have provided an opportunity for the great and the good of the local area to socialise. The term can be seen again in a related context in the *Sherborne Mercury* of 29th May 1775, announcing that in Colyton the 'Female Friendly Society will process to church, attended by a band of music'. Likewise in the *Salisbury and Winchester Journal*, 5th May 1766, the Friendly Society of Wareham is 'to proceed with Music and elegant Colours, in a Body to Church, to hear divine Service'. These references do not give us much information on the nature of these societies, but reflect the combination of conviviality, religion and public display seen in Wimborne.

The only other surviving newspaper record of the Friendly Society outside of its annual festival is again in the form of a newspaper advertisement, in the *Salisbury Journal* of 10th September 1761:

¹¹¹ Martin Gorsky, 'Mutual Aid and Civil Society: Friendly Societies in Nineteenth-Century Bristol.' *Urban History* 25, no. 3 (1998): 302–22, Simon Cordery, 'Friendly Societies and the Discourse of Respectability in Britain, 1825–1875.' *Journal of British Studies* 34, no. 1 (1995): 35–58.

¹¹² *Salisbury and Winchester Journal*, 29th May 1775, p3

Winbourn-Minster, Dorset, Sept. 10, 1761.
THE Out-Members of the Friendly Society of
this Town, are desired to meet in their Club-Room by
Eleven o'Clock in the Morning, on his Majesty's Coronation
Day, in order to proceed to the Church, preceded by a Band of
Music; where, in Honour of the Day, will be performed a grand
Te Deum, Anthems, and other sacred Music, suitable on so
great a Festival.
N. B. In the Evening, Fire-Works of various Constructions
will be exhibited by Mr. Bowles, Watch-Maker, of this Town.

Figure 8 – from Salisbury Journal, 10th September 1761

Another example of conspicuous display for a great occasion, keeping the upper echelons of the town and area's society tied together and publicly promoted.

We have one concrete, or rather brick and stone, piece of evidence left to us. If you head into the Cornmarket to the north of the Minster you will see the offices of a financial planner, in an elegant building, shown in figure 4. This was originally a market hall, with an open arcade at ground level, and a hall above. Look up to the curvilinear brick gable, and there is a stone plaque engraved with

this edifice was erected with the affliance of the neighbouring gentlemen, by
the Friendly Society of this town, for their life. 1758



Figure 9 - the clubhouse of the Friendly Society

This date of construction means that there must have been an earlier club-room from which the members walked to the church service in 1756. Peter Borsay points to the emergence of specific

buildings linked to culture and recreation as vital markers of affluence in the urban renaissance of the 18th century.¹¹³ He links this to the rise of artistic and social events such as the music festival, and identifies the relationship between charitable giving and these leisure activities. It can be seen, therefore, that Wimborne fits a broader social trend. Less expected is the presence of these activities in a town the size of Wimborne, which seemed to take its tone from the grandeur of its church, rather than the scale or wealth of the town as a whole.

The other building mentioned is The New Inn, just across the road from the Minster, the building that is now McColls, the Albion and Saville Travel. It was one of the most important inns in the town, and sometimes the venue chosen by the Governors of the Minster for their meetings.

On the musical side the descriptions for the 1756 event are generally vague, but include a specific attribution to George Combes. Alongside 'a Grand Charge on the organ' (which may have been becoming unreliable by this time), and 'an elegant Entertainment' in the evening, a setting of the 112th Psalm by Combes is mentioned. Pleasingly, this anthem can be found in the part books held in the Chained Library, and is presented as part of this edition – Blessed is the Man. The text of this anthem, to be found in the Critical Commentary of the edition, could be seen as a manifesto for the organisation, giving us a flavour of its priorities. Its essence is the value of charitable giving, and the everlasting remembrance and prosperous inheritance that flows from it. These are very suitable ideals for an organisation of the local elite to desire to project.

Another Salisbury Journal reference shows how the event had developed over the next few years. From 25th June 1759:¹¹⁴

¹¹³ Peter Borsay, *The English Urban Renaissance : Culture and Society in the Provincial Town, 1660-1770* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989). Peter Borsay, *The Eighteenth-Century Town : A Reader in English Urban History 1688-1820*, Readers in Urban History (Harlow : Longman, 1990).

¹¹⁴ The quality of images is dependent on the condition of the microfiche. I include a transcription of those that are difficult to read: *We hear from Winbourn-Minster in Dorsetshire, that on Tuesday the 12th inst. (Trinity- Tuesday) was held at the New Inn, the annual feast of the friendly society of that town, they made their procession to the church, half an hour after ten o'clock, where was performed Mr. Purcel's grand Te Deum, and an anthem for the occasion set by Mr. Combes; after which an excellent sermon was preached by the Rev. Mr. John Cox; the performance was in every respect done with great nicety and exactness, and gave a general satisfaction to an audience of at least five thousand people, amongst which were a great many persons of distinction, who honoured the concert and ball in the evening with their company, which was very polite and brilliant.*

We hear from Winbourn-Minster in Dorsetshire, that on Tuesday the 12th inst. was held at the New Inn, the annual prof of the Friendly Society of that town, they made their procession to the church, half an hour after ten o'clock, where was performed Mr. Purcell's grand Te Deum, and an anthem for the occasion set by Mr. Combes; after which an excellent sermon was preached by the Rev. Mr. John Cox; the performance was in every respect done with great nicety and exactness, and gave a general satisfaction to an audience of at least five thousand people, amongst which were a great many persons of distinction, who honoured the concert and ball in the evening with their company, which was very polite and brilliant.

Figure 10 – from Salisbury Journal, 25th June 1759

The five thousand must be either hyperbole or an error, but the persons of distinction, with their polite and brilliant company give a flavour of the sort of event this was. Purcell's Te Deum is a hefty work, scored with orchestral accompaniment, though we cannot know what forces were used in this case. The music appears in the part books, and instrumental cues are mentioned, so possibly the Minster choir was joined by players. Incidentally, this piece was sung at what is now known as the Three Choirs Festival from its inception in 1715, annually for almost forty years.¹¹⁵ The reference to the anthem being 'for the occasion' could well imply a direct commission, demonstrating the organisation's patronage of the town's artistic life, and an example of their shaping the cultural landscape as they had the physical one with the building of their clubroom. This feature is mentioned again in 1761, clearly an aspect of the Society's patronage of which they were proud.

¹¹⁵ Watkins Shaw, *The Three Choirs Festival: The Official History of the Meetings of the Three Choirs of Gloucester, Hereford and Worcester, c.1713-1953*, (Baylis, 1954); Boden and Wilson, *The Three Choirs : A History of the Festival - Gloucester, Hereford, Worcester, with Annals of the Three Choirs by Christian Wilson*, (Stroud: Sutton, 1992).



Figure 11- extract from Purcell Te Deum in D, Wimborne partbook P11

No reference to this 'annual' event is found in the Salisbury Journal between these two dates. This interestingly coincides with the move of George Combes to Bristol, described above. I will return to the implications of this later. What George Combes did and encountered in Bristol is of importance to the development of the Friendly Society's annual event. The city at that time was a major centre, with an important maritime economy, and had a cultural life to match. This was enhanced by its proximity to fashionable Bath. The Cathedral and the New Assembly Rooms were significant concert venues. In the former was held the first performance of *Messiah* in a sacred space outside the Foundling Hospital Chapel. In fact, this event represented a tipping point for music festivals across the country, who had until then followed the pattern of a morning service in church or cathedral, with an evening concert in a hall. *Messiah* began to take the place of services, becoming in itself an act of worship in a way it had not previously been. This performance was in 1758, and one notable attendee was one of the most significant religious figures of the period, John Wesley. In his journal on 17th August, he wrote:¹¹⁶

I went to the cathedral to hear Mr Handel's *Messiah*. I doubt if that congregation was ever so serious at a sermon as they were during this performance. In many parts, especially several of the choruses, it exceeded my expectation.

It would seem likely that the cathedral organist would have had some involvement in such an event. A year before at the New Assembly Rooms had been a performance of *Judas Maccabeus*. Perhaps that is the source of the rather fine manuscript score of the first act of the piece that resides in the Chained Library.

The eighteenth century was the time of the development of the great choral festival, epitomised to the modern mind by the Three Choirs Festival, originally called the Music Meeting, which has

¹¹⁶ John Wesley, ed Percy Livingstone Parker, *The Journal of John Wesley* (Chicago: Moody Press, 1951), p96

run from 1715 to the present day. At this period however it was not alone, nor even preeminent. A similar event was held in Salisbury around St Cecilia's tide, and in Bristol the movement was represented by the Bristol Sons of the Clergy. Like its more famous counterpart at St Paul's in London, this festival raised money for impoverished widows and children of clerics, and in the mid-18th century was more successful in its finances than the Three Choirs. It was in part through these festivals that Handel attained his canonical place in the life of English choirs. It is interesting to note that during this period, whilst Messiah was becoming a mainstay, the rest of Handel's oratorio output retained a more significant market share than it does today.¹¹⁷

Perhaps this exposure to wider culture and a greater range of music making inspired George Combes to broaden the horizons of Wimborne on his return for the period 1759-1765. Looking at the Friendly Society event, it retains much of its structure, but in content begins to resemble those great music festivals of the provincial hubs.

The announcement in the Salisbury Journal for the 1760 festival reads:

Winbourn-Minster, in Dorsetshire, May 14, 1760.
Notice is hereby given,
THAT the Anniverfary FESTIVAL of the FRIENDLY SOCIETY of this Town, will be held on Trinity-Tuesday, being the 3d Day of June next; when all the Out-Members are desired to attend the Proceffion to Church, as usual: Where will be perform'd, Mr. Handel's grand Te Deum, that was compos'd after the Battle of Dettingen; the Coronation Anthem, GOD SAVE THE KING; another for the Occasion, with many other select Pieces of Church-Musick, by the best Performers from Sarum, Bath, &c. Divine Service will begin at half an Hour after Ten o'Clock; before which Time, such Gentlemen and Ladies, as shall be pleas'd to honour the above Performance with their Company, are desired to be in the Church: And that the Choir may not be too much croud'd, it is thought necessary to admit every Person thereto by Tickets.
 In the Evening, at the New Room, (which is now compleatly fitted up, with proper Withdrawing-Rooms adjoining) will be perform'd the Mask of ACIS and GALATEA, after the Manner of an Oratorio. To conclude with a Ball for the Ladies.
 Tickets for the Choir, and the Room, to be had at Mr. Toxy's, Bookfeller, in Winbourn aforesaid; as also the Words of the Anthem for the Day, and of the Mask in the Evening.

Figure 12 - from Salisbury Journal, 14th May 1760

So we have gone from an extended but nevertheless relatively simple verse anthem as the main event in 1756, to the Dettingen Te Deum, a forty minute work involving a large baroque

¹¹⁷ For raw data on music festival programmes see Douglas J. Reid and Brian Pritchard, 'Some Festival Programmes of the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries 1. Salisbury and Winchester', *Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle* 5, no. 1 (1 January 1965): 51–79, and following articles by the same authors.

orchestra, soloists and chorus headlining the service, alongside other large pieces. The evening has progressed from 'an Elegant entertainment' with 'many loyal Healths drunk' to a formal performance of a substantial oratorio in a newly gentrified space, and a ball. The New Room is presumably the Friendly Society clubhouse, dated 1758, with its finishing touches apparently completed in time for these celebrations. The nature of the town at the time is further hinted at by the presence of a bookseller in the town, a classic marker of the rise of literacy and culture among the wider population.¹¹⁸ A further example of prosperity was seen in the Coronation festivities, with the town's watchmaker displaying fireworks. Naturally, I cannot pass a name without a choir link – two members of the Tory family were admitted as choristers, in 1778 and 1780.¹¹⁹

This is all now going beyond the resources of the Minster itself, with its choir of four boys and six men. Whilst Zadok the Priest (referred to as 'the coronation anthem God Save the King') appears in the part books, the rest of the music does not. Whilst the Minster singers may have been involved, considerable outside assistance was clearly needed, as referenced by the mention of 'the best Performers from Sarum, Bath etc'. We have a little more detail on this from the correspondence of James Harris of Salisbury, MP and keen musician. This is a letter from Thomas Jeans and William Holloway to Harris, asking for assistance for the festival:¹²⁰

24 April 1760. Thomas Jeans sr and William Holloway, Christchurch, to James Harris, Salisbury [G665/5]

On your farther perusing this epistle, we hope the contents will plead some excuse, for the liberty we have taken.

Trinity Tuesday being appointed for holding a feast at Wimborne Minster, for a Society which many of this town belong to—the said society has been greatly encouraged, and indeed solicited by the neighbouring gentry, to have a musical performance in the church, & likewise in the evening; for which we have made application to the organist, who has given us for answer, that it may be done, could a boy be procured to perform a principal part; but such boy could not be had any where, but at Salisbury[.] As there has been some misunderstanding between him and your organist, he declined making any application.

¹¹⁸ Borsay, *The English Urban Renaissance : Culture and Society in the Provincial Town, 1660-1770* (Clarendon Press, 1991). Jonathan Barry, 'Consumers' Passions: The Middle Class in Eighteenth-Century England', *The Historical Journal*, 1991.

¹¹⁹ DHC PE-WM/GN/2/1/1

¹²⁰ Donald Burrows, Rosemary Dunhill, and James Harris, *Music and Theatre in Handel's World: The Family Papers of James Harris, 1732-1780* (Oxford University Press, 2002).

Sir we will take upon us to assure you, the organist hath nothing to do with it any farther, than conducting the performance; we shall esteem it as a particular favour, if you would be so good as to use your interest, to procure a boy; which will not only enable us, to go through the performance with more reputation, but give a satisfaction to the gentry who are pleased to encourage the intended performance; (many of whom you well know;) and such boy shall be duly satisfied for his trouble herein.

As well as hinting at an interesting bit of friction between local colleagues, with the implication that the request for a soloist would not be met if it came directly from Combes, this shows the importance of relationships with the principal provincial centres for music making in rural areas. As the conception of this scale of event may not have been possible without Combes' exposure to the festivals of Bristol, so their execution required a network of connections across the area. *Acis and Galatea* was performed in Salisbury 9 times between 1740 and 1792, so perhaps the familiarity of the work to Salisbury performers, and the availability of parts, had an influence over its choice for Wimborne.¹²¹

Another interesting aspect of this is what it tells us about the support these sorts of activities had. It would seem that gentry from a wide area were encouraging of these more adventurous undertakings, perhaps aspiring to bring local culture up to the levels of larger centres. Jeans was from Christchurch, a town where the musical links with Wimborne were further strengthened in 1788 when a former Wimborne singingman, William Hiscock, was appointed as their first post-restoration organist. This all demonstrates that Wimborne, whilst peripheral to major centres like Bath, Bristol and Salisbury, was a significant nexus for the cultural life of Dorset and Hampshire.

The secular elements of the festival also support this interpretation. The ball was seemingly quite a party, as testified to in the report in the paper on June 23rd:

¹²¹ Nigel Wyatt, 'The Annual Music Festivals of 18th Century Salisbury', *The Sarum Chronicle*, no. 20 (2020): 23–40.

Trinity Tuesday last, being the anniversary festival of the friendly society of Wimborne-Minster, in the county of Dorset, the same was celebrated there in the usual manner, by a genteel procession of the members thereof to the Church, preceded by a band of musick; where an excellent sermon was generously preached by the Rev. Mr. Fill Cox the official, from Hebrews 13th chap. and 16th verse; after which, they returned in like manner to the George Inn to dinner, where many loyal healths were drank, and the afternoon spent with that harmony, and decorum, as become so laudable an institution. The sacred music at the Church in the morning, and the masque of Acis and Galatea at the assembly-room in the evening, went off to the satisfaction of a numerous and polite audience of persons of rank and distinction. The ball which lasted till four o'clock in the morning, was open'd by Capt. Wyndham, of the guards, and Mrs. Webb, of Great Canford.

Figure 13 – from Salisbury Journal, June 23rd 1760

Major eighteenth century buzz words abound here once again - harmony, decorum, rank - and above all an adjective that defined the overriding principle governing society - polite. Captain Wyndham might have been Wadham Wyndham, well-known bon vivant from Dinton House to the west of Salisbury. Perhaps this might be an occasion when a great hobby of the time was indulged in - the singing of catches. We have one additional work of Combes, not found in the Minster sources, belonging to this genre. This was published in Warren's *A Collection of Vocal Harmony* publication for the London Catch Club.¹²² The text relates to three previous organists of the Minster, now lying near each other in death (we do not now know where). It invites the sexton to prepare a 'thund'ring grave' for Combes, a wish not to be fulfilled, as he died in Bristol.

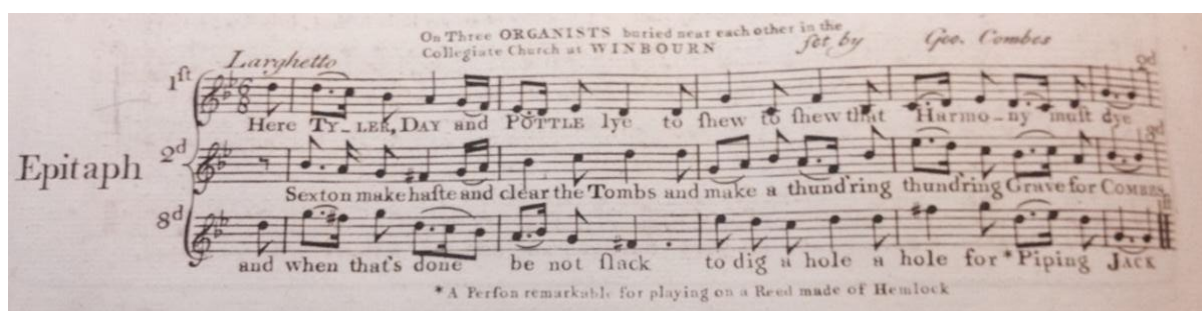


Figure 14 - a catch by George Combes

It is also worth noting that the religious aspect of the festival is still prominently featured, with details of the sermon advertised. Less related to religious observance is the partying until 4am.

¹²² Thomas Warren, *A Collection of Vocal Harmony: Consisting of Catches Canons and Glee's Never before Publish'd to Which Are Added Motetts and Madrigals Composed by the Best Masters Selected by Thos. Warren.* (London: Printed by Welcker in Gerrard Street, St. Ann's Soho, 1775).

However, the liturgical year inadvertently contributed to the revellers being able to do so safely. As the date of Easter, and therefore Whitsun and Trinity, is related to phases of the moon, these events always happened on a Tuesday near to the full moon, as shown in the table below.

Table 9 - Dates of Friendly Society Festivals and their proximity to the full moon

Date	Liturgical Date	Full Moon
8 th June 1756	Whitsun Tuesday	12 th June
12 th June 1759	Trinity Tuesday	10 th June
3 rd June 1760	Trinity Tuesday	29 th May
12 th May 1761	Whitsun Tuesday	18 th May
28 th May 1765	Whitsun Tuesday	3 rd June

In the last two they would have been a couple of days better off by choosing Trinity Tuesday, rather than Whitsun. Perhaps the authorities felt that 1760 was quite enough, and an early night was needed. Either way, the presence of a full moon was often quoted in the advertisements of musical clubs, giving members the best chance of getting home safely.¹²³

The influence of Salisbury over the event is seen again in 1761, with specific mentions of players from there as well as Bath. The presence of the ‘celebrated Boy from Salisbury’ singing the principal solo role suggests that, whatever tensions there were between the organists of Salisbury and Wimborne the previous year, relations were proving fruitful. The choice of pieces is also significant, Alexander’s *Feast* and the Dettingen *Te Deum* being the most often performed works of the Salisbury Festival.

The centrality of Handel to the Wimborne celebrations is consistent with national trends, and with more local tastes. Nigel Wyatt’s analysis of the repertoire of the Salisbury St Cecilia’s Tide festival finds Handel, unsurprisingly, to be the lead composer.¹²⁴ Between 1740 and 1792 there are 157 named works by him performed, well ahead of the next on the list, the local composer James Harris with 34, followed by JC Bach with just 7. The combination of Handel and local talent has an obvious resonance in Wimborne. Of Handel’s works, the most frequent was Alexander’s

¹²³ This feature of the timings of musical events is discussed in Samantha Carrasco, 'The Austen Family Music Books and Hampshire Music Culture, 1770-1820' (PhD thesis, University of Southampton, 2013), p98-99.

¹²⁴ Nigel Wyatt, 'The Annual Music Festivals of 18th Century Salisbury', *The Sarum Chronicle*, no. 20 (2020): 23-40.

Feast (12 instances), followed by the Dettingen Te Deum (11). The first of these, of course, is ideal for a celebration of St Cecilia, and the familiarity of the piece to Salisbury performers would be of benefit to Wimborne. In total, 9 Handel oratorios received repeated performances, with Messiah in the middle of the pack in terms of frequency. All of the major works performed at Wimborne were also heard at Salisbury.

The announcement is found in the Salisbury and Winchester Journal on 20th April 1761 (an early date as Easter was at its earliest possible date that year)¹²⁵

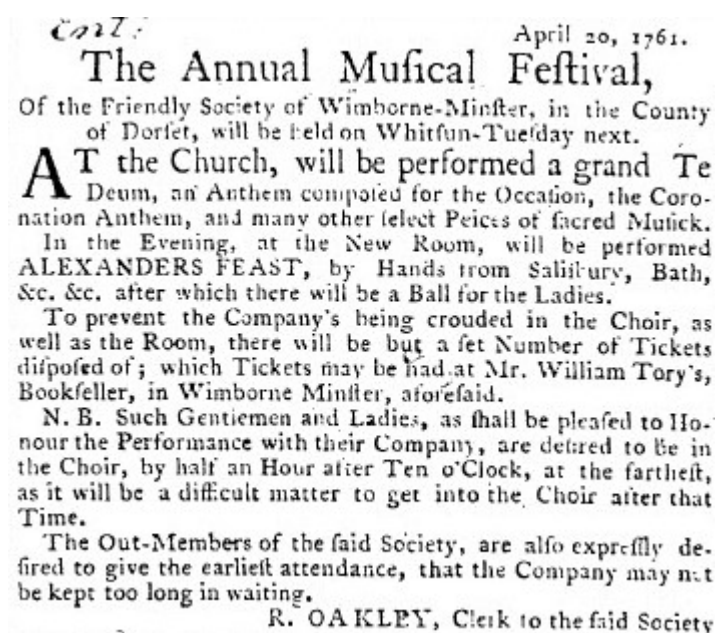


Figure 15 - from Salisbury and Winchester Journal, 20th April 1761

Oakley is a name that frequently appears in the choir records, with several choristers and singing men from that family over a period of years, another indicator of the central position of the choir to the town's cultural life. It is also interesting to see specific mention made of out-members, with the implication that they will need to take care to time possibly lengthy journeys. This further reinforces the position of Wimborne, and this event in particular, as a cultural focus for a wider area.

The organ in the Minster was becoming increasingly unreliable, with the following appearing in the Salisbury and Winchester Journal on 23rd May 1763:¹²⁶

¹²⁵ A very similar announcement was also made in the Sherborne and Yeovil Mercury in 27th April. The shortened repetition of the advertisement in the Sherborne And Winchester Journal on 27th April makes reference to five of Handel's Coronation Anthems. Tantalising though it is, I think time spent hunting for the fifth would be wasted.

The annual musical meeting of the Friendly Society at Wimborne Dorset, will not be held, we hear, at Whitsuntide, as usual; but at the opening of the new organ, of which timely notice will be given in this paper.

Figure 16 - from Salisbury and Winchester Journal, 23rd May 1763

We have to wait until 1765 for said notice, once the organ had been restored and enlarged at a cost of £140 by the Bristol based builder Brice Seede.¹²⁷ It was advertised in the Salisbury Journal on 20th May 1765 as follows:¹²⁸

The ANNUAL MUSICAL FESTIVAL
Of the Friendly Society of Wimborne Minster, in the County of Dorset,
WILL be held on Whitsun Tuesday next,
being the 28th of this inst. when the new Organ at the Collegiate Church will be opened. All the Members are desired to attend in the Club-Room by Ten o'Clock in the Morning, in order to attend the Procession to the Church, (preceded by a Band of Musick, as usual) where a Sermon will be preached, an Anthem composed for the Occasion, a grand Te Deum, with many other select Pieces of Church Music, performed: To conclude with Mr. Handel's Coronation Anthem of God Save the King.
In the Evening, at the Great Room, will be performed
The Mask of ACIS and GALATEA.
The principal Vocal Parts by Mr. Corfe, and Miss Hooper; the Instrumental by Mr. Tewkesbury, and other Hands from Salisbury, &c. After which will be a Ball for the Ladies.
By Order of the Stewards, R. OAKLEY, Clerk,
N. B. Tickets to be had of Mr. Coombes, Organist; at Mr. Tory's Bookshop, and at the New Inn. The Church Doors will be opened at Ten o'Clock.

Figure 17 - from Salisbury and Winchester Journal, 20th May 1765

Is there a certain lack of energy here compared to previous years? An unnamed Te Deum, a repetition of a previous year's work. However, ongoing links to other centres are still present, and

¹²⁶ The annual musical meeting of the Friendly Society of Wimborne, Dorset, will not be held, we hear, at Whitsuntide, as usual; but at the opening of the new organ, of which timely notice will be given in this paper.

¹²⁷ Matthews, *Organs and Organists*, 10

¹²⁸ The ANNUAL MUSICAL FESTIVAL Of the Friendly Society of Winbourn Minster, in the county of Dorset, Will be held on Whitsun Tuesday next, being the 28th of this inst. When the new organ at the Collegiate Church will be opened. All the Members are desired to attend in the Club-Room by Ten o'clock in the Morning, in order to attend the Procession to the Church, (preceded by a band of Musick, as usual), where a Sermon will be preached, an Anthem composed for the Occasion, a grand Te Deum, with many other select pieces of Church Music, performed: To conclude with Mr Handel's Coronation Anthem of God Save the King. In the Evening, at the Great Room, will be performed, The Mask of ACIS AND GALATEA. The principal vocal parts by Mr Corfe and Miss Hooper; the instrumental by Mr Tewkesbury, and other Hands from Salisbury, &c. After which a ball for the Ladies. By Order of the Stewards. Mr R Oakley, Clerk. N. B. Tickets to be had of Mr Coombes, Organist; at Mr Tory's, Bookseller, and at the New Inn, The Church Doors will be opened at Ten o'Clock

it is interesting to note the increase of detail of the performing personnel. John Tewkesbury was a violinist and dancing master with links to John Marsh and Joseph Harris and the music festivals in Salisbury.¹²⁹ It would seem most likely that Mr Corfe was one of the Salisbury family of musicians, perhaps the 25-year-old Joseph, a lay vicar at Salisbury who would go on to become cathedral organist. This is the first mention of a female performer in Wimborne, the only previous reference to a soloist being the 'celebrated boy from Salisbury'. It is also interesting to note that it does not mention performers from the Minster itself. Perhaps they were taken for granted, or not seen as a selling point. However, we do at least have the clear link with the musical institution in the form of Mr Combes.

References to music forming part of the Friendly Societies annual meeting stop after 1765. In 1767 the announcement reads:¹³⁰

Winbourn Minster, Dorset, May 29, 1767.

THE Out Members of the Friendly Society of this Town, are desired to be in their Club-Room Whitfun Tuesday next, (being their Anniversary Feast-Day) by Ten o'Clock in the Morning, to attend the President and Stewards to the Church, where a Sermon will be preached on the Occasion, as usual.

The 1768 meeting followed the same pattern.¹³¹ In 1772 a dinner is mentioned after the church service, but in 1775 the meeting seems to have become entirely a matter of business, as discussed above.¹³² Even though the church services may have involved music, the lack of specific mention is a stark contrast to the earlier years, as is the lack of further entertainments.

Perhaps this change is related to George Combes' departure to Bristol near the end of 1765. Whilst this event is presented as being under the auspices of the Friendly Society, perhaps Combes himself really was the driving force behind it. The pattern of recorded events would fit that, with the gap during his first tenure in Bristol mirroring the apparent cessation of the Festival. This would place this festival in contrast to those in more major centres. Undoubtedly these events had particular individuals driving them, and a variety of sources of funding, so changes in personnel may explain breaks in the continuity of some festivals.¹³³ Overall, however, towns and

¹²⁹ Laghi, Simone, 'Italian String Quartets and Late Eighteenth-Century London: Publication and Production. With a Critical Edition of the Quartets Opp 2 and 7 by Venziano Rauzzini (1746-1810).' (PhD thesis, Cardiff University, 2017), p92 Wyatt, Nigel, 'The Annual Music Festivals of 18th Century Salisbury'.

¹³⁰ Salisbury and Winchester Journal, 1st June 1767, p3

¹³¹ Ibid, 16th May 1762, p2

¹³² Ibid, 8th June 1772, p2 and 29th May 1775, p3

¹³³ Wyatt, Nigel, 'The Annual Music Festivals of 18th Century Salisbury'; Carrasco, Samantha, *The Austen Family Music Books and Hampshire Music Culture, 1770-1820*. Shaw, *The Three Choirs Festival*.

cities with a larger populace had a wider and more diverse range of people involved in creating and attending the events than was the case in Wimborne. This may have contributed to the greater longevity and stability of festivals in larger centres. The Friendly Society itself clearly had a life beyond its annual celebration, as witnessed by the building of a club house. However, perhaps it was only through Combes' energy that its annual celebration became such a significant moment in the local calendar.

3.3 Conclusion, and thoughts on Combes's compositional development

From the various sources investigated above, a picture of George Combes has emerged, perhaps with less focus than could be desired, but giving an idea of how he fitted into his social and artistic world. He would seem to be from affluent stock, receiving an education away from home, and coming to a significant appointment at a young age. He certainly had a connection to Wimborne prior to his appointment. That he was a man of ability is shown by his appointment to Bristol Cathedral, as well as from his extensive corpus of compositions.

His life differed from that of his predecessors, in that his cathedral experience came in the middle of his time at Wimborne, rather than before. There could be significance in this when considering the journey of his compositional style. As will be shown in the edition of his works, Combes undertook considerable revision and rewriting of his music. Several early versions of pieces are present in the partbooks, though in some cases they are partially obliterated, and many pieces show signs of emendation of details in later books. If it is the case that some of George's compositions date from a period when his professional experience was limited to the Minster, then it seems plausible that exposure to musical influences in Bristol may have given him the opportunity to hone his compositional style.

What is certainly the case is that Combes brought back from Bristol a greater ambition for the cultural life of the town. He raised the Annual Meeting of the Friendly Society to a level that bore greater similarity to the larger festivals of Salisbury, Winchester and Bristol than had been the case in the years before his first period away. His energy and musical ability were clearly fundamental to the development of that event, as well as having a long-lasting influence over the Minster's musical life.

Chapter 4 The Music Collection at Wimborne

If you head through the choir vestry on the south side of the Minster and ascend the defensive (left-handed) spiral staircase you will find yourself in the Chained Library, one of the treasures of Wimborne. Founded in 1686, it contains a wide range of books on theology, as you would expect, but also on diverse subjects such as gardening, medicine and etiquette, many chained to rods on the shelves. On the west wall are shelves containing boxes that hold part of an extensive collection of music manuscripts; the rest can be found piled in a haphazard fashion in a chest on the opposite wall. The collection encompasses manuscript organ books, partbooks, scores and chant books in addition to eighteenth and nineteenth century printed editions. Of the manuscript items, a few are very short, one consisting of a single piece, whilst many are very substantial, running to over 100 folios. The period of their usage is investigated further below, but broadly covers a period from the Restoration to the mid nineteenth century. In this chapter I attempt to give an overview of the holdings, and to bring some order to the unwieldy collection.

4.1 The Catalogue

An essential tool when approaching this large collection is the catalogue, initially compiled in 1988 by John Andrews, a local historian. It was revised in 2007 by Peter Gibson, a member of the Minster Choir. This comprehensive piece of work aims to list each piece in each of the major volumes (some books of chant are unindexed), and provides a valuable guide to the books. Indeed, this study would have been a much more complex undertaking without it. There are two sections, the first taken by part book, with pieces listed in order of appearance. The second lists pieces by composer, giving the opportunity to find particular works and see, at a glance, their distribution. The catalogue does not attempt to note some details such as anomalies of music for another part appearing in a book, incomplete items, or the presence or absence of solo passages. Whilst these details would be useful, they would expand the scope of the work enormously.

There are some drawbacks to the catalogue. The first is one of attribution. There are a significant number of unattributed pieces in the sources, and no attempt has been made in the catalogue to identify them, even in cases where comparison across the books would resolve the issue. Alison Boag-Monroe has filled this gap for some of the earlier volumes as part of her Masters thesis, but it would be extremely valuable to address this across the collection.¹³⁴ In researching the work of

¹³⁴ Alison Boag-Monroe, 'P10-17 An Assessment of a Little Known Provincial Source' (MA, Bangor, 2006).

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George Combes, a number of extra copyings have come to light, and at least one previously unknown psalm tune. Secondly, there is an issue over keys. Service settings are designated by key, but often inaccurately, with relative majors given for minor keys, or C major for what is commonly known as Tallis in the Dorian Mode. Thirdly, in the composer index, pieces with minor variants in titles are listed as separate items, and, conversely, different setting of the same text by the same composer are listed as the same piece.

This study raises several details that would be of use in a fresh approach to the catalogue, although a full revision is beyond its scope. A full overhaul of the catalogue would be very valuable to those trying to access the manuscripts. This could be considered alongside digitising the collection to allow broader access, and to address the problematic issue of storage conditions.

4.2 An assessment of the collection

This table shows the shelfmark and a brief description of the 67 musical items held in the Chained Library at Wimborne Minster, taken from the 2009 catalogue. The order and grouping does not necessarily imply kinship between various sources, and I will give them a broad working grouping later.

Table 10 - The Music Collection in the Chained Library at Wimborne Minster

O 1	"Orpheus A"	Part-book	Printed	Treble part
O 2	"Orpheus B"	Part-book	Printed	Tenor part
O 3	"Orpheus C"	Part-book	Printed	Bass 1 part (Baritone)
O 4	"Orpheus D"	Part-book	Printed	Bass 2 part
O 5	Music forms for services		Printed	
O 9	Chants	Part-book	manuscript	Tenor
O 10	Chants	Part-book	manuscript	2nd Counter-Tenor (Alto Can)
O 11	Chants	Part-book	manuscript	2nd Bass (Cantoris)
O 12	Chants	Part-book	manuscript	Tenor (Decani)
O 13	Organ Book	Score	manuscript	F.S. Blount -1847
O 14	Organ Book 1	Score	manuscript	
O 15	Services and Anthems	Score	manuscript	
O 16	Service: Ebdon	Score	manuscript	
O 17	Handel, Judas Maccabaeus Act 1	Full Score	manuscript	
O 18	Chants	Part-book	manuscript	2nd Tenor (Cantoris)
O 19	Chants	Part-book	manuscript	Counter-Tenor (Decani)
O 20	Psalms & Hymns	Part-book	manuscript	2nd Counter-Tenor (Cantoris)
O 21	Organ Book 3	Score	manuscript	
O 22	Organ Book 2	Score	manuscript	
O 23	Wimborne Minster	Score	Printed	Anthems
P 1	Dr. Boyce's Essential Cathedral Musick	Score	Printed	Vol. I -1760
P 2	Dr. Boyce's Essential Cathedral Musick	Score	Printed	Vol. II -1768
P 3	Dr. Boyce's Essential Cathedral Musick	Score	Printed	Vol. III -1773
P 4	Eight Anthems in Score by Samuel Webbe	Score	Printed	

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P 5	Croft's Anthems, Vol 2	Score	Printed	(later version of P7)
P 6	Croft's Anthems, Vol 1	Score	Printed	1724
P 7	Croft's Anthems, Vol 2	Score	Printed	1724
P 8	Boyce Service & Anthems	Score	Printed	1790
P 9	James Kent Service & Anthems	Score	Printed	
P 10	Organ Booke, D.S.	Score	manuscript	1670
P 11	Services and Anthems	Part-book	manuscript	Counter-Tenor
P 12	Services and Anthems	Part-book	manuscript	Counter-Tenor
P 13	Services and Anthems	Part-book	manuscript	Tenor
P 14	Services and Anthems	Part-book	manuscript	Tenor
P 15	Services and Anthems	Part-book	manuscript	Bass
P 16	Services and Anthems	Part-book	manuscript	Tenor
P 17	Services and Anthems	Part-book	manuscript	Bass
P 18	Services	Part-book	manuscript	Alto
P 19	Services and Anthems	Score	manuscript	
P 20	Anthem	Score	manuscript	
P 21	Services and Anthems	Part-book	manuscript	Tenor
P 22	Services and Anthems	Part-book	manuscript	Bass
P 23	Services and Anthems	Part-book	manuscript	Contra Tenor (Decani)
P 24	Services and Anthems	Part-book	manuscript	Bass
P 25	Anthems	Part-book	manuscript	Contra Tenor (Decani)
P26	Services	Part-book	manuscript	Contra Tenor
P 27	Services and Anthems	Part-book	manuscript	2nd Tenor (Cantoris)
P 28	Services	Part-book	manuscript	Tenor (Decani)
P 29	Anthems	Part-book	manuscript	Tenor
P 30	Anthems	Part-book	manuscript	Bass
P 31	Services and Anthems	Part-book	manuscript	Contra Tenor (Cantoris)
P 32	Anthems	Part-book	manuscript	Contra Tenor
P 33	Anthems	Part-book	manuscript	Tenor (Decani)
P 34	Services and Anthems	Part-book	manuscript	Alto
Q 19	Cathedral Choir Book	Part-book	Printed	Novello Tenor

Q 20	Cathedral Choir Book	Part-book	Printed	Novello Alto
Q 21	Cathedral Choir Book	Part-book	Printed	Novello Bass
Q 22	Anthems	Score	manuscript	
Q 23	Christmas Carols New and Old	Score	Printed	Novello, Ewer & Co.
Q 24	Cathedral Choir Book. Vol. I	Score	Printed	Novello
Q 25	Cathedral Choir Book. Vol. II	Score	Printed	Novello
Q 26	Services	Score	Printed	Novello
Q 27	Services	Score	Printed	Ewer & Co.
Q 28	Services and Anthems	Score	Printed	J. A. Novello
Q 29	Anthems	Score	Printed	L. Alfred Novello
Q 30	Services and Anthems	Score	Printed	
Q 31	The Wimborne Minster Organ Book	Score	manuscript	

4.2.1 Printed sources: O 1-5, 23, P 1-9, Q 19-30

These encompass part books and scores, chants and extended choral settings, and cover a date range from 1724 (Croft's Anthems) to the latter half of the nineteenth century. Their presence in the collection at Wimborne provides an important complement to the study of the manuscripts in a number of ways. Firstly, the way in which they relate to the production of the part books in terms of sources for copying. Secondly, for what they can tell us about the repertoire at the Minster, especially compared to other institutions. Finally, to examine the way in which printed music began to supersede manuscript, and the dates around which this shift happened.

O23 and Q26 - Q30 are all bindings of several printings by Novello, either of single pieces or sets of service music.¹³⁵ Q24 and Q25 are volumes 1 and 2 of Novello's *Cathedral Choir Book*, compilations of liturgical music in score; Q19, Q20 and Q21 are their related partbooks, each containing both volumes of the same. Whilst these represent repertoire from a later date than this study, I will be returning to the settings of communion music in a discussion of the function of Sanctus settings.

O1 - O4 are collections of secular glees which were published by Ewer in 25 small volumes of around six pieces each, and bound together. O5, described as 'Printed music forms for services' in the catalogue, could not be found.

P1 – P3 are the three volumes of '*Dr Boyce's Essential Cathedral Musick*'. The Minster was a subscriber to the initial printing, named in the list of subscribers at the front of the volumes, and acknowledged in the Governors' accounts of 1762:

6.6.0 Mr Combes the Organist, Subscription towards Dr Boyce's Cathedral Service
Books latley (sic) published¹³⁶

This places the institution alongside most of the cathedrals, several Oxbridge colleges and the Chapel Royal. Whilst there are several individual subscribers, some gentry, some not, few institutions outside these august bodies or London churches are mentioned. Notable exceptions come from Bath and Bristol, and some more far-flung places such Mr Anthony Gretorix, Organist at Northwingfield, Derbyshire and Mr Thomas Orpin, Organist of Taunton Deane, Somersetshire. It is interesting that the Minster Governors are listed as the subscriber, in the way that the

¹³⁵ One volume, Q26, is wrongly described in the catalogue as 'Cathedral Choir Book, Volume III'

¹³⁶ William Boyce, *Cathedral Music : Being a Collection in Score of the Most Valuable and Useful Compositions for That Service* (London: Printed for the editor, 3 volumes 1760-1773). p.vi

Cathedral chapters are, whereas generally with parish churches it is the organists themselves who are listed.

P4 – P9 are all single composer sets of anthems or liturgical music. One slightly unusual feature is P5, a set of anthems by Croft. It has the same contents as P7, but with typography that extends the volume by around 50 pages. With the frontispiece missing, it has not been possible to trace the provenance of this book. The purchase of music by Croft is mentioned in a resolution of the Governors from March 29th, 1739, part of a loose collection of bills and receipts.¹³⁷

We whose names are here unto subscribed, Governors of the Possessions Revenues and Goods of Queen Elizabeth's free Grammar School in Wimborne Minster: Do hereby Consent and agree that the Choir men of the aforesaid Minster be paid three pounds & three shillings for providing and writing into the Church Books several new Te Deums with the morning and evening services belonging to the same and likewise to purchase Crofts Volumes of Church musick to remain for the use of the choir.

To take the issue of the relationship between printed music and manuscript just a little further at this stage, we find in the Governors' accounts some seven years later (1769):

13.4.8 Mr Richd Combes's Bill for Church Musick and Singing Books for the Choir¹³⁸

This can be taken as relating to the minute from the Governors' meeting on 4th January 1769

Ordered that our sd Organist do buy, for the use of the church a Sett of new Singing Books and do write {over} the usual Church Services therein, at The Rate of Ten pence p Sheet for the Same-¹³⁹

In other words, that Richard Combes was to buy a set of books, most likely printed with music staves, and to copy into them the usual music for services. Clearly then, at this date it was still manuscript music being used in practice. With these dates of acquisition known, it may be possible to link some of the part books to this instruction, and to investigate further the relationship between the printed source and the manuscript. It may also allow a firmer grouping of some part books, a difficult issue as described below.

P9 contains music by James Kent (1700-1776), Organist of Winchester Cathedral. It is a binding together of his two volumes *Twelve Anthems* (1773) and *A Morning and Evening Service with Eight Anthems* (1777). There is a significant quantity of music by Kent in the partbooks, and much

¹³⁷ Dorset History Centre (DHC), PE-WM/GN/5/6

¹³⁸ DHC, PE-WM/GN/3/186

¹³⁹ DHC PE-WM/GN/2/1/1

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of it is found in these collections. Later I will examine the relationship between these sources, and the information that gives us about the partbooks.

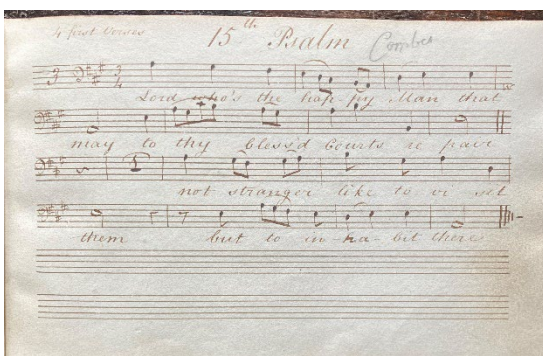
4.2.2 Chants and other service music: O 9-12, O 18-20

These are not itemised in the catalogue, but form a vital resource in investigating liturgical forms and practice at the Minster. They point to the position of the Minster as both a choral foundation, sustaining a cathedral style liturgy, and a parish church. Conclusions may be drawn about performance practice of these fundamental elements of liturgical music. There are two groups, O9 – O10, and O11 – O12 with O18 - O20

O9 – O10 contain Anglican chants of the type used in cathedral services to this day, of 7 or 14 bars in length, used to chant the psalms in an approximation of speech rhythm. There is plenty of evidence in the books to give an idea of the dating of this practice at the Minster. O9 contains a number of dates written after particular chants – 1836 after chant number 71, 1845 after chant 114, May 4th 1856 after chant 148, and 1857 after chant 156. Many chants in the earlier part of the book are by Blount, starting with chant 7. This is presumably John Wright Blount, organist from 1808-1835, as from chant 80 onwards many chants are by F S B, or Frederick Stanley Blount, his son, organist 1835-1863. Therefore, we are looking firmly to the nineteenth century for this style of psalm singing to take root in Wimborne. The contents of the two books match, apart from a few items written at the end of each book.

The five physically similar books O11, O12, O18, O19 and O20 are clearly related. Their contents closely match, though with some inconsistencies of ordering. They are similar in appearance, though O11, O18 and O20 have titles above the music, and O12 and O19 have psalm numbers immediately before the music – see figures below. The musical content is initially metrical psalm settings, using both of the commonly available psalters, though when Sternhold and Hopkins is used, 'Old Version' is specified. They move more towards hymns later in the books. This includes a *Hymn for the Sacrament (My God and is thy table spread)*, and, towards the end, familiar hymns such as *Onward Christian Soldiers* and *Sweet Sacrament Divine*. There are a number of adaptations of music by composers such as Mozart, Haydn and Beethoven, sometimes arranged by F S Blount – p138 of O11, for example, is marked 'Mozart Harmonised by F S B 1858'.

Figure 18 - O11, Psalm 15



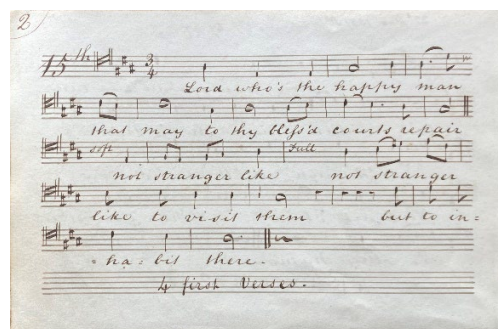


Figure 19 - O12, Psalm 15

There are other incidental details that aid with dating. Above Psalm 41 all the books have the inscription 'Sung at the Centenary Festival of the Hampshire County Hospital in Winchester Cathedral' – presumably 1836. O11, O12 and O18 have, over Psalm 39, 'Sung at the funeral of the late Mr F S Blount (Organist) 1st October 1863.'

The addition of a west-facing case in the organ rebuild of 1764 may suggest a growing interest in congregational singing. The incidental details in these books could allow for fruitful study of the development of metrical psalm and singing across the later eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

Of importance to this study are two psalm tunes by George Combes. Whilst composer names are largely absent from the earlier parts of the books, some are pencilled in, along with the names of some tunes. This gives us two items by Combes, one corroborated with an appearance in a partbook.

4.2.3 Manuscript Scores: O15, O16, P19, P20, Q22

These are an oddity in the collection, with only five examples. Of these, O15 is a fairly extensive collection of anthems and service music, though nothing like the size of the partbooks. It contains much music by Kent, linking it with later anthem part books, and is similar to them in appearance. It has the same landscape layout as the organ books. P19 is largely psalm settings, some metrical, some of the fusing sort, and some straightforward anthem types. In part it has the appearance of a composer's workbook, with several incomplete items. The score is written variously with C and F clefs, and with three G and an F clefs.

The others (O16, P20, Q22) contain one set of service music, one anthem and three anthems respectively. O16 and Q22 are noticeably similar in appearance and handwriting.

4.2.4 Two oddments: O17, Q31

Two items do not fit with the general profile of the collection. One of these (Q31) has no relevance to this study - a book of music by 20th Century Minster Organists. The other, however,

is a tantalising glimpse into the wider music making of the Minster. It is a manuscript score of Part One of Handel's *Judas Maccabeus*. In the flyleaf is written

Paid Mr. Adam Timberts

This is considered more fully in the section on the activities of the Wimborne Minster Friendly Society.

4.2.5 Organ Books: O13, O14, O21, O22, P10

These books bring us to the substance of this study. Spanning the full chronological period of the manuscript collection, they contain a large amount of the music of greatest interest. Importantly, the organ books are doubly vital to the reconstruction of the unique music in the part books, as they are almost universally the only source of treble parts.

The books contain almost exclusively accompaniments to choral music and psalms, but there are a few solo organ pieces, including *Verse for ye Double Organ in C* by Richard Portman, only found in this collection (P10).¹⁴⁰

P10 appears to be the earliest book. On the hard cover is stuck a piece of leather, with the date 1670, though Le Huray dates it to ca 1685.¹⁴¹ According to the catalogue, it is known as John Silver's Organ Book, though the initials on the cover are D: S:: (See figure 15), and the book contains no music by Silver. Furthermore, the minutes of the Governor's meeting of 1713, just after George Day's death, state

Ordered that Mrs Day Ex[ecutri]x of her late husband be paid forty 3s for her said husbands books of the Church service for the Organ they being bought and prickt at his charge & there being none belonging to the Church before.

This would suggest that the book originated with George Day, and it contains an anthem and a setting of the evening canticles by him. That leads us to a later date during his period at the Minster of 1695 – 1713, which is problematised by the earlier date on the cover. Furthermore, a number of items by Michael Wise in the book name him as 'Organist of Sarum', a post he held 1668 – 1687. Christopher Dearnley suggests that the book may have originated with Wise before finding its way to Wimborne, on the evidence of a couple of chants by Chapel Royal composers.

¹⁴⁰ This piece is published in James Dalton, ed *Faber Early Organ Series vol 2 – England* (Faber Music, London, 1986)

¹⁴¹ R. T. Daniel and Peter Le Huray, *The Sources of English church music 1549-1660* (British Academy/Stainer & Bell, 1972).

Whilst this conclusion may not be particularly well supported, it does contribute to the Salisbury link established with George Day.¹⁴²

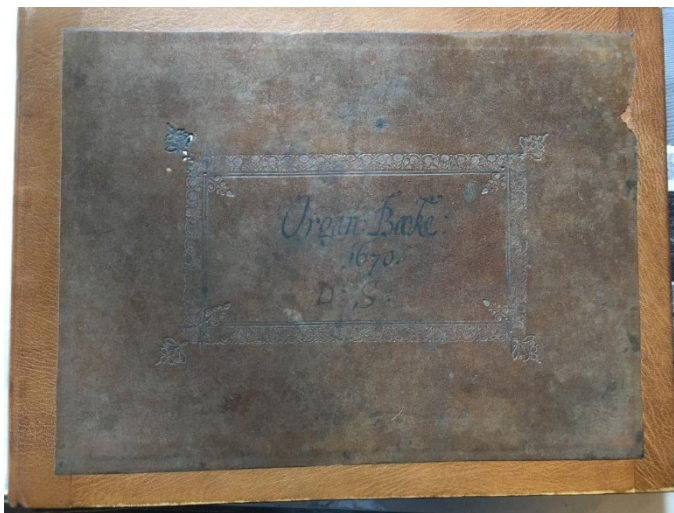


Figure 20 - P10, cover

The book can be read from either end; if opened from the embossed front it consists of anthems; from the reverse, organ pieces and liturgical items.

It is written on 6-line staves. In the left hand the bass clef is placed on the third line down. The right hand is written in a variety of clefs, usually corresponding to the highest vocal part singing, which includes bass clef in some verse sections. The right hand in choral pieces varies from just the top line of the vocal texture, occasionally the top two, to a full four-part texture with some organ interludes in certain pieces. The first five pages of the anthem section are written in the older diamond head notation, which also recurs at the back of the book in a piece by Ferrabosco. The first page is shown below. There are then a variety of hands becoming at times rather florid. Some figures appear in the bass line, though some intuition is needed to produce fully accurate harmony. There are very brief text incipits present, often little more than the words included in the title of the piece.

¹⁴² Christopher Dearnley, *English Church Music, 1650 – 1750*, (Barrie & Jenkins, London, 1970), 287

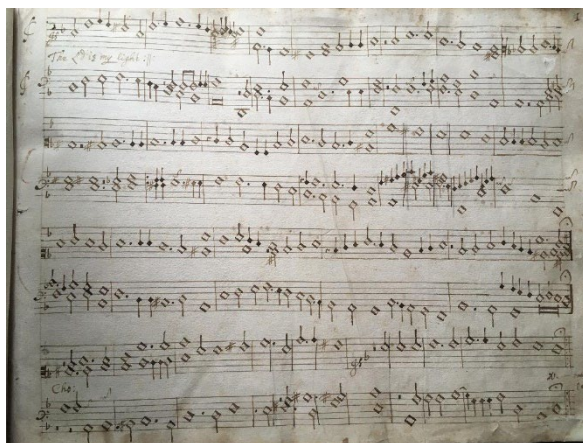


Figure 21 - P10, first page

The reverse view of the book starts with six organ pieces, four by Frescobaldi, apparently copied from the published First and Second book of Toccatas. There is then a piece unique to this manuscript, a 'Verse for ye Double Organ' by Richard Portman, and finally a Verse for ye Single Organ by Christopher Gibbons. Interpolated between the organ pieces are settings of the Responses to the Commandments, a liturgical item found early in the Communion Service. This could lead to the inference that these pieces were intended for use before that service. That this liturgical function could later have been filled by setting of the Sanctus is discussed in the Critical Commentary to the edition, and in other organ books the pairing Sanctus – Kyrie (Responses to the Commandments) is seen. These are the only instances of solo organ music in the books, though improvisation may well have played a part in services. The rest of the liturgical settings are for the offices.

Three organ books are of similar appearance, and various clues imply that they may have built up as a set. O14 (anthems) and O22 (services) are full, whilst O21 (both anthems and services) has space left in the middle, so it could be speculated that the former two were completed first, and the last then begun containing both types of music when they were filled. Of the three books, only O14 has a five-line stave, the other two using six, with the bass clef three lines down. All books have a variety of right-hand clefs, although only O14 uses the modern treble clef, its use in other books replaced by a C clef on the bottom line. The opening pieces of each of these books are shown in figures below.

There appears to be a unity of hands here, and various orthographic details are common, such as the chorus indication (Cho:)

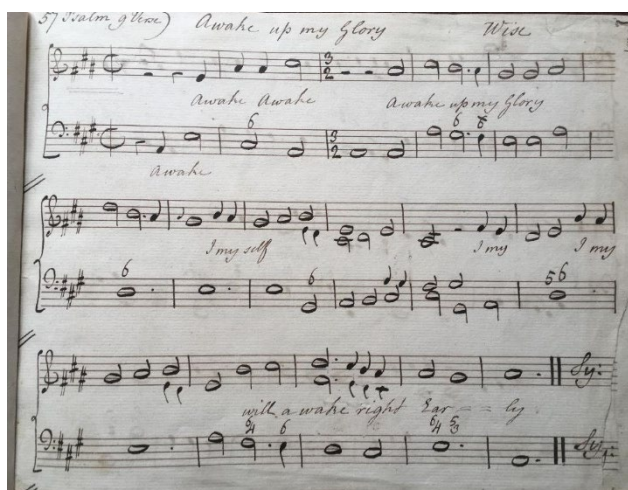


Figure 22 - O14, page 1

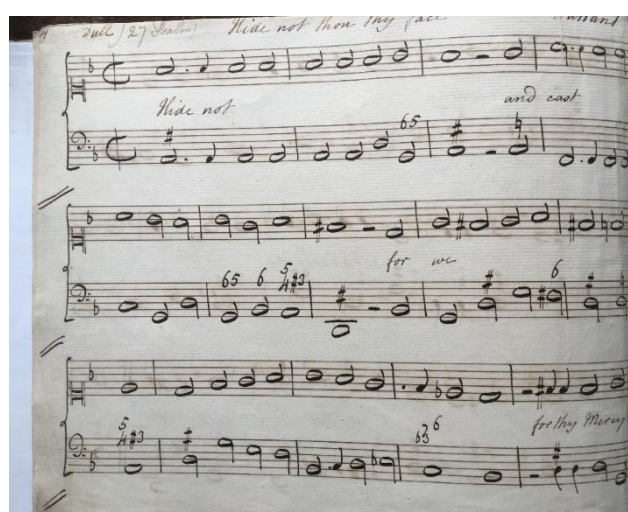


Figure 23 - O21, page 4

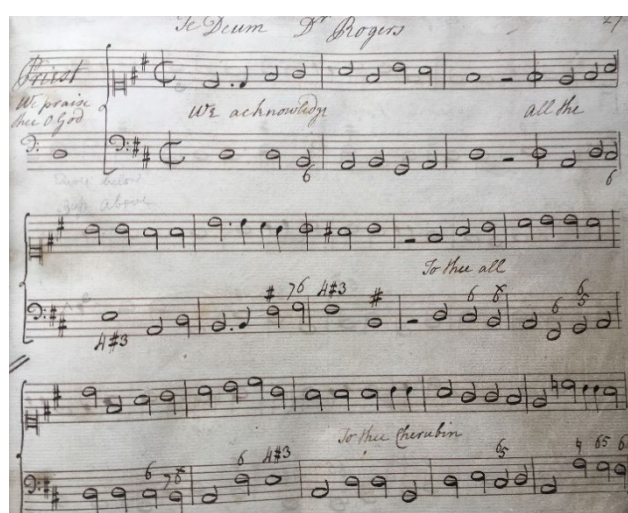


Figure 24 - O22, p27 (the first in the book)

Generally, text is indicated by starts of lines only, with no attempt at underlay. The only exception to this is the section of O21 containing liturgical items. This is perhaps surprising as the anthems

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in this book, with less routine texts, do not have all the words. As with P10 it is generally the highest vocal line and bass written out, as well as obligato organ parts in some places, for example in Greene's *Acquaint thyself with God* in O14. The bass is figured, with numbers generally written above the line, and in a consistent style across the books.

The repertoire contained may give an indication of the relationship between these books. Naturally, there is no crossover between the anthem book O14 and the services book O22. However, there are also no shared works between O14 and the composite book O21. On the other hand, sets of liturgical music by Aldrich (in G), Combes (in E) and Rogers (in D) are found in both O22 and O21, along with two Sanctus settings by Combes, which are placed to complete the Aldrich and Rogers set. These are the last in O21 apart from a Eucharist pair by JW Blount, presumably added in the early nineteenth century. There are only subtle differences in appearance here, with slightly straighter tails to notes, and figures written, where possible, at the mid-point between staves. It might therefore be supposed that these shared works were central to the repertoire, that it was convenient to have them in this book, and that it was in use over an extended period. They are all written in the 'full' style, amongst the simpler settings, and therefore may well have been staple fodder.

It is these three books that are vital to the edition of the works of George Combes. A few of his works (Evening canticles in D, Kyrie and Nicene Creed in G, Sanctus and Kyrie in G minor, Benedictus in D and the anthem *Bow Down Thine Ear*) are not found in them, and therefore any treble part will be a conjectural reconstruction. Nearly all his other works are found in O14 and O22, with additional copies of Matins canticles in E and Sanctus in G in O21 and Matins canticles in D in O13. These can be taken to be later copies, especially in O13, and therefore of less importance than the earlier appearances, though of interest from the point of view of performance practice. One anthem, *Give Sentence*, is found only in O21 and vocal partbooks.

The last organ book in the collection is O13. It is dated 1847 and inscribed as belonging to F S Blount, Organist at the Minster 1835-1863. In appearance it is distinct from the earlier books. The figure below shows the characteristic ornamented heading of each piece in this book, and also the typical style of writing. It also shows one orthographical oddity - despite the, now standard, five line stave, the bass clef is still three lines from the top, meaning that, if read literally, all the notes are a third out. In an age of more fixed clefs, it is unlikely that this was ever a concern. The older practice of a variety of right-hand clefs is maintained, however.



Figure 25 - O13, first page, showing decorated titles

There is a great deal of empty space in the middle of the book, perhaps reflecting a shift towards printed music in the mid-nineteenth century.

As with P10, the book is to be used from each end, in this case the front of the books is dedicated to liturgical music, the back to anthems. There is an extensive quantity of service music, predominantly for the offices. There are only 5 Eucharistic pairs, one of which also had a setting of the Nicene Creed. Unlike the earlier books, these are in the order Responses to the Commandments, Sanctus, perhaps implying that at the date this book was in use, full communion services were more being sung, with the Sanctus in its place within the Eucharistic Prayer. Its repertoire appears rather conservative, duplicating much in earlier books, indeed with a copy of George Day's (Minster Organist 1695-1713) canticles in F towards the end of the liturgical section, whilst the brief section of anthems make it as far as Mozart's *Out of the Deep*.

4.2.6 Partbooks: P 11-18, P 21-34

These 22 volumes provide a comprehensive insight into the repertoire and performance practice of the Minster over a likely period of 200 years. They also give tantalising glimpses into the personnel associated with the choir. There are 9 alto, 8 tenor and 5 bass books. Whilst there is clear kinship between various books, grouping them into sets is not a simple matter.

A variety of aspects still remain to be investigated to ascertain the genesis of the volumes, particularly scribal hands, binding of volumes and watermarks. Whilst earlier sets often appear to be later bindings of loose sheets, there are later examples which are lined books that have been filled in, and these present more opportunities for grouping.

The following analysis is principally based on repertoire groupings, with allowance made for cases where obvious rebinding has been undertaken, and forms a framework to be further refined by more probing physical examination. In addition, the more detailed musical analysis of variants in the edition of Combes' works will highlight further relationships.

It is amongst the later books that clearer groupings emerge, and we therefore begin with them.

4.2.6.1 Late group anthems

P25 - Alto decani

P29 - Tenor

P30 - Bass

P32 - Alto

P33 - Tenor decani

A later, reasonably clearly defined set, is comprised of P25, P29, P30, P32 and P33, books for alto (Decani), tenor, bass, alto and tenor (Decani) respectively. These are dedicated exclusively to anthems, with the exception of an Ebdon Eucharist setting at the end of P25 and some liturgical material at the end of P30. This grouping can be made with confidence on a number of fronts. Firstly there is similarity of hands, and of the way particular musical symbols are written. Figures 7-11 show a piece by Combes at or near the start of each of these books, showing the similarities in appearance.

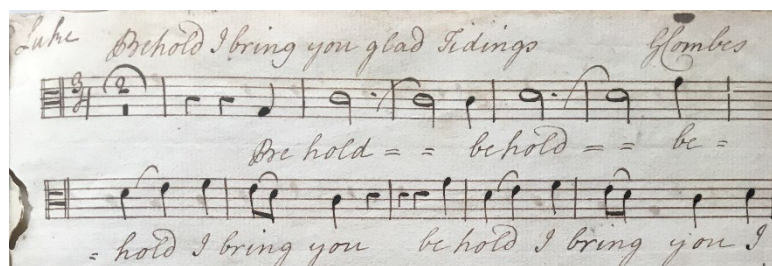


Figure 26 - P25, page 1

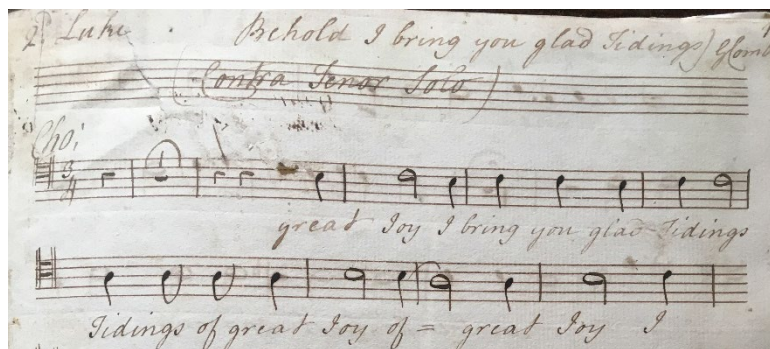


Figure 27 - P29, page 1

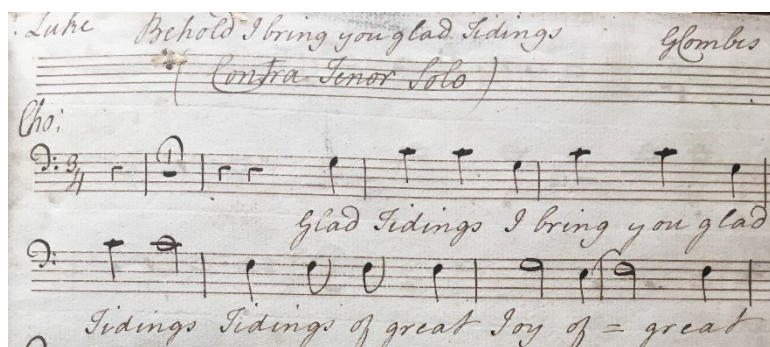


Figure 28 - P30, page 1

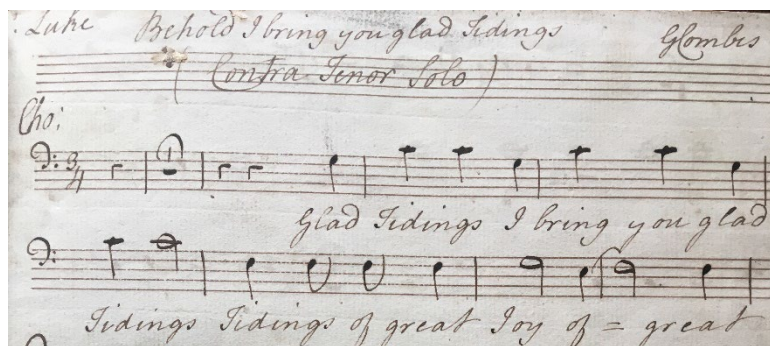


Figure 29 - P32, page 2

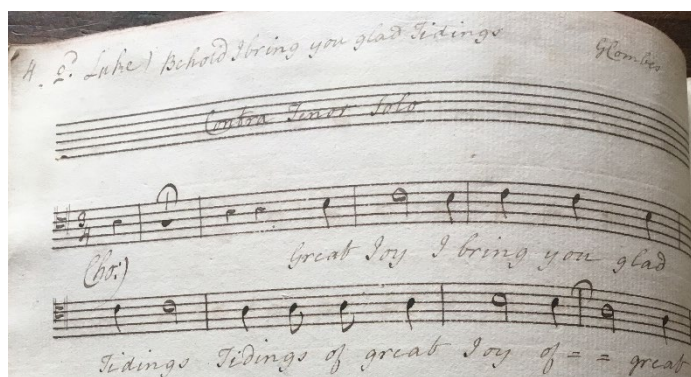


Figure 30 - P33, page 4

Table 11 - contents of books P25, P29, P30, P32, P33 and O14

P25	Alto decani	P29	Tenor	P30	Bass
Combes	Behold, I bring you	Combes	Behold, I bring you	Combes	Behold, I bring you
Wise	Awake up my glory	Wise	Awake up my glory	Wise	Awake up my glory
Greene	Acquaint thyself	Greene	Acquaint thyself	Greene	Acquaint thyself
Combes	Blessed is the man	Croft	I will sing	Combes	Blessed is the man
Croft	I will sing	Combes,	Blessed is the man	Croft	I will sing
Combes	I will magnify thee	Day	Haste thee, O God	Combes	I will magnify thee
Day	Haste thee, O God	Combes	I will magnify thee	Day	Haste thee, O God
Wise	Gloria in Excelsis	Wise	Gloria in Excelsis	Wise	Gloria in Excelsis
Howard	Blessed is the man	Howard	Blessed is the man	Anon	Gloria Patri
Greene	O Lord, give ear	Greene	O Lord, give ear	Howard	Blessed is the man
Greene	Thou, O God	Greene	Thou, O God	Greene	Thou, O God
Hawkins	Arise, O Lord	Hawkins	Arise, O Lord	Hawkins	Arise, O Lord
Croft	Blessed is the people	Croft	Blessed is the people	Greene	O Lord, give ear
Clarke	I will love thee, O Lord	Clarke	I will love thee, O Lord	Croft	Blessed is the people
Combes	The Lord is King	Combes	The Lord is King	Clarke	I will love thee, O Lord
Clarke	How long wilt thou	Clarke	How long wilt thou	Combes	The Lord is King
Anon	The Lord is my light	Kent	Lord, who shall dwell	Clarke	How long wilt thou
Kent	Lord, who shall dwell	Kent	My soul truly waiteth	Kent	Lord, who shall dwell
Kent	The Lord is my shepherd	Kent	Hearken unto this	Kent	The Lord is my shepherd
Kent	My soul truly waiteth	Kent	Give the Lord	Kent	My soul waiteth
Kent	Give the Lord	Kent	O Lord our Governor	Kent	Hearken unto this
Kent	O Lord our Governor	Kent	Sing, O heavens	Kent	Give the Lord
Kent	It is a good thing	Kent	My song shall be	Kent	Lord, what love have I
Kent	Sing, O heavens	Calcott	Grant, we beseech thee	Kent	O Lord our Governor
Kent	My song shall be alway	Kent	The Lord is my	Kent	It is a good thing
Kent	The Lord hath prepared	Kent	All thy works	Kent	Sing, O heavens
Anon	My song shall be alway	Kent	Hear my prayer	Kent	The Lord hath prepared
Kent	The Lord hath prepared	Kent	When the Son of Man	Kent	Rejoice in the Lord
Anon	O praise the Lord	Anon	Ponder my words	Anon	All thy works
Anon	Ponder my words	Scott	Praise the Lord	Kent	My song shall be of mercy
Calcott	Grant, we beseech thee	Hayes	The Lord descended	Kent	Hear my prayer
Kent	All thy works	Kent	Lord, what love have I	Anon	Ponder my words
Kent	Hear my prayer			Handel	When the ear heard him
Handel	When the ear heard him			Blount	Behold, how good
Blount	Behold, how good			Kent	When the Son of Man
Kent	Hear my prayer			Calcott	Grant, we beseech thee
Kent	When the Son of Man			Scott	Praise the Lord
Scott	Praise the Lord			Hayes	The Lord descended
Hayes	The Lord descended			Stainer	Responses and Litany
Handel	I know that my			Anon	Psalm chants in Am
Ebdon	Sanctus in C			Anon	Psalm chants in C
Ebdon	Kyrie (BCP) in C			Anon	Psalm chants in E flat
Ebdon	Nicene Creed in C			Anon	Psalm chants in F
				Boyce	Te Deum
				Mozart	Out of the deep

P32	Alto	P33	Tenor decani	O14	Organ
Clarke	I will love thee, O Lord	Weldon	O praise God	Wise	Awake up my glory
Combes	Behold, I bring you	Farrant	Call to remembrance	Day	Haste thee, O God
Wise	Awake up my glory	Farrant	Hide not thou thy face	Combes	Blessed is the man
Greene	Acquaint thyself	Combes	Behold, I bring you	Greene	Acquaint thyself
Combes	Blessed is the man	Greene	Acquaint thyself	Combes	I will magnify thee
Croft	I will sing	Combes	Blessed is the man	Wise	Gloria in Excelsis
Combes	I will magnify thee	Day	Haste thee, O God	Croft	I will sing
Day	Haste thee, O God	Croft	I will sing	Howard	Blessed is the man
Wise	Gloria in Excelsis	Wise	Awake up my glory	Croft	Blessed is the people
Howard	Blessed is the man	Combes	I will magnify thee	Combes	Behold, I bring you
Greene	O Lord, give ear	Wise	Gloria in Excelsis	Greene	O Lord, give ear
Hawkins	Arise, O Lord	Howard	Blessed is the man	Greene	Thou, O God
Greene	Thou, O God	Anon	Gloria Patri	Hawkins	Arise, O Lord
Croft	Blessed is the people	Combes	The Lord is King	Clarke	I will love thee, O Lord
Clarke	I will love thee, O Lord	Greene	O Lord, give ear	Combes	The Lord is King
Combes	The Lord is King	Hawkins	Arise, O Lord	Kent	Why do the heathen
Clarke	How long wilt thou	Child	Praise the Lord	Kent	Hear my prayer
Kent	The Lord is my	Child	O Lord, grant the king	Clarke	How long wilt thou
Kent	Hearken unto this	Rogers	Behold now, praise	Aldrich	I am well pleased
Kent	Lord, what love have I	King	The Lord is King		
Kent	Give the Lord	Croft	O give thanks		
Kent	My soul truly waiteth	Clarke	Praise the Lord		
Kent	Sing, O heavens	Combes	Give sentence in G		
Kent	O Lord our Governor	Carter	Hear my prayer		
Kent	It is a good thing	Kent	Lord, how are they		
Kent	My song	Goldwin	I have set God		
Kent	The Lord hath prepared	Carter	Like as the hart		
Kent	Hear my prayer	King	O pray for the peace		
Anon	Teach me, O Lord	Clarke	How long wilt thou		
Kent	O Lord our Governor	Purcell	Thou knowest, Lord		
Scott	Praise the Lord	Kent	Why do the heathen		
Hayes	The Lord descended	Kent	Hearken unto this		
Blount	Behold, how good	Kent	It is a good thing		
		Blake	I have set God		
		Nares	Blessed is he		
		Kent	It is a good thing		
		Kent	Blessed be thou		
		Kent	My song		
		Kent	The Lord hath prepared		
		Handel	When the ear heard him		
		Anon	My song shall be		
		Mason	Lord of all power		
		Marcello	O Lord our Governor		
		Blount	Behold, how good		
		Kent	The Lord is my		
		Handel	Comfort ye, my people	P33	<i>Continued</i>
		Reynolds	My God, my God	Handel	I know that my
		Kent	Blessed be thou	Handel	Worthy is the Lamb
		Blake	I have set God	Anon	Teach me, O Lord
		Handel	Hallelujah	Corfe	O God, who hast
		Handel	Zadok the priest	Handel	I know that my

Secondly, there is a clear equivalence of repertoire, although it is as inexact as is to be expected with this collection. Thirteen pieces are found in all five volumes, and a further eleven in the first four, with several other pieces common to some books but missing in one or more others.

Moreover, the books are initially in a broadly similar order. This is shown in the table on the previous page. There is a block of nine anthems that appear at the start of all the books, apart from being prefaced by one other in P32 and three others P33, although there are some reversals of order within the group. This group is shaded in the pink colour. This is followed in P25, P29, P30 and P32 by another group very largely shared across the four, with just a few items missing in one or more books. This is shaded in the blue colour for items appearing in all four, and includes works by Kent, whose copying we will come onto. P33 at that point has a set of anthems belonging to another group, discussed below. It is clear then that these are broadly compatible books, though with some works that could not have been performed without additional material from elsewhere. In part, this is due to the lengths of the books not being uniform, with forty anthems in P25, thirty-two in P29, forty-five in P30, thirty-three in P32 and fifty-seven in P33.

With this set we can certainly link **O14**, an organ book, whose contents are almost all found within this set, covering part of both groups of pieces I have outlined. There is however little similarity in the ordering, as again shown in the table.

4.2.6.2 Group Services

P23 - Alto decani

P26 - Alto

P28 - Tenor

P27 - Tenor cantoris

P26 (alto) and P28 (tenor) are clearly a pair. Whilst the order of items does not map precisely, the music contained is almost identical. There are only a few items, mostly short Sanctus settings, not found in both. It is particularly at the back of P28 where the non-shared items are found. Most significant are some items by FS Blount (Organist 1835-1863) towards the back of P28 that indicate the ongoing use of this book into that time.

To this set can be added P23 and P27, books of both services and anthems, with anthems being found at the back of the book, written upside down. The service collections map precisely to the repertoire found in P26 and P28, though with their own particular orders, and a few additional items. In P27 this includes a Responses to the Commandments by CV Stanford (1852-1924), another indication of the longevity of use of these books. The contents of these books are shown in Table 10. Each group of settings has been given a different colour, so that the irregularity of ordering can be readily seen, as well as the high degree of concordance of content. Uncoloured items are either unique to one book, or only partly shared.

The pattern in these books, distinct from earlier examples, is for settings to be grouped in a set for the whole day. A typical example, at the start of three of the books, is Tallis in the Dorian Mode (incorrectly identified as in C in the catalogue) - Te Deum, Benedictus, Sanctus, Kyrie, Nicene Creed, Magnificat, Nunc Dimittis. There are several alternative canticles, and the Nicene Creed is less often represented. Where a composer, such as Aldrich, has not written a Sanctus, one is provided by Combes, reflecting the liturgical practice of the Minster as well as his integral involvement in the repertoire.

These are linked with **O22**, an organ book of services. Whilst it contains much less repertoire than the partbooks (for obvious physical reasons), all the music in it is common to the four partbooks. Some of the remaining repertoire is found in the settings section of another organ book, **O21**, alongside considerable repetition. Looking at it the other way, all of the settings in O21 are found in P23, P26, P27 and P28 apart from an anonymous setting of *O Lord Grant the King a Long Life*.

Chapter 4

Table 12 – settings from P23, P26, P27, P28, and O22, O21

P23	Alto decani	P26	Alto	P27	Tenor Cantoris	P28	Tenor	O22	Organ	O21	Organ
Tallis, T.	Te Deum, dm	Anon	I will give thanks	Tallis, T.	Te Deum, dm	Combes, G.	Te Deum, E	Rogers, B.	Te Deum, D	Kelway, T.	Magnificat
Tallis, T.	Benedictus, dm	Tallis, T.	Te Deum, dm	Tallis, T.	Benedictus, dm	Combes, G.	Jubilate Deo, E	Rogers, B.	Jubilate Deo, D	Kelway, T.	Nunc Dimittis
Tallis, T.	Sanctus, dm	Tallis, T.	Benedictus, dm	Tallis, T.	Nicene Creed, dm	Combes, G.	Sanctus, E	Combes, G.	Sanctus, D	Child, W.	Te Deum, F
Tallis, T.	Kyrie (BCP), dm	Tallis, T.	Sanctus, dm	Tallis, T.	Sanctus, dm	Combes, G.	Kyrie (BCP), E	Rogers, B.	Kyrie (BCP), D	Child, W.	Jubilate Deo, F
Tallis, T.	Nicene Creed, dm	Tallis, T.	Kyrie (BCP), dm	Tallis, T.	Kyrie (BCP), dm	Combes, G.	Magnificat, E	Rogers, B.	Nicene Creed, D	Child, W.	Cantate, F
Tallis, T.	Magnificat, dm	Tallis, T.	Nicene Creed, dm	Tallis, T.	Magnificat, dm	Combes, G.	Nunc Dimittis, E	Rogers, B.	Magnificat, D	Child, W.	Deus, F
Tallis, T.	Nunc Dimittis, dm	Tallis, T.	Magnificat, dm	Tallis, T.	Nunc Dimittis, dm	King, W.	Te Deum, F	Rogers, B.	Nunc Dimittis, D	Tallis, T.	Te Deum dm
Rogers, B.	Te Deum, D	Tallis, T.	Nunc Dimittis, dm	Rogers, B.	Te Deum, D	King, W.	Jubilate Deo, F	Aldrich, H.	Te Deum, G	Tallis, T.	Benedictus, dm
Rogers, B.	Jubilate Deo, D	Rogers, B.	Te Deum, D	Rogers, B.	Jubilate Deo, D	King, W.	Magnificat, F	Aldrich, H.	Jubilate Deo, G	Tallis, T.	Sanctus dm
Combes, G.	Sanctus, D	Rogers, B.	Jubilate Deo, D	Combes, G.	Sanctus, D	King, W.	Nunc Dimittis, F	Combes, G.	Sanctus, G	Tallis, T.	Kyrie (BCP), dm
Rogers, B.	Kyrie (BCP), D	Combes, G.	Kyrie (BCP), D	Rogers, B.	Kyrie (BCP), D	Tallis, T.	Te Deum, dm	Aldrich, H.	Kyrie (BCP), G	Tallis, T.	Nicene Creed dm
Rogers, B.	Nicene Creed, D	Rogers, B.	Sanctus, D	Rogers, B.	Nicene Creed, D	Tallis, T.	Benedictus, dm	Aldrich, H.	Nicene Creed, G	Tallis, T.	Magnificat dm
Rogers, B.	Magnificat, D	Combes, G.	Sanctus, D	Rogers, B.	Magnificat, D	Tallis, T.	Sanctus, dm	Aldrich, H.	Magnificat, G	Tallis, T.	Nunc Dimittis dm
Rogers, B.	Nunc Dimittis, D	Rogers, B.	Nicene Creed, D	Rogers, B.	Nunc Dimittis, D	Tallis, T.	Kyrie (BCP), dm	Aldrich, H.	Nunc Dimittis, G	Aldrich, H.	Te Deum, G
Combes, G.	Te Deum, D	Rogers, B.	Magnificat, D	Aldrich, H.	Te Deum, G	Tallis, T.	Nicene Creed, dm	Gibbons, O.	Te Deum, F	Aldrich, H.	Jubilate Deo, G
Combes, G.	Jubilate Deo, D	Rogers, B.	Nunc Dimittis, D	Aldrich, H.	Jubilate Deo, G	Tallis, T.	Magnificat, dm	Gibbons, O.	Benedictus, F	Combes, G.	Sanctus, G
Combes, G.	Kyrie (BCP), D	Aldrich, H.	Te Deum, G	Combes, G.	Sanctus, G	Tallis, T.	Nunc Dimittis, dm	Combes, G.	Sanctus, F	Aldrich, H.	Kyrie (BCP), G
Combes, G.	Sanctus, D	Aldrich, H.	Jubilate Deo, G	Aldrich, H.	Kyrie (BCP), G	Gibbons, O.	Te Deum, F	Gibbons, O.	Kyrie (BCP), F	Aldrich, H.	Nicene Creed, G
Kelway, T.	Magnificat, C	Aldrich, H.	Kyrie (BCP), G	Aldrich, H.	Nicene Creed, G	Gibbons, O.	Benedictus, F	Gibbons, O.	Nicene Creed, F	Aldrich, H.	Magnificat, G
Kelway, T.	Nunc Dimittis, C	Aldrich, H.	Nicene Creed, G	Aldrich, H.	Magnificat, G	Combes, G.	Sanctus, F	Gibbons, O.	Magnificat, F	Aldrich, H.	Nunc Dimittis, G
Combes, G.	Te Deum, E	Combes, G.	Sanctus, G	Aldrich, H.	Nunc Dimittis, G	Gibbons, O.	Kyrie (BCP), F	Gibbons, O.	Nunc Dimittis, F	Rogers, B.	Te Deum, D
Combes, G.	Jubilate Deo, E	Aldrich, H.	Magnificat, G	Gibbons, O.	Te Deum, F	Gibbons, O.	Nicene Creed, F	Combes, G.	Te Deum, D	Rogers, B.	Jubilate Deo, D
Combes, G.	Sanctus, E	Aldrich, H.	Nunc Dimittis, G	Gibbons, O.	Benedictus, F	Gibbons, O.	Magnificat, F	Combes, G.	Jubilate Deo, D	Combes, G.	Sanctus, D

P23	Alto decani	P26	Alto	P27	Tenor Cantoris	P28	Tenor	O22	Organ	O21	Organ
Combes, G.	Kyrie (BCP), E	Gibbons, O.	Te Deum, F	Combes, G.	Sanctus, F	Gibbons, O.	Nunc Dimittis, F	Combes, G.	Sanctus, D	Rogers, B.	Kyrie (BCP), D
Combes, G.	Magnificat, E	Gibbons, O.	Benedictus, F	Gibbons, O.	Kyrie (BCP), F	Rogers, B.	Te Deum, D	Combes, G.	Kyrie (BCP), D	Rogers, B.	Nicene Creed, D
Combes, G.	Nunc Dimittis, E	Combes, G.	Sanctus, F	Gibbons, O.	Nicene Creed, F	Rogers, B.	Jubilate Deo, D	Combes, G.	Te Deum, E	Rogers, B.	Magnificat, D
Aldrich, H.	Te Deum, G	Gibbons, O.	Kyrie (BCP), F	Gibbons, O.	Magnificat, F	Combes, G.	Sanctus, D	Combes, G.	Jubilate Deo, E	Rogers, B.	Nunc Dimittis, D
Aldrich, H.	Jubilate Deo, G	Gibbons, O.	Nicene Creed, F	Gibbons, O.	Nunc Dimittis, F	Rogers, B.	Kyrie (BCP), D	Combes, G.	Sanctus, E	Combes, G.	Te Deum, E
Aldrich, H.	Kyrie (BCP), G	Gibbons, O.	Magnificat, F	Combes, G.	Te Deum, D	Rogers, B.	Nicene Creed, D	Combes, G.	Kyrie (BCP), E	Combes, G.	Jubilate Deo, E
Combes, G.	Sanctus, G	Gibbons, O.	Nunc Dimittis, F	Combes, G.	Jubilate Deo, D	Rogers, B.	Magnificat, D	Combes, G.	Magnificat, E	Blount, J	Sanctus, E
Aldrich, H.	Nicene Creed, G	Combes, G.	Te Deum, D	Combes, G.	Sanctus, D	Rogers, B.	Nunc Dimittis, D	Combes, G.	Nunc Dimittis, E	Blount, J	Kyrie (BCP), E
Aldrich, H.	Magnificat, G	Combes, G.	Jubilate Deo, D	Combes, G.	Kyrie (BCP), D	Aldrich, H.	Te Deum, G	King, W.	Te Deum, F		
Aldrich, H.	Nunc Dimittis, G	Combes, G.	Kyrie (BCP), D	Combes, G.	Te Deum, E	Aldrich, H.	Jubilate Deo, G	King, W.	Jubilate Deo, F		
Gibbons, O.	Te Deum, F	Combes, G.	Sanctus, D	Combes, G.	Jubilate Deo, E	Combes, G.	Sanctus, G	King, W.	Magnificat, F		
Gibbons, O.	Benedictus, F	Combes, G.	Te Deum, E	Combes, G.	Sanctus, E	Aldrich, H.	Kyrie (BCP), G	King, W.	Nunc Dimittis, F		
Combes, G.	Sanctus, F	Combes, G.	Jubilate Deo, E	Anon	Gospel Response	Aldrich, H.	Nicene Creed, G	Richardson	Cantate, C		
Gibbons, O.	Kyrie (BCP), F	Combes, G.	Sanctus, E	Combes, G.	Kyrie (BCP), E	Aldrich, H.	Magnificat, G	Richardson	Deus, C		
Gibbons, O.	Nicene Creed, F	Combes, G.	Kyrie (BCP), E	Combes, G.	Magnificat, E	Aldrich, H.	Nunc Dimittis, G	Combes, G.	Te Deum, A		
Gibbons, O.	Magnificat, F	Combes, G.	Magnificat, E	Combes, G.	Nunc Dimittis, E	Combes, G.	Te Deum, D	Combes, G.	Jubilate Deo, A		
Gibbons, O.	Nunc Dimittis, F	Combes, G.	Nunc Dimittis, E	Kelway, T.	Magnificat, C	Combes, G.	Jubilate Deo, D	Combes, G.	Kyrie (BCP), A		
Combes, G.	Te Deum, A	Kelway, T.	Magnificat, C	Kelway, T.	Nunc Dimittis, C	Combes, G.	Sanctus, D	Combes, G.	Sanctus, A		
Combes, G.	Jubilate Deo, A	Kelway, T.	Nunc Dimittis, C	Combes, G.	Te Deum, A	Combes, G.	Kyrie (BCP), D	Combes, G.	Cantate, A		
Combes, G.	Kyrie (BCP), A	Combes, G.	Te Deum, A	Combes, G.	Sanctus, A	Kelway, T.	Magnificat, C	Combes, G.	Deus, A		
Combes, G.	Sanctus, A	Combes, G.	Jubilate Deo, A	Combes, G.	Kyrie (BCP), A	Kelway, T.	Nunc Dimittis, C	Kent, J.	Te Deum, D		
Combes, G.	Cantate, A	Combes, G.	Kyrie (BCP), A	Combes, G.	Jubilate Deo, A	Kent, J.	Te Deum, D	Kent, J.	Jubilate Deo, D		
Combes, G.	Deus, A	Combes, G.	Sanctus, A	Combes, G.	Cantate, A	Kent, J.	Jubilate Deo, D	Kent, J.	Magnificat, D		
King, W.	Te Deum, F	Combes, G.	Cantate, A	Combes, G.	Deus, A	Kent, J.	Magnificat, D	Kent, J.	Nunc Dimittis, D		
King, W.	Jubilate Deo, F	Combes, G.	Deus, A	King, W.	Te Deum, F	Kent, J.	Nunc Dimittis, D	Anon	O Lord, grant		

Chapter 4

P23	Alto decani	P26	Alto	P27	Tenor Cantoris	P28	Tenor	O22	Organ	O21	Organ
King, W.	Magnificat, F	King, W.	Te Deum, F	King, W.	Jubilate Deo, F	Combes, G.	Te Deum, A				
King, W.	Nunc Dimittis, F	King, W.	Jubilate Deo, F	King, W.	Magnificat, F	Combes, G.	Jubilate Deo, A				
Richardson	Cantate, C	King, W.	Magnificat, F	King, W.	Nunc Dimittis, F	Combes, G.	Sanctus, A				
Richardson	Deus, C	King, W.	Nunc Dimittis, F	Richardson	Cantate, C	Combes, G.	Kyrie (BCP), A				
Kelway, T.	Magnificat, C	Richardson	Cantate, C	Richardson	Deus, C	Combes, G.	Cantate, A				
Kelway, T.	Nunc Dimittis, C	Richardson	Deus, C	Kent, J.	Te Deum, D	Combes, G.	Deus, A				
Kent, J.	Te Deum, D	Kent, J.	Te Deum, D	Kent, J.	Jubilate Deo, D	Child, W.	Te Deum, F				
Kent, J.	Jubilate Deo, D	Kent, J.	Jubilate Deo, D	Kent, J.	Magnificat, D	Child, W.	Jubilate Deo, F				
Kent, J.	Magnificat, D	Kent, J.	Magnificat, D	Kent, J.	Nunc Dimittis, D	Child, W.	Cantate, F				
Kent, J.	Nunc Dimittis, D	Kent, J.	Nunc Dimittis, D	Child, W.	Te Deum, F	Child, W.	Deus, F				
Child, W.	Te Deum, F	Child, W.	Te Deum, F	Child, W.	Jubilate Deo, F	Richardson	Cantate, C				
Child, W.	Jubilate Deo, F	Child, W.	Jubilate Deo, F	Child, W.	Cantate, F	Richardson	Deus, C				
Child, W.	Cantate, F	Child, W.	Cantate, F	Child, W.	Deus,, F	Kent, J.	Te Deum, C				
Child, W.	Deus, F	Child, W.	Deus, F	Kent, J.	Te Deum, C	Blount, J	Sanctus, E flat				
Kent, J.	Te Deum, C	Kent, J.	Te Deum, C	Blount, J	Sanctus, E flat	Blount, J	Kyrie (BCP), E flat				
Ebdon, T.	Magnificat, C	Ebdon, T.	Magnificat, C	Blount, J	Kyrie (BCP), E flat	Ebdon, T.	Magnificat, C				
Ebdon, T.	Nunc Dimittis, C	Ebdon, T.	Nunc Dimittis, C	Blount, J	Sanctus, C	Blount, J	Sanctus, C				
Blount, J	Sanctus, C	Marsh, J.	Sanctus, D	Blount, J	Kyrie (BCP), C	Blount, J	Kyrie (BCP), C				
Blount, J	Kyrie (BCP), C	Marsh, J.	Kyrie (BCP), D	Ebdon, T.	Magnificat, C	Rogers, B.	Sanctus, A				
Blount, J	Sanctus, Eb	Rogers, B.	Sanctus, A	Ebdon, T.	Nunc Dimittis, C	Rogers, B.	Kyrie (BCP), A				
Blount, J	Kyrie (BCP), Eb	Rogers, B.	Kyrie (BCP), A	Marsh, J.	Sanctus, D	Marsh, J.	Kyrie (BCP), D				
Marsh, J.	Sanctus, D	Kempton	Te Deum, B flat	Marsh, J.	Kyrie (BCP), D	Marsh, J.	Sanctus, D				
Marsh, J.	Kyrie (BCP), D	Kempton	Jubilate Deo, Bb	Rogers, B.	Sanctus, A	Kempton	Te Deum, B flat				
Rogers, B.	Sanctus, A	Blount, J	Sanctus, A	Rogers, B.	Kyrie (BCP), A	Kempton	Jubilate Deo, Bb				
Rogers, B.	Kyrie (BCP), A	Blount, J	Kyrie (BCP), A	Kempton	Te Deum, B flat	Kempton	Magnificat, B flat				

P23	Alto decani	P26	Alto	P27	Tenor Cantoris	P28	Tenor	O22	Organ	O21	Organ
Kempton	Te Deum, Bb	Kempton	Magnificat, B flat	Kempton	Jubilate Deo, Bb	Kempton	Nunc Dimittis, Bb				
Kempton	Jubilate Deo, Bb	Kempton	Nunc Dimittis, Bb	Blount, J	Sanctus, A	Blount, J	Sanctus, A				
Kempton	Magnificat, Bb	Blount, J	Te Deum, E flat	Blount, J	Kyrie (BCP), A	Blount, J	Kyrie (BCP), A				
Kempton	Nunc Dimittis, Bb	Anon	Sanctus, D	Kempton	Magnificat, Bb	Blount, J	Te Deum, E flat				
Blount, J	Sanctus, A	Anon	Kyrie (BCP), E	Kempton	Nunc Dimittis, Bb	Blount, J	Sanctus, G				
Blount, J	Kyrie (BCP), A	Novello, V.	Sanctus, G	Blount, J	Te Deum, E flat	Blount, J	Kyrie (BCP), G				
Blount, J	Te Deum, Eb	Rogers, B.	Sanctus, A	Stanford	Kyrie (BCP), E flat	Arnold, S.	Sanctus, C				
Blount, J	Sanctus, G	Anon	Sanctus, G	Anon	Kyrie (BCP), D	Arnold, S.	Kyrie (BCP), C				
Blount, J	Kyrie (BCP), G	Blount, J	Kyrie (BCP), G	Anon	Sanctus, G	Blount, J	Sanctus, D				
Arnold, S.	Sanctus, C	Arnold, S.	Sanctus, C	Blount, J	Kyrie (BCP), G	Blount, J	Kyrie (BCP), D				
Arnold, S.	Kyrie (BCP), C	Anon	Kyrie (BCP), C	Arnold, S.	Sanctus, C	Jommelli	Sanctus, E				
Blount, J	Sanctus, D	Blount, J	Sanctus, E flat	Anon	Kyrie (BCP), C	Jommelli	Kyrie (BCP), E				
Blount, J	Kyrie (BCP), D	Anon	Kyrie (BCP), E flat	Blount, J	Sanctus, E flat	Gibbons, O.	Sanctus, F				
Torrelli, G.	Sanctus, E	Blount, J	Sanctus, C	Anon	Kyrie (BCP), E flat	Anon	Kyrie (BCP)				
Torrelli, G.	Kyrie (BCP), E	Blount, J	Kyrie (BCP), C	Blount, J	Sanctus, D	Anon	Kyrie (BCP), F				
Blount, F. S.	Sanctus, G	Anon	Sanctus, E	Blount, J	Kyrie (BCP), D	Anon	Sanctus, D				
Blount, F. S.	Kyrie (BCP), G	Jommelli	Kyrie (BCP), E	Anon	Sanctus, E	Neukomm	Sanctus, G				
Anon	Sanctus, D	Blount, J	Sanctus, D	Tamelli	Kyrie (BCP), E	Anon	Kyrie (BCP), E				
Gibbons, O.	Sanctus, F	Blount, J	Kyrie (BCP), D	Anon	Sanctus, D	Novello, V.	Sanctus, G				
Gibbons, O.	Kyrie (BCP), F	Anon	Kyrie (BCP), C	Anon	Kyrie (BCP)	Blount, F. S.	Kyrie (BCP), F				
Novello, N.	Sanctus, G			Gibbons, O.	Sanctus, F	Blount, F. S.	Kyrie (BCP), A				
Novello, N.	Kyrie (BCP), E			Anon	Kyrie (BCP), E	Anon	Kyrie (BCP), F				
Anon	Kyrie (BCP), F			Novello, V.	Sanctus, G	Spencer	Kyrie (BCP), B flat				
Blount, F. S.	Kyrie (BCP), F			Blount, F. S.	Kyrie (BCP), F	Anon	Kyrie (BCP), C				
Blount, F. S.	Kyrie (BCP), A			Blount, F. S.	Kyrie (BCP), A	Blount, F. S.	Sanctus, G				

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P23	Alto decani	P26	Alto	P27	Tenor Cantoris	P28	Tenor	O22	Organ	O21	Organ
Spencer	Kyrie (BCP), Bb			Spencer	Kyrie (BCP), B flat	Blount, F. S.	Kyrie (BCP), G				
Anon	Kyrie (BCP), C			Anon	Kyrie (BCP), C	Kent, J.	Te Deum, C				
Neukomm,	Sanctus, G			Blount, F. S.	Kyrie (BCP), G	Ebdon, T.	Sanctus, C				
				Blount, F. S.	Sanctus, G	Ebdon, T.	Kyrie (BCP), C				
				Ebdon, T.	Sanctus, C	Ebdon, T.	Nicene Creed, C				
				Ebdon, T.	Kyrie (BCP), C						
				Ebdon, T.	Nicene Creed, C						
				Anon	Kyrie (BCP), F						

Furthermore, there must be added to this group the opening part of P31. This is a fascinating book, and extremely useful for the edition of music by Combes. Although marked as an alto part book, it contains a total of 20 sheets of treble music at the start, the only source we have for this part. The table below gives the order and pagination of the treble section. The sheets have page numbers in ink, as do the other later sources; folio numbers have been added later in pencil, after the binding together of sheets. The inked page numbers demonstrate several missing sheets – discontinuities are shown in this table by blank lines.

Table 13 - contents of treble section of P31

Folio	Page	Composer	Work	Notes
1r	1	Tallis	Te Deum, Dorian	
1v	2			
2r	3			
2v	4			
3r	5	Tallis	Benedictus, Dorian	
3v	6			
4r	7			
4v	8			
5r	9	Tallis	Kyrie & Sanctus, Dorian	
5v	10	Tallis	Magnificat, Dorian	
6r	11			
6v	12	Tallis	Nunc Dimittis, Dorian	
7r	13			
7v	14	Tallis	Nicene Creed, Dorian	Start only
8r	17	Rogers	Te Deum in D	
8v	18			
9r	19			
9v	20			
10r	21	Rogers	Jubilate Deo in D	
10v	22			
11r	23	Combes Rogers	Sanctus in D Kyrie in D	
11v	24	Rogers	Nicene Creed in D	

Folio	Page	Composer	Work	Notes
12r	25			
12v	26			
13r	27	Rogers	Magnificat in D	
13v	28			
14r	29			
14v	30	Rogers	Nunc Dimittis in D	Start only
15r	37	Anon	End of doxology in D	
15v	38	Aldrich	Te Deum in G	Start only
16r	67	Combes	Te Deum in D, Jubilate in D	End of Te Deum only
16v	68			
17r		Combes	Jubilate in D	Overlaps with above ¹⁴³
17v		Combes	Sanctus & Kyrie in D	
18r	71	Combes	Te Deum in E	4 folios, not complete
18v	72			
19r	73			
19v	74			
20r	77	Combes	Jubilate, Sanctus & Kyrie in E	Final line of Jubilate only
20v	78	Combes	Magnificat in E	Start only

The style of handwriting is clearly similar to that in the other later books of services, and the content and ordering is telling. We see the same opening sequence, with a little internal reordering, as P23, P26 and P27, and all the repertoire contained in this section is also found in the Late Services Group.

¹⁴³ This sheet has top right hand corner missing, so the page number is lost. Musical overlap in the Jubilate implies that it may not be part of the same sequence, though the numbering continues logically.

After the Magnificat in E breaks off in the middle, the book returns to alto music, and we soon have pieces by F. S. Blount (Organist 1835-1863), giving an idea of when these pages must have been grouped. Like several other books it has anthems at the back, upside down, all in alto clef.

4.2.6.3 More Anthems

P23 and P27 also provide a crossover to the late anthems set. The anthems portions at the back of these books contain almost all of the music found in P33, but not in the rest of the set.

Moreover, the anthems section of the organ book **O21** contains striking concordances with P23, P27 and P33, with groups of anthems with very similar ordering featuring in all four, but not in the other books in the set. In Table 4 we can see the anthems shared between the three books and O21, appearing at the start of P23 and P27, and here given the lighter shading. The gap in concordance with P33 leads back to the other anthem set - all of the unshaded items in this block belong there. Anthems shared between the part books, but not the organ book are in the darker shading. One of these, Kent's *Why do the heathen*, is found in the organ book O14.

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Table 14 - anthem contents of P23, P27, P33 and O21

P23	Alto decani	P27	Tenor cantoris	P33	Tenor	O21	Organ
Child	O Lord, grant the king	Weldon	O praise God in his holiness	Weldon	O praise God in his holiness	Anon	... but according to thy ... for thy goodness
Weldon	O praise God in his holiness	Farrant	Call to remembrance	Farrant	Call to remembrance	Farrant	Hide not thou thy face
King	The Lord is King	Farrant	Hide not thou thy face	Farrant	Hide not thou thy face	Child	Praise the Lord, O my soul
Kent	Lord, how are they increased	Child	Praise the Lord, O my soul	Combes	Behold, I bring you	Child	O Lord, grant the king
Child	Praise the Lord, O my soul	Child	O Lord, grant the king	Greene	Acquaint thyself with God	Rogers	Behold now, praise the Lord
Farrant	Call to remembrance	Rogers	Behold now, praise the Lord	Combes	Blessed is the man	Weldon	O praise God in his holiness
Farrant	Hide not thou thy face	King	The Lord is King	Day	Haste thee, O God	Clarke	Praise the Lord, O Jerusalem
Croft	O give thanks	Croft	O give thanks	Croft	I will sing	King	The Lord is King
Clarke	Praise the Lord, O Jerusalem	Clarke	Praise the Lord, O Jerusalem	Wise	Awake up my glory	Carter	Hear my prayer
Rogers	Behold now, praise the Lord	Combes	Give sentence in G	Combes	I will magnify thee	<i>Aldrich</i>	<i>Out of the deep</i>
Goldwin	I have set God	Carter	Hear my prayer	Wise	Gloria in Excelsis	Combes	Give sentence in G
Aldrich	Out of the deep	Aldrich	Out of the deep	Howard	Blessed is the man	Croft	O give thanks
Carter	Hear my prayer	Kent	Lord, how are they increased	Anon	Gloria Patri	Kent	Lord, how are they increased
Combes	Give sentence in G	Goldwin	I have set God	Combes	The Lord is King	Goldwin	I have set God
Carter	Like as the hart	Carter	Like as the hart	Greene	O Lord, give ear	Carter	Like as the hart
King	O pray for the peace	King	O pray for the peace	Hawkins	Arise, O Lord	King	O pray for the peace
Purcell	Thou knowest, Lord	Purcell	Thou knowest, Lord	Child	Praise the Lord, O my soul	Aldrich	We have heard with our ears
Kent	Why do the heathen	Kent	Why do the heathen	Child	O Lord, grant the king	Purcell	Thou knowest, Lord
Nares	Blessed is he	Anon	Lord, who shall dwell	Rogers	Behold now, praise the Lord	Anon	O Lord, grant the king
Blake	I have set God	Kent	When the Son of Man	King	The Lord is King	Anon	Hallelujah
Kent	Blessed be thou, Lord God	Anon	O give the Lord	Croft	O give thanks		
Carter	Hear my prayer	Kent	Lord our Governor	Clarke	Praise the Lord, O Jerusalem		
Kent	It is a good thing	Nares	Blessed is he	Combes	Give sentence in G		
Marcello	O Lord our Governor	Kent	It is a good thing	Carter	Hear my prayer		
Mason	Lord of all power and might	Kent	Blessed be thou, Lord God	Kent	Lord, how are they increased		
Kent	The Lord is my shepherd	Anon	Ponder my words, O Lord	Goldwin	I have set God		
Kent	My song shall be of mercy	Blake	I have set God	Carter	Like as the hart		
Anon	Ponder my words, O Lord	Kent	Sing, O heavens	King	O pray for the peace		

P23	Alto decani	P27	Tenor cantoris	P33	Tenor	O21	Organ
Calcott	Grant, we beseech thee	Anon	The Lord hath prepared	Clarke	How long wilt thou forget		
Reynolds	My God, my God	Calcott	Grant, we beseech thee	Purcell	Thou knowest, Lord		
Handel	Hallelujah	Kent	All thy works praise thee	Kent	Why do the heathen		
Handel	Zadok the priest	Kent	Hear my prayer	Kent	Hearken unto this, O man		
Handel	I know that my Redeemer	Kent	It is a good thing	Kent	It is a good thing		
Anon	Teach me, O Lord	Marcello	O Lord our Governor	Blake	I have set God		
Corfe	O God, who hast prepared	Blount	Behold, how good	Nares	Blessed is he		
		Anon	Lord of all power and might	Kent	It is a good thing		
		Kent	The Lord is my shepherd	Kent	Blessed be thou, Lord God		
		Anon	My song shall be of mercy	Kent	My song		
		Reynolds	My God, my God	Kent	The Lord hath prepared		
		Handel	Hallelujah	Handel	When the ear heard him		
		Handel	Zadok the priest	Anon	My song shall be of mercy		
		Handel	I know that my Redeemer	Mason	Lord of all power and might		
		Anon	Teach me, O Lord	Marcello	O Lord our Governor		
		Corfe	O God, who hast prepared	Blount	Behold, how good		
		Anon	O praise the Lord	Kent	The Lord is my shepherd		
		Scott	Praise the Lord, O Jerusalem	Handel	Comfort ye, my people		
		Hayes	The Lord descended	Reynolds	My God, my God		
				Kent,	Blessed be thou, Lord God		
				Blake	I have set God		
				Handel	Hallelujah		
				Handel	Zadok the priest		
				Handel	I know that my Redeemer		
				Handel	Worthy is the Lamb		
				Anon	Teach me, O Lord		
				Corfe	O God, who hast prepared		
				Handel	I know that my Redeemer		

Are these, or some of these, the sets for which Richard Combes was paid thirteen pounds, four shillings and eightpence in 1769? Certainly the music in the earlier parts of the books would allow for that date, reflecting a somewhat conservative repertoire. Anthems and settings by later composers such as Callcott (presumably John Wall Callcott, 1766 - 1821) and J W Blount (Minster Organist, 1808 - 1835) appear later in the books, and likely reflect the ongoing accretion of music.

In the middle of the anthem books is a section of music by James Kent (1700 - 1776). All of this music is contained in the publications described above under P9. These appear more or less as a block in P25, 29, 30 and 32, with a less clear pattern in P33. Whilst they are not always in the same order, there is a clear progression from Volume 1 to Volume 2 of the printed material. This is shown in the table below. The extract is the order of pieces from the first to last instance of Kent, with volume 1 works in red, volume 2 in blue. Titles have been left as in the catalogue, but attributions to Kent given where appropriate. This gives a clear indication that this portion of the book can be dated after the publication of the volumes in P9, with a hint that the two portions were acquired separately and bound together later. Therefore, even if the collection was started earlier, possibly in 1769, these additions began not earlier than 1773, with second volume items not before 1777.

Table 15 - compositions by Kent in P23, P29, P30, P32

P23	Alto Decani	P29	Tenor	P30	Bass	P32	Alto
Kent, J.	Lord, who shall dwell	Kent, J.	Lord, who shall dwell	Kent, J.	Lord, who shall dwell	Kent, J.	The Lord is my shepherd
Kent, J.	The Lord is my shepherd	Kent, J.	My soul truly waiteth	Kent, J.	The Lord is my shepherd	Kent, J.	Hearken unto this, O man
Kent, J.	My soul truly waiteth	Kent, J.	Hearken unto this, O man	Kent, J.	My soul waiteth	Kent, J.	Lord, what love have I
Kent, J.	Give the Lord	Kent, J.	Give the Lord	Kent, J.	Hearken unto this, O man	Kent, J.	Give the Lord
Kent, J.	O Lord our Governor	Kent, J.	O Lord our Governor	Kent, J.	Give the Lord	Kent, J.	My soul truly waiteth
Kent, J.	It is a good thing	Kent, J.	Sing, O heavens	Kent, J.	Lord, what love have I	Kent, J.	Sing, O heavens
Kent, J.	Sing, O heavens	Kent, J.	My song shall be of mercy	Kent, J.	O Lord our Governor	Kent, J.	O Lord our Governor
Kent, J.	My song shall be alway	Calcott	Grant, we beseech thee	Kent, J.	It is a good thing	Kent, J.	It is a good thing
Kent, J.	The Lord hath prepared	Kent, J.	The Lord is my shepherd	Kent, J.	Sing, O heavens	Kent, J.	My song
Kent, J.	My song shall be alway	Kent, J.	All thy works praise thee	Kent, J.	The Lord hath prepared	Kent, J.	The Lord hath prepared
Kent, J.	The Lord hath prepared	Kent, J.	Hear my prayer	Kent, J.	Rejoice in the Lord	Kent, J.	Hear my prayer
Anon	O praise the Lord	Kent, J.	When the Son of Man	Kent, J.	All thy works praise thee	Anon	Teach me, O Lord
Anon	Ponder my words, O Lord	Anon	Ponder my words, O Lord	Kent, J.	My song shall be of mercy	Kent, J.	O Lord our Governor
Calcott	Grant, we beseech thee	Scott, J.	Praise the Lord	Kent, J.	Hear my prayer		
Kent, J.	All thy works praise thee	Hayes	The Lord descended	Anon	Ponder my words, O Lord		
Kent, J.	Hear my prayer	Kent, J.	Lord, what love have I	Handel	When the ear heard him		
Handel	When the ear heard him			Blount	Behold, how good		
Blount	Behold, how good			Kent, J.	When the Son of Man		
Kent, J.	Hear my prayer						
Kent, J.	When the Son of Man						

Whilst the copying from a printed source here is clear, it is interesting to note that the repertoire preceding the Kent items does not have such a unified source. Whilst the Minster had acquired Boyce's Cathedral Music, recently if the proposed dating is to be believed, only three items, one by Wise and two by Clarke, are copied here. Part of the rest of the music is from the Minster's home-grown repertoire, the rest culled from other sources.

Presumably the £13.4s.8d included the purchase of the lined books. Even if not, at a rate of 10d per sheet the amount represents the copying of 317.6 sheets of music. That would be more than used up before the Kent items that must have been copied at a slightly later date, but when these books would undoubtedly have still been in use.

The dating of this set is important for the editing of the works of George Combes. If they were started in 1769, the year George Combes died, then all appearances of music by him in them are later copies. If the books date from earlier, then he may have been involved with the production of them. Examples in earlier books are more likely to have been in his own hand, or at least overseen by him. Furthermore, there are a number of alterations in these later books, often at moments where the original composition has presented technical errors or challenges in the harmony. This raises the question of whether they are 'improvements' by the composer, or the son correcting his father's work. They often leave scope for an editor to decide if they are indeed improvements or not. These questions, and the overall issue of authenticity, are discussed in the critical commentary of the edition.

It is hard to gain a full understanding of how these books evolved, and to imagine how they functioned as a set. However, there is enough to show that these books could, in various combinations, be used for performance together. It is also clear that there must be material that we no longer have, most particularly in the bass section.

4.2.6.4 Other Books

Outside these groups we are left with P11-18, 21, 22, 24, 31 and 34. Overall it is less easy to see patterns amongst these books, a situation further complicated by clear evidence of rebinding. It is therefore only possible to make general comments about these volumes, identify some trends, and highlight a few particular cases.

The books P11, P12, P13, P14, P15, P16, P17, along with the organ book P10, are listed in Daniel and Le Huray's *The Sources of English Church Music 1546-1660*.¹⁴⁴ There they are given dates of 1670 (P11, P14, P15, P16, P17) and 1685 (P10, P12, P13). Given the presence in P12 and P13 of music by Combes, these dates can only be seen as an indication of the starting of each volume, and do not take us further in dealing with later additions and rebinding. Indeed, it is beyond the scope of that work to give full evidence for those dates, so they are only of limited value.

One effect of this dating, however, was that those volumes were preserved in microfilm, leading to further research by Alison Boag-Monroe, particularly focussing on the works contained in them by Weelkes.¹⁴⁵ This is very useful research, particularly in dealing with some cataloguing issues, though this work has yet to be incorporated into the main catalogue. It also provides valuable insights into the relationships between Wimborne and other centres, particularly Chichester.

The problem with selecting this group is that it artificially extracts it from the collection as a whole, and raises a barrier to the understanding of the relationships between the books. Whilst a great deal more detail could be found, I will present a few aspects that highlight kinships and differences between these books and others in the collection.

4.2.7 Aspects of the early partbooks

4.2.7.1 Combes

It could be viewed as arbitrary to look for the music of Combes rather than any other composer to gain an understanding of these books, and of course a similar exercise could be carried out with any of those present. However, for the purposes of this study, it makes sense to look at 'our' composer, especially as he is so well represented in much of the collection. P11, P14, P15, P16 and P17 contain no music by Combes, which certainly chimes in with the earlier suggested date for them. They do, on the other hand, contain music by earlier Minster organists Silver (Organist 1664 - 1695) and Day (1695 - 1713). As a piece by Day begins P14 (dated 1670 by Daniel and Le Huray), it demonstrates the difficulty of putting precise dates on these volumes.¹⁴⁶

The other volumes under consideration all contain some music by Combes, ranging from just a Te Deum, Kyrie and Creed in P12 to over half the contents of P34. The precise distribution is shown in

¹⁴⁴ Daniel and Le Huray, *Sources*, 6

¹⁴⁵ Boag-Monroe, 'P10-17 An Assessment of a Little Known Provincial Source'

¹⁴⁶ Daniel and Le Huray, *Sources*, 6

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the table of sources in the edition part of this thesis. This would indicate a closer relationship between P12 and P13 and the rest of the collection than the date of 1685 implies.

Two volumes that bear a moment's individual scrutiny are P18 and P34

P18 (alto) is slim volume, of only 22 folios, It is exclusively music for the morning services, with half of the pieces by Combes. The pages are fragile and the whole appears to be a rebinding. Many musical hands are present

P34 (alto) has almost all of Combes' music present - Full services in A, D and E, though the ordering is unusual, and all of the anthems. Together, his music accounts for over half the volume. It shows signs of rebinding, with several anomalies in the numbering of pages, and discrepancies with the index. It is an important source for the Combes anthems particularly, and may have been used by a principal alto soloist (see Critical Commentary).

More detailed evidence of the relationships between books can be found in the minutiae of musical variants in the music of Combes. This is discussed in depth in the Critical Edition of his music.

4.2.7.2 Psalms

All of the books P11-17 contain psalm settings, as do P21, P22 and P24. These are predominantly metrical, though with some examples of Anglican chant. A couple, in a style recognisable to the modern eye, appear in P13, P15 and P24. Some of less familiar appearance emerge in P14 and P15, where repeated notes are written out for the recitation, to the rhythm of the Venite, the first portion of psalm to be sung in a day. This is shown in the figure below. This same style was identified as an early form of chant in the organ book P10 by Dearnley, in his *English Church Music 1650-1750*.¹⁴⁷ Settings of this type are absent from other books, indicating either a move away from their usage, or, more likely, the creation of separate books for these fundamental liturgical items. We do indeed have such books, O18-20 for example, though these appear to be nineteenth century in origin.

¹⁴⁷ Dearnley, *English Church Music*, 287

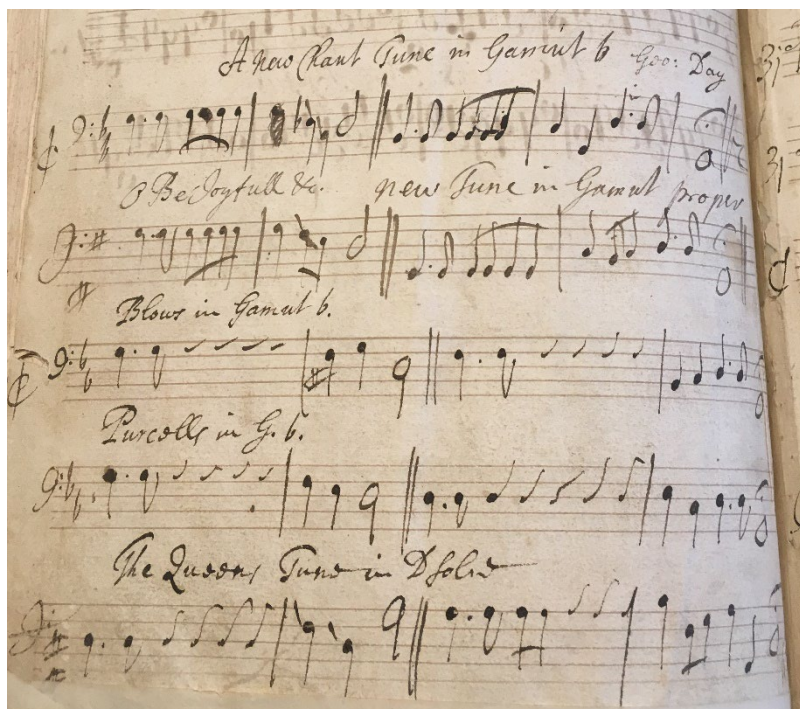


Figure 31 - Psalm chants, P14 f117v

4.2.7.3 Order

As we have seen, the later sets contain service music arranged in settings by a single composer for the whole day, with anthems either written at the other end of the book, turned upside down (P23, P27), or in separate volumes (P25, P29, P30, P32, P33). In these books the pattern is different. The basic layout for these volumes is

Morning services (Matins and Eucharist)

Evening services

Anthems

Psalms

The pattern is not always tidy, with stray items appearing in several places. Not conforming to this are P18, containing only morning music, P31, which is a striking anomaly to be discussed later, and P12, which has psalms upside down at the back. It may well be that sheets were collected and bound in that order, rather than being written in to a pre-existing book like that, but it indicates that these books belong to a separate way of thinking about organising material to that seen in the later sets.

4.2.7.4 Shared Verses

To take just one example which shows the interrelatedness of these books, in a way that further disrupts previous attempts at grouping, we can look at the Purcell *Te Deum* and *Jubilate in D*. This piece was written in 1694; a performance in Wimborne in 1759 is discussed in the context of the Friendly Society. It appears in five volumes - P11, P12, P16, P22, and P24. The various bass verses are divided between the books P22 and P24, with P22 having *The noble company*, and *We believe*, and P24 taking the lion's share with the opening of the *Te Deum*, *To Thee all angels*, *When Thou didst overcome*, *O Lord in the Thee* and *For the Lord is gracious* in the *Jubilate*. This clearly indicates that the books were intended to be used together. In P11 and P12, two alto part books, again, the verses are divided between the books, with P11 taking the first part in the alto duets, P12 the second, again indicating a pairing of books. All four of these examples are in a similar script, hinting that P11, P12, P22, and P24 need to be considered in relationship to each other, upsetting the separation of P22 and P24 from the other early sources in Le Huray and Daniel. In P16 it appears without any verse sections, and with a slightly different appearance. The starts of each are shown in the figures below.

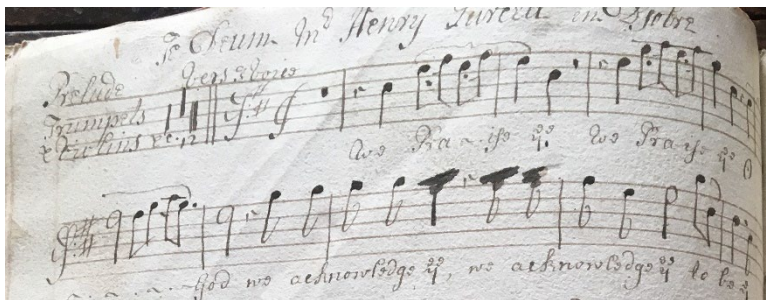


Figure 32 - P11, folio 45v

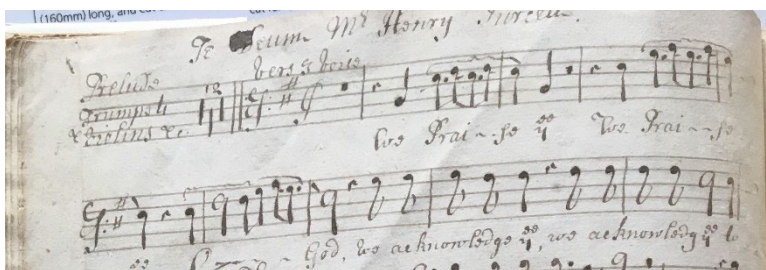


Figure 33 - P12, folio 8v7

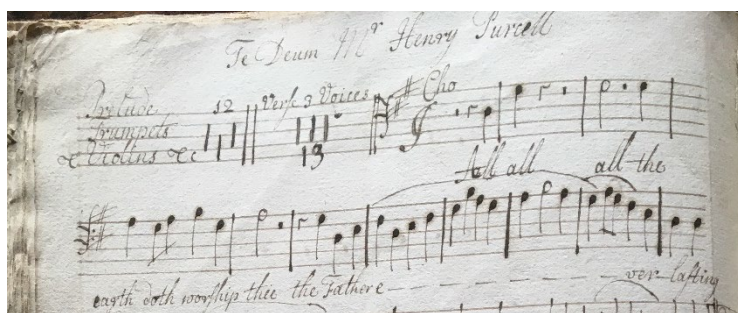


Figure 34 – P16, folio 23v

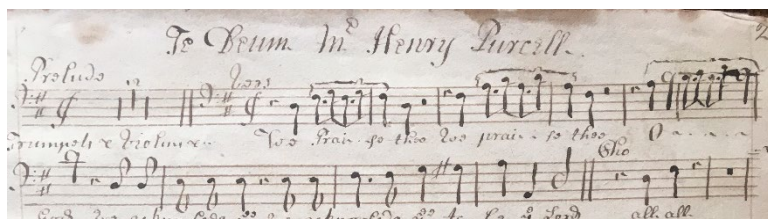


Figure 35 - P22, page 1

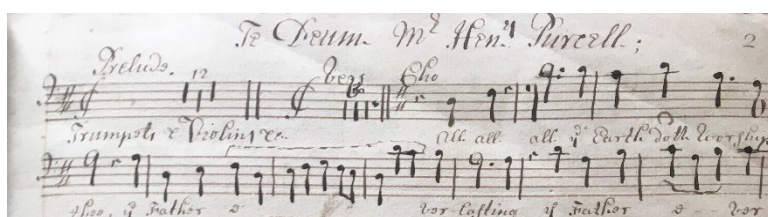


Figure 36 - P24, folio 2r

Further to the shared verses, these books demonstrate their relatedness through repertoire.

P22 and P24 have clear correspondence. Near the start both books have a similar sequence of pieces, Matins music in D by Purcell, in F by Tyler and in C by Richardson, but after that the order becomes random. P24 is the longer book, containing one hundred and sixty-three items, compared to P22's one hundred and thirty-two. Of those with a composer attribution all of the works in P22 bar 15 items are also found in P24. The latter book of course has several pieces not found in P22.

P11 is longer than P12, and, whilst they do share some repertoire, each book has music not contained in the other, so the equivalence is not as clear as with P22 and P24.

4.2.7.5 Hands

A more comprehensive analysis of writing styles is required, and has the potential to give important information about dating. Overall, in the earlier volumes, a multiplicity of hands is present, with a variety of ways of writing different musical symbols. Most striking are the square noteheads found

in P11, P14, P15, P16 and P17, supporting the notion that these contain the earliest sheets. An example is shown in Figure 10. This variety of hands lends weight to the notion that these are collections of more or less disparate sheets, gathered into as much order as could be managed.

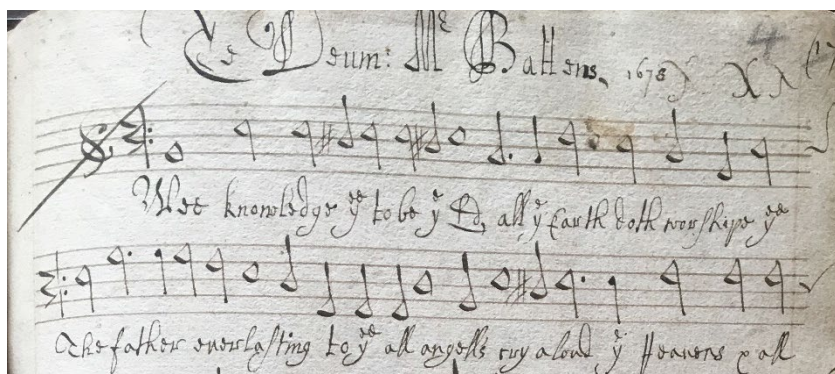


Figure 37 - P11 page 4

4.2.7.6 Treble part books

The glaring omission in these part books is treble parts. There is a popular view of the reason for this - in the words of Boag-Monroe, '*perhaps due to the fact that young boys, notorious for being careless and mishandling music, would have sung the parts*'.¹⁴⁸

This is an appealing theory, but we have insufficient evidence to draw any conclusions about the level of discipline and order in the Minster Choir across the period under study. The fact that the only pages of treble music we have were rebound later (see discussion of P31, above), while other books in the set survive intact, may support this idea.

More evidence of the existence of music for choristers is found in two entries in the Governors' Minute Book. From 22nd November 1710:

Ordered that Mr Day be allowed 25s for the last half a years Sallary of the said Tilsed (because he left the service at our Lady Day last) in Consideration Mr Day is to prick Out two new service books for the Singing boys.¹⁴⁹

And from 21st December 1765:

Ordered that new movable desks be made for the Singing Boys:¹⁵⁰

¹⁴⁸ Boag-Monroe, 'P10-17 An Assessment of a Little Known Provincial Source', p11

¹⁴⁹ DHC PE/WM/GN/2/1/1

¹⁵⁰ DHC PE/WM/GN/2/1/1

The level of complexity of the repertoire certainly suggests that the boys would have needed music reading skills to be able to perform as required, and therefore books to sing from. Furthermore, the prevalence of former choristers in the back row of the choir indicates that they must have gained the musical skills required, including musical literacy. Whilst children are adept at singing by rote, therefore, it seems likely that more treble books existed, and have been lost.

4.2.7.7 Personal books

One appealing feature of this collection is the opportunity to link these books to the individual personnel of the Minster, many of whom we have met in an earlier chapter. There are inscriptions as follows in bold, with details drawn from the Governors' records:

P12 **Jon Gill alias Knight** *stuck on sheet inside front cover*

Jon Gill was a Chorister to 1718, Singingman 1719-1741, Clerke 1741-1771

P14 **James King 1729**

James King was a Chorister from 1728, Singingman 1734-1754, Clerke 1754-ca1773, son of William King

Reuben Gill his book in Greek (then repeated in Greek characters)

Reuben Gill was a Chorister 1731 - 1741

God Bless Queen Anne 1737

? Webbes

P17 **Samuel Harvey His boock Bassus Decani**

Samuel Harvey was a Singingman 1694-1710

William King 1708 (King and 1708 written over each other)

William King His Book 1713

William King was a Chorister from 1698, Singingman 1710-1729, Clerke 1729-1764

P19 **Mr Wilm Miles** W.M. was Clerke to 1819

Will Lemon no record

details of cloth

P22 G Oakley

George Oakley was a Chorister from 1744, Singingman 1764-1771, Clerke 1771-1773

P30 Advent Sunday 1 Day of December 1872 Henry Dykes

P34 Roger Willis His Book

Roger Willis was a Chorister 1731-1741, Singingman 1741-1764

John Willis His Book 1766 (on folio 12)

John Harvey Willis was a Chorister 1759-1766, Singingman 1766-1770, Clerke 1770-1781. Both members of the great Willis dynasty.

As well as placing these books firmly in the Wimborne family, these inscriptions give some clues as to the life of these books. P12, for example, or at least some sheets of it, were used by a singer who would have come to it no earlier than 1719. P17, likewise, shows evidence of use from the late seventeenth century, possibly well into the eighteenth. Even further, a later book, P30 was in the hands of Henry Dykes in 1872, when published music was much more readily available than at the time of its initial creation.

They also present a few anomalies.

The inscriptions in P14 appear to be on a sheet stuck in, which might explain the presence of the name of Reuben Gill, who was only ever a chorister, appearing in a tenor book, and that of James King appearing at a date just after he had become a chorister.

William King's signature is dated 1708, two years before he was appointed as a singingman. He would have been twenty at that time, so was perhaps singing unofficially, or even singing bass while on the treble payroll – we do not have a date for his dismissal from the top line.

In 1764, according to the Governor's minutes, Roger Willis was replaced by George Oakley.¹⁵¹ George Oakley resigned in 1766, to be replaced by John Harvey Willis.¹⁵² What can we conclude from George Oakley of the bass part book P22 coming between two Willises, both of the alto part

¹⁵¹ DHC PE/WM/GN/2/1/1

¹⁵² DHC PE/WM/GN/2/1/1

book P34? Might it be that altos were hard to come by, and the space in the pews needed to be filled? The alternative versions in Combes' Te Deum in A would certainly indicate that two altos were not always available. As the Governors' Minutes do not mention voice parts, we can only grasp at details like these.

One interesting avenue of speculation relates to the unusual book in score P19. The only mention of William Miles in the records is at the end of his tenure as Clerke in 1819. The vast majority of other men worked through the ranks as choristers, then singingmen, the clerkes, but it looks likely that William Miles went straight into his position, as George Matthews, of Winchester, had done in the 1770s. Might he have brought this book with him, as a man with experience elsewhere? If so, he was a man of some learning, as the notes in his book attest (figure 33).

Intervals	Other names	Ratios	Composed of	in f
12	eight or diapason	2 to 1	fifth & fourth	a
11	major seventh	15 to 9	fifth & third	e
10	minor seventh	9 to 5	fifth a b third	e g
9	major sixth	5 to 3	third and fourth	e f
8	minor sixth	8 to 5	fourth and a b third	e f g
7	perfect fifth	3 to 2	two thirds b and a	e f g a
6	major 4 or minor fifth	4 to 3	third major and tone major	e f g a b
5	greater third	5 to 4	third major and tone minor	e f g a b c
4	lesser third	6 to 4	third minor and tone minor	e f g a b c d
3	greater second or 1 tone	9 to 8	second major and tone minor	e f g a b c d e
2	lesser second or semitone	10 to 9	two tone major	e f g a b c d e f
1	unison	1 to 1	one tone major	e f g a b c d e f g
			one sound	e f g a b c d e f g a

Figure 38 - P19, final page

4.3 Conclusion

An introduction of this sort can only scratch the surface of such a large and complex collection. However, I hope it brings out some patterns of interconnectedness. From the point of view of producing an authoritative edition of Combes, groupings have emerged that could indicate a progression from earlier to later copies. How that will subsequently be handled I will discuss in the critical commentary to the edition.

I would just highlight two future avenues of research that could fruitfully be pursued, both of which have been begun in part in this investigation. The first is a comprehensive revision of the catalogue, correcting errors and providing attributions to anonymous works. The other is a detailed examination of paper, bindings, and scribal hands to clarify the physical genesis of these books, which would benefit from the facilities of an archival centre.

Chapter 5 Critical Commentary to the Edition of the Works of George Combes

5.1 Introduction

The extant works of George Combes are substantial and varied. The five complete anthems and three main sets of service music display a wide range of musical style. At the one end are the most functional service music items displayed in the communion pieces, and in the settings of the canticles in E. Here syllabic, chordal music efficiently conveys text, and provides effective liturgical music. At the other end are the extended verse anthems, where virtuosic solo writing displays the talents of Combes's singers, and a range of compositional techniques are employed to give colour to the text. Together they build a picture of the strong musical establishment for which they were written, one capable of tackling complex music, and give a sense of the liturgical character of an important institution.

These complete pieces are given here in performing editions with comprehensive critical commentaries, discussing the significant variants found across the sources.

In addition to the pieces that have come down to us with sufficiently complete sources to present an edition with confidence, are a number of fragmentary items. These include service music and an anthem alongside several psalm tunes. There are also earlier versions of some settings of liturgical texts. These are presented, edited but not completed, with discussions of the relationship between early and late versions, where appropriate. This gives a fuller picture of Combes's musical development as well as a window into the liturgical life of the Minster.

5.2 Overview of Sources containing Combes's music

Combes's music, apart from a couple of small published items, comes to us exclusively from the Wimborne partbooks. There may be a number of factors leading to this situation. As discussed in earlier chapters, the choral provision at Wimborne was unique in Dorset at the time, so dissemination locally was likely to be limited. It could well be that Minster musicians such as Richard Combes and William Hiscock may have taken his music to Holy Rood, Southampton and Christchurch Priory respectively, but manuscripts have not survived from those churches. Equally, it seems likely that Combes would have performed his own music when at Bristol but, again, no music manuscripts survive from that institution.

Combes's music is found in 21 books - four organ books, one book containing some treble music alongside alto parts, eight alto, six tenor and three bass partbooks. The distribution of pieces across the books can be seen in figure 1. More detail on the books can be found in the chapter The Music Collection at Wimborne Minster.

Due to the uneven spread of books the treble part generally needs to be reconstructed from organ books; this is also occasionally the case with the bass.

These books can be generally divided into earlier copies and a later set, discussed in detail in the Sources Introduction, and also in the commentary on each piece. In the later books there is a clearer distinction between service and anthem books; the distribution of works in earlier books is more haphazard. The sources are:

Table 16 - Sources of the works of George Combes

	Early	Late – Anthems	Late- Services	Psalm tunes
Organ		O14, O21	O13, O21, O22	
Treble			P31	
Alto	P12, P18, P34	P25, P32	P23, P26	O19, O20, P12
Tenor	P13, P21	P29, P33	P27, P28	O12, O18, P13, P21
Bass	P22, P24		P30	O11, P22, P24

In many pieces there are significant variants between the early and late sets. These are discussed and listed in the commentary on each piece. Overall, this edition tends to present the later versions.

Whilst I make the case in the chapter The Musical Sources at Wimborne for these sources having been transcribed by Combes's son Richard, I would also argue that they represent the refinement of the pieces through the Minster's tradition, as guided by George. In many cases they provide harmonically more polished readings, and show evidence of the development of style in solo lines. Where earlier sources have something of particular musical importance to offer, these are signalled in the musical text.

Table 17 - distribution of Combes's works in the Minster manuscripts, excluding psalm tunes.

O=organ, S=Soprano, A=alto, T=tenor, B=bass, C=cantoris, D=decani.

	O13	O14	O21	O22	P31	P12	P18	P23	P25	P26	P31	P32	P34	P13	P21	P27	P28	P29	P33	P22	P24	P30
					S	A	A	AD	AD	A	AC	A	A	T	T	TC	TD	T	TD	B	B	B
Te Deum in D	x			x	x		x	x		x	x		x	x	x	x	x			x	x	
Jubilate Deo in D	x			x	x		x	x		x	x		x	x	x	x	x			x	x	
Kyrie in D				x	x		x	x		x2	x		x	x	x2	x	x			x	x	
Sanctus in D			x	x2	x2		x	x2		x2	x2		x	x	x2	x2	x2			x	x	
Early Te Deum in D						x	x							x	x							
Benedictus in D							x							x	x						x	
Cantate Domino in D													x	x	x					x	x	
Deus Misereatur in D													x	x	x					x	x	
Jubilate Deo in A				x				x		x				x	x	x	x			x	x	
Te Deum in A				x		x		x		x				x	x	x	x			x	x	
Kyrie in A				x				x		x			x	x	x	x	x			x	x	
Sanctus in A				x				x		x			x	x	x	x	x			x	x	
Cantate Domino in A				x				x		x			x	x	x	x	x			x	x	
Deus Misereatur in A				x				x		x			x	x	x	x	x			x	x	
Early CD in A						x								x	x					x	x	
Early DM in A						x								x	x					x	x	
Te Deum in E			x	x	x			x		x	x					x	x					
Jubilate Deo in E			x	x				x		x						x	x					
Kyrie in E				x				x		x			x2	x	x	x	x			x		
Sanctus in E				x	x			x		x	x		x2	x	x	x	x			x		
Magnificat in E				x	x			x		x	x		x	x	x	x	x			x	x	
Kyrie in G						x	x							x						x	x	
Nicene Creed in G						x	x								x					x	x	
Kyrie in G minor													x	x	x					x		
Sanctus in G minor													x	x	x					x		
Sanctus in F				x				x		x						x	x					
Sanctus in G			x	x				x		x			x		x	x	x			x	x	
Behold, I bring you glad tidings	x								x			x	x		x			x	x	x	x	x
Blessed is the Man	x								x			x	x					x	x	x2	x	x
Bow down thine ear												x			x					x	x	
Give sentence			x					x				x		x	x	x			x	x	x	
I will magnify Thee	x								x			x	x	x	x			x	x	x	x	x
The Lord is King	x								x			x	x					x	x			x
	O13	O14	O21	O22	P31	P12	P18	P23	P25	P26	P31	P32	P34	P13	P21	P27	P28	P29	P33	P22	P24	P30
	O	O	O	O	S	A	A	AD	AD	A	AC	A	A	T	T	TC	TD	T	TD	B	B	B

5.3 George Combes's signature

A clear and consistent signature can be ascribed to George Combes. It is found in a number of receipts for monies paid in the Governors' records, in the Churchwarden's accounts, and in a printed score of Handel's Coronation Anthems owned by Combes.¹⁵³ In the part books it is also seen in the name attribution on a number of copyings of his music. These are listed below. It is a reasonable assumption that these items therefore also transmit Combes's autograph music notation.

There are also possible reductions of the signature, either as G: C or G: Combes. These often appear on shorter items such as psalms in P13 (f95r), P21, (f144v) and P24 (f133v), or before the second movement of a pair. There is some expected variability in the signature both in the documents and the partbooks. Variant forms in a broadly similar style of writing are found, with different punctuation, the addition of Mr, or the spelling Coombes. In the table below only those in the format Geo: Combes are noted, as the most likely to represent his autograph.

All of these instances are in the earlier part books, especially P13, P18, P21, P22 and P24. There are copyings of Combes's music within those books that do not bear this signature, and some without attribution at all. The signatures found in P34, a book containing almost all of Combes's output, whilst of a similar style are all of variant forms. A distinctly different style of writing the name is prevalent in later books, matching a very different style of notation.

This supports the suggestion that the earlier books are most closely linked to Combes himself, and that the later partbooks are transcribed by someone else, probably his son, with P34 standing somewhat apart.

¹⁵³ DHC Governors' bills and receipts PE-WM/GM/5/4-8, Churchwardens' bills and receipts PE-WM/CW/2/1. The Handel score is in the personal possession of Dr Richard Hall.

Mr. Geo: Combes's Acc^t.
 Half a years Salary due at Lady Day 1746. ———— £ 5 2
 12 10 0

Apr: 18 th Paid Easton's Bill to Mr. Rown	2 10 0
May 29 th p ^d you	3 12 0
June 9 th p ^d Mr. Harrison on your Note	4 1 6
Drawing Articles between you & the Brinsfords Duty	0 13 4
Your p ^t of the Articles between you and Drim	0 7 6
	11 4 4
To Balance	1 5 8
	12 10 0

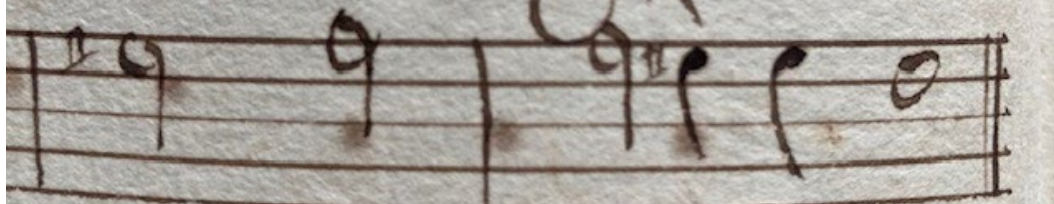
July 25th 1746
 Rec^d of Mr. Nath: Russell One pound five Shillings & eight pence in full of the Balance of this Account and of my Salary as Organist of Wimbourn due at Lady Day last past
 I pay rec^d by me Geo: Combes

Figure 39 - A bill in the hand of George Combes, DHC PE-WM/GN/5/6

Geo: Combes

Figure 40 - George Combes's signature inside the cover of a full score of Handel's Coronation Anthems

Geo: Combes



host L^e god of host

Figure 41 - George Combes's name preceding a setting of the Sanctus in A, partbook P21 f5v

Table 18 - the locations of instances of George Combes's signature in the partbooks

Book	Location	Piece	Adjacent pieces in same hand
P12	f43v	Creed in G	Preceded by Kyrie
P13	f24v	Sanctus in A	Followed by Kyrie
P13	f25v	Cantate Domino in D	Followed by Deus Misereatur
P13	f42v	Te Deum in D	Followed by Jubilate, Sanctus, Kyrie
P13	f77r	Give Sentence	
P18	f10r	Benedictus in D	
P18	f11v	Creed in G	Preceded by Kyrie
P21	f2v	Early Sanctus in D	Followed by Kyrie
P21	f5v	Sanctus in A	Followed by Kyrie
P21	f8v	Early Te Deum in A	
P21	f10v	Benedictus in D	
P21	f11v	Creed in G	Followed by Te Deum and Jubilate in A
P21	f97v	Give Sentence	
P22	f28v	Kyrie in G	Followed by Creed
P22	f56r	Early Cantate Domino in A	Followed by Deus Misereatur
P22	f65v	Magnificat in E	Followed by Nunc Dimittis
P22	f59v	Cantate Domino in D	Followed by Deus Misereatur
P22	f78v	Te Deum in D	Followed by Jubilate, Sanctus, Kyrie
P24	f35v	Te Deum in D	Followed by Jubilate, Sanctus, Kyrie
P24	f65r	Cantate Domino in D	Followed by Deus Misereatur
P24	f70r	Magnificat in E	Followed by Nunc Dimittis

5.4 Performance Practice

5.4.1 Choral outfit and direction

The vocal forces at the composer's disposal, described in detail in Chapter 2, consisted of four boys and six men. The boys often remained in the choir to a greater age than is common with modern trebles and may therefore have been stronger, but nevertheless the sound would have had a more even balance of voices than the top-heavy sound often experienced in modern cathedrals. The music is well suited to this size of performing group. Solo voices are required in all parts, but most particularly in alto (see below) and bass.

The ensemble would have been led from the organ, the console of which was upstairs on the screen, without a separate conductor, though possibly with a lead being given by specific choir members.¹⁵⁴ A group singing together regularly, performing music of a very specific type, would have developed an instinct for interpretation and ensemble to deliver this music without external direction.

5.4.2 Organ

The organ of 1664 was a two manual instrument, without pedals. It had a range of open and stopped ranks, providing contrasting colours, although mutations, if present, were unlikely to have been extensive.¹⁵⁵ This allows for changes of registration or manual between solo, chorus and organ only sections, the terms *Loud organ* and *Soft organ* being synonymous with *Great* and *Choir*. The two manuals may provide a solution to the seemingly unplayable moment at bar 137 of *Blessed is the Man*. Alternatively, the compass of the organ would have allowed this left hand to be played an octave lower, achievable on a modern organ with a 16' stop.

The organ was enlarged in 1764, with the addition of a third manual and extra stops, probably including a trumpet and mutations. There is specific mention of the trumpet stop in *Cantate Domino* in A, supporting the assertion that one was added, and the Swell (the third manual) is mentioned in *The Lord is King*. Although the organ was restored late in Combes' time at the Minster, the increased tonal resources are clearly appropriate for his music.

¹⁵⁴ Peter Holman, *Before the Baton: Musical Direction and Conducting in Stuart and Georgian Britain*. (Boydell & Brewer, 2020), chapter 1

¹⁵⁵ See the section in the organ in Chapter 2

The organ parts presented here are as they appear in the sources, with only clefs modernised. The slightly sporadic figures are reproduced without additions, and only a few corrections of obvious errors. Apart from the Morning Service in D, which is taken from a later source, they all present the outer vocal lines with occasional inner parts doubled, often in passages of thirds or moments of imitation. In only one moment (at the end of *Give Sentence O Lord*) is there an independent inner part. This is the familiar pattern of writing in organ books from the Restoration onwards and, indeed, in earlier periods. The exact intention for the performer is a matter of debate. The question is whether the melodic line is included for information, to guide the performer in producing a continuo-style accompaniment, or is intended to be played as it stands, with or without additional harmonies. Rebecca Herissone argues the latter, providing a detailed analysis of several organ parts to support this theory.¹⁵⁶ Andrew Johnstone comes to the same conclusion, citing the issue of wind to support thicker textures, and the challenge of transposing parts on organs pitched a fourth out from the choir, although this last element is not relevant to these later organ books.¹⁵⁷

In chorus sections and ensemble verses this style would certainly seem appropriate, with top and bottom lines doubled, and supported by additional harmony indicated by figures and occasional notated details. The nineteenth-century organ book O13 shows the eventual development to a style of accompaniment where the full vocal texture is reduced in the organ part.

A different approach might be taken in the purely solo verses, where recitative style and florid gestures would be compromised by organ doubling. Examples would be the alto recitatives in *Behold, I Bring you Glad Tidings*, and *Blessed is the Man*, and the flourish in b111 of *The Lord is King*. Additionally, moments where only a bass line is provided with figures clearly indicate that some harmonisation is intended.

A special case is *The Lord is King*. Until the doxology, this is a purely solo anthem. The right hand of the organ part is notated an octave higher than the voice, which would give it undue prominence. Perhaps here, and in other extended solo movements, notational tradition and

¹⁵⁶ Rebecca Herissone, *To Fill, Forebear, or Adorne: The Organ Accompaniment of Restoration Sacred Music*. (Royal Musical Association Monographs, No. 14. Aldershot, England: Royal Musical Association/Ashgate, 2006). See also reviews by H. Diack Johnstone, "'To Fill, Forebear, or Adorne': The Organ Accompaniment of Restoration Sacred Music (Review)." *Music and Letters* 88 (4) (2007): 653–55 and Robert Quinney "Reading between the Lines. (to Fill, Forebear, or Adorne': The Organ Accompaniment of Restoration Sacred Music) (Book Review)." *Early Music* 35 (1) (2007): 115.

¹⁵⁷ Andrew Johnstone, "'As It Was in the Beginning': Organ and Choir Pitch in Early Anglican Church Music." *Early Music* 31, no. 4 (2003): 507–25.

newer musical styles are at odds, and a more continuo-style accompaniment should be improvised.¹⁵⁸

Bass verses present a particular issue, with lines too close together to permit harmonic realisation between the melodic and bass lines. In these cases, harmonies could be realised above the vocal line, or doubling omitted.¹⁵⁹

Although figures are often present in solo organ moments with both hands, realising them would prove challenging and has a risk of losing clarity of texture. They tend to be written in an ornamented style, and are harmonically self-sufficient.

5.4.3 Altos

A particular feature of the anthems in particular is the extensive solo use of the alto or counter-tenor voice (both terms are used in the partbooks). The range of these sections is noteworthy. Whereas the vocal range of choral alto parts is generally limited to the fifth d – a above middle c, the solo lines use a much fuller range, often extending down to e below middle c. The more restricted tessitura of the choral sections can be explained by the harmonic space between the tenor below and the treble above, and the chorus lines never go higher than the top point of the solo lines. There is a greater sense of dialogue with the tenor (as the name countertenor implies) in the ensemble verse sections – see in particular the opening of *I Will Magnify Thee*.

Andrew Parrott has spearheaded the argument that falsettists are much less a part of the English choral tradition than is commonly assumed.¹⁶⁰ The suggestion that alto parts should rather be sung by light, higher-voiced tenors singing in full voice throughout certainly rings true with the solo parts of this repertoire.

An interesting anomaly is the existence of the extended solo anthem *The Lord is King* in both A major and B flat major. It is possible that the lowering of organ pitch in 1764 presented challenges in a piece that explores the extremes of the voice, and that the upward transposition was found more comfortable.

¹⁵⁸ The development of accompanying style through the eighteenth century is acknowledged by Herissone *To Fill, Forbear or Adorne*, p73

¹⁵⁹ Herissone *To Fill, Forbear or Adorne*, 62-66

¹⁶⁰ Andrew Parrott, 'Falsetto Beliefs: The "Countertenor" Cross-Examined', *Early Music* 43, no. 1 (1 February 2015): 79–110. See also Peter Giles, *The History and Technique of the Counter-Tenor: A Study of the Male High Voice Family* (Aldershot, Hants, England: Scolar Press, 1994) and Eliza Wilson, 'The Countertenor in the Symphony Anthems of Henry Purcell: A Study of Range and Tessitura', PhD thesis, University of Urbana, Illinois, 2003.

5.4.4 Pitch

The recent work of the Early English Organ project has thrown new light on the question of pitch in early English church music.¹⁶¹ The assumption of an upward transposition of a minor third is challenged, and something closer to a semitone suggested. The same pitch standard seems to have prevailed in post-restoration organ building. This is complicated by the likely lowering of pitch by two semitones in the organ rebuild of 1764.¹⁶² Performance at modern pitch is extremely feasible with the vocal ranges used, the only challenge being provided by the alto solos, discussed separately.

5.4.5 Tempo relationships and bar lengths

In the service music the basic unit of pulse is the minim, and several pieces feature frequent shifts between duple and triple time. As these are always separated by a full cadence, there is no practical need for a strict tempo relationship between the sections. However, performers may find a quicker minim pulse in triple sections effective, leading to a semibreve of duple time becoming a dotted semibreve in triple time.

In the anthems a more variable approach to tempo is clearly indicated by the changes in musical style inspired by the text. ♩ or 2/2 is used for almost sections in duple time, even where a crotchet pulse seems appropriate. The various 2/2 sections in *I Will Magnify Thee*, for example, are clearly intended to be sung at different tempi. The only exception is bar 63 in *Give Sentence, O Lord*, which is in 4/4, and marked Slow in the organ part only. Likewise, there is no consistent relationship between 3/4 and 3/2. In *Give Sentence*, the 3/4 section at bar 17 would suggest a steadier tempo than the final 3/4 section, marked Lively, in bar 73. However, the 3/4 and 3/2 sections of *I Will Magnify Thee* and *Behold, I Bring You Glad Tidings* could be sung at the same speed. Indeed, the organ part of the latter transitions between the two mid-section (see Critical Commentary).

The barring in this edition generally follows the usage of the later organ and partbooks, giving two minim bars. However, this is often less consistent in earlier sources, which had led to the different approach in *Give Sentence, O Lord*. In 2/2 sections where a minim pulse is implied, it is worthwhile to have in mind the effect given by 4/2 bars, with a longer approach to phrasing.

¹⁶¹ https://www.rco.org.uk/library_tudor_organs.php accessed 01/05/2023, Johnstone, 'As It Was in the Beginning'

¹⁶² Email conversation with Dominic Gwynn.

5.5 Editorial Practice

5.5.1 Verse and Chorus allocations

These have been regularised and placed above the stave. The terms ‘verse’ and ‘solo’ are used variously in the sources, and chorus generally indicated by ‘Cho:’. There are a number of indications in the partbooks of ‘Lead’, indicating a single voice introducing a contrapuntal point. These have been removed, as unnecessary in a score.

5.5.2 Instructions in score

Apart from the indications discussed above, performance instructions are given as in the source, with abbreviated words expanded in square brackets.

5.5.3 Rhythms

Rhythmic suggestions are placed in small notes above the score. Suggested ties are indicated by dotted lines.

5.5.4 Accidentals

Accidentals have been modernised, with repeated accidentals within a bar removed, and sharps and flats used to indicate naturals altered. Accidentals in brackets are editorial.

5.5.5 Treble parts and Editorial notes

Much of the treble parts has had to be reconstructed from organ books, as noted in the commentaries on individual pieces. Reconstructed parts and notes that have otherwise been supplied or altered editorially are shown in small notes.

5.5.6 Beaming and slurring

Underlay is indicated in sources through a variety of beaming and slurring. The former is largely consistent across the sources, the latter less so. Slurring generally only appears to be connected to underlay, not musical intent. Beaming and slurring have been modernised here without further comment, with clarity for performers in mind. Beams follow syllables, and slurs are used to indicate underlay, though long phrases are not slurred where underlay is clear. Any departures

from these principles are taken from the sources. Beaming and slurring in the organ part is as in the source.

5.5.7 Barring

In duple time sections where minims and crotchets predominate there is a variety of approaches to barring across the sources. Most unified are the vocal partbooks from the later groups, namely P23, P25, P26, P28, P29, P30, P31 (treble section), P33 and, to an extent, P27. In these such sections are consistently presented in two minim bars. The remaining, earlier sources are more variable. Often barlines are missed where they would be crossed by a semibreve or dotted minim, and there are other occasions where bars are longer.

The organ books sometimes use four minim bars in these sections. The service in E and *Sanctus* in F in O22 have 4 minim bars, as does the anthem *Give Sentence* in O21. However, the services in A and D and the other anthems do not have this feature. An anomaly is the organ part of *Blessed is the man* in O14, where the opening figure would result in several notes crossing barlines, so there are several irregular bars.

The decision taken in this edition is to adopt the style of the later partbooks with two minim bars, with the exception of *Give Sentence* for reasons given in the commentary on that piece. Instances of dots across barlines or notes written on barlines have been altered to tied notes without further comment.

5.5.8 Text

Provenance and issues with text are discussed in separate sections. The text has been modernised, following spelling in the 1662 Book of Common Prayer for liturgical texts and Psalms, and the King James version of the Bible. Occasional idiosyncrasies of text which need to be retained for musical reasons are explained in the commentaries on individual pieces. In the text in the introduction to each piece, these are indicated by italics. Punctuation is missing in the manuscripts and has been added here, following modern practice.

5.5.9 Organ part

Organ parts are written on five-line staves (O13, O14) or six-line staves (O21, O22). Treble, soprano, alto and even bass clefs were used in the right hand, following the highest voice in the section; in six-line writing a C clef on the bottom line was used for treble passages and on the third line down for alto passages. The left hand was written with an F clef on the third line down.

A variable amount of text was presented in the organ part, ranging from brief cues to fully written out words.

With the exception of O13 (see introduction to *Te Deum and Jubilate in D*), the organ parts simply present the upper vocal part and a bass line, with occasional extra harmony notes.

The organ part is presented here largely as it appears in the score, with the following exceptions.

The treble clef is used throughout in place of C clefs, and five-line staves used. The text written out in the source has not been included here, following the customary practice of a vocal score.

Figured bass is presented as in the source – it is not comprehensive. Corrections to inaccurate figures (generally missing sharps) are included in brackets, but no attempt has been made to complete the figuring.

5.5.10 Alto parts

The original alto parts are written in C3 clef. In modern choral scores this produced a range that lies between treble clef and octave-transposed treble (tenor). This is a particular problem in this repertoire in solo items where the line often lies very low (see Performance Practice). The decision here is to put alto parts in treble clef for the most part, following current customs, but to put anthems with extensive solo parts in octave-transposed treble.

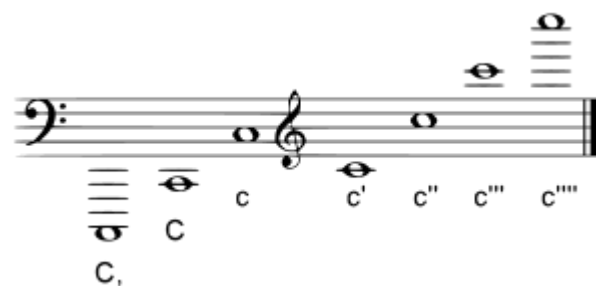
5.5.11 Prefatory staves and range finders

Prefatory staves show the clefs and first notes from the sources (where they exist). The white notes in range finders indicate the outer notes of solo sections, black notes show chorus range.

5.5.12 Textual Commentary

The textual commentary describes all variants from the music as presented in the edition, across all sources.

Symbols Pitch is in Helmholtz notation, with octaves starting from C, as follows



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The following abbreviations are used – sq = semiquaver, q = quaver, cr = crotchet, m = minim, sb = semibreve, b = breve, dq = dotted quaver etc, gn = grace note

5.6 Anthems

The Wimborne partbooks contain six anthems by George Combes. They all follow the model of large-scale verse anthem, with solo voices providing the bulk of the material, and the chorus often left to provide merely the final section. This is a pattern familiar in the Restoration repertoire, with adult voices (alto, tenor and bass) providing the solo passages, often in trios.¹⁶³ Even more notable in four of these pieces, however, is Combes's development of the tradition of solo writing within such compositions. He favours extended solo and duets, often featuring florid writing and recitative passages, showing the influence, perhaps transmitted through composers such as Purcell, of Italian cantatas. This style culminates in the solo anthem *The Lord is King*, where the single voice only gives way to the choir for a brief doxology. All of these extended passages are for alto and bass, perhaps reflecting the individual vocal resources at his disposal at the Minster. Two other anthems, *Bow Down Thine Ear* and *Give Sentence, O Lord*, are more ensemble based, with indications that the former anthem, incomplete in the sources, had passages in larger numbers of parts. All anthems are accompanied, and the organ often has a prominent role, with solo passages woven between the vocal lines.

Most anthems set verses of the Psalms. The exception is *Behold, I Bring you Glad Tidings*, which takes its text from the Gospel according to Luke.

One anthem, *Bow Down Thine Ear*, is fragmentary and can be found in the Incomplete Works section of this edition, but the other five are presented here in a practical, critical edition, with notes and textual commentary.

5.6.1 Sources

The anthems are transmitted in various combinations of the following fifteen sources:

Alto	P25, P32, P31, P34
Tenor	P13, P21, P27, P29, P33
Bass	P22, P24, P30
Organ	O14, O21

¹⁶³ Ian Spink, *Restoration Cathedral Music, 1660-1714* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995), 34-35.

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Of these, the following form the Late Anthem Group, possibly copied by Richard Combes, as described in the Sources Introduction:

Alto P25, P32

Tenor P29, P33

Bass P30

Organ O14

These provide complete readings for four anthems – *Behold, I Bring you Glad Tidings*, *Blessed is the Man, I will Magnify Thee*, and *The Lord is King*. In these books, solo alto lines are only transmitted in one or the other alto book – P32 for *The Lord is King*, P25 for the others. Other readings for these pieces, and the other two anthems, *Give Sentence, O Lord*, and the fragmentary *Bow Down Thine Ear*, are found in a more disparate collection of earlier books:

Alto P23, P31, P34

Tenor P13, P21, P27

Bass P22, P24

Organ O21

Significant patterns of variants can be found between the two sets, with a high degree of uniformity (though not absolute) within the late set, and a more variable level of correlation amongst the other books. Specific examples are discussed in the introduction to individual pieces. More generally, this presents an editorial challenge – which reading is to be preferred? If the principle of *Fassung letzter Hand* is to be observed, the later versions would present an authoritative, final version, refined by the composer. This situation is complicated, however, by the probability that these books were copied by Richard Combes, George's son and successor at the Minster (see Sources Introduction for the evidence supporting this). To swing the arm back, it could be argued that this is still within the performance tradition shaped by George, and likely to be the result of his years of performing these pieces with the choir.

The unified character of the later sources is certainly attractive to the editor, and their use is necessary for completeness, with the organ part only appearing in the late set for four pieces, and several other parts being absent from earlier copies. However, the earlier sources do provide interesting performance options that are likely to represent the composer's original thoughts, and are worth considering.

The solution reached here is to take the main reading from the later sources for the four relevant anthems. All variants are listed in the Textual Commentaries, but where these are on a large scale and seem to be particularly worth performers' consideration they have been marked in the score through rhythmic suggestions, ossia staves or a direction to the critical commentary.

5.6.2 Behold, I bring you glad tidings

This extended verse anthem makes prominent use of an alto soloist, as do many of Combes's anthems, and brief organ symphony, alongside the lower-voice trio familiar in verse anthems. The adaptation of the text discussed below leads to a 'ritornello' style, with a repeated chorus.

5.6.2.1 Text

The words are taken from the second chapter of Luke, the appearance of the angels to the shepherds at the Nativity. The King James version is used, though with the substitution of the word 'glad' for 'good', a change is seen in many other settings. The biblical text is freely treated, with phrases taken out of order, and a Hallelujah added, as shown below. The text is one often set, by composers including Gibbons, Tomkins and Purcell, each using their own combination of verses.¹⁶⁴ However, the only setting other than Combes's found in the partbooks is by his predecessor, George Day. This earlier setting is also a varied verse anthem featuring alto solo, alto and bass duet, and lower-voice trio. It demonstrates a similarly free approach to the text, with interjections of 'Glad tidings' during the verse 'that unto you' etc, and repeated sections of Halleluiahs. It also includes an un-notated organ ritornello. Combes may well have been familiar with the work, and drawn on its approach.

Alto verse

10b Behold, I bring you *glad* tidings of great joy, which shall be to all people.

11 For unto you is born this day in the city of David a Saviour, which is Christ the Lord.

Chorus

10b I bring you *glad* tidings of great joy, which shall be to all people.

Trio verse

14 Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace, good will toward men.

Chorus

¹⁶⁴ Orlando Gibbons and David Wulstan, *Verse Anthems. Transcribed and Edited by David Wulstan*. Early English Church Music ; 3. (London: Stainer & Bell for the British Academy, 1964). Thomas Tomkins, William Godbid, and Timothy Garthwait. *Musica Deo Sacra & Ecclesiae Anglicanae: Or, Musick Dedicated to the Honor and Service of God, : And to the Use of Cathedral and Other Churches of England, Especially of the Chappel-Royal of King Charles the First*. (London: Printed by William Godbid in Little Britain, and Are to Be Sold by Timothy Garthwait in Little S. Bartholomewes Hospital., 1668). Purcell is in volume 3 of Boyce, *Cathedral Music*

10b I bring you *glad* tidings of great joy, which shall be to all people.

Alto verse

13 And suddenly there was with the angel a multitude of the heavenly host praising God, and saying

Alto verse and Chorus

Hallelujah

5.6.2.2 Sources

Treble Reconstructed from organ book O14 (p124-135)

Alto P25 (p1-6), P32 (p2-3), P34 (f41r-42v)

Tenor P21 (f101r-101v), P29 (p1-4), P33 (p4-7)

Bass P22 (f114v-115r), P24 (f79v-80r), P30 (p1-3)

Organ O14 (p124-135)

The principal reading for this edition has been taken from the late anthem set, as these provide a complete and consistent group. These books are:

Alto P25, P32

Tenor P29, P33

Bass P30

Organ O14

The alto book P32 only contains chorus material.

In this group the anthem appears as the first item in P25, P29 and P30, second in P32 and fourth in P33. There is considerable similarity in the hands between these sources which, combined with other factors discussed in the introduction to the sources, implies their being written as a set.

The other scores are:

Alto P34

Tenor P21

These have variants from the main reading which are noted below. It can be seen that there is some consistency in the variants within this group. The most obvious example is the ending, where an isolated minim chord precedes the final cadence. Of particular interest is P24, where a later hand has added a note in the rest, to bring the part into conformity with the later version.

One particular issue is the choice of reading for the alto solo. In most cases the organ seems most closely matched with P32, particularly shown in the recitative in bars 156-164. The final section poses some difficulties, however. There is a significant pitch variant in bars 187-188, where the organ and P32 agree, against a different reading in P34. However, for much of this section the organ and P34 are more closely aligned in terms of rhythm. Here the edition follows the organ part, adapting the vocal line in P32 and allowing modifications to the latter where the organ agrees with P34. All variants are logged in the critical commentary and, in one case, as an ossia stave.

5.6.2.3 Repeats

A feature of Combes's musical style is the repetition of final phrases of sections, such as in bars 80 - 83. In a few cases these are indicated by repeat markings rather than being written out, these instances being found in P21, P24 and O14. See the discussion of the early version of the evening canticles in A in the Incomplete Works section of the edition for a consideration of the development of this musical feature.

5.6.2.4 Additional score

In P24 a curious feature is appended at the end of the piece. There we find, in very small script, a short score (2 staves) of the verse 'Glory to God in the Highest', bars 84-129. Apart from a missing sharp, it is in agreement with the vocal partbooks.

5.6.2.5 Verse and Chorus allocations

There is one ambiguity in the allocation of forces in bar 58, which is repeated in bar 130. Here, the alto solo part P25 has the indication 'Cho (lead)'. The other alto solo book P34 and the organ book have chorus marked on the last note of bar 60, which is when the other voices enter. The alto chorus book P32 also begins here. Therefore, despite the new text beginning in bar 58 it would seem correct that the chorus is introduced by a solo alto here, rather than the full section.

5.6.2.6 Rhythms

Rhythmic suggestions in small notes above the score often serve to line up organ and vocal parts. One distinctive notational feature appears in bars 179-181 and 191-193. The stems of the organ part are as presented in the edition, but with the noteheads aligned on the final semiquaver, as shown here:

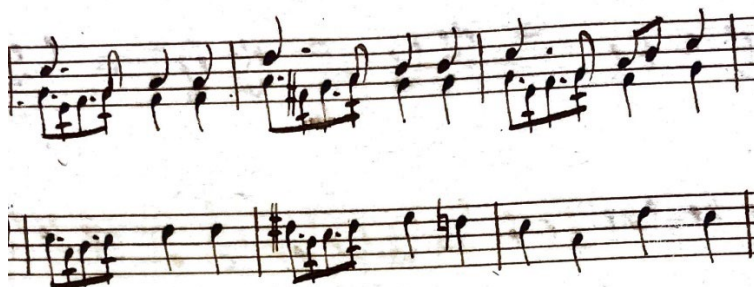


Figure 42 - Behold, I Bring you Glad Tidings, bars 191-193, O14

This is a clear indication that the quavers are to be altered to fit with the dotted rhythm, so editorial suggestions follow that principle.

5.6.2.7 Barring

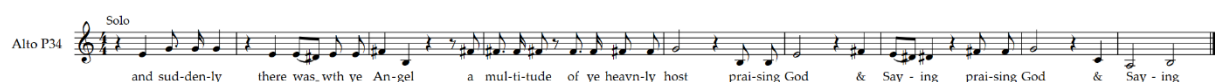
Barring is regular in all sources of this piece, and followed here, with the exception of bars 130-132 in the organ part, explained in the textual commentary.

5.6.2.8 Textual Commentary

Bar	Part	Comment
32	A	P34 beat 1 qq
50	A	P34 cr gn cr cr, f' e' d' c (see b47)
67-68	B	P22 and P24 have a in place of A each time
67-69	T	P21 e' a e' e' a e' e' c
80-83	T, O	P21 and O14 repetition not written out but indicated in symbols
99	T	P21 sb m-rest
104	O	O14 RH lower voice, note 1, b
106	T	P21 first note, b

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- 108 B P22 and P24 have indication 'Lead'
- 110-111 B P30 text is '-will towards men'
- 111 O O14 RH lower voice, e#
- 111 Vocal score in P24 middle voice, d natural
- 112-113 B P22 slur from b112, note 4 – b113, note 1, with '-wards' on bar 113, note 2
- 112-113 A P34 slur b112 from note 3 to note 4, 'towards' shifting to b 113
- 113 O O14 # missing on d'
- 114 T P21 P21 sb m-rest
- 122 A,T,B P21, P24 and P34 have m m on 'To-', m on –'wards'
- 123 A P34 e
- 124-129 B, O P24 and O14 repetition not written out but indicated in symbols
- 128 A,T,B P21, P24 and P34 have m m on 'To-', m on –'wards'
- 129 A, B P22, P30, P34 sb
- 130-132 O O14 is written out in the previous time signature, with double note values, reverting to $\frac{3}{4}$ on the last beat of bar 132, with a clef change to treble.
- 132 A P34 c gn c c, e' d' c' g'
- 139-140 B P22 and P24 have a in place of A each time
- 139-141 T P21 e' a e' e' a e' e' c
- 152-155 T, B, O P21, P24 and O14 repetition not written out but indicated in symbols
- 156-164 A P34 has a small piece of paper containing two lines of music stuck over here. In b158, additional rests push the music on by two beats, giving the following reading:



Whilst this removes the slightly awkward rhythm of bar 158, the P25 reading is supported by the organ part, so is retained here.

- 175 A P25 1st note b'

- 180 O O14 has been corrected from the RH lower part reading f#’ d’ e’ f#’
- 187 A P34 6th note onwards cr q q, b a g
- 188 A P34 q q q q cr cr, b a g f (sic) g g
- 190 O O14 last note is f, departing from the bass part, and is retained here
- 191-194 B P22 and P24 have a single statement of Halleluia, the long run on ‘Hal-’
- 197-198 A P34 under a single slur, with text obliterated after ‘Ha’
- 198 A P34 cr q q m, g’ f#’ e’ f#’.
- 201 T P21 4th note c’
- 203-213 A The ossia here is the reading from P32, the main text P34
- 217-218 A P34 each bar dq sq q q c c
- 220-222 A P34 each bar dq sq q q c c
- 224 – 225 A, T, BP21, P22, P34 have mr, m, mr, m. P24 has this rhythm, but altered to match the later version

5.6.3 Blessed is the Man

This anthem is a showcase for alto and bass singers, with each voice having solos and engaging in duet. The final section involves the chorus providing interjections between ornamented writing for the two soloists. It was performed at the Friendly Society Meeting of 1756.

5.6.3.1 Text

The text of this anthem is from Psalm 112 in the Coverdale, or Book of Common Prayer, translation, verses 1, 5, 2, 6, 9 (1st half), 3. Verse five has been altered, with the words ‘and will measure his works with judgement’ replacing ‘and will guide his words with discretion’. This is a reasonable translation of the Hebrew, closer in sense than Coverdale, though not one found in any published translation.¹⁶⁵ Perhaps one of the clergy at the time had a scholarly bent, and suggested this wording. Whilst this is a Vespers psalm, and therefore much set in Latin, it is not a text with a great number of English settings – Purcell’s (Z9, ca 1688) uses a metrical version by Patrick; there are a number of setting of the Tate and Brady version; Boyce’s setting uses verses 1-3 and 6-7.¹⁶⁶

Alto and Bass verse

1 Blessed is the man that feareth the Lord: he hath great delight in his commandments.

Alto recitative

5 A good man is merciful and lendeth: *and will measure his works with judgement.*

Alto verse

2 His seed shall be mighty upon earth: the generation of the faithful shall be blessed.

Bass verse

6 For he shall never be moved: and the righteous shall be had in everlasting remembrance.

Alto verse

9a He hath dispersed abroad, and given to the poor:

¹⁶⁵ <https://www.biblegateway.com/verse/en/Psalm%20112%3A5> accessed 05/09/2021

¹⁶⁶ Henry Purcell, Robert Thompson, and Purcell Society. *Sacred Music. Part V, Continuo Anthems, Part II / Henry Purcell ; Edited under the Supervision of the Purcell Society by Robert Thompson.* (London: Stainer & Bell, 2011). Boyce’s is in William Boyce, *A Collection of Anthems and a Short Service in Score, for 1. 2. 3. 4. 5 and 8 Voices, Etc.* (London, Printed for the Widow of the Author, 1790.)

3a Riches and plenteousness shall be in his house:

Chorus

3b [and] his righteousness endureth for ever.

5.6.3.2 Sources

Treble Reconstructed from organ book O14 (p14-32)

Alto P25 (p13-18), P32 (p6)

Tenor P29 (p7-8), P33 (p9-10)

Bass P22 (f83r, f116r), P30 (p7-11)

Organ O14 (p14-32)

This anthem is found in seven sources, of which five are the 'late anthem group' – P25, P29, P30, P32, P33, and their attached organ book, O14. The only other place it is found is in P22, where it appears twice. The first instance included the solo parts, but breaks off at the end of a page, after bar 142. It appears on the recto side, the verso is an unrelated piece, with significant bleed through of ink. The second appearance contains just the chorus parts, which enter in the final section. It is possible that these pages belonged together before rebinding, as the verses prior to the chorus are not indicated in the second appearance. It is somewhat uninformative as to the length of verses in the sections of quick interchange between verse and chorus. The alto book P32 only presents the chorus material.

There are some marked differences in the opening bass verse between P30 and P22. In both major variants P22 follows the harmonic bass, largely matching the organ part, whereas P30 takes more melodic lines. This would seem to be a recomposition of an original presented in P22, and we can not know whether it has the composer's authority, given the possibility of the later books having been written out by his son Richard. However, clearly the later books represent the performance tradition at the Minster, over which George Combes had enormous influence, so it is reasonable to accept these later readings. A reading from P22 at the end of the work is not compatible, rhythmically or harmonically, with the other preserved parts, including the organ.

The paucity of other sources for this piece mean that the only option is to present the later version. Whilst it is clear that there is an earlier version with some significant differences, is it not possible to reconstruct it. Furthermore, the version presented in the late anthem set is fully workable, and is likely to have the usage of years behind it.

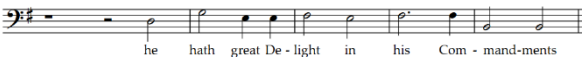
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Grace notes are consistently written as crotchets in the alto book P25, and as quavers in the organ book O14. These discrepancies have been retained, giving performers freedom to decide on the absolute length.

5.6.3.3 Textual Commentary

Bar Part Comment

20-25 B P22(i) has different line, following the organ bass:

Bass 

36-37 B P22 sb m m, d G b

147 B P22 has the suggested rhythm, matching the organ and suggesting the alteration in b169 (which is missing in P22)

236 T All sources have a d e f, adjusted here to fit harmony

246 B P22 A

265 B P22 cr, cr, cr-rest, cr

266 B P22 2nd note g

270 B P22 2nd note g

279-282 B P22 the penultimate phrase is different, and lacks rests before the final line:

B. 

279 B P22 dsb

5.6.4 Give Sentence

This verse anthem features alternation of chorus and three-part (alto, tenor, bass) verse. After the imitative opening there is a great deal of chordal writing, but Combes is at pains to reflect the emotional journey of the words, with contrasts of key and style. It contains none of the prominent solos for alto and bass so distinctive of many of Combes's anthems, which perhaps explains its omission from the later sources.

5.6.4.1 Text

The text is the entirety of Psalm 43, largely in the Coverdale translation, and a doxology. There are three variants. In verse two 'the enemy' is replaced by 'mine enemy', consistently across the sources. In verse three 'and bring me unto thy holy hill, and to thy dwelling' becomes 'and bring me to thy holy hill of thy dwelling'. This variant is not found in any published translations and may be, as can be seen in *Blessed is the Man*, a local correction of an inexactitude in Coverdale. It may, however, simply be a shortening for musical reasons. In verse four the first 'unto' becomes 'to', and 'even' becomes ev'n'. All are retained as they are consistent, and seem likely to be intentional, in two cases being necessary for the musical rhythm. The colon at the mid-verse point of verse three – 'that they may lead me: and bring me...' runs contrary to the musical sense here, so has been omitted.

Chorus

- 1 Give sentence with me, O God, and defend my cause against the ungodly people: O deliver me from the deceitful and wicked man.

Verse

- 2 For thou art the God of my strength, why hast thou put me from thee: and why go I so heavily, while *mine* enemy oppresseth me?

Chorus

- 3 O send out thy light and thy truth, that they may lead me: and bring me *to thy holy hill of thy dwelling*.
- 4 And that I may go *to* the altar of God, *e'vn* unto the God of my joy and gladness: and upon the harp will I give thanks until thee, O God my God.

Verse

- 5 Why art thou so heavy, O my soul: and why art thou so disquieted within me?

Chapter 5

6 O put thy trust in God: for I will yet give him thanks, which is the help of my countenance,
and my God.

Chorus

Glory be to the Father, and to the Son: and to the Holy Ghost.

As it was in the beginning, is now, and ever shall be: world without end. Amen.

5.6.4.2 Sources

Treble	Reconstructed from O21 (p40-50)
Alto	P23 (p18-19), P31 (inverse p12-16), P34 (f29r-30r)
Tenor	P13 (f77r-79r), P21 (f97v-98v), P27 (inverse p13-17), P33 (p39-44)
Bass	P22 (f85v-86v), P24 (f128v-129v)
Organ	O21 (p40-50)

P23 only includes chorus material.

It is not possible to find a single, unified set of parts to provide a reading of this piece. Rather, anomalies between two main related groups must be resolved to arrive at a performing version. In the trio verse sections there are a large number of variants, mostly of rhythmic detail. These variants indicate that there are two main groups of sources.

The first, probably earlier, group is P13, P21, P22, P24, and P34. P22 and P24 have the same reading apart from one error and two optional octaves at cadences. In some instances these are joined by P13, P21 and P34. The second group contains P27, P31, and P33. These copies differ from the other set at several points. P33 is the only copy in the late anthem group, which provides the main reading for most of the anthems. This book in any case shows crossovers with other sets (see sources introduction for more detail). The alto partbook P23 contains only chorus material, and therefore cannot be linked through these significant patterns of variants. However, in bar 56 there is a variant that appears to be an error shared between P23 and P34, which indicates a connection between these sources. The organ often has sustained notes over the rhythmic details, but where it has rhythms matching the voices, it concurs more with the latter group, though not absolutely.

Repetitions give us another insight into relationships between the sources. In bars 41-47 the final phrase is repeated. This repetition is missing in P13 and P21, indicated by repeat marks in P22 and

P34, and indicated by pencilled repeat marks in P24. It is written out in full in the other sources. This could indicate that it is an adaptation of the original, adjusted and marked in some copies but not others, and adopted as an integral part of the piece in the later sources.

Further kinship between these groups can be seen in some other notational features. The later group are visually very similar, with the composer's name written in the same way (though P33 is a little less florid), the same way of writing stems (when descending they are on the right for minims, the left for crotchets), and the same spellings of the text (for example, the second word 'sentance').

The earlier group is more varied, with a different paper shape in P13. Of these, P21 and P22 have the unusual stems, P34, P13 and P24 do not; P22 has the spelling sentence, the others do not; and there are four different ways of presenting the composer's name. Of these, P13 and P21 share a similar style, which is also seen on the flyleaf of a printed book belonging to Combes, and may therefore be his personal signature.¹⁶⁷

The sources with the spelling 'sentence' also use variants such as 'ye' for 'thee' or for 'the', and 'yu' for 'thou', indicating older scribal patterns. Those with the spelling 'sentance' (now considered incorrect) are also more likely to have 'alter' for 'altar' though the pattern is not absolute. The organ book uses 'sentence'.

We are therefore left with a situation where no group is entirely complete – the first set has one alto, two tenors and all the basses (two). The second has one alto, two tenors and the organ. Furthermore, there are inconsistencies within these groups. As these issues are predominantly concerned with verse sections, which do not involve the treble part, the earlier group can be seen as the more complete, providing a full reading of the lower three voices. It therefore provides the first point of reference for this edition.

There are a number of instances where basses have straight quavers, with upper voices having dotted rhythms, in a variety of contexts such as bars 32, 66, and 103. This occurs within the first grouping of sources, so it could be argued that these differences are intentional, and they have been retained here. Apart from these moments, however, I consider it appropriate for the voices to sing with a unified rhythm. I have therefore presented a rhythm as principally informed by the earlier sources, with variants listed in the textual commentary. Performers should feel free to reach a rhythmic style which they feels conveys the text best.

¹⁶⁷ See the chapter 'George Combes and the Friendly Society' for more detail on this printed score of Handel's *Coronation Anthems*.

5.6.4.3 Reconstruction of treble part

The pitches of the treble part can be confidently reconstructed from the top line of the organ part, which it consistently doubles in chorus sections. Some liberties are necessary with note lengths, however. The organ part frequently does not have repeated notes played, which is dissimilar to the organ parts of the other works of Combes. Therefore a judgement must be made to find comfortable word setting, often informed by correlation with other voice parts. This has been done without further comment.

5.6.4.4 Barring

Duple time sections are generally notated in the vocal books with two minims to a bar, though frequently with missing barlines, especially in earlier sources. However, in the organ book, bars 1-16, 48 – 62 and 113-end are given in 4 minim bars. The passage in bars 63 – 72 is given in 2 minim bars, and the contrast of style is evident. All of these sections are given a cut-C time signature in the organ books, whereas the vocal books have cut-C for most sections, but C for bars 63-72

To highlight the difference in metre between the sections, the barring of the organ part has been adopted here, but a C time signature given in bar 63.

5.6.4.5 Organ part

This is the only Combes anthem preserved in O21; the rest come to us in O14. The notation differs in using a six-line stave, with the C clef on the bottom line for sections involving trebles, and on the third line from the top in verse sections with alto as the highest voice.

5.6.4.6 Textual Commentary

Bar	Part	Comment
15	T	The last two notes are as they appear in all sources, creating a shapely line but rather stark dissonance.
16	B	P24 octave Gs
22	T	P13, P21 3 rd – 4 th notes q q
25	T	P13 4 th -5 th notes dq sq
32	A	P34 1 st – 2 nd notes q q
34	A T	P27, P31, P33 1 st – 2 nd notes dq sq

37	A T	P27, P31, P33 1 st – 2 nd notes dq sq
38	A	P34 1 st – 2 nd notes q q
39	A	P34 1 st – 2 nd notes q q
42-47	A T B	P12, P21 omitted, P24 repeat indicator
42-47	AT	Rhythmic variants as 36-39
50	A	P23, P31 1 st note m (sic)
50	T	P27, P33 cr-rest to start
52	T	P13 2 nd note no natural (on a new line)
56	A	P23, P34 4 th -6 th notes f'e'e'
56	T	P13 1 st notes ab
60	O	O21 1 st -2 nd notes mm
62	B	P24 octave Gs
63	All	'Verse slow' marking from O21
63	A T O	O21, P27, P31, P33 5 th -8 th notes q q dq sq (as indicated in score)
66	A T	P27, P31, P33, P34 dq sq q q m
73	O	O21 has 'faster'
90	O	O21 3 rd note, middle part b, adjusted to match tenor
97	O	O21 4 th note, middle part b, adjusted to match tenor
106, 111	A	There is a discrepancy between organ and voice, which performers can resolve as they like. I give one suggestion.
107-112	A B	P24, P34 repeat indicators
124	A	P34 'A-' on second note, supported by slur
124-125	T	All sources have 124 5 th -8 th notes gabc', 125 c'd'e'. Adjusted here to fit other parts.

5.6.5 I Will Magnify Thee

This verse anthem is typical of Combes's style, featuring extended solos for alto and bass and lower voice trios, passages of organ solo, and the chorus joining for the final section.

5.6.5.1 Text

The first five verses of Psalm 30, in the Coverdale translation, with a substitution of God for Lord

Trio verse

- 1 I will magnify thee, O *God*, for thou hast set me up: and not made my foes to triumph over me.

Alto verse

- 2 O Lord my God, I cried unto thee: and thou hast healed me.

Bass verse

- 3 Thou, Lord hast brought my soul out of hell: thou hast kept my life from them that go down to the pit.

Trio verse

- 4 Sing praises unto the Lord, O ye saints of his: and give thanks to him for a remembrance of his holiness.

Chorus

- 5 For his wrath endureth but the twinkling of an eye, and in his pleasure is life: heaviness may endure for a night, but joy cometh in the morning.

5.6.5.2 Sources

Treble	Reconstructed from O14 (p51-67)
Alto	P25 (p22-26), P32 (p8), P34 (f39v-40v)
Tenor	P13 (f87v), P21 (f102r-102v), P29 (p9-p12), P33 (p13-p16)
Bass	P22 (f63v-65r), P24 (f100r), P30 (p14-19)
Organ	O14 (p51-67)

P13, P24, and P32 only contain chorus material. Of these, P13 and P24 have no indication of the solo sections, nor composer attribution.

The principal reading for this edition has been taken from the late anthem set, as these provide a complete and consistent group. These books are:

Alto	P25, P32
Tenor	P29, P33
Bass	P30
Organ	O14

The other books containing solo material, P21, P22, and P34, contain variants largely of a rhythmic nature. The consistency of these variants in, for example, bars 184 and 186 indicate that they are part of an earlier set. Whilst these variants are small, the alterations in the alto solo of bars 28-56 are more significant, largely dealing with the number of syllables in 'cried', though both versions set it as both a one syllable and a two syllable word. The variants in P34 are listed in the textual commentary, and may provide expressive options for performers.

P22 and P24 have slightly different bass parts in the chorus, P24 matching the organ, P22 having dissonances against it that are matched in P30. As P22 and P24 appear to be paired books (see sources introduction), with the chorus copy P24 complementing the solo copy P22, it may be that this effect is intentional. The part contained in P22 therefore is retained in small notes, and conductors can decide whether to include both parts or not.

5.6.5.3 Organ part

The two Organ Symphonies starting in bars 26 and 57 are simply indicated as 'Organ sy:' in the score, with no notes written out. This would imply that the organist is to improvise a solo interlude at that point. Some parts have two bars rest specified for the first solo. The position of the second solo within verse sections (the lengths of verses are not specified in the partbooks) means that a similar clue cannot be found here. The solutions provided in this edition are purely editorial, and are intended to be as simple a possibility as could be found. Performers should feel free to make these moments their own. Other indications in the organ book of where the organ is playing alone have been removed, unless they contain additional information, such as the dynamic marking in the bass verse. Unlike when accompanying voices, when the organ is alone all the material should be included, and a change of registration may be considered. The organ at

Wimborne at the time contained both a five rank mounted cornet and separate mutations, so this tonal palette may be appropriate for the solo sections.¹⁶⁸

5.6.5.4 Textual Commentary

Bar	Part	Comment
8	T	P22 'O Lord'
17	A	P25 1 st note F
23	A	P34 last note erased
31	A	P34 no 'Lord'
33	A	P34 4 th note on dc q 'cry'd un-'
36	A	P34 4 th note on dc q 'cry'd un-'
40	A	P34 3 rd -5 th notes dq sq sq (sic). Perhaps implying quicker notes than sqs
41	A	P34 beaming implies two notes on '-led'
45	A	P34 dc q 'cry'd un-'.
45-56	A O	P34 and O14 have an unmarked one minim bar here. P25 does not, and continues half a bar out from the other sources.
50, 54	A	P34 beaming implies two notes on '-led'
56	A	P25 4 th note sb
87	B	P22 m dcr q
159	B	P22 last note cr
176	T	P29, P33 2 nd and 3 rd note no #
183	B	P22 starts q q cr, f e f
184	ATB	P21, P22, P34 2 nd beat q q
186	ATB	P21, P22, P34 cr q q sb

¹⁶⁸ Betty Matthews, *The Organs and Organists of Wimborne Minster*, (Wimborne, 2002), 9

189	TB	P21, P22 cr cr cr cr
190	B	P22 dcr q cr cr
193	T	P21 3 rd note, cr cr 'in his'
194-195	T	P31 note 3 of 192 and 193 blank of notes, text present
197	T	P13 dsb, no rest
206-208	B	P24 has the reading in small notes
210-212	B	P24 has the reading in small notes
210-212	T	P13 corrections in source

5.6.6 The Lord is King

This is an unusual anthem, in that the body of the work is an extended alto solo. Appended to this is a Gloria Patri that is one of the forms shared with the setting of the Canticles in A. For more information on this, see the introductions to the settings in A and the discussion of the early versions. The nature of the piece, combined with the prominence of alto solos elsewhere in Combes' output, suggests an excellent countertenor was on hand. Perhaps this was Roger Willis, a member of the choir for 33 of his 40 years of life, and a member of a longstanding Minster choir dynasty. This piece, along with all of Combes' anthems and most of his service music, is preserved in a partbook bearing his name – P34.

5.6.6.1 Text

Psalm 97 verses 1, 6, 8, and a doxology, in the Coverdale translation. The Gloria Patri has an extra 'and', which is common in the Wimborne compositions, also being seen in the works of Combes' predecessor, George Day.

Alto verse

- 1 The Lord is King, the earth may be glad thereof: yea, the multitude of the isles may be glad thereof
- 6 The heavn's have declared his righteousness: and all the people have seen his glory.
- 8 Sion heard of it, and rejoiced: and the daughters of Judah were glad, because of thy judgements, O Lord.

Chorus

Glory be to the Father, and to the Son: and to the Holy Ghost.

As it was in the beginning, *and* is now, and ever shall be: world without end. Amen.

5.6.6.2 Sources

Treble	Reconstructed from O14 (p184-202)
Alto	P25 (p54), P32 (p17-21), P34 (f30v-32v)
Tenor	P29 (p37), P33 (p24)
Bass	P30 (p41)
Organ	O14 (p184-202)

It comes to us exclusively in the late anthem set, apart from one other copy in P34. Only P32 and P34 present the full anthem, the other copies (including the alto book P25) only having the Gloria. It is to be expected that personal interpretation will play a large part in the performance of a work with extended and complex solos. This can be seen in the alternative readings of P32 and P34, where a number of differences in word setting and rhythm are found, such as a move from straight to dotted rhythms in bars 16 and 18. The organ part in O14 contains the solo line, with full text, and this agrees in detail with P32, so this is the principal reading adopted here. One unusual variant, however, is that the anthem is presented in B flat in P34. Curiously, the Gloria is written out in A major. Might this be related to a repitching of the organ in 1764, and might there have been an organ part at matching pitch?

5.6.6.3 Clef

Due to the tessitura of the solo line, it is here presented in an octave-transposed treble clef, to avoid undue leger lines. This is not to imply that the soloist should in fact be a tenor – the partbooks clearly indicate that it is intended for an alto. However, performers should consider carefully the type of voice suited to this piece.

5.6.6.4 Repeats

This piece features a number of distinctive repeats at end of sections. In P34 one of these is indicated by repeat marks, whilst the rest are written out. They are fully notated in P32 and O14.

5.6.6.5 Slurring

P34 has extensive though inconsistent slurring to indicate underlay. P25 does not have slurs on longer lines. In keeping with the rest of the edition I have used slurs to clarify underlay, but omitted them on longer melismas. Slurs in the organ part are as in the source.

5.6.6.6 Organ part

There are several markings of ‘Loud Organ’ and *pia.*, as well as indications of ‘swell’ and ‘diapasons’. As the source is likely to have been copied after 1769, these markings relate to the increased resources of the 1764 instrument. They have been preserved here as they appear. In the opening section, a change to ‘soft organ’ (choir) should be assumed on each vocal entry. Unusually for these sources, the right hand of the organ part is presented in the treble clef, sounding an octave up from the solo line. As discussed in the Performance Practice section, it may be felt more appropriate in this context to provide a continuo-style accompaniment rather than doubling the vocal line.

Chapter 5

There are a number of irregularly placed figures in the organ part, in bars 19-20 and 60-61, that lead to ambiguities of harmony. See examples below. The question is the extent to which the harmony should be considered a sequence. In bar 20 I have presented a literal reading of the figures, which breaks the sequence in the second half of the bar to give a dominant for a full minim. However, this is not necessarily the most elegant way of harmonising this passage. In the second difficult passage the 6 in bar 61 makes more sense if sharpened. The meaning here is slightly obscured by figures being inconsistently written in, or not, when implied by the treble voice. A couple of other apparent errors are dealt with in the textual commentary. I have presented the figures as closely as possible to the manuscript, but performers should feel free to find their own way with the harmony.

5.6.6.7 Textual Commentary

In the commentary pitches for P34 are given as if transposed to A major, not in the notated B flat.

Bar	Part	Comment
7	O	Figured bass - 4 on 4 th note (a), and 3 on 5 th note (e) do not make sense
12	A	P34 start appoggiatura a
16	A	P34 2 nd beat all semiquavers
18	A	P34 1 st beat all semiquavers
19-26	O	O14 Placement of figures ambiguous – see introduction



23 (+28)	A	P34 notes 5 – 6 q q, e' d#'
23	A	P34 repeat indicator back to end of b18 instead of written out
35	A	P34 notes 7 – 8 q q
40	A	P34 notes 1 – 3 q sq sq
41	A	P34 notes 1 – 3 q sq sq

52	A	P34 notes 5 – 7 q cr, c' a
62	A	P34 q
63 – 66	A	P34 appoggiaturas absent
67	A	P34 notes 1 – 3 q sq sq
73-75	A	P34 appoggiaturas absent
84	A	P34 note 6 cr
92	A	P34 e'
	O	O14 4 3# figures on final beat do not fit harmony
96	A	P34 note 5 cr
98	O	O14 4 th -7 th notes notated dcr sq sq sq
102	A	P34 sq throughout
104	A	P34 notes 5 – 8 sq sq sq sq
104	O	O14 has B on note 7, but the # figure implies a G
105	A	P34 notes 2 – 5 sq sq sq sq
105	O	O14 7 th note B. G# makes more sense with the figure and the next note.
106	A	P34 note 3 m
108	O	O14 5 th note A
110	O + A	P32 and O14 do not have 'Slow'
118	A	P34 notes 5 – 7 m c'
124	A	P34 notes 5 – 7 m c'
142	O	Second figure corrected from 723
150	A	P24 m, m-rest, m
151	O	O14 7 6 figures at start of bar do not make sense
160	A	P24 notes 3 – 4 dm cr

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- 165 A P24 notes 3 – 4 dm cr
- 172 O O14 2nd note c, with 6 figure. Altered to match bass. See also Jubilate in A,
 where O22 has A in equivalent position, with (erroneous, in this case) 6 figure.
- 183 O Figure corrected from 6/4

5.7 Services

George Combes has left us extensive service music in the Wimborne partbooks, with two unified settings of the ordinary text for a full day, in A major and E major, a more disparate set in D major, and other items of communion music. These provide music for the three services celebrated regularly at the Minster, as follows.

Matins At this period, this was the main morning service of the Anglican church. Combes set the canticles *Te Deum* and *Jubilate* three times, as well as a setting of an alternative pairing, *Te Deum* and *Benedictus*.

Communion Following Matins, a shortened version of the Eucharist was celebrated, known as Ante-communion, which would not include consecration. The Combes settings generally include a version of the *Sanctus*, and the Responses to the Commandments, though he did also set the Nicene Creed. This is discussed in more detail below.

Evensong The evening service of the church. Of Combes's three extant settings for this service, only one is of the *Magnificat* and *Nunc Dimittis*, the most commonly used texts. The other two are of the alternative canticles *Cantate Domino* and *Deus Misereatur*.

The music for communion is of a very functional type, with simple, syllabic settings of the short texts. It is in the office services, Matins and Evensong, that Combes was able to explore a wider range of musical style.

The full day of music in A major is the grandest and most extensive of Combes's settings, and also displays the greatest unity. In terms of scoring, the resources of the Minster are used to their fullest, with verse sections for split trebles and basses, and altos in one version, and for groups on both sides of the choir. That the demands of this music were occasionally hard to meet is indicated by the presence of some verse sections in the books of different parts. The organ also has a prominent role, including a solo passage in the *Cantate Domino*.

There is also a sense of unity to the set, with variations of the same *Gloria Patri* used at the end of the three relevant canticles. This also draws in the extended solo anthem *The Lord is King*, whose only choral input is another version of the same doxology setting.

The E major setting, again of a complete day of services, is largely in the 'full' style, with only occasional use of reduced forces and largely chordal writing. Later markings indicate that it would have been performed with alternating sides of the choir, *Decani* and *Cantoris*, singing. It alone contains the *Magnificat* and *Nunc Dimittis*, now thought of as the 'standard' set of evening

canticles. The other settings use the Cantate Domino and Deus Misereatur, which formed a higher proportion of settings in the eighteenth century than later.

Only the Matins and Communion portions of the D major setting come to us complete. We have partial sources of the Cantate Domino and Deus Misereatur, as well as a Benedictus and fragmentary Te Deum. Their relationship with the other settings is discussed in the Incomplete Works section. This setting lies between the two others in terms of variety of voicing, with a number of lower voice verses, though not the wide range of textures explored in the A major settings, and a greater use of imitative passages.

There are other settings of the Communion texts, including a Nicene Creed, that are not complete, and therefore presented with the Incomplete Works. Only the Sanctus in F, written to complete Gibbons's Short Service, and Sanctus in G which accompanies settings by Aldrich, have an organ part that allows confident reconstruction.

Several pieces have undergone significant development over time, with early versions appearing in the manuscripts, sometimes alongside later versions, and sometimes in fragments indicating their falling into disuse. These are discussed in the Incomplete Works section.

5.7.1 Sanctus

A notable feature of the Wimborne books is that the Sanctus is very often included, particularly in later books. Sanctus settings often appear attached to full days of music by other composers such as Rogers, Aldrich and Gibbons, whose settings do not include that text. The words are not precisely those of the Eucharistic Sanctus of the Book of Common Prayer. Rather, they are an amalgam of that text with a similar passage from the Te Deum. This changes 'heaven and earth are full of thy glory' to 'heaven and earth are full of the majesty of thy glory'. The ordering of these movements is noteworthy.

The situation across the partbooks is inevitably complex, with several anomalies and an extremely diverse approach to layout and ordering complicating the situation further. It is clearer to see this issue through the prism of the organ books. Five contain service music, and neatly demonstrate the changes over time. P10 is the earliest, and only contains Kyrie settings, most in the opening section of the reverse of the book, interleaved between organ music, implying their use close to each other in the liturgy.¹⁶⁹ O14, O21 and O22 represent the period around Combes's time. These

¹⁶⁹ James Clifford, in *Divine Services and Anthems* (London, 1663), gives three locations for organ voluntaries, after the Psalms at Morning and Evening Prayer, and after the litany at the end of Matins,

exclusively have pairs of Sanctus-Kyrie, with the Sanctus provided by Combes when not written by the composer of the Kyrie. O13 is later, in use well into the nineteenth century. It has Kyrie-Sanctus pairs, each piece written by the same composer. A similar trend can be seen in the vocal partbooks.

This may demonstrate a shift in liturgical practice, from ante-communion alone in the last portion of the 17th century, to full communion services in the 19th. However, this leaves the anomalous ordering of the movements in the mid-18th century. That it was an important part of the liturgy of Wimborne to have this movement sung, is shown by the consistent ‘completion’ of services by Combes. The function and placement of the music remains unclear, however. It could perhaps have been sung at the transition between Matins and Ante-communion, covering whatever logistical actions were needed at that point, and replacing the organ voluntary.¹⁷⁰

It is interesting to look at settings in an influential publication of the time, held in the Chained Library, Boyce’s *Cathedral Music*.¹⁷¹ In *Volume 1* of 1760 only one setting contains the Sanctus, that of Thomas Tallis. It is placed between the Nicene Creed and Gloria in Excelsis, in other words, in the order given in the Book of Common Prayer. It has the standard text given in that book. The other Communion settings in that book omit the movement, and contain settings of the Kyrie and Nicene Creed.

At the end of *Volume 3* of *Cathedral Music* from 1773 are four freestanding settings of the Sanctus, by Gibbons, Child, Rogers and Creyghton. The first three contain the text with ‘the majesty of’, but not the last one. It is significant that these are contained in a book otherwise devoted to anthems.

The Gibbons Sanctus is based on the Te Deum of the Short Service, and *Tudor Church Music IV* discusses the sources: ‘The Sanctus commonly attached to the short service has no MS. authority before the time of the Restoration. It is first found in the Windsor MSS in the handwriting of Dr Will Child, as an extra slip bound up with the rest of the service. There are copies of it in short score in Ch Ch Ox MS 1225, Ely Cath. MS 23, and Tenbury, all of late 17th or

before the ‘second service’ (ante-communion). In the latter case, the voluntary is immediately followed by the Responses to the Commandments, or Kyrie.

¹⁷⁰ This is the solution to the feature given in Christopher Dearnley, *English Church Music 1650 – 1750*, (London, Barrie and Jenkins, 1970) 99. He notes the evolution from organ voluntary to Sanctus, but does not give details of the time-frame for this occurring.

¹⁷¹ William Boyce, *Cathedral Music : Being a Collection in Score of the Most Valuable and Useful Compositions for That Service*, 3 vols (London: Printed for the editor, 1760-1773).

early 18th century date. As it is for the most part merely an extract from the Te Deum and all the texts are faulty, the editors feel justified in rejecting it.' ¹⁷²

Further examples of this feature can be found in Novello publications of the nineteenth century. In the volumes *Cathedral Choir Book* and *Sanctus and Kyrie Eleeson*(sic) *set to music by various composers* (held in the Chained Library, Q24, Q25 and Q28) there is always the sequence Sanctus-Kyrie. Of these, settings by Travers, Creighton, Aldrich and Wesley set the standard, BCP text. Those by Cook, Bryan, Croft, Nares, Novello and Russell use the adapted text including 'the majesty of'. These volumes are undated, but they were published under the name J Alfred Novello, which places them between 1829 and 1861.

The full liturgical settings by Gibbons and Rogers transmitted in the manuscripts do not contain Sanctus setting by their composers found in *Cathedral Music*. Rather, they have been supplied by George Combes, which may well be due to copying prior to 1773. Was Wimborne at the front of a liturgical trend?

¹⁷² Percy Buck, *Tudor Church Music*, vol. 4 (London, 1925).

5.7.2 Service texts

The texts for the liturgical pieces are taken from the 1662 Book of Common Prayer. Spelling varies in the sources, and punctuation is generally lacking. In the edition these are presented to conform with the 1662 BCP, except in instances where musical considerations require variants to be retained. These are discussed below and in individual commentaries.

The Sanctus text is an amalgam from the Te Deum and Communion Service; more detail is given above. In all appearances the 's' is omitted on 'hosts', though it has been pencilled in in places. In the edition it is presented in square brackets.

Te Deum

We praise thee, O God; we acknowledge thee to be the Lord.

All the earth doth worship thee, the Father everlasting.

To thee all Angels cry aloud, the Heavens and all the Powers therein.

To thee Cherubim and Seraphim continually do cry,

Holy, holy, holy, Lord God of Sabaoth;

Heaven and earth are full of the majesty of thy glory.

The glorious company of the Apostles praise thee.

The goodly fellowship of the Prophets praise thee.

The noble army of Martyrs praise thee.

The holy Church throughout all the world doth acknowledge thee;

the Father of an infinite Majesty;

thine honorable, true, and only Son;

also the Holy Ghost the Comforter.

Thou art the King of glory, O Christ.

Thou art the everlasting Son of the Father.

When thou tookest upon thee to deliver man, thou didst not abhor the Virgin's womb.

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When thou hadst overcome the sharpness of death, thou didst open the kingdom of heaven to all believers.

Thou sittest at the right hand of God, in the Glory of the Father.

We believe that thou shalt come to be our judge.

We therefore pray thee, help thy servants, whom thou hast redeemed with thy precious blood.

Make them to be numbered with thy saints, in glory everlasting.

O Lord, save the people, and bless thine heritage.

Govern them, and lift them up for ever.

Day by day we magnify thee;

and we worship thy name, ever world without end.

Vouchsafe, O Lord, to keep us this day without sin.

O Lord, have mercy upon us, have mercy upon us.

O Lord, let thy mercy lighten upon us, as our trust is in thee.

O Lord, in thee have I trusted: let me never be confounded.

Jubilate – Psalm 100

1. O be joyful in the Lord all ye lands: serve the Lord with gladness and come before his presence with a song.
2. Be ye sure that the Lord he is God, it is he that hath made us and not we ourselves: * we are his people and the sheep of his pasture.
3. O go your way into his gates with thanksgiving and into his courts with praise: be thankful unto him and speak good of his Name.
4. For the Lord is gracious, his mercy is everlasting: and his truth endureth from generation to generation.

Sanctus

Holy, holy, holy, Lord God of host[s],

heaven and earth are full of the majesty of thy glory:

Glory be to thee, O Lord most high.

Kyrie

Lord, have mercy upon us, and incline our hearts to keep this law.

Lord, have mercy upon us, and write all these thy laws in our hearts, we beseech thee.

Magnificat

My soul doth magnify the Lord: and my spirit hath rejoiced in God my Saviour.

For he hath regarded: the lowliness of his handmaiden.

For behold, from henceforth: all generations shall call me blessed.

For he that is mighty hath magnified me: and holy is his Name.

And his mercy is on them that fear him: throughout all generations.

He hath showed strength with his arm: he hath scattered the proud in the imagination of their hearts.

He hath put down the mighty from their seat: and hath exalted the humble and meek.

He hath filled the hungry with good things: and the rich he hath sent empty away.

He remembering his mercy hath holpen his servant Israel: as he promised to our forefathers, Abraham and his seed, for ever.

Nunc Dimittis

LORD, now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace: according to thy word.

For mine eyes have seen thy salvation,

Which thou hast prepared: before the face of all people;

To be a light to lighten the Gentiles: and to be the glory of thy people Israel.

Cantate Domino – Psalm 98

1. O sing unto the Lord a new song: for he hath done marvellous things.
2. With his own right hand, and with his holy arm: hath he gotten himself the victory.
3. The Lord declared his salvation: his righteousness hath he openly shewed in the sight of the heathen.
4. He hath remembered his mercy and truth toward the house of Israel: and all the ends of the world have seen the salvation of our God.
5. Shew yourselves joyful unto the Lord, all ye lands: sing, rejoice, and give thanks.
6. Praise the Lord upon the harp: sing to the harp with a psalm of thanksgiving.
7. With trumpets also and shawms: O shew yourselves joyful before the Lord the King.
8. Let the sea make a noise, and all that therein is: the round world, and they that dwell therein.

9. Let the floods clap their hands, and let the hills be joyful together before the Lord: for he is come to judge the earth.
10. With righteousness shall he judge the world: and the people with equity.

Deus Misereatur – Psalm 67

1. GOD be merciful unto us, and bless us: and shew us the light of his countenance, and be merciful unto us:
2. That thy way may be known upon earth: thy saving health among all nations.
3. Let the people praise thee, O God: yea, let all the people praise thee.
4. O let the nations rejoice and be glad: for thou shalt judge the folk righteously, and govern the nations upon earth.
5. Let the people praise thee, O God: let all the people praise thee.
6. Then shall the earth bring forth her increase: and God, even our own God, shall give us his blessing.
7. God shall bless us: and all the ends of the world shall fear him.

Doxology for Psalms and Canticles

Glory be to the Father, and to the Son: and to the Holy Ghost;

As it was in the beginning, is now, and ever shall be: world without end. Amen.

5.7.3 Te Deum and Jubilate in A

5.7.3.1 Sources

Treble	Reconstructed from O22
Alto	P12 (f75r-76r) P23 (p74-79), P26 (p83b-90),
Tenor	P13 (f22r-23r), P21 (f13r-14v), P27 (p86-92), P28 (p116-124)
Bass	P22 (f31r-33v), P24 (f29r-31v)
Organ	O22 (p215-236)

P12 is incomplete, finishing at b263 of the Te Deum, and missing the Jubilate.

Four books can be identified as being part of the Late Services Set, and provide us with the inner parts. These are:

Alto	P23, P26
Tenor	P27, P28

These are associated with the organ book O22, and as this gives a reading of the upper and lower parts, we effectively have a complete set. The rest of the sources appear to be earlier, and have a number of variants listed below

5.7.3.2 Verses

There are a number of sections of the Te Deum missing in various partbooks, as follows:

Heav'n and Earth, bars 59-89	P13, P21	P12 tenor line in place of alto
The Goodly, bars 90-97	P12, P21, P22, P24	
When thou hads't, bars 192-210	P22	
Make Them, bars 244-265	P13, P21	P12 tenor line in place of alto

These passages are indicated simply by the word 'vers'.

Allocations of Decani and Cantoris are given in P22, and these have been retained here. In P24 *second bass* is specified at bars 97 and 165.

In addition, P21 (tenor) has the first bass part of bars 97 - 119 written out after the end of the Jubilate, implying perhaps that a tenor had to sing it in on occasion. However, the repeat signs on the final line are missing. There is no corresponding copy of the other section with two bass parts,

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bars 165 – 191, which implies that this addition may not be due to the absence of one bass, but some other musical consideration, such as the vocal range of the upper part.

P12, an alto partbook, contains the tenor verses at bars 59-74 and 244-265, the latter with a significant variant. Whereas the tenor part generally remains within the range E-E, with only occasional F#s, these passages cover the range A#-A, similar to the alto part elsewhere. These passages are missing from tenor books P13 and P21, which may have been used with P12. The alternative version of bars 253-256 is provided from the alto partbook. The later change may have been to allow for the difficulty of a tenor sustaining the top G. Performers should decide on whether to use an alto or tenor for these passages.

Bars 90 - 96 are indicated as Chorus in all books where the music appears. The lack of this passage in P12 and P21 could imply that it was at some point a Decani verse. More significantly, this passage is not written out in the two bass books. However, the bass line in the organ part is independent of the lowest other part, unlike the practice in all other places. Therefore a conjectural bass line has been added, and this allocated to chorus. This gives a regular alternation of verse and chorus sections.

5.7.3.3 Text

There are a number of variants in the text. These have been retained where necessary as alteration would affect the musical intention.

Te Deum - All copies have 'inheritage' in place of 'heritage' in bars 271-2, possibly a confusion with 'inheritance'. Elsewhere in the partbooks the same text has been used, sometimes corrected with alterations to the rhythm visible, as well as the standard version. In bar 63, 'thy majesty' is used in place of 'the majesty'. In bars 250 - 261 'in the glory' is used in place of 'in glory'.

Jubilate - bar 76 'and his mercy' is used in place of 'his mercy'. Bar 109 'and is now' is used in place of 'is now'.

5.7.3.4 Textual Commentary

5.7.3.4.1 Te Deum

Bar	Part	Comment
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27-28	A B	The chorus 'Cry aloud' is missing in P22, P23, P24, P26. The bass part is therefore conjectural.
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35	S2/O	O22 d' g f' e, presumably in error
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36	O	LH sb
47	T	P13 1 st note c#
48	A/T	Underlay presented is supported by P12, P13, P21, P22, P24, but contradicted by P23, P26, P28 which give a four-syllable version (consistent with bb42-46) with a slur on the first two notes. O22 and P27 have no slurring
59-60	A/B	P12, P22 P24, mr sb / mr sb
59-74	A	P12 As tenor part
72	A/T	P12 2 nd & 3 rd notes e#' e#'
77	S2/O	O22 RH lower part 4 th note g#'. Editorially changed to F# to match bar 79 and harmony of figured bass
80	S2/O	O22 c#' d' e'. Changed by a third on the assumption of a mistake.
90-96	B	The bass part is conjectural - see introduction
91	T	P13 4 th – 5 th notes cr cr
96	T	P13 m m mr
114	B	Repeat of bars 109-114 indicated by repeat sign in P22 and P24, absent in O22
130	B	P24 A A. The same mistake has been corrected in P22
135	B	P24 A A. In P22 to As have been 'corrected' to F#s
141	T	P21 # missing on first note
146	T	All sources have c' 2 nd note.
148	S	sb to match other voices, rather than m implied in organ part
161	A	P12 3 rd note f#'
186		Repeat of 181 - 186 indicated by repeat signs in P22, P24. Written out in O22
192	A	P23 no key signature change
203	A	P12 2 nd note missing

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211	A	P23 no key signature change
221-222	A	P12 Fa-ther on two minims in b221, b222 blank
228	A	P12 m m
239-240	T	P27 d'
244-265	A	P12 as tenor
249	A	P23 key signature now correct
252-258	T	Alternative version from P12, intended to be sung by an alto
264	T	P12 m cr cr
280	A	P23, P26 m m, tied in P26
298	T/O	P27, P28, O22 c' c' c'. The version in P13, P21 avoids consecutive 5ths and is given here
314	B	P22, P24 A
331	T	P13 1st note a

5.7.3.4.2 Jubilate

17	B	P22, P24 4 th note A
17	T	P27, P28 4 th note # missing
23	B	P22, P24 sb
46	O	O22 repeat of bb 41-46 in 46-51 shown with repeat symbol
72	T	P13 dm c corrected to m m
73	A	P26 e'
91-93	ATB	There are discrepancies in the underlay between the sources. The solution given is taken from the bass books P22 and P24
91, 93	A	P23 give ge-ne-ra on beats 1, 4, 1 by syllable placement, P26 ambiguous about the 'ne'.

- 92 T P13 ge-ne-ra on beats 1-2-3; P21 underlay unclear, but slurring also implies 'ra'
on third beat. P 27 and P 28 give ge-ne-ra on beats 1, 4, 1 by syllable placement
- 94 T P13 4th note g#
- 85 T P13 sb g#
- 99 T P13, P21 dcr q m

5.7.4 Sanctus and Kyrie in A

5.7.4.1 Sources

Treble	Reconstructed from O22
Alto	P23 (p80), P26 (p91), P34 (f2r)
Tenor	P13 (f24v), P21 (f5v), P27 (p92-93), P28 (p125)
Bass	P22 (f35v), P24 (f32v)
Organ	O22 (p237-238)

In P34 the music is crossed out, but legible.

Four books can be identified as being part of the late set of services, and provide us with the inner parts. These are:

Alto P23, P26

Tenor P27, P28

These are associated with the organ book O22, and as this gives a reading of the upper and lower parts we effectively have a complete set. The rest of the sources appear to be earlier, with only some rhythmic variants in the tenor sources.

In the later sources the pieces appear between the settings in A of the Morning and Evening canticles. They are more widespread in the earlier sources.

5.7.4.2 Text

‘In thy majesty’ is used in place of ‘in the majesty’ seen in other settings. This matches with the Te Deum setting in A.

5.7.4.3 Textual Commentary

5.7.4.3.1 Sanctus

Bar	Part	Comment
3	T	P13, P21 m dcr q
5	T	P13, P21 m (<i>God</i>) dcr q (<i>of</i>)
9	T O	O22, P28 no repeat. P27 has end repeat mark missing

12 T P13, P21 m dcr q

5.7.5 Cantate Domino and Deus Misereatur in A

An earlier, related setting appears in four sources, and is discussed in the Incomplete Works section of this edition. This commentary only deals with the later setting.

5.7.5.1 Sources

Treble	Reconstructed from O22
Alto	P23 (p81-85), P26 (p92-98), P34 (f17r-19r)
Tenor	P13 (f29v-31v), P21 (f64v-66v), P27 (p94-99), P28 (p126-133)
Bass	P22 (f72v-74v), P24 (p75v-77v)
Organ	O22 (p239-252)

Four books can be identified as being part of the late set of services, and provide us with the inner parts. These are:

Alto	P23, P26
Tenor	P27, P28

These are associated with the organ book O22, and as this gives a reading of the upper and lower parts we effectively have a complete set. The rest of the sources appear to be earlier, but have few significant variants with the later copies. The only problematic one is in the bass books, at bar 119. Two notes are omitted, along with a textual repetition, putting the part a bar out from that point on. This is also not compatible with the early version of the piece (see Incomplete Works), and perhaps represents an early draft of the later version.

There are some discrepancies between the bass part and the left hand of the organ, which is more significant as we do not have a bass book from the late set. However, these are exclusively at cadences and are compatible, and therefore can be considered an idiomatic issue, rather than one related to early and late versions. They are retained in the edited text.

5.7.5.2 Text

All parts split the word 'rejoice' into three syllables (re-joi-ce) on melismas, though it is also set as a two syllable word in shorter phrases. It would seem most likely that this is simply to indicate the length of the melisma, so here the word is rationalised to two syllables with a line to indicate underlay.

5.7.5.3 Verse allocations

Verse sections appear in all partbooks apart from the section of Deus Misereatur 'that thy way may be known', starting at bar 14, which is missing from P23.

The section 'God shall bless us', bars 77 – 99 is problematic. It appears in the tenor and bass books, but not the alto ones. The organ part often has two upper voices, however, and the vocal harmony is incomplete as it stands. Taking a lead from the Te Deum in A, this realisation gives two treble parts, although the second could be sung by an alto. Unlike elsewhere in the treble reconstruction, the second part is conjectural for much of its length.

5.7.5.4 Textual Commentary

P24 is distinctive in its untidy note placement. Only moments where the note is clearly placed and different to the text of the edition are listed here.

Accidentals in P22 and P24 are ambiguous, with little definition between sharp and natural. They have only been noted where unusually missing or present.

5.7.5.4.1 Cantate Domino

Bar	Part	Comment
11	O	4 th note figure 6
16	A	P34 e' e' f'
41	A	P34 cr cr sb, c' b a
60	T	P13 4 th note a#
61-63	O	O22 error in RH – 2 nd note of 61 onwards f e / d e d e f e / d e d c
63	A	P23, P26, P34 e' c'. The reading from the organ part preserves the 3rds with the bass.
68	A	P23, P26, P34 last note a. The organ reading provides a more logical line with rising phrase end.
72	A T	P13, P21, P34 sb
77	B	P24 1 st note a with natural sign
81	B	P24 1 st note a

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104-105	O	O22 m m-rest, then blank
106	B	P24 1 st note no natural
107-108	T	p28 m m m / sb m, f' d' c' / c' c'
119	B	P22, P24 last note of 119 and first of 120 omitted, along with repetition of 'and all'.
121-122	A	P34 has text 'dwell therein'
125	A	P23, P26 1 st note tied f'
128-129`	T	P13 last note b with correction to c', P21 signs of correction. A repetition of the b at the end of this bar avoids the glaring octaves with the melody, but the option presented here was definitively chosen in the later sources.
135	O	O33 has g g, with a # figure
169-170	T	P13, P21, P27 no tie across barline

5.7.5.4.2 Deus Misereatur

41	B	P22 dsb
45	B	P22 4 th note f
46	A B	P22, P24, P34 dsb
50	B	P22 4 th note f
47-51	B	P24 not written out, but indicated by repeat marks
59	A T B	P26, P13, P21, P24 sb, m r
62	B	P24 3 rd & 4 th notes a A, slurred with 'in-' on both notes
63	B	P22 dsb
67	O	2 nd figure #
76	A T B	P34, P13, P21, P22 P24 sb m
77	T	P13 dsb
88	T	P13 2 nd note dot missing

91	B	P24 dsb
119-120	T	P13, P21, P27 no slur across barline

5.7.6 Te Deum and Jubilate in D

5.7.6.1 Sources

Treble P31 (f16r-17r) and reconstructed from O13 (p46-50), O22 (p129-143)

Alto P18 (f18v-20v), P23 (p26-30), P26 (p59-65), P34 (f5v-7v)

Tenor P13 (f42v-44v), P21 (f24v-26v), P27 (p62-67), P28 (p87-93)

Bass P22 (f78v-80v), P24 (f35v-37v)

Organ O13 (p46-50), O22 (p129-143)

This service is unusual in having both a treble partbook and two organ books. The treble part is incomplete, starting at b209 of the Te Deum. Previous to that moment the part requires reconstruction from the upper part of the organ book. In the Jubilate, folio 16v of P31 ends at bar 51, and folio 17r begins at bar 47. This possibly implies that they are sheets from two separate copies compiled together. However, the top right hand corner of f17 is torn, so the original page numbers are not available.

For more detail on this unusual book, see chapter 4. One of the organ books, O22, is associated with the Late Services Set, and may have been copied by Richard Combes. It presents the familiar pattern of the top and bottom voices in each texture, with some additional harmony; in this case there is quite a lot of the inner parts. The other book is later, being inscribed 'F.S. Blount' (Organist at the Minster 1835-1863) and '1847'. Here the part is effectively a short score of the entire texture.

Five books can be identified as being part of the late set of services, and provide us with three parts. These are:

Treble P31

Alto P23, P26

Tenor P27, P28

These are associated with the organ book O22, and as this gives a reading of the upper and lower parts we effectively have a complete set. The rest of the sources appear to be earlier, and share a number of variants. The only comparison between the earlier reading of the bass books and the later reading is through the organ parts. This is slightly problematic, in that the only differences relate to octaves at cadences, and these variants could simply be due to a different approach to

keyboard and vocal writing. This difference is not seen in other pieces where later bass sources are available, however.

One set of variants concerns word setting. The older sources use the text from the 1559 prayer book, starting with 'We knowledge thee'. In the later sources the rhythm is adapted to the 1662 version 'We acknowledge thee'. This is the only one of Combes' settings with this anomaly. Another attempt to improve word setting appears later, at bar 127, though when the offending stress is repeated a few bars later it is ignored.

The significant musical variants concern the inner parts, particularly the tenor, and appear to be attempts to improve part writing. Examples from the Te Deum include avoiding inverted chords (b2), avoiding consecutives (bb 56-57), avoiding doubled leading note (b123), adding a third (b65). The music is occasionally not improved according to the 'rules' – the changes in bars 85 and 88 lead to exposed octaves – but overall the writing is tightened up. Of interest are the 6/4 -5/3 cadences, which are sometimes altered (b124), and sometimes not (b17). Neither version provides a third in the first chord, however.

The question must be considered of where these changes originated. As it seems likely that Richard Combes copied the later sources, might he have 'corrected' his father's harmony? It is certainly possible. However, we have no compositions by Richard, which perhaps implies that his musical interests did not lie in that direction, so it may well be that the alterations did come from George.

In this edition I present the reading from the later sources, as I would suggest that these readings are musically superior, and do not remove the intrinsic character of the piece.

5.7.6.2 Text

Earlier copies of the Te Deum begin with the 1558 version 'We knowledge thee'.

In the Jubilate, verse 2 omits the word 'he' in the phrase 'the Lord, he is God'. In verse 4 an 'and' is added before 'his mercy', but omitted before 'his truth'.

5.7.6.3 Intonation

The opening phrase is given as it appears in O13. P28 has similar, but ending in two minims; it is written in the bass clef, before the tenor C clef is written for the rest. In O22 it is given as a monotone on a D, and it is absent elsewhere.

5.7.6.4 Barring

There is some irregular barring, largely in the earlier sources but also in P28. The overall metre is clear, however, and has been regularised without further comment.

5.7.6.5 Organ part

The part presented here is as it appears in O13. Whilst this cannot be considered the closest to the composer, it is clear and consistent. It provides a suitable accompaniment as it stands for music of this style. Any small deviations that exist from the main set of parts (such as b36) are altered, on the assumption that the intention is that voices and organ should match. These are noted in the Textual Commentary. The organ part in O22 is in keeping with the rest of that book, largely presenting the top and bottom vocal lines, with figures. The part presented here is consistent with the notes and figures of that part, apart from deviations listed in the Textual Commentary.

There are a number of instances at cadences where the bass part varies between the bass partbooks and organ books. In O22, there is a frequent use of minims at a high then low octave in place of a semibreve or repeated minims. As the bass books are from the early set and the organ part from the later set, we cannot know for certain if these are changes intended to be followed in the voice, or simply idiomatic organ writing. The use of a low E, below the standard vocal range, in bar 32 would imply the latter. O13 largely agrees with the bass books, so this is the reading followed here. Performers should feel free to make use of the octaves at their discretion. An exception is at the very end of the Te Deum, bar 259, where the voices have octaves, so these have been reflected in the organ part.

5.7.6.6 Textual Commentary

P24 is distinctive in its untidy note placement. Only moments where the note is clearly placed and different to the text of the edition are listed here.

5.7.6.6.1 Te Deum

Bar	Part	Comment
1	ATB	P13, P21, P22, P24, P34 sb – text is ‘We knowledge’
2	T	P13, P21 1 st note d
7	A	P18, P34 2 nd note f#
8	T O	P13, P21 c c m, a b c’. Matched by inner voice of O22

15	T	P13, P21 3 rd note a
16	O	O22 LH m m, a A
26	B	P24 2 nd note f
26	O	O13 LH 2 nd note c'
32	O	O22 m m, e E
36	O	O13 LH upper voice g a
45	A	P18, P34 m m, g' f'
45	O	O13 LH upper part dm cr
51-53	O	O13 clearly sets 'Sabaoth' as a three syllable word
56-57	T	P13, P21 b a a b d'
57	A	P18, P23, P34 f' d'
65	T	P13, P21 e'
85	T	P13, P21 e'
87	O	O13 LH has a crotchet a added on the half bar
88	T	P13, P21 e'
110	T	P13, P21 cr b appoggiatura to 2 nd note
119	T	P21 m r, m
123	T	P13, P21 2 nd note c'
124-126	T	P13, P21 m cr cr m m sb, a d' d' d' e' d'
125	O	O22 LH a A
127	ATB	P13, P21, P22, P23, P24, P34 sb. Text 'when though took'st'
144	A O	P26, O13 1 st note e'. This has been altered and emphasised in P26
144	B	P22, P24 dm cr, a a.
145	A	P18, P26, P34 no appoggiatura

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177	A	P18, P34 d' c'
185	B	P22, P24 1 st note c
198	O	O13 2 nd note a. O13 and both bass books make the difference with b204
199	O	O22 m m, a A
221	All	'Slow' only found in O22, P13, P18, P21, P22, P24, P34
228	T	P27 no appoggiatura
236	O	O22 m m b B
258-259	T	P18, P21 d' e' d', P28 d' c' a
244	O	O13 sb f
254	O	O13 4 th note e. This solution to a problematic harmonic moment is not found in any earlier sources.
258	O	O13 LH sb A
259	O	O13 sb

5.7.6.6.2 Jubilate

5	O	O13 RH lower part 3 rd note d'
12-13	O	O22 LH b12 3 rd note cr G, b13 sb A
13	O	O13 RH upper part m m, f' e'
22	T	P13, P21 m cr cr, a g# g#
22	O	O13 RH upper part m m, c'' b', LH upper part m cr cr a g# g#, O22 only gives outer voices
25	A	P23, P26 e' f'
35	O	O13 has the following, not supported by any other sources:



- | | | |
|----|---|---|
| 36 | T | P27 dm cr |
| 39 | O | O13 bass line sb a |
| 49 | A | P18 no appoggiatura |
| 52 | A | P18, P34 3 rd – 4 th notes cr cr, e' # e' # |
| 52 | O | O13 RH upper part m m, a' g #', lower part m dcr q, f' e # e #
O22 RH upper part m dcr q, a' g # f', lower part m m f' e # |
| 65 | B | P22, P24 3 rd note f |
| 75 | B | P24 the end of the line here is unclear, with a handwritten stave. |
| 79 | T | P13, P21 2 nd note e' |
| 90 | T | P13, P21 m m b, d' e' d' |
| 90 | O | O22 sb A |

5.7.7 Sanctus and Kyrie in D

5.7.7.1 Sources

The following sources have both the Sanctus and Kyrie:

Treble	P31 (f17v)
Alto	P18 (f22r), P23 (p33), P26 (p68), P34 (f8v)
Tenor	P13 (f46r), P21 (f27v-28r), P27 (p70), P28 (p96)
Bass	P22 (f81v-82r), P24 (f38v)
Organ	O22 (p149-150)

In all instances these follow Combes's setting of the Te Deum and Jubilate in D.

Additionally, the following sources have the Sanctus, followed by a Kyrie by Rogers, completing a full day of music by the latter composer.

Treble	P31 (p23)
Alto	P23 (p19), P26 (p23)
Tenor	P27 (p23), P28 (p64)
Organ	O21 (p116), O22 (p39)

Further entries in the following sources have a different Sanctus, and a more intricate version of the Kyrie. They have, however, been crossed out in both sources.

Alto	P34 (f3r)
Tenor	P21 (f2v)

These pieces are presented in the Incomplete Works section, and not considered further here.

This represents a broad chronological range of books. The books containing both the Sanctus and Kyrie set as well as the completion of the Rogers service are all part of the Late Services set. The two containing alternative versions are relatively early. It is notable that all the books in which this service appear contain the basic set, alongside supplementary readings.

5.7.7.2 Full/Piano indications

The organ part of the Kyrie, O22, contains indications of 'Full' and 'Pia' (abbreviation for piano). The latter appears for the brief imitative section. It could be taken as an implication that voices should be reduced here, or simply be an indication to the player that there are fewer parts at that moment. The lack of any corresponding marking in the partbooks would imply the latter.

5.7.7.3 Textual Commentary

5.7.7.3.1 Sanctus

Bar	Part	Comment
1-2	A	P18 first three notes erased
4	a	P18 2 nd note e'
6	T	P27 (1 st entry) 3 rd note 3'
8	T O	O21, P28 (both entries) No repeat markings
12	A	P26 (2 nd entry), P34 2 nd note e'
31	S O	P31, O22 (1 st entry) breve. O21 RH m

5.7.7.3.2 Kyrie

14	S A T	P23, P26, P27, P28, P31, breve
22	T	P13 1 st note a
25	S A T	P23, P26, P27, P28, P31, breve

5.7.8 Te Deum and Jubilate in E

5.7.8.1 Sources

Treble P31 (f18r-f19r and f20v) and reconstructed from O21 and O22

Alto P23 (p37-42), P26 (p69-74),

Tenor P27 (p71-77), P28 (p1-7)

Bass Reconstructed from O21 and O22

Organ O21 (inverted p133-145), O22 (p151-161)

Two books are incomplete. P31 breaks off after b242 of the Te Deum where there is a missing sheet in the rebinding. The top line of f20v is the last 7 bars of the Jubilate. O21 ends after bar 27 of the Jubilate, strangely after the first line of the page. It is then followed by communion music by J W Blount.

This comes to us exclusively from the Late Services Set and, unusually, two associated organ books. There is therefore a high degree of uniformity across the sources, with a few apparent errors in P23.

5.7.8.2 Text

In the gloria of the Jubilate there is an extra 'and' before 'is now', retained to maintain the musical rhythm.

5.7.8.3 Intonation

The opening words of the Te Deum appear as presented here in P23. They are given as a monotone on tenor e in both organ books, and are absent elsewhere.

5.7.8.4 Reconstructed parts

The bass part and the latter section of the treble part must be reconstructed from the organ books. This is generally a straightforward matter, with the organ part following the outer vocal lines, equating to treble and bass apart from some contrapuntal moments. Some note repetitions have been added for text underlay, particularly in the bass, following the lead of the extant vocal books. Where organ octave minims in the bass at cadences drop below the standard vocal range they have been replaced with a semibreve in line with the style seen elsewhere.

5.7.8.5 Division of voices

Markings of Dec[ani] and Can[toris] and Full are present in all the vocal books apart from P31, though they have been added in pencil in P23. They are absent in the organ books. The Verse and Chorus markings in the Te Deum are found in all books, only combined with Dec in P26 and P28. Given the size of the performing forces at the Minster in Combes's time (one voice per part per side apart from trebles), there is no distinction between sides and verse. Therefore it could be supposed that the original intention was for the whole service to be sung full apart from the verse section, and that the division of phrases into sides was a later addition. It is in keeping with the style of comparable services, however, and is a practical way to perform the piece, so the indications have been retained here.

5.7.8.6 Deleted passages

There are three phrases that have been deleted from the Te Deum in pencil in vocal books. These all feature repetition of words, some also of notes. These are indicated in the score by lines above the stave, to allow performers the option of the terser version.

5.7.8.7 Figured Bass

Figures are taken from O21 where available, which are slightly more comprehensive and clear. Only significant variants are noted below.

5.7.8.8 Textual Commentary

5.7.8.8.1 Te Deum

Bar	Part	Comment
31	O	O22 figures are 3/6, 4/6
42 - 43	A	P23, P26 'Saboath' (sic) divided into three syllables
55	O	O21 and O22 have 6/4
73	Tr	P31 note 1 no #
95	O	O22 2 nd note figure 6
105	Tr	P31 no fermata
116	Tr T O	O22, P28, P31 no fermata

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117		'Slow' only found in P23, P26, P27, and in pencil in O22
119	O	O22 br
124	A	P23, P26 1 st note sb d'. Initial e' and accidentals added in pencil
128-132	A T	O22, P26, P28 repeated phrase deleted in pencil
136	A	4 th note no #
137	Tr T O	O22, P28, P31 no appoggiatura
137	T	P27, P28 2 nd note no #
150-161 b156-160	O	O21, O22 D naturals missing through this passage, some added later in O22 in
159	A	P23 no natural
172	O	O21 LH cr cr
173	O	O21 no # figure
188	O	O21, O22 have m cr cr apart from O21 LH. O21 has the text 'inheritage', giving this rhythm, though all the vocal partbooks have the correct 'heritage'.
191 – 200	O	A flap of paper containing bars 197-203, otherwise missing, stuck in, obscuring bars 191-193. This was presumably held loose in the book when it was in use.
234	O	O21 1 st note sbr
241	O	O22 2 nd note C
250-252		P23, P26, P27, P28 b253 note 3 – b 255 note 2 deleted in pencil
257-259		P23, P26, P27, P28 deleted in pencil
259		Fermata only in O22 and P23, in pencil
260		Slow indication only in O22 and P23, in pencil.
262	A T	O21, O22, P31, P28 sbr

5.7.8.8.2 Jubilate

7	T	P28 m cr cr c' c' b syllable change on second note
67	O T	O22, P27 br
84	T	P28 m dcr q
89		Fermata only in P23 and P26

5.7.9 Sanctus and Kyrie in E**5.7.9.1 Sources**

Treble	P31 (f20r)
Alto	P18 (f13r), P23 (p42-43), P26 (p74-75), P34 (f9v)
Tenor	P13 (f46v), P21 (f28v), P27 (p77-78), P28 (p8), P34 (f9r)
Bass	P22 (f82v)
Organ	O22 (p162-163)

Five books can be identified as being part of the late set of services, and provide us with the upper three parts. These are:

Treble	P31
Alto	P23, P26
Tenor	P27, P28

These are associated with the organ book O22. In these six sources the pieces appear between the settings in E of the Morning and Evening canticles, though these are fragmentary in P31. The only anomaly is the insertion of a Gospel Response after the Sanctus and Kyrie in P27, anonymous in the source and in a different hand.

The rest of the sources appear to be earlier, and these pieces are found among other setting of communion music by Combes and others. Unusually, f9 in P34, an alto book, has the alto part on one side and the tenor on the other.

The principal reading taken here is from the later books, affecting part writing to include thirds at cadences.

5.7.9.2 Textual Commentary**5.7.9.2.1 Sanctus**

Bar	Part	Comment
7 - 8	T	P13, P21, P34 m cr cr / sb, c' b a / g
9	T	p28 no repeat
	O	O22 has 'p not repeat' in pencil
13	A	P18 2 nd note e'

14 A P18, P34 e' appoggiatura. Performers wishing to include this could consider adding an equivalent c#' appoggiatura to the treble line.

16 A P18, P34 c'

26 Tr O P31 last note e'

26 A P18, P34 3rd note e'

26 T P13, P21, P34 m m, b b

27 A P18, P34 e'

27 T P13, P21, P34 b

27 SATB P13, P18, P21, P22, P34 sb

5.7.9.2.2 Kyrie

1 A P18, P34 1st note e'

5 A P18 e' appoggiatura to 2nd note

10 A P18, P34 e'

10 A T P18, P21, P23, P26, P34, P34 sb mr

11 A P18, P34 1st note e'

15 T P13, P21 sb mr

15 T P13, P21, P34 c' c' e'

20 A P18, P34 e'

20 A T P18, P21, P34, P34 sb mr

5.7.10 Magnificat and Nunc Dimittis in E

5.7.10.1 Sources

Treble	P31 (f20v)
Alto	P23 (p44-47), P26 (p76-79), P34 (f4r-5r)
Tenor	P13 (f32v-34r), P21 (f67r-67v), P27 (p78-82), P28 (p9-13)
Bass	P22 (f65v-66v), P24 (70r-71r)
Organ	O22 (p164-172)

The treble fragment, bound into P31, breaks off after b62 of the Magnificat.

Five books can be identified as being part of the Late Service Set, and provide us with the upper three parts until P31 breaks off. These are:

Treble	P31
Alto	P23, P26
Tenor	P27, P28

These are associated with the organ book O22. In these six sources the pieces are found directly after settings of the Matins and Communion texts.

5.7.10.2 Gloria

The Late Services Set books write out the Gloria in full after each canticle. Earlier sources indicate 'gloria as before'.

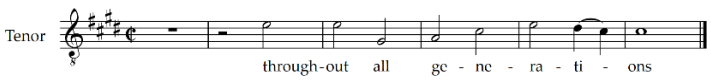
5.7.10.3 Bass part

The only extant bass parts are earlier sources, so we have no direct evidence for any adaptations that may have been made to match the later set. However, the organ part does provide clues, such as at b110, where a different rhythm gives matching underlay. These clues have been followed where appropriate, and listed in the Textual Commentary.

5.7.10.4 Textual Commentary

5.7.10.4.1 Magnificat

Bar	Part	Comment
-----	------	---------

4	T	P12 m m b f
6	A	P23 2 nd , 3 rd notes d' d'
9	A	P34 1 st note f'
10	A T B	P13, P21, P22, P24, P34 lack slurs, indicating three syllables on 'saviour'
10	A	P34 m cr cr, f f e
10	B	P22, P24 2 nd note f
12	All	O22, P13, P21, P22, P24, P31, P34 sb. The rhythm of the late version has been applied to all parts.
24	T	P13 dsb
29	A T	P13, P21, P34 lack slurs, indicating five syllables on 'generations'
34	T	P13, P21 2 nd note b
25	T	P13, P21 a
37	A T	P23, P28 rhythm altered to cr cr m
51-56	T	P13 has: 
54-56	A T B	P13, P21, P22, P24, P34 'generations' set as 5 syllables
54	T	P21 m m
55	B	P22, P24 m m, A A, corrected to Gs in P24. Adapted to sb to fit later underlay
70	A	P34 c'
85	A	P34 m m e# f'
86	O	O22 2 nd figure # missing
99	B	P22, P24, 3 rd note g
110	A, T	P13, P21, P22, P24, P34 m m 'our fore-' Bass altered to fit later underlay
112	A	P26 # deleted
113	A	P34 2 nd note f'

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120	T	P13 m cr cr, b b a
125	O	O22 br
128	T	P13, P21 3 rd note a
136	B	P24 2 nd note b
146	B	P22, P
147	T	P21 br '-men'
147	A	P26 # deleted, P34 c'
148	A	P35 sb d'
153	A T	P34 m m e' c', P13, P21 m m g a, '-out end'
154-156	A	P34 m m / sb / sb, b b b b, 'amen, amen'
154	T	P13, P21 '-men, a-'
154	T	P13 2 nd note a
156	A T B	P12, P21, P22, P24, P34 sb

5.7.10.4.2 Nunc Dimittis

12-13	T	P28 additional harmony added in pencil over the ink notes – b12 2 nd note added f, b13 added f and b, original d crossed out.
18	A T B	P13, P22, P24, P34 lack of slurring and repetition in bass imply four syllables on 'salvation'
18	A	P34 m cr cr, e' e' d'
18	B	P22, P24 m m
22	A	g'
25	O	O22 2 nd figure # missing
35	T	P13, P21 m m, c' a
37	T	P13, P21 dm cr
44	T	P27, P28 br

45-end

Variants as for 127-end of Magnificat

5.7.11 Sanctus in F and G

A single setting of the Sanctus appears written in both F major and G major several times across the partbooks. The F major version is only in the later books, the G major is more widespread. In all instances it acts as a companion to settings of communion texts by other composers. For a discussion of the function of this music, see Sanctus, above.

5.7.12 Sanctus in F

This setting appears in the partbooks completing Gibbons's Short Service, and is found between the Benedictus and Kyrie of the full day of music of that setting, in all sources. It comes to us exclusively from the Late Services Set. It should be noted that a setting of the Sanctus text by Gibbons was published in Boyce's *Cathedral Music, Volume 3* in 1773.¹⁷³ However, it was not part of the set of service music by Gibbons published in the first volume in 1760. Wimborne Minster was a subscriber, and has a copy of each volume on the shelves of the Chained Library. It would seem likely, therefore, that the copying predated the publication of Volume 3.

5.7.12.1 Sources

Treble	Reconstructed from O22
Alto	P23 (p67), P26 (p51)
Tenor	P27 (p53), P28 (p49)
Bass	Reconstructed from O22
Organ	O22 (p109)

5.7.12.2 Repeat indication

O22 and P27 have repeat symbols in the middle and at the end, P23 and P26 just in the middle, and P28 has no symbols.

5.7.12.3 Organ part

In the first six bars of the right hand, additional notes have been added in pencil. These do not seem to support the harmony, and indeed do not fit rhythmically, so are omitted here.

¹⁷³ See section 5.5.1 for Percy Buck's discussion of the Gibbons Sanctus.

5.7.12.4 Textual Commentary

Bar	Part	Comment
6	O	Naturals not marked in figures
13-14	A	P23, P26 have naturals on both C#s. Organ figures indicate correct harmony
20	O	Figure 7 marked with natural

5.7.13 Sanctus in G

This setting appears connected to a variety of settings of communion music through the chronological spread of the part books.

Most consistently, it is linked to and precedes a Kyrie and Nicene Creed by Aldrich in O21, O22, P26, P27, P28, and the same Kyrie in P23. The regularity of this appearance is to be expected in this later set of books.

In P18 it is in the vicinity of other settings of communion music by Aldrich and Combes, though not with a logical connection to a specific set.

In P24 it appears after the Aldrich Kyrie and Creed, and before a Farrant Kyrie in C.

In P34 it comes before a Sanctus-Kyrie pair by Combes in D. This is a variant of the main communion setting in D, and has been crossed out. It is presented here in the Incomplete Works section.

In P21 it precedes a Nicene Creed by Farrant in C, and follows the variant Sanctus-Kyrie in D pair by Combes, again crossed out.

In P22 it appears before the Farrant Creed in C, and is labelled 'to be sung before Aldrich, Farrant or Combes Commandments'

The genesis of the piece is therefore unclear, with it appearing in various guises in the earlier books before its adoption as the opening of the Aldrich communion service in the later set.

5.7.13.1 Sources

Treble	Reconstructed from O21, O22
Alto	P18 (f13r), P23 (p53), P26 (p38), P34 (f3r)
Tenor	P21 (f2v), P27 (p37), P28 (p79)
Bass	P22 (f20r), P24 (f28v)
Organ	O21 (rear p86), O22 (p69)

5.7.13.2 Organ Part

The figuring is taken from O22, which is slightly more comprehensive than O21.

5.7.13.3 Textual Commentary

Bar	Part	Comment
6	O	No sharpening of 6 figure indicated
11	O	O21 m m
20	A	P23, 26 no accidental
22	T	P27 chord c' and e'

5.8 Published works

Combes's published output is small, comprising appearances in two compilations, but indicates a certain degree of stature, largely accruing to him from his tenure in Bristol.

5.8.1 Psalms

The first is a collection of Psalm tunes, printed in Bristol. The frontispiece says:

Twenty Psalm Tunes

in three parts

adapted and Sung to the New Version of the Psalms

at the Cathedral & most other places of

PUBLIC WORSHIP in BRISTOL

most of which were never before Published

Composed by the late Mr. Coombes and other eminent Masters

LONDON. Engraved and Printed by LONGMAN, LUKEY & Co for T. Naish, Goldsmith, Cutler and
Music-Seller in BRISTOL

The 'New Version of the Psalms' referred to is the metrical translation by Nahum Tate and Nicholas Brady, published in 1696.

Of these twenty tunes, five have a printed attribution to Mr Coombes, Psalms 21, 105, 13, 108 and 137. The copy in the British Library, shelfmark A1231.u, has the name Samuel Wesley inscribed on the title page and numerous dynamics and some additional notes written in. It is a facsimile of this that is reproduced here as Appendix C. Many of the settings are unattributed, though Psalm 23 is given as by Mr Smith, five have the initial Wm B, and there are pencil attributions for others, perhaps written in by Samuel Wesley (for example, Psalm 149 attributed to Dr Croft).

This setting of Psalm 149 is a way in to considering the question of authorship of this collection. The melody, held by the tenor part, is indeed Croft's, known to modern hymn singers as Hanover. The melody has some elaboration, and it is accompanied by a simple bass and a slightly ornamented descant, which appear to be distinctive to this publication. As Combes is the named

author of the collection, could this arrangement be his?¹⁷⁴ Could that also apply to the other unattributed items in the book? This also has a bearing on an authorship question of Psalms in the Wimborne partbooks, considered in the Psalms section of the chapter on Incomplete Works.

There are tunes by Combes in the Wimborne books for three of the five psalms with his name in the published collection, but only one of the settings is related. This is Psalm 108, which appears in the Wimborne books in two different forms, one with the older Ravenscroft version of the text, one with the newer Tate and Brady. Only the bass line is largely the same, octave leaps excepted, between the manuscript and published versions. The melody is missing in the manuscripts, but the one given in the publication, held there by the tenor voice, fits with the alto and tenor parts surviving. However, comparing the styles of the other remaining parts would suggest that the version of the melody presented in the publication is more ornamented than the original. I have presented a possible version in the Psalms section of the incomplete works.

This highlights the contrast of styles between the settings in the Wimborne books and these published items. The former would appear to be in four parts, with a melody on top, though those melodies are lost. The latter are in three parts, with the melody, or 'Air' in the middle voice, and a descant above. The style is more florid, with passing notes in melodies and descants, and liberal use of grace notes.

5.8.1.1 Edition

The edition contains the five psalms attributed to Combes, with the words as presented in the publication. A facsimile of the whole publication can be found in Appendix C.

5.8.2 Catch

The second is a catch in Edmund Thomas Warren's publication *A Collection of Vocal Harmony consisting of Catches Canons and Glees... to which are added several Motetts and Madrigals composed by the best Masters, selected by T. Warren*. It was published around 1775 in London by Welcker. This large collection contains a diverse range of sacred and secular music by English and continental composers. Combes' catch concerns organists of Wimborne Minster, buried in the church. Tyler and Day are readily identified, though Pottle is a little more obscure – perhaps it is a corruption of Cottrell, organist from 1627 until the Commonwealth. The wish to 'make a thund'ring grave for Combes' was not to be fulfilled, as he was buried in Bristol.

¹⁷⁴ For discussion of another example of publication of an arrangement of this melody, see Nicholas Temperley. 'Croft and the Charity Hymn.' *The Musical Times* 119, no. 1624 (1978): 539–41.

Chapter 6 Critical Commentary to the Incomplete Works

This section presents the music of George Combes that comes down to us incomplete. This is generally due to missing treble and organ parts, but also includes a fragmentary Te Deum, psalm settings with fewer parts, and an early version of the evening canticles in A.

The purpose of this is to give a full view of the work of Combes, which gives an interesting picture of his development as a composer, and as a basis for future reconstruction. As such the editorial approach is different to that of the main, performing, edition.

For ease of use clefs have been modernised and barring regularised, with rhythmic notation adapted as necessary. On the other hand, original slurring has been retained, and the spelling and capitalisation of text is as presented in a single original source, to give as close a representation as possible of the original.

The commentary on each piece gives the position in the source, variants between readings, and any other pertinent details. There are also some more extended discussions of the relationships between these pieces and later works.

6.1 Anthem

6.1.1 Bow Down Thine Ear

This is the most fragmentary of the anthems we have, with only one alto, one tenor and two bass books extant. The lack of an organ part means we also have no treble line. The situation is complicated by evidence of further divisions of parts.

The bass part books, P22 and P24, have sections of independent lines, definitively showing that this piece had passages in more than four parts. The verse in bars 65 – 90 appears to need a tenor part, with bar 71 needing another voice to lead the imitation, which could have been in a tenor partbook that is now lost. Bars 113 – 122 suggest antiphonal writing that may have involved all voices, or just lower ones (the use of divisions in all voices is seen in the Te Deum in A, for example). When all the voices that have come down to us sing together in this section, the two bass parts often double the harmonic bass in octaves. The other parts therefore may or may not have been fully independent.

So, whilst this is not the longest of Combes' anthems, it is conceived on a grand scale in terms of vocal scoring. However, it does not feature the showy passages for bass and, particularly, alto that are a distinctive feature of the anthems preserved in the later sources. Perhaps this is a reason for its slipping out of the repertoire as musical tastes veered towards the soloistic style.

6.1.1.1 Text

The text is verses 1-5 and 16 of Psalm 86, in the Coverdale translation.

Chorus

1 Bow down thine ear, O Lord, and hear me : for I am poor, and in misery.

Verse

2 Preserve thou my soul, for I am holy : my God, save thy servant that putteth his trust in thee.

Chorus

3 Be merciful unto me, O Lord : for I will call daily upon thee.

Verse

4 Comfort the soul of thy servant : for unto thee, O Lord, do I lift up my soul.

Chorus

16 O turn thee then unto me, and have mercy upon me : give thy strength unto thy servant,
and help the son of thine handmaid.

6.1.1.2 Sources

Alto P34 (f27v-28v)

Tenor P21 (f96v-97r)

1st Bass P22 (f87v-88v)

2nd Bass P24 (f85v-86v)

6.1.1.3 Editorial Procedure

Where only one bass line is shown, it is the reading from P24, which is almost identical to that in P22. Some rhythms have been editorially altered to clarify their meaning. These are marked with small notes and dotted slurs. Whilst the opening section is predominantly in 2/2, all sources have some four minim bars. These are to avoid tying notes across the bar, such as in the first alto entry. This has been regularised here.

6.1.1.4 Textual Commentary

Bar	Part	Comment
-----	------	---------

14	B	P22 2 nd note no natural
----	---	-------------------------------------

25	B	P22 2 nd note no natural
----	---	-------------------------------------

31-35, 44-48T		P21 shows evidence of correction
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99-100	TB	P21, P24 dsb, dsb, P22 sb, m-rest, sb, m-rest. P34 reading followed as it matches the sense of the text most closely.
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6.2 Services in D

In the edition of completed works there are settings of the Morning Canticles and Communion music in the key of D. More settings in this key of the morning canticles, as well as an evening set, can be found in the earlier books, though these come to us in varied states of completion. Is there a relationship between these settings?

The contenders for linking together are:

Te Deum (fragmentary) and Benedictus in D

Te Deum and Jubilate in D

Sanctus and Kyrie in D

Cantate Domino and Deus Misereatur in D

The Kyrie and Creed in G should perhaps be added to this for reasons given in the introduction to those works and we shall return to them later.

Combes tends to follow the practice of a shared Gloria Patri across a full day's settings, with an interesting variation across the service in A. The Benedictus Gloria is shared by the evening canticles, Cantate Domino and Deus Misereatur, but not the Jubilate. This implies that the evening canticles have a stronger link with the fragmentary Te Deum and Benedictus than with the Te Deum and Jubilate. This is supported by the source distribution of the various pieces, shown below:

Table 19 - Distribution of service setting in D across the partbooks

	P12	P13	P18	P21	P22	P23	P24	P26	P27	P28	P31	P34	O13	O21	O22
Te Deum		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x
Jubilate		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x
Te Deum fragment	x	x	x	x											
Benedictus		x	x	x											
Sanctus		x	x	x	x	x2	x	x2	x2	x2	x2	x		x	x2
Kyrie		x	x	x2	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x2			x
Cantate		x		x	x		x								
Deus		x		x	x		x								

It can be seen here that the Te Deum fragment, Benedictus, Cantate Domino and Deus Misereatur all appear only in early sources (see Sources Introduction for a discussion of dating), though not in a precise pattern. They are also not positioned as a set within the books, though often morning and evening canticles are separated as a matter of course.

The morning and communion settings are found in all vocal sources apart from P12 (see a similar pattern in P12 in the discussion of the early version of the evening canticles in A). This covers a long period of time, and the organ source O13 is dated 1847, making this the latest copying of Combes in the collection. In all instances these pieces are found together and in order, so are clearly a group. The exception is the additional copyings of the Sanctus, which were used to complement a setting of Responses to the Commandments and the Creed by Rogers.

In P21 and P34 two versions of the Kyrie are found, with the version not matching the other sources crossed out.

So we see two distinct services in D – the early Te Deum, Benedictus, Cantate Domino and Deus Misereatur, and the possibly later and certainly more long lived Te Deum, Jubilate, Sanctus and Kyrie, without a matching evening set.

The grouping of the earlier services can be seen in the following table, and some implications drawn from this are discussed in the commentaries on individual pieces. It can be seen that there is a clear connection between the early morning canticles in D and the communion music in G, with them appearing together in P12, P13, P18, and P21, whereas the D major communion music is linked with the later settings.

Table 20 - Source distribution of early settings in D and G

		<u>Te Deum</u>	<u>Benedictus</u>	<u>Evening</u>	<u>Com in D</u>	<u>In G</u>
P12	Alto	f42r				f43v-45r
P13	Tenor	f19r		f25v-28r	f46r	f19r (K only)
P18	Alto	f10r	f10r-11r		f22r	f11v-12v
P21	Tenor	f8v – f10r	f10v-11v	f59r-60r	f2v	f11v-13r
P22	Bass			f59v-61v	f81v-82r	f28v-29r
P24	Bass		f65r-66r	f59v-61v	f38v	
P34	Alto			f14v-16v	f8v	

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The complete separation of these two groups is challenged by the style and the transmission of the fragments of the early Te Deum, however, and this is discussed further in the next section.

The incomplete works from this loose grouping are introduced separately below.

6.2.1 Te Deum in D – early version

The fragments of an early Te Deum in D can be found in four partbooks.

6.2.1.1 Sources

Alto P12 (f42r), P18 (f10r)

Tenor P13 (f19r), P21 (f8v-f10r, see below)

Of these, the most is found in P21, the tenor part, from folios 8 verso to 10 recto. The middle sheet (f9) has been cut out of the book, with the text from ‘the noble army of martyrs’ to ‘O Lord, save thy people and bless’ being lost. Furthermore, the remaining sections have been crossed out, though the notation is still legible. It is followed by the Benedictus in D. As this is the only source with the beginning of the piece, it is only through this reading that we can give the certain attribution to George Combes.

The other tenor source is P13, where the end, from ‘Lord to keep us this day’, appears on f19r. It is followed by Combes’ Kyrie in G and an instruction that the Creed in G follows, and then, on f20r, by the Benedictus in D. It is preceded by a different, anonymous, Te Deum.

Only the end of the piece is found in the two alto part books, P12 and P18. In P12, f42r has six lines of music, starting from ‘O Lord have mercy upon us’. It is followed by Combes’ Kyrie and Creed in G.

In P18 four lines from the end of the Te Deum, from ‘mercy lighten upon us’ appear above the Benedictus in D. It is preceded, from f8v, by an anonymous setting of the Te Deum.

6.2.1.2 Relationship to other settings

The fragmentary nature of the sources and the erasure of P21 suggest that this setting fell into disuse. It is worth considering its relationship to other pieces, however. It is clearly coupled to the Benedictus in D, appearing alongside it in all books apart from P12. The only other source of the Benedictus in D we have is in P24, where the music starts at the top of the page. If rebinding is an issue here, as it is elsewhere, this would mean that it could have originally been attached to the Te Deum without it being preserved as it was in P18. There is clearly also a link to the communion pieces in G, which appear alongside it in P13 and P12.

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The anonymous Te Deum found in P13 and P18 that preceded the fragment could be seen as a replacement to make a companion for the Benedictus. It is written in a key of two sharps, though musically it is in A major.

Whilst it is clear that there are two distinct morning services in D, as explained in the previous section, there are tantalising glimpses of a relationship between the two settings in the music of the two Te Deums. Whilst these are completely different pieces of music, the following comparative extracts demonstrate that ideas from one work were taken up in the other. These are close melodic matches, but there are other details that show correspondence of shape or rhythmic approach across the two works.

Figure 43 displays three comparative musical extracts between a 'Full Te Deum' and a 'Te Deum Fragment', both in the key of D major (two sharps). The extracts are presented in three rows, each with a 'Full Te Deum' staff and a 'Te Deum Fragment' staff. The lyrics are written below the notes.

- Row 1:** The 'Full Te Deum' staff shows the lyrics 'to thee all An - gels cry'. The 'Te Deum Fragment' staff shows the lyrics 'to thee all an - gels cry'.
- Row 2:** The 'Full Te Deum' staff shows the lyrics 'the heav'ns & all ye pow'rs'. The 'Te Deum Fragment' staff shows the lyrics 'the Heav'ns and all the pow'rs'.
- Row 3:** The 'Full Te Deum' staff shows the lyrics 'the glo - ri - ous com - pan - y'. The 'Te Deum Fragment' staff shows the lyrics 'the glo - ri - ous Com - pa - ny'.

Figure 43 - comparison of fragments from settings in D of Te Deum

Given the near-complete removal of the one Te Deum and the longevity of the other, it is reasonable to assume that George Combes felt he had written a better Te Deum using some favourite ideas from the first, making that original Te Deum redundant. He was clearly at pains to ensure that it was the improved setting that remained in the active repertoire. It may be that on occasion the new Te Deum was coupled with the Benedictus when that text was wanted.

The extant text of the fragmentary Te Deum is presented here, with the tenor voice for the opening and closing quarters, approximately speaking, joined by the alto for the final passage. There are no significant divergences between the sources in the brief passages for which more than one reading is available.

6.2.2 Benedictus in D

6.2.2.1 Sources

Alto	P18 (f10r-11r)
Tenor	P13 (f20r-f21v), P21 (f10v-11v)
Bass	P24 (f65r-66r)

6.2.2.2 Textual Commentary

Bar	Part	Comment
1	A T B	P13 P18 P24 dsb, dot after barline
1	T	P21 mr, dm
32	T	P13 no sharps
37 – 40	T	P13, P21 repetition of text with notes erased
107	A	P18 3 rd note begins a new line and is not sufficiently distinct – it could be a g
122	T	P13 1 st note no natural
163	T	P13 notes slurred, no ‘and’
171 – 176	A T B	The dissonant harmonies here are as they appear in the sources
178	T	P13 m, mr

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6.2.3 Early Sanctus and Kyrie in D

6.2.3.1 Sources

Alto P34 (f3r)

Tenor P21 (f2v)

This is found in just two sources, and has been crossed out in both. The version presented in the main edition can also be found in each of these partbooks. In both books it shares a page with Sanctus in G, which comes before in P21 and after in P34.

6.2.3.2 Relationship to later setting

The Kyrie has substantial similarities to the more widespread setting in D, but includes points of imitation in both sections, rather than just the first. There is also some swapping of voicing between the alto and tenor parts. It is presented here with the alto and tenor parts of the main version underneath, for comparison. The Sanctus is less similar, though the second phrase (beginning 'heav'n and earth) are substantially the same, with some less felicitous part writing adjusted. This can be seen in the fourth and fifth bar of the extract below. Like the Kyrie, it is slightly more extended than the later version.

The image shows a musical score extract for the Sanctus in D, comparing an 'Early version' (top staff) and a 'Late version' (bottom staff). Both staves are in treble clef with a key signature of one sharp (F#) and a time signature of 2/2. The lyrics are written below the notes. The 'Early version' lyrics are: 'Heav'n and Earth are full of the ma - jes - ty of thy Glo - ry'. The 'Late version' lyrics are: 'Heav'n and earth are full of the ma - jes - ty of thy glo - ry:'. The 'Early version' has a longer melodic line in the fourth and fifth bars compared to the 'Late version'.

Figure 44 - extract from alto and tenor parts of two versions of Sanctus in D

Without access to the other parts, it is hard to see how the unusual part writing of the end of the Kyrie was completed. Perhaps awkward moments such as those highlighted here contributed to the reason for a revised version.

6.2.4 Cantate Domino and Deus Misereatur in D

The connection of this set of evening canticles to the Te Deum and Benedictus in D discussed in the introduction to the Services in D, above, is most clearly demonstrated through the doxology. This is shared between the Benedictus and these two pieces, and indeed is missing from the bass part books, presumably with the intention that the singer could turn back to it. As the sources come down to us that is problematic. The Benedictus is a couple of folios earlier in P24, but absent from P22. This may well be an indication of later rebinding of the music. There is a high level of correspondence between these linked sources, with only one musically significant variant.

6.2.4.1 Sources

Alto	P34 (f14v-16v)
Tenor	P13 (f25v-28r), P21 (f59r-60r)
Bass	P22 (f59v-61v), P24 (f68r-69v)

6.2.4.2 Textual Commentary

Bar	Part	Comment
-----	------	---------

6.2.4.2.1 Cantate Domino

28	B	P24 m dm cr, g a A
55	T	P13 2 nd note a
105	A	P34 db
107	B	P22, P24 db

6.2.4.2.2 Deus Misereatur

23	A	m q q
38	All	the repeats are indicated by :s: signs at either end
55	A	P34 dsb cr
62		All The repetition is indicated by the words 'Verse Let the people as before' without notes in all parts.

6.3 Other service music

6.3.1 Versions of Cantate Domino and Deus Misereatur in A

6.3.1.1 Sources

The main version of the evening canticles Cantate Domino and Deus Misereatur is found in a wide spread of sources, the earlier P13, P21, P22, and P24, the late settings collection P23, P26, P27 and P28 with its organ book O22, and in P34. Indeed, it re-entered the repertoire of the Minster choir in the late 20th century. However, an early version can also be found - for clarity, I will refer to this earlier version as version A, and the later, revised one as version B. It appears in the following five sources:

P12 Alto f33v – 34r Anonymous in source. First and last pages only

P13 Tenor f37r – 39r Anonymous in source

P21 Tenor f55r – 56r Folio 55r crossed out, folios 55v – 56r glued together

P22 Bass f56r – 57v

P24 Bass f62r – 63v

The first two of these have only recently come to light, being unattributed in the source and therefore listed as anonymous in the catalogue. All these sources apart from P12 also contain version B (see a similar pattern in P12 in the discussion of the early Te Deum in D). There is evidence of rebinding in these volumes, so the bringing together of both versions (though not consecutively) is not surprising.

That the version B is a revision of, and supersedes, version A is supported by the distribution in the part books. Whilst exact dating is impossible, an examination of the physical appearance of the books and consideration of their contents makes their relative age clear, and this is discussed in more depth in the introduction to the sources. We see that version A only exists in earlier books, generally alongside the other version, whereas the later books only contain version B. That replacement was intended is implied by the two incomplete sources, one where the material has been deliberately made unusable (P21), and the other where its preservation may only be due to the music on the other side of the sheets (P12).

6.3.1.2 Differences between versions

Unlike the case of the two Te Deums in D discussed elsewhere, these are substantially the same piece of music. The later emendations take a few different forms.

1. Completely new material, or sections that only share small motivic ideas.
2. The addition of repetition, sometimes including development, in the later version.
3. Adjustments to part writing within essentially similar passages.

This table gives a structural comparison of the two works, demonstrating the larger scale of the reworking in the numbers of bars, showing key progression within sections, and giving a brief summary of the types of changes involved.

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Table 21 - Comparison of versions A and B of Cantate Domino in A

Bar number (version B)	1 to 23	24 to 41	42 to 56	57 to 72	73 to 90	91 to 114	115 to 149	150 to 171
A bars	16	13	15	13	12	19	30	20
B bars	23	17	15	16	18	24	35	22
A key	A-E	E	A	A	A-D	D	D-E-A	A-E-A
B key	A	A	A	A	A-D	D	D-E-A	A-E-A
Largely same								
Same with repeats	x			x		x		
rewritten			x slight		x	x	x	
largely different		x			x		x	x

Table 22 - Comparison of versions A and B of Deus Misereatur in A

Bar number (version B)	1 to 13	14 to 25	26 to 33	34 to 51	52 to 59	60 to 76	77 to 99	100 to 121
A bars	13	12	8	13	8	17	9	20
B bars	13	12	8	18	8	17	23	22
A key	A		A-b	b	D	D-A-D	A-D	A-E-A
B key	A		A-b	b	D	D-A-D	A-E-A	A-E-A
Largely same	x	x	x		x	x		
Same with repeats				x				
rewritten								
largely different							x	x

There is an obvious difference in the amount of revision of the Cantate Domino and the Deus Misereatur. Whilst there are many changes of detail in the latter, the material is substantially the same apart from the final section and the shared Gloria.

6.3.1.3 New Material

The sections in the Cantate Domino beginning ‘The Lord declared’ (bars 24-41, version B), ‘Praise the Lord upon the harp’ (bb 73-90), ‘Let the sea make a noise’ (bb 115-149) and ‘Glory be to the

Father' (bb 150-171) are substantially different. The Gloria is a completely different piece of music. It is interesting to note the relationship of the evening canticles to the morning set in A major. The Jubilate has a Gloria that is initially the same as version B's, but has a simpler ending, without the dramatic bass flourish. One could speculate about the order of composition of these – was the Jubilate Gloria written after version A, but then expanded in version B, or was it simplified from Version B? The simpler version also provides the conclusion of, and the only choral passage in, *The Lord is King*. The other three adapted sections, two verses and a chorus, have some shared material between versions such as the final section before the Gloria, but are largely new. It is interesting, however, that they often follow the same key patterns, the shift to D major in 'Praise the Lord upon the harp' being particularly distinctive. The major exception is the first verse, where Combes rethinks a section in E early in the piece. This leaves the whole composition without a significant portion in the dominant, which must have been a conscious decision.

6.3.1.4 Repetitions

The most common and distinctive form of repetition is of the final phrase of a section, analogous to the French 'petite reprise'. This adaptation of Combes's music can be seen elsewhere, such as a variety of repeat indicators, some in pencil, in early copies of *Give Sentence O Lord*. The development of this style can be seen in repeat indications written in to copies of version A. There is only one instance in the Cantate Domino, in P22 and P12 on the words 'sing, rejoice and give thanks', that brings them into line with version B at bar 66. It is curious that this has not made it into the other parts. The procedure is more common and consistent in the Deus Misereatur, where two repetitions are marked in all parts. The first is a simple repetition of 'and govern the nations upon earth' in bar 46 (B numbering), that brings the two versions to the same conclusion. The second repeats the final phrase before the Gloria (bar 86, B numbering). Critically, this does not create the modulation back to A major that the extended and varied repeat in version B achieves. This gives a greater sense of tonal completion and balance to the movement, as well as the rounding off provided by the thematic development. Within this development is a final repeat of the developed material.

Other examples of developed repetitions appear in the Cantate Domino, unforeshadowed by repeat indications in version A. One example is the end of the first section, bars 18-23, where an elegant adaptation of the phrase not only serves to round off the section, but also to change the harmonic direction to lead to the newly composed verse, this time remaining in the tonic. There are also smaller repetitions, which serve to strengthen particular points, and to give clearer

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balance to the music. One of the first type is the addition of an opening two chords to produce a more arresting start to the work. In bar 112 an insertion of an extra 'the Lord' serves to make the ending more emphatic, but also provides a phrase structure of 4 bars + 6 bars for the chorus, rather than 4 bars + 5 bars.

This whole section features expansions at the beginning and at the end, though exactly what filled the passages between chorus interjections can only be conjectural, as the organ and upper voices provide most of the material here. Below is a possible reconstruction, combining the length of bars rests indicated in version A with the upper voice material from version B:

This gives phrase structures of:

Table 23 - Phrase structures of 'With trumpets' section of Cantate Domino in A

	Organ	Verse	Chorus+Verse	Chorus	Chorus
Version A	2	5	3	4	5
Version B	5	5	3	4	6

So the structure of the later version is more balanced, though still with somewhat irregular phrase lengths.

The musical score is presented in three systems, each with five staves. The top four staves represent vocal parts: Treble, Alto, Tenor, and Bass. The bottom staff represents the Organ accompaniment. The key signature is A major (three sharps) and the time signature is 3/8.

System 1: The vocal parts enter with the lyrics "With Trum-pets, with Trum - - pets, with". The Organ part begins with a "Verse" section, featuring a sustained bass line and a melodic line in the right hand.

System 2: The vocal parts continue with the lyrics "Trum - pets, with Trum - pets, with Trum - - pets, with Trum-pets, al - so, al -". The Organ part continues with the same accompaniment pattern.

System 3: The vocal parts conclude with the lyrics "so and Shawms: O Shew your-selves Joy - full be - fore the Lord, the King." The Organ part concludes with a final chord.

Figure 45 - editorial reconstruction of 'With trumpets' section of Cantate Domino in A

It is possible that the longer organ introduction was written for the rebuilt organ, installed in 1765 at the end of George Combes' tenure. In the organ book O22 it is marked 'Trumpet'. This is not a stop that was available on the original organ of 1664, so may have been installed in the rebuild by Brice Seed of Bristol, though the exact specification is not known.¹⁷⁵

6.3.1.5 Part writing

The final type of alteration is 'tweaking' of part writing. We are not in a position to know the full extent of this, having only two parts available throughout, and only sections with a third part. It is therefore impossible to tell if a change in a note had a knock-on effect in another part. To take one example, in the fourth bar of version B of the Cantate Domino, which is equivalent to the second bar of version A, the tenor part is ACBB, whereas the old version has AABB; the alto part is ECDE, in the older EEEE. The new reading creates a pleasing contrary motion to the treble part in the tenor and parallel sixths with the alto. Did the composer spot this felicity in the inner parts and change them to enhance the existing treble line, or did the original treble part also have repeated notes – CCBC? This is a question that would have to be addressed in the event of attempting a reconstruction of the earlier version, if that held some appeal. Other emendations can be seen simply as enhancements, such as the tenor passing note in bar 8. There does seem to be a tendency to prefer aligned text in the later version – see bars 11 and 17 as examples, as well as the changed underlay in 13 – but again, this is hard to establish definitively without all the parts.

Whilst the two versions of *Deus Misereatur* are structurally closer, there are a significant number of adaptations to the part writing, often involving more ornamented writing (for example bars 44–47, in version B). Some of these clearly indicate changes in the parts we do not have. One example would be bar 19, where the older tenor part would be in octaves with the treble unless the latter were different. That being said, there is a glaring instance of consecutive fifths between tenor and bass at bar 28, and there is no particular reason to judge the harmonic language of this music by the values of undergraduate Bach chorale harmonisations. Be that as it may, it offended the sensibilities of Wimborne enough to be removed at the revision. Another is a particularly telling moment in version B at bar 58. Here, the second appearance of the words 'let all the people praise thee' the treble line of version B rises to an E, making an effective moment of climax.

¹⁷⁵ Matthews, *Organs and Organists*, 10. See also DHC, *PE-WM/CW 1750-1765*

Whilst the treble line of A is conjectural, this gesture does not sit well with the tenor part as it appears here.

6.3.1.6 Conclusion

There is no suggestion in the sources that the revisions were undertaken by anyone other than George Combes, and the presence of the later version in relatively early sources backs that up (see the discussion of the possibility of Richard Combes copying P23, P26, P27 and P28 elsewhere). This is a clearer situation than in some of the anthems, where some details of performance style such as rhythmic alterations may be the result of other performers' input over the years. For modern performers, the choice of version is not a difficult one. Firstly, only the later version can reliably be reconstructed. Secondly, the source situation clearly shows a preference for the later version, with one example of the earlier being crossed out (see a similar situation with the two *Te Deums* in D), and another only preserved for the sake of the music on the reverse side. This preference is continued in the copying into the later services books, P23, P26, P27, and P28. Thirdly, it would seem that the aim of the revisions was to give the work greater balance and interest, as well as correcting some inelegant moments. I would argue that it is successful in this attempt. However, it is interesting to see the development in Combes' compositional style, and there are some moments where the early version has much to commend it, such as the first verse section of the *Cantate Domino*. From a biographical standpoint, is it tempting to wonder whether Combes' stay in Bristol may have given him opportunities and exposures to develop his musical style, leading to this revision. Indeed, it is hard to imagine that his musical horizons did not broaden in Bristol, as discussed in the chapter on the Friendly Society. However, he had a wealth of excellent musical examples at his disposal within the Wimborne part books, so we can not tie these things together so neatly.

The work is presented here as fully as possible, with all three parts presented where they are extant. No further reference to version A is made in the critical commentary to version B, which only deals with inconsistencies within that version.

6.3.2 Communion in G

This set consists of a Kyrie and Nicene Creed, found together, in that order, in four early sources, and in the reverse order in one other. There is one additional appearance of the Kyrie alone. The Sanctus in G presented in the main edition is not linked to these movements, possibly indicating a different liturgical usage at the time of composition (see discussion in the introduction to Services in the main Critical Commentary)

6.3.2.1 Sources

Alto	P12 (f43v-45r), P18 (f11v-12v)
Tenor	P13 (f19r, Kyrie only), P21 (f11v-13r)
Bass	P22 (f28v-29v), P24 (f24r-25r, Creed first)

The upper outer corner of the two folios of P24 is torn away, obscuring a number of bars.

6.3.2.2 Notation

Barring is irregular across the sources, but each includes the use of two minim bars, adopted here. A flat sign is often used to indicate an F natural, particularly in the Creed in P22.

6.3.2.3 Textual Commentary

Bar	Part	Comment
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6.3.2.3.1 Creed

1	B	P24 mr, m
27	B	P24 e B
67	A	P12 f' # f' # f' #, first sharp shows attempt at erasure, P18 f' f' # f' # Neither fits with the harmony, and they have been corrected here, though this solution cannot be considered ideal.
67	B	P24 b a a
96	B	P24 1 st note no accidental
153	A	P12 breve

6.3.3 Communion in G minor

6.3.3.1 Sources

This setting is found in four early partbooks, at the ends of sections of service settings by Combes.

Alto P34 (f10r)

Tenor P13 (f47r), P21 (f31v)

Bass P22 (f85r)

Moments of unusual harmony, such as bars 5 and 14 of the Sanctus and the first two bars of the Kyrie are presented as they appear in the sources. It may be that these infelicities led to the pieces dropping out of use, or perhaps lack of use meant that errors went uncorrected. Either way, the fact that these pieces were not further copied in the partbooks indicates less longevity than other settings.

6.3.3.2 Textual Commentary

Bar	Part	Comment
-----	------	---------

6.3.3.2.1 Sanctus

17	T	P13, 2 nd note d'
----	---	------------------------------

6.3.3.2.2 Kyrie

10	ATB	All sources lack a dot on this note.
----	-----	--------------------------------------

11	T	P21, 2 nd note g
----	---	-----------------------------

20	ATB	All sources lack a dot on this note.
----	-----	--------------------------------------

6.4 Psalms

A number of metrical psalm tunes by Combes are found in the earlier part books, as well as a large number in the manuscript score P19, and two settings in the five books of metrical psalms and hymns, O11 – O12 and O18 – O20. Some of these are clearly marked as by George Combes in the manuscripts, and are therefore listed in the catalogue, but there are a number of unattributed copyings, and some complete tunes where it might be reasonable to make an attribution to Combes. Those with a definite or reasonably secure attribution to Combes are presented musically as far as they are preserved. It is quite possible that a number of other tunes in the part books may well be by Combes, but the tendency of the copyists not to ascribe names to the psalm tunes means that there can never be a final answer to the question.

6.4.1.1 Location and attribution

The table below shows the location of all instances of psalm tunes that can be securely attributed to Combes, including details supporting the attribution. This gives considerably more readings than listed in the catalogue.

Table 24 - Psalms and their attributions in the partbooks

Psalm	Part	Book	Location	Attribution
15	B	O11	p3	Combes in pencil
15	T	O12	P2	Anon - fits with other part
15	T	O18	p2	Anon - fits with other part
15	A	O19	p2	Anon - fits with other part
15	A	O20	p3	Anon - fits with other part
40	A	P12	f80v	Anon - fits with other parts
40	T	P13	f95r	George Combes
40	T	P21	f144v	George Combes
40	B	P24	f133v	George Combes
95	T	P13	f96v	George Combes
95	B	P22	f116v	George Combes
105	T	P13	f98v	George Combes
105	T	P21	f114v	George Combes

Psalm	Part	Book	Location	Attribution
105	B	P24	f135r	George Combes
108	B	O11	p18	Anon - fits with other parts
108	T	O12	p26	Combes in pencil
108	T	O18	p22	Coombs in pencil
108	A	O19	p26	Anon - fits with other parts
108	A	O20	p21	Anon - fits with other parts
108	B	P22	f118r	George Combes
124	A	P12	f80r	Anon - fits with other part
124	T	P13	f95v	George Combes
124	T	P21	f144r	George Combes
124	B	P22	f117v	Anon - fits with other parts
124	B	P24	f131r	Anon - fits with other parts
137	T	P21	f114v	Anon - fits with other part
137	B	P22	f12r	George Combes

Table 1 – Psalm source distribution

A case could be made for attributing some other psalms to Combes, where two or three tunes are found, one after the other in the same hand, with initials placed only above the first one, such as in the figures below. Three identical appearances (in P13 f95r, P21 f114v, and P24 f113v) give us two parts of a setting of Psalm 139.



Figure 46 - P13 f95r, showing two psalm tunes with one attribution to Combes

Figure 47 - P24 f135r, showing three psalm tunes with one attribution to Combes.

This is problematic in the second image, however. Here three tunes are entered in the same hand, but the middle one forms a suitable bass line to the melody now associated with *O Worship the King, all Glorious Above*, but first found in *A Supplement to the New Version of Psalms* in 1708.¹⁷⁶ A complementary alto part is found in P34, f10v, a book with a great prevalence of Combes's music. This precise harmony has not been found elsewhere, so could be Combes's version. There is another unattributed arrangement of this melody in Combes' published collection of psalms that similarly may be his.¹⁷⁷ However, this casts doubt upon the strength of attributing these items to Combes, and as such they are not included in the edition.

6.4.1.2 Style and usage

The liturgical usage of these at Wimborne is unclear, and could benefit from further study. It is noteworthy that it is the earlier partbooks that contain these items as well as books that were clearly still in use in the mid-19th century (see *The Music Collection at Wimborne* for details of dating). Their absence from the later partbooks does not necessarily imply a gap in usage, but could well be down to books becoming more specific in their contents.

The musical style, insofar as it can be deduced from these partial sources, is simpler than that of Combes' published collection of Psalms. This may indicate different usage, liturgical rather than devotional, or a change in compositional perspective. The setting here that stands apart is that of Psalm 124. As well as setting two verses to different music, it has small points of imitation, reminiscent of 'fuguing tunes'.¹⁷⁸

6.4.1.3 Psalm 108

The only correlation between the manuscript and published psalms is 108, which appears in a different, more ornamented version in print. This does give us a version of the melody, otherwise missing in the partbooks, although comparison with the styles of the other parts would suggest that the original melody would have been simpler in style. A suggested version is presented here, in small print.

¹⁷⁶ William Croft, *A Supplement to the New Version of Psalms by Dr Brady and Mr Tate* (Savoy: John Nutt, 1708).

¹⁷⁷ See discussion in the Psalms section of the main Critical Commentary. Coombes, *Twenty Psalm Tunes*

¹⁷⁸ Sally Drage 'The Performance of English Provincial Psalmody C1690-C1840' (PhD thesis, University of Leeds, 2009); Nicholas Temperley and Sally Drage, *Eighteenth Century Psalmody* (London: Stainer and Bell for the Musica Britannica Trust, 2007).

6.4.1.4 Text

The texts of first verses are given in the sources, with the likely intention that the rest of the psalm would be sung from printed text copies of the psalter, although the more extended Psalm 124 sets the first two of four verses. Most of those in the earlier books are found in the *The Whole Book of Psalms Collected into English Metre* by Sternhold and Hopkins. The exception is Psalm 137, from *New Version of the Psalms of David*, first published in 1696 by Nahum Tate and Nicholas Brady. This is indicated in P24 as 'New Version'. The new version predominates in the specific psalm books, with the two examples by Combes using that text. An interesting anomaly is the one crossover between the two manuscript groupings, and also with the published psalms. Psalm 108 appears in an early book, P22, and in the later psalm books. In P22 the words are from Tate and Brady, in the later books (and the publication) they are from Sternhold and Hopkins, by lucky coincidence with the same metre. For comparison, I have presented the older version in the bass part here, and the newer in the upper parts.

Sternhold and Hopkins was used in Combes's Bristol publication of psalms, though the setting of Psalms 137 in these manuscripts is unrelated to the published one.

There are a number of errors in the text – they are presented here as they appear in the manuscript, with erroneous words indicated by italics, and omissions by square brackets. The originals are given below.

Psalm 15 Tate and Brady

Lord, who's the happy man that may
to thy blest courts repair?
Not, stranger-like, to visit them,
but to inhabit there?

Psalm 40 Sternhold and Hopkins

I waited long and sought the Lord,
and patiently did bear;
At length he did to me accord
my voice and cry to hear.

Psalm 95 Sternhold and Hopkins

O Come let us lift up our voice,
and sing unto the Lord;
In him our rock of health rejoice
let us with one accord:

Psalm 105 Sternhold and Hopkins

Give praises unto God the Lord
and call upon his Name;
Among the people all declare
his works to spread his fame:

Psalm 108 Sternhold and Hopkins

O God, my heart prepared is,
my tongue is likewise so:
I will advance my voice in song,
that I thy praise may show,

Tate and Brady

O God, my heart is fully bent
To magnify thy name;
My tongue with cheerful songs of praise
Shal celebrate thy fame.

Psalm 124 Sternhold and Hopkins

Now Israel may say, and that truly,
If that the Lord had not our cause maintained,
If that the Lord had not our right sustained,
When all the world against us furiously
Made their uproars, and said, we should all die.

Then long ago they had devoured us all,
And swallowed quick, for ought that we could deem;
Such was their rage, as we might well esteem
And as the floods with mighty force do fall,
So had they now our lives e'en brought to thrall.

Psalm 137 Tate and Brady

When we, our wearied limbs to rest,
sat down by proud Euphrates' stream,
We wept, with doleful thoughts oppressed,
and Zion was our mournful theme.

6.4.1.5 Textual Commentary

Psalm, bar Part Comment

15	T	The title 'Oxford', in pencil, has been crossed out and replaced by 'Lincoln'
15, 6	T	O12, O18 have 'soft' in place of 'verse'
15, 13	B	O11 m
108	A T	O12, O18, O19 and O20 have evidence of considerable alteration
108, 7	A B	O19, O20, P22 sb
108, 11	T	O12 sb
108, 14	B	P22 m
124	A	Various passages are illegible in the source with bleaching in the gutters of the lower part of the page obliterating the ends of lines.
124	T	Note lengths at phrase ends inconsistent. Reading from P21 presented here.
124	B	P24 is written in C minor. The following variants are given as if transposed to D.
124, 24	B	P24 c d e. The higher notes given in P22 are written here and crossed out.
124, 51	B	P24 c d e. The higher notes given in P22 are written here, smaller.

Chapter 7 Conclusion

This thesis has illuminated the rich musical life of a provincial Dorset town in the 18th century. It has brought out details of the lives of musicians, their interconnectedness, social status and education; highlighted the remarkable independence of the institution whilst acknowledging its relationship to regional centres; demonstrated the cultural focus it provided to the area; and provided a balance to the prevailing narrative of decline in liturgical music.

The findings presented here paint a picture of a vibrant musical community, standing out in its region and era for its distinctive offering. The musical traditions of Wimborne Minster recovered swiftly from the depredations of the puritan era, and continued with vigour through the eighteenth century, when cathedral music was often neglected. Whilst the rest of Dorset and the wider West Country lived on a diet of metrical psalms and church bands, the Minster alone enjoyed a fully choral style of service. The roots of this lay in the historic support of the Governors of the Minster, who displayed consistent support for the musical institution.

This relative isolation led to a distinctive pattern of choir membership, with strong family links being seen over long periods. This research demonstrates that the adult members of the choir were almost exclusively former choristers, and many choristers were sons of the older singers. The makeup of the choir consisted of the 'middling sort', merchants and craftsmen for whom the choir was useful additional income as well as affording social standing in the town. The children of this class benefitted from the education and income the choir provided.

The detailed picture of the age profile of the choir that has been built up from the richness of the records, and their centralisation on the Minster, shows longer periods in the choir and an older average age than is found in the present day. This in part explains the ability of a choir to function with four singing boys, the oldest of whom would have had considerable experience.

This study, whilst focussed on the mid-18th century, also investigates the composition of the choir to the middle of the 19th. This timeframe approaches a significant shift in the musical provision of the Minster. In the latter half of the 19th century the choir expanded in size considerably, greatly changing in character. The shift from the professionalism of the earlier choir to the larger, more inclusive nature of the later group, and how it fell more closely into line with national trends, could provide fertile ground for investigation.

Although findings show that the membership of the choir was very largely locally sourced, this was generally not the case with the organists. They brought experience from Salisbury and Winchester or, in the case of George Combes, gained it in Bristol later in his career. This outside

influence may be considered a factor in the diverse and often challenging repertoire found in the Minster partbooks, which supports the assertion that the choir was operating at a high level. While the distinctiveness of Wimborne's offering has been stressed, it is clearly part of a wider musical world, and its vibrancy at this period must contribute to a judgement on the state of liturgical music more widely.

The detailed examination of the music collection held in the Chained Library has brought out details of dating and kinship that begin to bring order to a distinctively disorderly collection. This is the result of very many years of practical use, and provides a fascinating insight into the performing and liturgical life of an institution. A sense of the relationships between books is essential in approaching an edition of the works contained uniquely in them, and informs the edition of the works of Combes presented here.

A number of details examined here remain elusive. The precise usage of the modified form of the Sanctus is a prime example of this. The appearance of settings of this type in the Wimborne books is distinctive, but a wider usage is indicated by the appendix to Boyce's *Cathedral Music*, Volume III, and by the ordering of movements in Novello's *Cathedral Choir Book*. A focussed study bringing in manuscripts from more sources would be needed to resolve this issue. Another is the place that metrical psalms played within the largely cathedral style liturgy of Wimborne. The dedicated books of metrical psalms in the Chained Library offer a window into the development of hymnody from its origins in psalm settings that would benefit from further study.

An essential piece of work that should be undertaken is the revision of the catalogue of the Chained Library music. This thesis has highlighted a number of issues with the work, and identified several previously unidentified copyings of George Combes. A comprehensive overhaul of the catalogue would allow further uncovering of items lost to anonymity and the adjustment of inaccuracies and imprecisions. It could also be made more accessible for the digital age.

This review could also be coupled to a digitisation of the archive, and a suitably formatted catalogue would be an essential part of making a digitised collection. This would allow easier scholarly access without damage to the fragile items in the collection. Furthermore, at the moment the storage conditions of the music are far from ideal and, whilst they are housed in the Minster, they are not readily available to the community. Moving the books to a more suitable facility such as the Dorset History Centre (which holds the extensive archives of the Minster), whilst producing accessible digital copies would solve several problems. The books would be safely conserved, and scholars who need physical access could view them in a suitable, dedicated environment. The facilities available in such a place would allow a more detailed physical

examination of the books. The availability of digital images would allow open access to the wider public, permitting greater engagement with the heritage of the Minster than is currently possible.

These varied ways of approaching the musical tradition of Wimborne Minster all inform an appraisal of the central composer of this thesis, George Combes. He was a man of evident ability as a performer, as demonstrated by his employment at Bristol Cathedral. His legacy as a composer lives on in the active repertoire of the Minster. He has left a varied and singable corpus of works, admirably fitted to the liturgical usage of the church. It provides further evidence of the capabilities of the choir under his leadership, as the demands placed on singers, the soloists in particular, are not slight.

The variants discussed in the Critical Commentary of the works of Combes show patterns of revision and adaption. Some of these are performance aspects that may have emerged through practical experience and the input of his singers. Some are wholesale reworkings of pieces, demonstrating greater maturity in harmonic writing and in structure. Some involve simple tightening of part writing. It is quite possible that some of these did not originate from George Combes himself, but were instigated by his son Richard in his extensive copyings after his father's final departure to Bristol. However, they represent an ongoing performance tradition which had been nurtured by George Combes, and have value to the modern performer approaching these works.

If the dates given in the biography of Combes are correct, he started work at the Minster as a young man, and gained further experience in Bristol before returning for a second period in Wimborne, having never completely lost touch. It is quite plausible that his sojourn in a major centre, and the contact with other musicians that this afforded, helped him in his compositional development. Without more certain dating of the manuscripts there will always be a certain amount of conjecture in that judgement, however.

What is clear, however, is that the concert life of Wimborne was considerably enriched after George's return from Bristol. The annual celebrations of the Friendly Society of Wimborne Minster had always been musical affairs, and an opportunity for the gentry of the area to gather, but their content was relatively humble, with a strong element of the home-grown. From 1760 they took on much more of the character of the musical festivals of larger centres such as Salisbury, Winchester and Bristol. Handel oratorios became a fixture, and instrumentalists and soloists were engaged from a wide area. This highlights the centrality of church musicians to the growing concert and wider cultural life of 18th century England. That George Combes as an individual was integral to this development is indicated by its apparent demise after his final

departure. He must therefore be credited with developing and enhancing a unique musical institution, standing alone as an island of cathedral style music in parochial Dorset.

Appendix A Musical matters from minutes of meetings of the Governors of Wimborne Minster 1659 – 1810

The order of entries is as they appear in the book of minutes, a binding of loose sheets of various sizes.

Illegible words are indicated [...]

Abbreviations are expanded by italics in square brackets

The double ff at the starts of words is transcribed as a capital F

The superscript shilling mark is transcribed as s

Dates are given as in the minute book, observing the Old Style (New Year on March 25th) until the first meeting held with the New Style on 19th January 1753.

Entries starting with ellipses are the first of the meeting, preceded by the standard description of the Governors

Summaries of long entries are given in italics

25/1/1658	<i>reasserting right to play 3 ministers, 3 clarkes, schoolmaster and usher</i>
[...]/4/1661	The same day Robert Higdon formerly chosen to be one of the Clarkes [...] was confirmed in his sayd place, and was allowed to have Foure pounds a yeare for his stipend
	The same day Nicholas Pope the younger was confirmed to be one of the Clarkes of the P[ar]ish Church and was allowed the have Forty shillings a yeare for his stipend.
18/2/1663	This day Mr John Silver formerly chosen to be Organist of the p[ar]ish Church of Wimborne Minster was confirmed to be Organist there for long as he shall make his continuall residence in the p[ar]ish of Wimborne Minster aforesaid and shall performe all such things as are to be performed by an Organist there mentioned in the Letters made to the [...] in that behalf, and shall instruct the Choristers and Singingmen of the sayd Church in the art and skill of Singing. And the sayd Governors doe agree to pay unto him for his Salary in that behalf yearely the [...] of two and twenty pounds by the yeare, so long as he shall performe all [...]
13/10/1671	The said day & yeare Thomas Browne the younger was elected one of the Clerkes of the p[ar]ish Church of Wimborne Minster aforesaid in the Roome & place of Nickolas Pope the younger deceased during our will and pleasure
	The said day & yeare John Willis was elected one of the singingmen of the aforesaid p[ar]ish Church of Wimborne Minster during our will and pleasure
	The said day & yeare Christopher Shipton the younger was elected one of the singing Boyes of the aforesaid p[ar]ish Church of Wimborne Minster during our will and pleasure

Appendix A

15/6/1672	The said day & yeare Henry Pope was elected one of the Clerks of the p[ar]ish Church of Wimborne Minster aforesaid in the roome & place of Nickolas Pope [...] During our will & pleasure
	The said day & yeare Richard Thedham was elected one of the Singingmen of the aforesaid p[ar]ish Church of Wimborne Minster during our will and pleasure
	The said day & yeare Richard Browne Jun[ior] was elected one of the Choresters of the aforesaid p[ar]ish Church of Wimborne Minster during our will and pleasure
23/4/1673	..doe elect & chuse Joseph Oakes a Singingman of the p[ar]ish Church of Wimborne Minster aforesaid & to have St Thomas quarter last; during our wills and pleasures
	The said day and yeare Augustus Smallwell was elected on of the Singingmen of the aforesaid p[ar]ish Church of Wimborne Minster during our will & pleasure & to have Lady Days Salary last
23/4/1677	The said day and year John Silver junr was elected one of the Singing Boys of the p[ar]ish Church of Wimborne Minster in the Roome & place of Francis Browne during our will and pleasure.
19/9/1681	..nominate elect and chuse John Willis of Wimborne Minster aforesaid to be one of the Clarkes of the p[ar]ish Church of Wimborne Minster aforesaid in the Roome and place of Henry Pope Deceased during our will and pleasure.
	The said day and yeare above written the said Governors do nominate elect and chuse Jeffrey Harvey of Hampreston to be one of the Singingmen of the p[ar]ish Church of Wimborne Minster aforesaid in the Roome and place of John Willis during our will and pleasure.
11/9/1682	..do nominate, elect and chuse Christopher Shipton the younger of Wimbourne Minster to be one of the Clarkes of the p[ar]ish Church of Wimbourne Minster aforesaid in the roome and place of Robert Higdon deceased during our will and pleasure.
28/3/1684	..do nominate elect and chuse Robert Higdon to be one of the Singingmen of the p[ar]ish Church of Wimborne Minster aforesaid in the roome and place of Nicholas Chedaw during our will and pleasure
	The said day and yeare the said Governors do elect & chuse Henry Gould to be one other of the Singingmen in the roome and place of William Hill during our will and pleasure
	And it was agreed then and also ordered that 6s 8d a quarter shall be added to the Sallarys of the three Singingmen and 3s 4d a quarter to be added to the Sallarys of each Singing Boy during the Wills & pleasures of the said Governors. And if any of those neglect his duties shall Forfeit loose and pay each of them for each time [...]
17/8/1688	Also the said Governors doe hereby elect and choose Robt Higdon to be Reading or Secondary Clerke in the roome of Thomas Browne
	Also the said Governors doe hereby elect elect and choose James Purchase to be one of the Singing Men in the roome of the said Robt Higdon now made one of the Clerkes aforesaid
	Also the said Governors doe hereby elect choose John Franklyn to be one of the Singing boyes in the roome of James Purchase now made Singing Man as aforesaid
	Mem[oran]dum that all those Elections are only during the wills and pleasures of the said Governors and noe longer. And the several persons elected are to have and receive the accustomed Sallarys allowed by the said Governors.
21/12/1688	Also Edward Guy was chosen one of the Singing boys in the roome and place of Nicholas Bolter [...] who lately run away
21/10/1691	Henry Silver, son of John Silver was then elected one of the Singing boys in the roome & place of Edward Guy lately removed
	John Willis the Son of John Willis was then elected one of the Singing boys in the roome & place of John Brown lately removed
21/12/1693	This day Mr John Silver organist surrendered his patent for the said office during his life at the Sallary of £22 per Annum and he is now rechosen into the said office under the same sallary during our wills and pleasures and noe longer.
21/12/1692	Mr Silver is allowed to receive the Quarters Sallary due this day

10/9/1694	Henry Gould was elected one of the Reading Clarkes of Wimborne Church in the Roome & place of Robt Higden lately dec.d during our wills and pleasures.
	Samuel Harvey was elected one of the Singingmen of the said Church in ye roome & place of Henry Gould now chosen one of the reading Clarkes during our wills & pleasures
14/10/1695	Ordered that Mr Geo: Day our organist have an allowance of forty shillings [<i>per annum</i>] added to his Sallary of two and twenty pounds [<i>per annum</i>] soe that for ye future he shall be allowed four and twenty pounds a yeare during our pleasures payable quarterly.
23/12/1696	William Hazard of Wimborne Minster is chosen one of our Singing Men during our pleasures only, in the roome & place of Jeoffery Harvey lately dec[<i>eased</i>]d
21/12/1697	Ordered likewise that an order made the 25th April last about the Clerkes Singing Men and boyes be for the future duly observed otherwise the penalty to be stopt out of their Sallaries as in the said order is expressed. And if the organist neglect his duty he is to pay 6s 8p for every default.
10/10/1698	<i>arrears of salaries to be paid</i>
	Ordered that Mr Day doe at every meeting for the future give us an acc[oun]t of the absence or other neglect of the Duties of all and every of the Clerks Singingmen & boys belonging to our Church to the intent they may be punished according to an order made the 25 th of April 1697
	Ordered that John ye son of John Willis be discharged from being one of the Singing boys & that William the son of Wm King doe succede him as from Mich[<i>ael</i> m]as last
[...]/11/1699	In pursuance of an order made last meeting that Mr Day should give us an acc[oun]t of the absence and other neglect of the several Clerkes Singingmen and boys the said Mr Day doth now give us this
	The said Mr Day doth now give us this acc[oun]t following.
	That John Willis one of the Clerkes has been absent 5 times [...] At 3s 4d a time is 16 s 8d
	That Christopher Shipton another of the Clerkes has been absent 11 times [...] Is - 1-16-8
	That James Purchase one of ye Singingmen hath been absent 32 times at 1s a time is -1-12-0
	That Sam Harvey another of ye Singingmen hath been absent 4 times - 4s
	That Will Hazard another of ye Singingmen hath been absent 22 times 1:2:0
	Wee having formally examined the above mentioned ? And they having severally confessed themselves guilty though not soo often as they are accused off do now order that the Receiver for this present yeare doo stopp back out of the severall sallaries of the ? abovenamed the one half of the abovementioned forfeiture
	And we doe now order that the order made the 25th of April 1697 be a standing order for the future.
	Att this meeting James Purchase was elected Clerke during our pleasures in the roome and place of Henry Gould dec[<i>ease</i>]d
	Att this meeting John Willis jun[<i>ior</i>] was elected Singingman during our pleasures in the roome and place of James Purchase removed to be one of the Clerks
21/12/1704	Upon complaint made by Mr Swan & Mr Day that the Clerkes - Singing men and boys are very negligent in their respective duties on Sunday & holy days (<i>later underlined</i>), its now ordered that Mr Day keepe ? Of the severall Defaulters for the time to ? And at the next meeting make his Report; ? that every ?failing in his Duty shall for every offence forfeit the sum as following to be Stopt out of their respective Sallaries viz. Each Clerk 3 shillings, 3 pence, each Singing Man 2 shillings, each boy 1 shilling.
	Its now ordered that Mr Day keepe acc[oun]t of the severall Defaulters for the time to [...] and at the next meeting make his Report; [...] that every person failing in his Duty shall for every offence forfeit the sum as following to be Stopt out of their

	respective Sallaries viz. Each Clerk 3 shillings, 3 pence, each Singing Man 2 shillings, and each singing boy 1 shilling.
10/6/1708	That Mr Day be paid the yeares Sallary w[h/]ch will be due to a boys place at Midsomer next vacant by the removall of James Fabeau for the said Mr Day's extraordinary paines & charge in [...] Musick for the Church.
	And we doe now elect and chuse Roger Tilsed jun to be one of the Singing boys in the roome and place of the said James Fabeau, and his Sallary to commence from Midsomer next
4/10/1709	It was ordered that from Mich[aelm]as Day last the three Clerkes Sallarys be advanced from 6:6:8 to eight pounds per annum and the three singingmen from four pounds to five pounds per annum and the four singing boys from forty shillings to fifty shillings per annum and that the Receiver pay them accordingly.
22/11/1710	Att this meeting William Jubbery was elected and chosen a Singing Boy in the Roome and place of Roger Tilsed who is gone to Sea, and his Sallary is to commence from Mich[aelm]as Last
	Ordered that Mr Day be allowed 25s for the last half years Sallary of the said Tilsed (because he left the service at our Lady Day last) in Consideration Mr Day is to prick out two new service books for the Singing boys.
21/11/1711	Att this meeting James Gill one of the Singing Boys was elected and chosen a Singing Man in the roome and place of John Willis lately dec'd and his Sallary to commence from Michas day last past
	And whereas John Willis dyed before our Lady Day so that there is 50s due at Michas last for half a yeare for a Singing Mans place of which we order 20s to Mr Day for his [...] in teaching the boys, and twenty shillings to Roger Gill who is now sitting for a Singing boys place, & ten shillings to Jeremiah Farrar to teach the said Roger and John Barnes who is (now chosen a Singing boy in the roome of James Gill) for to teach them to write.
	Ordered that the organ be repaired not exceeding Twenty pounds & Mr R Russell Mr Wm Russell & Mr Ansty to take care it be done.
22/12/1712	Att this meeting Roger Gill was elected and chosen one of the Singing Boys in the roome and place of Nicholas Watten who is now discharged from the same place by reason his voyce is broke and thereby rendered incapable of doing his Duty And the said Roger is to receive the Sallary of a Singing Boy from this day.
15/10/1713	Ordered the Receiver to pay 12s 6d for a Quarters Sallary due to Roger Gill at our Lady Day last to the Exe[cuto]rs of Mr Day the Organist who instructed him.
	Att this meeting Mr John Fyler was chosen organist during our pleasures in the room of Mr Day dec[ease]d and his Sallary of 25 pound to commence from our Lady Day last
	Ordered that Mrs Day Ex[ecutrix] of her late husband be paid forty 3s for her said husbands books of the Church service for the Organ they being bought and prickd at his charge & there being none belonging to the Church before.
13/9/1714	Ordered that the Dep[uty] Receiver when he pays the three reading Clerks their Sallarys at Michas next do stop out of their sallaries five shillings each and pay the same to Tho: Moones that performed their Duty at Holt Chappell this year past
	This order to continue good from half yeare to half yeare till further order. after the rate of five shillings each per annum
21/12/1715	Ordered that Wm Jubbers one of the Singing Boys whose voice is broke be discharged from this day and that A[...] Thomas doe succeed him in the said place & his salary doe commence from this day
21/12/1717	Ordered that the use of the two seats late Mr Ettricks be allowed to the Organist during our pleasures for his Friends to sitt in without prejudicing our owne right of sitting therein if either of Us thinks fitt.
22/12/1718	William Bezar was elected and chosen a Singing Boy in the roome of John Gill whose voice is broke and so incapable of performing the service any longer
25/9/1719	Att this meeting Roger Willis was elected and chosen one of the Clerks of this p[ar]ish In the Roome and place of John Willis his Father lately dead.
	Att this meeting John Gill was likewise elected and chosen one of the Singing Men of Wimborne Church in the Roome and place of the abovenamed Roger Willis
	Att this meeting likewise John Willis Son of the s[a]id Roger Willis was chosen one of the Singing Boys in the Roome and place of John Barnes

17/6/1720 ¹⁷⁹	William King the younger was elected and chosen one of the Singing Men of Wimbourne [...] in the roome and place of Sam.l Harvey lately dec[eased]d to continue in the said place during our wills and pleasures and his Sallary to commence from Midsummerday next
21/12/1720	Christopher Meader Was elected and chosen one of the Singing Boys in the roome and place of Arthur Thomas
25/9/1722	Will Thorne was this day elected and chosen to be one of the Singing Boys in the Roome and place of Roger Gill
19/3/1725	Nicholas son of Francis Russell, John son of Henry Harwood & Thomas son of Thomas Barwood were at the same time chosen Singing Boys
21/12/1727	Thomas Barfoot is appointed to do the Duty of the Clarkes at Holt Chapple and the Receiver is to deduct 16s per annum Out of the three Clarkes Salary for his allowance.
21/12/1728	At this meeting James King was elected and chosen one of the Singing Boys in the room and place of John Willis
5/3/1729	Att this meeting Wm King - - was elected and chosen to be one of the three Clerks in the room & place of James Purchas lately dec[ease]d and he having performed the Duty his Sallary to Commence from Lady Day last
	Roger Gill -"- was also elected and chosen to be one of the three Singingmen in the room and place of the said W.m King
21/12/1731	At this meeting Roger Son of Roger Willis and Reuben Son of John Gill were elected and chosen two of the Singing Boys in the room of John Harwood & Thomas Harwood
	At this last meeting Wm Willis Son of Roger Willis was also chosen one of the Singing Boys in the room of Nicholas Russell
	Mr Parsons having added a new stop to the Chair Organ and other Extraordinary Repairs thereto, we agree to allow him his Expenses during his Stay here.
21/12/1732	James Gill was chosen to be one of the three Clerks in the room and place of Roger Willis Dec'd
21/12/1734	James King was chosen into the Singingmans place now vacant and his Salary (as such) to commence from this day
21/12/1741	John Gill is elected and chosen one of the Parish Clerks in the Room and Place of Christopher Shipton dec[ease]d and his salary to commence from Mich[ael/m]as Last
	Roger Willis is also elected and chosen Singingman in the room and place of the said John Gill
	Rob.t Gill was elected and chosen one of the Singing Boys in the room and place of Reuben Gill who is now displaced
	Robert Grey is also elected and chosen one of the said Singing Boys in the room and place of Roger Willis removed
21/12/1742	At the same time John Tilsed son of Tho.s Tilsed was chosen one of the Singing Boys in the Room and place of Thomas Willis
21/12/1743	At the same time John Mitchell was elected and chosen to be one of the singing boys in the Room and place of Thomas Gill
6/1/1743	A this meeting Mr George Combes was chosen Organist during our pleasures in the Room of John Fyler dec[ease]d and his salary of £25 per annum to commence from St Thomas' Day last past
20/12/1744	George Oakley Son of Thomas Oakley was chosen one of the Singing Boys in the Room and Place of Robert Grey and his Salary to commence midsummer last
11/3/1747	Peter Fabian son of William Fabian was chosen one of the singing boys in the Room and Place of Robert Gill and his salary to commence from St Thomas' day last

¹⁷⁹ The date 1720 could also be read as 1710, with incorrect binding of sheets – the paper containing this entry is smaller than the surrounding sheets. Either date is plausible for the careers involved.

Appendix A

21/12/1748	Richard Combes son of Mr George Combes our Organist was chosen one of the singing boys in the room and place of John Tilsed who is now discharged
21/12/1751	John son of Joseph King was chosen to be one of the singing boys in the room and place of John Mitchell and his salary to commence from Lady Day last
22/12/1755	William Thorne, son of Wm Thorne of Pamphill, was chosen to be one of the singing boys in the room and place of Richard Combes, son of our Organist who is now discharged
5/2/1757	At this meeting Charles Willis son of Roger Willis cooper one of our singing men, was elected and chosen to be one of the Singing Boys, in the room and place of Peter Fabian, who is now discharged, and his salary to commence from St Tho[ma]s' day last
17/1/1759	At this meeting John Harvey Willis, Son of Roger Willis, one of our singingmen, and John Oakley, son of Richard Oakley, were chosen singing boys in the rooms & places of Richard Oakley, son of Thomas Oakley, and John Coombes, son of Mr Geo: Combes, our organist; and their Salaries to commence from St Tho[ma]s' day last
21/12/1761	Thomas Drewitt son of Mr Sacheverell Drewit is chosen one of the Choristers in the Room and place of Richard Oakley who is now discharged; and his salary to commence from this day
21/12/1763	Rich.d Austen, son of Mr Wm Austen our Register is appointed one of our choristers in the room and place of Wm Thorne whose voice is broken
31/1/1764	At the same meeting George Oakley of Wimborne Minster afores[a]d was Elected and chosen into the Singing Man's place now vacant by the Death of Roger Willis lately deceased, and his salary (as such) to commence from St Thomas Day last past and to continue singing man during our pleasures
21/12/1764	James King Singing Man is elected & chosen to be one of the Clerks of this Church during our Pleasures, and his Salary, as Clerk, to commence from Micha[el]mas Last, and as he has officiated as Clerk since the Death of Wm King his Father, we direct that he shall receive the Salary as Clerk from the Quarter Day next after his Father's Death.
	Richard Oakley is elected and chosen Singingman in the Room and place of James King now elected one of the Clerks
	Ordered that new movable desks be made for the Singing Boys: to be separated and inclosed to [...] free from interruption, from all other persons whatsoever ¹⁸⁰
	Ordered that the Organist do instruct the Singing Boys every Monday Morning & Saturday afternoon, & that he and all the Choir attend the service of the Church {on Sts Days and} every Saturday at Evening Prayer ¹⁸¹
21/12/1765	Mr Richard Combes Son of Mr George Combes - our late Organist (who has lately quitted our Service & his place here & is chosen Organist at Bristol) is at this Meeting elected our Organist here, in the Room of his Father, - under the usual Salary of 25L per annum to commence from this Day & to continue as such, during our pleasure.
	Robert Thacker is chosen one of the choristers of this Church in the room and place of John Oakley who is discharged as unfit, and his salary to commence from this Day.
22/12/1766	John Harvey Willis late one of the Choristers of this Church is elected and chosen to be one of the singing men of this Church in the room of George Oakley who has resigned
	James Oakley, George Dike and Edward Lambert are chosen and elected to be three of the Choristers of this Church in the room of the s.d John Harvey Willis, Thomas Druitt & Richard Austen, whose voices are broken.
21/12/1767	Ordered that Wm Thorne and Isaac Hooper the two Candidates for the place of Singing Man in this Church, now vacant by the Death of Roger Gill late Singing=Man thereof, shall both have Liberty to Sing in this Church & be in a State of Probation for the space of one year from this Day, and then such person of those

¹⁸⁰ The word 'moveable' has been inserted, in the same hand and ink

¹⁸¹ Words in brackets inserted in different ink

	two Candidates which shall be by us thought best & fittest for filling up the place of Singingman, shall at the then next Meeting of this Corporation be chosen Singing Man in the room of the sd Roger Gill and be entitled to be paid the year's Salary as Singing=men, to be accounted from this Day
4/1/1769	At this Meeting George Chorrett (son of Susanna Chorrett Widow) and Joseph Hookey (Nephew of Mr John Snook) are chosen and Elected Choristers of this Church and added to the Number of Choristers already belonging to the Same - & their salary to commence from Saint Tho.s Day last.
	Ordered that Isaac Hooper, a Candidate for a Singing Mans place, do attend our Organist Mr Combes twice a week to be instructed in Singing the Services of the Church until St Thomas Day next, when, if approved of by us as capable he is to be chosen Singing Man of this Church. But his year's Salary to that time is to be paid to our said Organist for his trouble in instructing and qualifying him for such place. But if disapproved of and rejected as incapable - Then our Organist to have such satisfaction only, as we shall think proper.
	Ordered that our s{a}d Organist do buy, for the use of the church a Sett of new Singing Books and do write over the usu{a}l Church Services therein, at and after the Rate of Ten pence per Sheet for the Same-
21/12/1769	At this meeting Isaac Hooper (late in a state of Probation for the place of Singing=man) is now elected and chosen to be one of our Singing=men of this Church of Wimborne,
	Thomas Oliver (apprentice To Ja.s King, one of the Clarks) is now elected & chosen to be one of the Choristers of this Church in the room of Joseph Hookey who is gone out of the parish
	Ordered also that [...] Clarks Singing=men & Choristers do always constantly & regularly attend the publick Services of this Church on pain of forfeiting & paying out of their respective Salaries such Sum or Sums [...] for every Default or Absence, as ye Majority of thier Corporation shall think fitt - and that a Book be kept ye vestry of this Church for ye officiating Minister to enter in ye names of all such persons so making Default, as often as [...] shall so happen.
21/12/1770	At the same meeting John Harvey Willis one of our Singing Men was elected and chosen to be one of the Clarks of this Church during our pleasures & his Salary as Clerk to commence From this Day in the room of Roger Gill dec'd - and his Salary is to commence from this Day. & as he has already officiated as one of our s{a}d Clerks ever since the Death of James Gill our late Clerk, we order that he shall receive ye salary as Clerk from the time of ye Death of the s{a}d James Gill
	<i>This entry is crossed out</i> At the same time Mr John Combes is elected and chosen to be one of the Singing Men of this Church of Wimborne {during our pleasure} in ye Room of ye s{a}d John Harvey Willis, now one of the Clarks thereof & his Salary is to commence from this Day
21/12/1771	It is ordered that no person whatsoever do for the Future presume to sit in the stalls of the choir of Wimborne Church, either above of below the Clerks and Singingmen, (except the Gentlemen of the Corporation only) And that notice be thereof given tomorrow after the morning and after noon service accordingly, by the Clerk in [...], And that James Fabian be ordered to put out of the Choir, and such person or persons so offending
	It is also ordered that James King one of our Clerks be paid, by our Deputy Rec.r the whole Salaries of the two Dec'd Clarks, now remaining due to their representatives respectively from the first Quarter after their Deaths [...] to old Mich{aelm}as past, He having Officiated and performed the Duty of Clark ever since the Death of the other two Clerks – and also ordered that the s{a}d Ja{me}s King shall receive the s{a}d salary [...] to this day.
	Mr George Oakley, late one of our Singing Men, is elected & chosen to be one of the Clarks of this Church during our Pleasure in the room of James Gill and that his salary do commence from this day accordingly, under ye usual allowances.
21/1/1773	At the same meeting George Matthews of the City of Winchester is elected and chosen to be one of the Clarks of this Church during our pleasures, & his salary, as Clark is to commence from St Thomas Day last past
	George Hanniford And Wm Thorne are at this Meeting also elected and chosen into the two Singing Man's places now vacant and their Salarys as such are to commence from St Thomas Day last past and are to continue Singing Men during

Appendix A

	our Pleasure only
	Ordered that the same George Hanniford be paid by our Deputy Rec.r his Salary as Clark during all the time he has officiated as such in this Church
29/9/1773	At this meeting also William Thorne of Wimborne Minster is Elected and Chosen to be one of the Clerks of this Church during our pleasures and his Salary to Commence from Mich{alem}as Day this Instant
21/12/1773	At this meeting George Cherrett and Tho.s Oliver is Chosen and Elected two Singingmen in the Room and place of George Oakley & George Hanniford who has resigned during our Wills and pleasure.
	And at the same Meeting James Hardey John Hiscock & John Harvey is Elected in the room and places of the s{a}d Oliver Cherett & Dyke
21/12/1776	At this meeting John Harvey Willis of Wimborn Minster aforesaid is elected and chosen to be one of the Clerks of Wimborn Church in the room and place of Robert Mathews during our wills and pleasure and his Salary to commence from Mich{alem}as last
	Also at this meeting Daniel Dooson And Robert Harvey are elected and chosen to be two of the Choristers of the said Church in the room and places of John Dooson and James Harvey during our wills and pleasure and their salaries are to commence from this day.
21/12/1778	At this Meeting Richard Tory and William Mitchell are elected as two additional Choristers in Wimborn Church and their Salarys are to commence from Midsummer last past
21/12/1780	At this meeting Charles Tory and Edward Hart Are Elected Choristers into Wimborn Church in the room of William Hiscock and Charles Harvey
	Order'd that John Dooson and W.m Hiscock are to stand as Singingmen for one year in a state of Probation under the usual salary
1/5/1781	At this meeting George Cherrett is elected and chosen one of the Clerks of Wimborn Church in the room and place of John Harvey Willis
21/12/1781	At this Meeting John Dooson & William Hiscock are elected Singingmen into the choir of this Church under the usual Salarys during our wills and pleasure
21/12/1782	At this meeting William Mitchell a Chorister of this Church is dismissed on account of his voice being broken
22/12/1783	At this Meeting Isaac Joy is chosen a Chorister in this Church in the room and place of Daniel Dooson whose voice is broke
21/12/1784	Also at this meeting John Matchem Rich.d Poiter And Will.m Jolly are elected Choristers in Wimbourn Church in the Room and place of Rich.d Tory, Charles Tory and Samuel Joy
21/12/1785	John Bossant is chosen Chorister in Wimbourn Church in the room and place of Edward Hart
	It is agreed at this Meeting that if any Clerk or Singingman shall neglect doing his Duty in the regular service of the Church that he shall be [...] out of his regular salary Sixpence a time for each neglect and amount of which, the Official has undertaken to furnish us with.
20/12/1787	John Lacey James Lambert and Rich.d Poulter three Choristers of this Church resigned and Rich.d Reekes John Reekes and John Church are chosen Choristers in their room and places during our pleasures
22/12/1788	John Harvey is Elected Singingman into the Choir of Wimbourn Church in the room and place of John Hiscock who has resigned and Thomas Elms is elected as a Choirester in the room of John Matcham who has also resigned
21/12/1789	Henry Lacey is Elected Singingman into the Choir of Wimbourn Church in the room and place of James King deceased and John Harvey is chosen in the room and place of the said James King
30/3/1790	It is ordered that the receiver do pay unto Mr. Seed his salary of five pounds for keeping the Organ in Tune and repair for the present year
21/12/1790	Richard Reynolds and John Reeks are elected Choiresters in Wimbourn Church in the room of John Boyant and William Jolly whose voices are broken.
	Also Charles Dyke and Thomas Drew are elected Choiresters in the said Church in the room and places of Samuel Elms and Richard Reeks who have resigned.

	Henry Lacey who was elected a Singingman last Saint Thomas's Day for one year is now Dismissed on Mr Coombes' opinion of his not being competent to that appointment.
	Edward Hart is Elected a Singingman in the said Church for one year in the place of the said Henry Lacey
21/12/1791	It is ordered that the receiver do pay unto Mr. Seed his salary of five pounds for keeping the Organ in Tune and repair for the present year
9/4/1793	It is agreed at this Meeting that if any Clerk or Singingman shall neglect doing his Duty in the regular service of the Church that he shall be [...] out of his regular salary Sixpence a time for each neglect and it is requested of the Officiating Clergyman that they will be so good as to keep an account of the Defaulters and to deliver the same to the Receiver
21/12/1793	It is agreed that John North shall attend the choir as a Singingman for the ensuing year and if he shall at the end of the year be thought competent to that place he shall be paid the usual salary and then be Elected and chosen a Singingman into this Church but if he should not be approved of he shall have no compensation whatever
	John Hooper William Painter and James Hooper are Elected Choristers into this Church in the room and places of Thomas Drew Richard Reynolds and John Church whose voices are broken
	Also at this meeting Edward Hart is Dismissed as a Singingman he having been tried three years and found incompetent to that appointment
22/12/1794	It is agreed that John North a Probationer for a Singingman in this Church is Dismissed as being incompetent to such an appointment
	John Warland is elected a Chorister into this Church in the room and place of William Reeks who has resigned
	Whereas the Duty of the Organist hath been for some time past much neglected through the indisposition of Mr Combes both in the service of the Church and in the Instruction of the Singingmen and Choristers
	It is therefore Ordered that Mr Combes be acquainted that it is the desire of this Corporation that he do in future provide a proper person to Assist him in the Execution of his Office as Organist if he should continue incapable of discharging the Duties of it himself - and the Register is desired to deliver a Copy of this order to Mr Combes
21/12/1795	It is ordered that the Receiver do pay unto John North the Sum of Five pounds as a Compensation for his having stood as a Probationer for a Singingman's Place for the last two years
21/12/1796	Samuel French is chosen a Choirester into this Church in the place of James Hooper who has resigned.
21/12/1797	It is agreed that if Mr Coombes's Infirmitys shall continue until the next Easter Meeting, and he shall not adopt some proper measures for having his Duty as Organist regularly and duly performed to the Satisfaction of the Governors that they will then proceed to the Election of a new Organist and a Copy of this Order is directed to be sent to Mr Coombes by the Register
	It is agreed that no vacancy in the Choir shall be fill'd up until the duty of the Organist is better attended to.
9/1/1798	John Butler and William Ayers Are elected Choristers in the room of John Warland and Charles Dyke
	Also William Reekes and Charles Dyke are elected Singing Men upon probation till St Thomas's Day next
	Mr. Combes having notified his resignation of the Place of organist and Mr William Mitchell having offered to do the Duties of the organist until the next Easter Meeting of the Corporation such offer is accepted, and it is ordered that the organist's Salary be paid to Mr. Mitchell from St Thomas's Day last to said meeting
11/4/1798	Mr Leer as Deputy Recr to Sir James Hanham having by mistake paid Samuel French's Salary for the last year, as one of the Choristers, both to Mr Combes and to French himself, and Mr Combes being intitled to such Salary, it is ordered that the present Receiver do call on French for a Repayment of such Salary; and if not repaid the Receiver is directed to withhold French's Salary for the present year.

Appendix A

	It is ordered that George Chorrett one of the Clerks do on every Saturday previous to the Sacrament Sundays clean in a decent manner the choir & chancel of the Church for which he is to be paid one Shilling each time by the Receiver
	At this Meeting Mr William Mitchell is elected Organist of the Church during our pleasure only at the usual salary of twenty five pounds per annum to commence from St Thomas's day last.
21/12/1799	William Barfoot is elected a chorister on probation till Saint Thomas's Day next in the room and place of John Reeks
5/8/1800	William Reekes is appointed a Clerk of this church upon probation till Saint Thomas's Day next under the usual salary
23/12/1800	John Reeks is appointed Singing man of this church on probation till St Thomas's day next in room of William Reeks who is now confirmed and chosen one of the Clerks
	John Mitchell is elected a Singing Boy in room of William Painter whose voice is broke
21/12/1802	A complaint was made against George Chorrett one of the Clerks and Singingmen for neglect of his Duty at Church
	it is therefore resolved that he shall be removed unless he does his Duty in a more regular manner and obey the orders of the Organist
21/12/1803	George Bobbin John Harvey and James Lacey are elected Singing Boys in the Room and places of David Butter Samuel French and John Hooper
21/12/1804	James Frampton and James Rulhound are elected Singing Boys in the Room and places of James Harvey and Robert Ayres
21/12/1805	A Complaint having been made against John Harvey one of the Clerks and Singing Men of this Church for gross negligence in his Duty he is from this day dismissed from those offices and Charles Dyke one of the Singing Men in chosen Clerk in his room
	John Clench is elected a Singingman on probation until Saint Thomas's next in the room of said John Harvey
	David Lewis is chosen Singing Boy in the place of William Barfoot deceased
	Isaac Hooper being unable to attend his duty in the line as Singing Man he is removed from that office and David Butler is chosen on probation in his room.
	The duty of the Church having been of late much neglected and several irregularities committed by the Organist Clerks Singing Men and Boys we do order that from henceforth for the several offences slated underneath the Sum set opposite to each shall be forfeited and deducted by the Receiver on payment of the Salaries
	For the Organist quitting the Church on a Sunday between the Commencement and the end of Divine Service 0 5 0
	For each of the Singing Men for the like Offence 0 2 6
	For each of the Boys for the like offence 0 1 0
	For each of the Clerks non attendance either at the morning or evening services on a Sunday 0 5 0
	For each of the Singing Men (not being a Clerk) for the like offence 0 4 0
	For each of the Boys for the like offence 0 2 6
	For misbehaviour of any kind by either of the men (including the Clerks) during divine service 0 2 6
	For the same offence by either of the Boys 0 1 0
	For each of the singing men not being ready to attend the Minster when he quits the vestry to go into the quire on a Sunday 0 2 6

	For each of the Boys for the like offence 0 1 0
	The Organist to keep a regular account in writing of the offences for non attendance on a Sunday or for not being ready to attend the minister when he quits the vestry and to render it to the Receiver on Saint Thomas's day yearly or in default thereof a forfeit
	No excuse to be admitted for any of the above forfeiture for non attendance - unless previously allowed by the Official
	The certificate of either the Governors or the Ministers to be conclusive Evidence of any of the offences
	A Copy of these Regulations to be stuck up in the vestry
22/12/1806	James Gray Benjamin North Jun. and Henry Frampton are Elected Singing Boys in the room and places of David Lewis John Mitchell and John Harvey
21/12/1808	Mr J W Blount is Elected Organist of the Church during our pleasures only under the usual Salary in the room of Mr William Mitchell who is removed for neglect of duty
	It is agreed that the next meeting shall be held on Saturday the 14th of January next for the purpose of filling up the vacancies in the Choir
14/1/1809	Smith is elected Singing Boy in the room of James Frampton
21/12/1809	George Rulhound is confirmed in his election as Singing Boy and to receive his salary from Lady Day last and John Crow is elected Singing Boy in the room of Benjamin North
21/12/1810	James Rolesits and John Rulhound are elected Singing Boys in the room of George Belben and James Rulhound and George Belben is chosen Singingman in the room of John Clench and John Mitchell is chosen Singing Boy in the room of John Smith

Appendix B Wills

Richard Combes 1736 - PROB 11/677/6

On the ffiftieth day of May in the Year of our Lord One thousand Seven hundred and Thirti Six A Power was graunted to Mary Chamberlayne Widow the Heiress of the Deceased and Universal Legatee named in the Last Will and Testament of Charles Chamberlayne late of Breanwith in the County of Kent Esquire deceased to Administer the Goods Chaffels and Credits of the said Deceased according to the Tenor of the said Will (There being no Executor Named) She being first sworn sworn well and truly to Administer the Same

In the Name of God Amen Richard Combe

I Richard Combe of Bosthamwood in the Parish of Wimborne Minster in the County of Dorseth Usurian being in good health Understanding (Thanks be given unto Almighty God for the Same) but being far Advanced in Years and calling to Mind the uncertain State of this Mortal Life and that all flesh must yield unto Death when it shall please God to call and being desirous to bestow Things in Order according unto my Mind before I depart this Life do therefore make and declare this my Last Will and Testament in manner and form following (that is to say) first and principally I commend my Soul into the Hands of God that gave it hoping through the Merits of my Saviour Jesus Christ to receive full and free Pardon and forgiveness of all my Sins and inherit Everlasting Life in Glory and my Body I commit to the Earth to be decently Buried in Christian like Manner according to the Direction of my Executors herein after Named And as to such worldly Estate as God in His Mercy hath bestowed on Me I give and bequeath the Same as follows I give and bequeath unto my Son in Law William Bayle and unto Mary his Wife (my Daughter) and unto each and every of his and her Children the Sum of ffive Shillings apiece to be paid unto them by my Executors herein after named I give devise and bequeath unto William Cordry of Wimborne Minster aforesaid and his Executors and Administrators all that my Deceased Household Estate called Culverhays with the Appurtenances thereto belonging which I formerly purchased of William Okeden and William Coker Esqrs both since Deceased Situate dispersedly within the said Parish of Wimborne Minster together with the Cudmire of Dease thereof to Me graunted Upon this Special Trust and Confidence to permit and suffer my Son William Combe to hold and Enjoy the Same and to receive and take the Rents Issues and Profits thereof to and for his own proper Use for so many Years of his Term as shall run out and expire in his Lifetime and from and after his Decease to permit and suffer Elizabeth his now Wife to hold and Enjoy the Same and to receive and take the Rents Issues and Profits thereof to and for her own sole and proper Use for and during so many Years of the said Term therein then to come as shall run out and expire during

the Term of her Widowhood in two: She Survives the said William Combe her now Husband and from and after the Death of my said Son William Combe and the Death or Widowhood of his said now Wife then in Trust to Permit and Suffer with Child or Children of my said Son William Combe to hold and Enjoy the same in such manner and in such Parts Shares and Proportions as do my said Son shall in and by his Last Will and Testament or other Act or Writing by him duly executed and Assessed Signified Direct and Appoint And for Want of such Direction Limitation and Appointment then in Trust to and for the Use of all and every the Child and Children of my said Son William Combe as shall be living at the Time of his Death and the Death of Widowhood of his said now Wife to be equally divided between them part and share alike if more than One) During all the Estate and Term therein then to come and Unexpired Term All the Test and Residue of my Personal Estate that I shall be possessed of or Interposed in Gift and bequeath unto my said Son William Combe Whom I do also Make Ordain and Appoint whole and Sole Executor of this my Last Will and Testament On Witness whereof I the said Richard Combe have to this my Last Will and Testament set my Hand and Seal the four and twentieth Day of August in the Eleventh Year of his Majesty King George over Great Britain at Annoq. Div. 1724 Richard Combe Signed Sealed Published and Attested by the said Richard Combe to be his Last Will and Testament in the Presence of Us Jane Raven. Ann. Raven. W. Austin

This Will

was proved at London On the Third Day of May in the Year of Our Lord One Thousand Seven Hundred and Thirty Six Before the Right Worshipful John Boffesworth Doctor of Laws Master Keeper or Commissary of the Prerogative Court of Canterbury lawfully Constituted By the Oath of William Combe the Son of the deceased and Sole Executor named in the said Will to Whom Administration was granted of all and singular the Goods Chattells and Credits of the said deceased do being first sworn by Commission well and truly to Administer the same

Neil
Campbell

Wholly Resigned

and Submitting to the Will of God I Ensign Neil Campbell of the Scots Brigade Clayton's Regiment do make and Ordain this my Last Will and Testament as follows all and singular my Estate as well Real as Personal Ready Money Bonds Stocks Plate Jewels Goods and Chattells of what kind soever I give and bequeath to my very Good friends in Trust for the following (Outpots) Mr. William Fraser Cobottom of the Strand Mr. Alexander Campbell Taylor in Craven Court in the Strand and Mr. James Campbell Junior in St. Martins Court Sole Executors

William Combes and Ireland being defendant of the said Robert Carter
 signed sealed published and delivered by the said Executor Robert Carter
 as and for his last Will and Testament in the presence of us who at
 the request and in the presence of the said Executor and of each other
 have subscribed our names as Witnesses in the year of Our Lord One

THIS WILL

was proved at London before the Worshipful
 Andrew Collier Esquire Doctor of Laws Surrogate to the Right
 Worshipful John Deane Esquire also Doctor of Laws Master of the
 or Commissary of the Prerogative Court of Canterbury lawfully
 constituted On the fifth day of June in the year of Our Lord One
 thousand seven hundred and fifty One by the Oath of Henry Miles
 one of the Executors named in the said Will to whom Administration
 was granted of all and singular the Goods Chattels and Credits of the
 deceased being first sworn duly to administer (power reserved of
 making the like Grant to Henry Grot and William Palmer the other
 Executors named in the said Will where they or either of them shall
 apply for the same) &c.

William Combes.

In the Name of God Amen

William Combes of Hamborne Hamster in the County of Dorset
 being of sound mind memory and understanding thanks be
 to the ever glorious Almighty God and calling to mind the uncertain
 state of this mortal life do make and declare this my last Will and
 Testament in manner and form following In presence of my Will and desire
 that my just debts and funeral expenses be first paid and discharged
 then I give and bequeath unto Henry my now Wife the sum of twenty
 pounds to be paid her by my Executors In trust hereinafter named
 out of the profits and profits of my household estate hereinafter mentioned
 within two years next after my decease by two equal payments I then
 give unto my son George Combes my silver Ewer and unto my son
 John Combes six silver spoons then I give unto my son Thomas
 Combes all my household Goods and furniture of my house of what
 kind soever then whereas I am possessed of certain household Goods
 called Lincolns and other Goods lying and being within the parish of
 Hamborne Hamster aforesaid for the remainder of two several terms
 of ninety nine years each determinable on my life and the life of
 George Combes my late father deceased of and from Robert Carter
 and William Carter Esquires and being desirous of making a
 competent provision for the maintenance of my daughter Sarah
 Combes (whom it has pleased God to afflict with blindness) during her
 life I do hereby give and bequeath all and singular the said
 household furniture during the said several terms and Estates therein
 and also the sum of three hundred pounds now due and owing unto
 me or to me by John Edwards of Little Bampton in the said County of
 Dorset unto my said two sons George Combes and John Combes and to
 the Executor of them and the Executors and Administrators of them
 Survivor In trust nevertheless to and for the uses intents and

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purpose hereinafter mentioned (that is to say) that they the said George
Combes and John Combes and the survivor of them and the Executors
and Administrators of their Survivors shall pay or cause to be paid unto
my said daughter Sarah Combes out of the Rents and profits of the said
Leasethold premises One Annuity or yearly Sum of twelve pounds by
four equal Quarterly payments in the year to be reckoned from
the time of my decease with which said Annuity or yearly
annual payment I do hereby charge the said Leasethold premises
during the life of my said daughter provided the Rates of Rents
therein shall so long continue and my Will is that the residue
of the Rents and profits of the said Leasethold premises after
payment of my said debts and the said Annuity shall be
from time to time placed out to Interest by my said Executors
the intent that if the above named George or Sarah shall happen
to die during the life of my said daughter or if my said Executors shall
have an opportunity of selling the said Leasethold premises to any
Advantage which they are hereby impowered to do then the said
Executors shall therewith and with the money arising by such sales
or with such part of the said Sum of twelve pounds above
mentioned as may be wanting for that purpose purchase and annuity
of the value of twelve pounds per Annum and settle the same
for the support and maintenance of my said daughter for life
And my Will is and I do hereby further direct that from and after
such provision made for the maintenance of my said daughter
by my said Executors all such Sum and sums of money as shall then be
and remain in their hands or power and all my personal Estates
whatsoever shall go to and be equally divided amongst all my
children living at the time of my decease (other than my said daughter)
part and share alike equally I do hereby make constitute and appoint
my said two sons George Combes and John Combes joint Executors of
this my last Will and Testament hereby revoking all former and
other Wills by me made In witness whereof I have hereunto set
my hand and seal this twentieth day of April in the year of our Lord
1750 the said Wills signed sealed published and declared by the said
William Combes this Executor as and for his last Will and Testament
in the presence of us Nath: Russell John White

This Will

was proved at London before Mr. Justice Goodship full
John Goodwin Esq. Doctor of Laws Master of the High Court of Chancery
of the prerogative Court of Canterbury lawfully constituted on the
Eighth day of June in the year of our Lord One Thousand Seven
hundred and fifty One by the Oaths of George Combes and John
Combes Executors named in the said Will before whom Administration
was granted of all and singular the Goods Chattels and Credits of the
deceased being first sworn by Commission duly to administer

In the Name of God Amen

Peter Crasby of St. James Street in the parish of St. James in
the County of Middlesex, Virtualler Domestic and ordaineth my

Peter Crasby

17 128
Richard
Combes

This is the last Will and Testament of me Richard Combes of Wombourne Minster in the County of Dorset Esquire made the third day of July in the year of our Lord Our King and over hundred and eighty six as followeth First I give and devise all that my house and land with or without dwelling situate in the County of Wombourne Minster aforesaid with the appurtenances unto my dear wife Mary Combes for and during the term of her natural life and then and after her decease I give and bequeath the same unto my Brother John Combes and his heirs for ever PROVIDED nevertheless that if my said Brother shall happen to die in the life time of my said wife and without having any children or child living at the decease of her I will that the share of my said Brother's share and portions to him and his heirs shall be void and in such case I give and devise the same unto my said wife and her heirs for ever then I give and bequeath unto my said Brother the sum of five hundred pounds out of the term for Countersigned to be paid hereafter to him by my Executors as soon as conveniently may be after my decease And in witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and seal at Wombourne Minster in the Manor of Wombourne in the County of Dorset the third day of July 1786 and my said Brother and I have hereunto set our hands and seals the same day and after my decease or after my marriage which shall first happen I give and bequeath the same unto my said Brother for the remainder of my life and after my decease But if the said Testament shall not fall into my possession in my life time then it is my will that immediately after the death or marriage of the said Mary Combes my said Copyhold tenement shall be sold and the proceeds by my said wife and Brother equally shared and then after during the life time of my said wife and after her decease I give the whole and part of unto my said Brother for all my estate and interest therein then I give and bequeath unto my said Brother the sum of five pounds to be paid within one month after my decease and also one annuity or yearly sum of five pounds to be paid to him for of all his children during the joint lives of himself and of my said

wife and where I shew in my said will and testament
in the Com sheweth the first payment thereof to be
made within twelve months after my death in
year of Sir and Bequith into my said
Brother all the several instruments and things
shall be disposed of or intailed to at the time
of my death. Item all my household goods
and furniture shall since and since I give
unto my said wife and Brother equally to be
divided between them part and share after
the all the rest and residue of my personal
estate of what nature or kindsoever I give and
bequeath unto my said wife to and for her sole
use and benefit and I do hereby constitute and
appoint her the sole executrix of this my last
will and testament hereby writing all former wills
by me made in witness whereof I the said Richard
Combe have unto set my hand and seal the
day and year first above written. Richard Combe
Witness said Richard and Richard of the said
testament in the presence of us who in his presence
and in the presence of each other have subscribed
our names do witnessed thereto. John Deane
Apote. 1 16 Decem. 1611 Wm. Colesman

Whereas I have in and by my will above
written given and bequeathed unto my dear wife
Joan Combe and to my Brother John Combe
all my household goods and furniture shall since
and since equally to be divided between them part
and share after my death and I have said that the
said bequest shall be null and void and I do
hereby give and bequeath my said household
goods and furniture shall since and since unto
my said wife to and for her sole use and
benefit and I do hereby ratify and
confirm my said will in all other respects and in
witness whereof I have unto set my hand and seal
the twentieth day of August 1611. Richard Combe
Witness said Richard and Richard of the said
testament in the presence of us who in his presence
and in the presence of each other have subscribed
our names do witnessed thereto. John Deane
Apote. 1 16 Decem. 1611 Wm. Colesman

This Will was proved at London with a
good and sufficient day of January in the year of

our Lord One thousand eight hundred and two before
the Right Honorable Sir William Wynne Knight
Baronet of Llangatwg Castle Sheriff of Glamorgan and
the Honorable Court of Exchequer sitting in
Parliament by the Order of the King. Wherefore we do
the Sheriff of the Shire and said Court in
names in the Will to whom Administration was
made Grants of all and singular the Goods
 Chattels and Cattle of the said Edward having
ever first taken by Commission duly to Administer

This is the last Will
 and Testament of me William Chapell of Plymouth
 Dorch in the County of Devon Merchant made this
 twentieth day of July One thousand seven hundred
 and ninety eight Suppliment to a Sub and Bequest
 unto my Dear Wife Martha Chapell my
 affectionate wife whom I love and in Plymouth
 Dorch at present and also the gift of all my
 Estate and China Household Goods and Furniture
 by any Act and Description or otherwise with as
 is herein after otherwise specifically expressed
 to hold the said Real Estate with the appurtenances
 and also the said Plate Silver China Household
 Goods and Furniture shall become a part of my
 ordinary Estate of what Estate and China
 Household Goods and Furniture I shall that an
 Inventory shall be made and be signed by my
 said wife and my Executors and Executors hereafter
 after my death immediately after my death then
 I give that the sum of thirty pounds for one year
 last past and for ever to be paid on by me and my
 wife John and William Dodge under the firm of
 Chapell and Dodge to be continued by the said
 William Dodge under the same firm and that
 he do take the said account with my Executors
 and Executors hereafter agreed for all the
 outstanding debts due to my firm and to the
 said John and William Dodge to him the said
 said sum of thirty pounds upon condition that he do pay
 out of the profits of the said business unto my
 said wife Martha Chapell one annuity of yearly
 sum of one hundred and fifty pounds of lawful
 money of Great Britain that of all dividends
 whatsoever by equal half yearly payments
 during the natural life of the said so long
 continue my said wife But in Case by the death
 of the said William Dodge or the failure of the
 said business or any suspension of the said
 annuity of yearly sum of one hundred and fifty

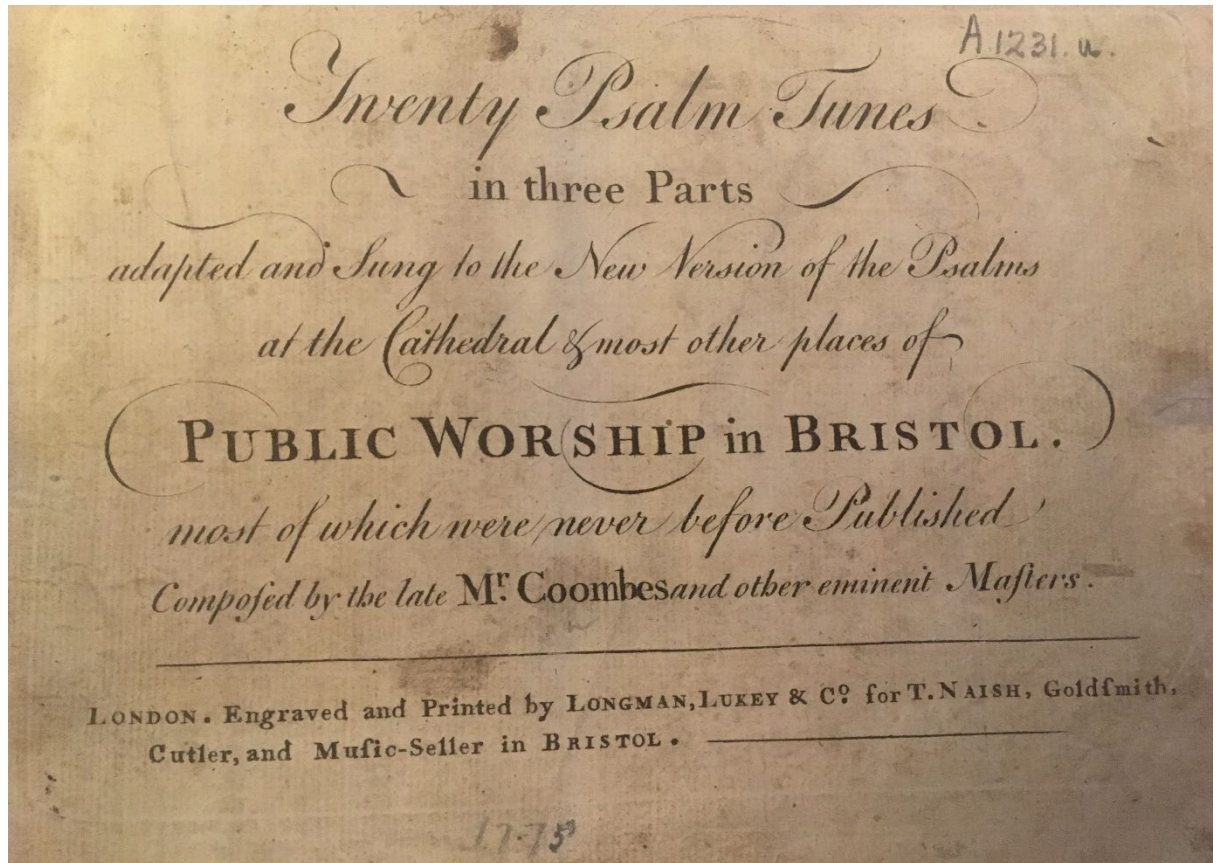
William
Chapell

A unto my dear wife
Whether I shall live my whole
life if that shall so long
remain my widow and not
otherwise upon the Condition
that shee shall permit my first
Daughter to reside in the
said house until shee having
been bound to her still in
respective, remain single and
independent and from and
after the date or expiration
of my said will I Grant that
the said Doolinghouse shall
remain in the hands of
Goods and furniture

Appendix C Twenty Psalm Tunes

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The front endplate bears the signature of Samuel Wesley



PSALM XLII. C. M. 1

piano

2d As pants the Hart for cool-ing Streams, When heat-ed in the Chafe;

Air As pants the Hart for cool-ing Streams, When heated in the Chafe;

Basso

As pants the Hart for cool-ing Streams, When heated in the Chafe;

piu *forti* *:S:*

So longs my Soul, O God, for thee, And thy re-freshing Grace.

So longs my Soul, O God, for thee, And thy re-freshing Grace.

So longs my Soul, O God, for thee, And thy re-freshing Grace.

2 PSALM XXI. C. M. Mr. Coombes.

1/2

2d The King, O Lord, with Songs of Praise, Shall in thy Strength rejoice;

Air The King, O Lord, with Songs of Praise, Shall in thy Strength rejoice;

Basso

The King, O Lord, with Songs of Praise, Shall in thy Strength rejoice;

:S: *ma* *fort* *:S:*

With thy Sal-va-tion crown'd, shall raise To Heav'n his chearful Voice.

With thy Sal-va-tion crown'd, shall raise To Heav'n his chear-ful Voice.

With thy Sal-va-tion crown'd, shall raise To Heav'n his chear-ful Voice.

PSALM CV. C. M. Mr Coombes. 3

2d O ren-der Thanks, and blefs the Lord; In - voke his fa - cred Name;

Air O ren-der Thanks, and blefs the Lord; In - voke his fa - cred Name;

O ren-der Thanks, and blefs the Lord; In - voke his fa - cred Name;

Ac - quaint the Na - tions with - his Deeds, His matchlefs Deeds pro - claim.

Ac - quaint the Na - tions with - his Deeds, His matchlefs Deeds pro - claim.

Ac - quaint the Na - tions with his Deeds, His matchlefs Deeds pro - claim.

4 PSALM C. L. M. 4

2d With one consent let all the Earth To God their chearful Voices raise; Glad homage

Air With one consent let all the Earth To God their chearful Voices raise; Glad homage

With one consent let all the Earth To God their chearful Voices raise; Glad homage

pay with awful mirth, And sing before him Songs of Praise, and sing be - fore him Songs of Praise.

pay with awful mirth, And sing before him Songs of Praise, and sing be - fore him Songs of Praise.

pay with awful mirth, And sing before him Songs of Praise, and sing be - fore him Songs of Praise.

1210 PSALM XXII. C. M. W^m B. 5

2^d My God, my God, why leav'st thou me, When I with An - guish faint?

Air My God, my God, why leav'st thou me, When I with An - guish faint?

My God, my God, why leav'st thou me, When I with An - guish faint?

Pia. For.

O why so far from me re - mov'd, And from my loud - complaint?

O why so far from me re - mov'd, And from my loud - complaint?

O why so far from me re - mov'd, And from my loud - complaint?

6 PSALM LXV. C. M. 1212 W^m B.

2^d Let all the Earth, with shouts of Joy, To God their Voi - ces raise; Sing

Air Let all the Earth, with shouts of Joy, To God their Voi - ces raise; Sing

Let all the Earth, with shouts of Joy, To God their Voi - ces raise; Sing

For

Psalms in Hon - our of - his Name, And spread his glo - rious Praise.

Psalms in Hon - our of - his Name, And spread his glo - rious Praise.

Psalms in Hon - our of - his Name, And spread his glo - rious Praise.

Piano PSALM LXXXIX. L. M. Wm B. 7

2^d Thy Mercies, Lord, shall be my Song; My Song on them shall e - ver dwell;

Air Thy Mercies, Lord, shall be my Song; My Song on them shall e - ver dwell;

af Thy Mercies, Lord, shall be my Song; My Song on them shall e - ver dwell;

Pia. For.

To A - ges yet un - born my Tongue Thy ne - ver fail - ing Truth shall tell.

To A - ges yet un - born my Tongue Thy ne - ver fail - ing Truth shall tell.

To A - ges yet un - born my Tongue Thy ne - ver fail - ing Truth shall tell.

8 *Mia* PSALM LXXV. C. M. Wm B. 8

2^d To thee, O God, we render Praise, To thee with Thanks re - pair;

Air To thee, O God, we render Praise, To thee with Thanks re - pair;

Basso To thee, O God, we render Praise, To thee with Thanks re - pair;

Mia For, that thy Name to us is nigh, Thy wond' - rous Works de - clare.

For For, that thy Name to us is nigh, Thy wond' - rous Works de - clare.

For, that thy Name to us is nigh, Thy wond' - rous Works de - clare.

9

Alia PSALM XCV. L. M. *H. Carey*

2^d O come, loud Anthems let us sing, Loud Thanks to our al-migh-ty King:

Air O come, loud Anthems let us sing, Loud Thanks to our al-migh-ty King:

Boys O - come, loud Anthems let us sing, Loud Thanks to our al-migh-ty King:

Alia For we our Voi-ces high should raise, When our Sal-va-tion's Rock we praise.

For For we our Voi-ces high should raise, When our Sal-va-tion's Rock we praise.

For we our Voices high should raise, When our Sal-va-tion's Rock we praise.

10

Alia PSALM CXLVI. C. M. *Whitman*

2^d O Praise the Lord, and thou, my Soul, For e - - - ver bless his Name: His

Air O Praise the Lord, and thou, my Soul, For e - - - ver bless his Name: His

Boys O Praise the Lord, and thou, my Soul, For e - - - ver bless his Name: His

won - - drous Love, while Life shall last, My con - - - stant praise shall claim.

won - - drous Love, while Life shall last, My con - - - stant praise shall claim.

won - - drous Love, while Life shall last, My con - - - stant praise shall claim.

PSALM CVI. L. M. W^m B. 11

2^d O render Thanks to God - a - bove, The foun-tain of e - ter - nal Love;

Air O render Thanks to God - a - bove, The foun-tain of e - ter - nal Love;

Baritone O render Thanks to God - a - bove, The foun-tain of e - ter - nal Love;

Soprano Whose Mercy firm thro' A - - ges past Has stood, and shall for e - - ver last.

Alto Whose Mercy firm thro' A - - ges past Has stood, and shall for e - - ver last.

Bass Whose Mercy firm thro' A - - ges past Has stood, and shall for e - - ver last.

12 PSALM XIII. C. M. M^r Coombes. 12

2^d How long wilt thou for - - get - me, Lord? Must I for e - - ver mourn? How

Air How long wilt thou for - - get - me, Lord? Must I for e - - ver mourn? How

Baritone How long wilt thou for - - get - me, Lord? Must I for e - - ver mourn? How

Soprano long wilt thou with-draw from me, Oh, ne - - ver to re - turn?

Alto long wilt thou with-draw from me, Oh, ne - - ver to re - turn?

Bass long wilt thou with-draw from me, Oh, ne - - ver to re - turn?

11.12 PSALM CXVI. C. M. *Dr. Heighington* 13

2^d My Soul with grateful thoughts of Love, In-tire-ly is - pos-est; Be-

Air My Soul with grateful thoughts of Love, In-tire-ly is - pos-est; Be-

My Soul with grateful thoughts of Love, In-tire-ly is - pos-est; Be-

Pizz *For t* cause the Lord vouchsaf'd to hear The Voice of my - Re-quest.

cause the Lord vouchsaf'd to hear The Voice - - of my - Re-quest.

cause the Lord vouchsaf'd to hear The Voice - of my - Re-quest.

14 *Pizz* PSALM CXLVII. C. M. 13

2^d O Praise the Lord with Hymns of Joy, And ce - - lebrate his Fame! For plea - - sant,

Air O Praise the Lord with Hymns of Joy, And ce - - lebrate his Fame! For plea - - sant,

O Praise the Lord with Hymns of Joy, And ce - - lebrate his Fame! For pleasant,

Pizz good, for plea - fant, good, and comely 'tis, and comely 'tis To praise his Holy Name.

good, for plea - fant, good, and comely 'tis, and comely 'tis To praise his Holy Name.

good, for pleasant, good, and comely 'tis, and comely 'tis To praise his Holy Name.

PSALM CXXXVI. 15

2^d To God the migh-ty Lord Your joyful thanks re-peat: To him due praise afford.

Air To God the migh-ty Lord Your joyful thanks re-peat: To him due praise afford,

To God the migh-ty Lord Your joyful thanks repeat: To him due praise afford,

pia As Good as he is Great: For God does prove our constant Friend, His boundless Love shall never end.

For ti As Good as he is Great: For God does prove our constant Friend, His boundless Love shall never end.

As Good as he is Great: For God does prove our constant Friend, His boundless Love shall never end.

16 PSALM CVIII. C. M. Mr. Coombes.

2^d O God my Heart is ful - - - ly bent To mag-ni-fy - thy Name; My

Air O God my Heart is ful - - - ly bent To mag-ni-fy - - - thy Name; My

O God my Heart is ful - - - ly bent To mag-ni-fy - - - thy Name; My

Tongue with chear-ful Songs of Praise Shall ce - - le - brate . . thy Fame.

Tongue with chear-ful Songs of Praise Shall ce - - le - brate . . thy Fame.

Tongue with chear-ful Songs of Praise Shall ce - - le - brate . thy Fame.

PSALM XXIII. C. M. Mr. Smith. 17

2^d The Lord him - self, the migh - ty Lord, Vouchsafes to be - my Guide; The

Air The Lord him - self, the migh - ty Lord, Vouchsafes to be - my Guide; The

The Lord him - self, the migh - ty Lord, Vouchsafes to be - my Guide; The

Shepherd by whose con - stant Care My Wants are all - sup - ply'd.

Shepherd by whose con - stant Care My Wants are all - sup - ply'd.

Shepherd by whose con - stant Care My Wants are all - sup - ply'd.

18 PSALM CXXXVII. L. M. Mr. Coombes. 8

2^d When we, our weary Limbs to rest, Sat down by proud Uphra - te's Stream, We wept with

Air When we, our weary Limbs to rest, Sat down by proud Uphra - te's Stream, We wept with

When we, our weary Limbs to rest, Sat down by proud Uphra - te's Stream, We wept with

dole - ful Thoughts oppress'd, And Si - on was our mournful Theme, and Si - on was our mournful Theme.

dole - ful Thoughts oppress'd, And Si - on was our mournful Theme, and Si - on was our mournful Theme.

dole - ful Thoughts oppress'd, And Si - on was our mournful Theme, and Si - on was our mournful Theme.

PSALM CXLIX.

19

2^d

Air

O Praise ye the Lord, prepare your glad Voice, His Praise in the great Af-sembly to sing.

O Praise ye the Lord, prepare your glad Voice, His Praise in the great Af-sembly to sing.

O Praise ye the Lord, prepare your glad Voice, His Praise in the great Af-sembly to sing.

In our great Cre - a - tor let If - r'el re - joice; And Children of Si-on be glad in their King.

In our great Cre - a - tor let If - r'el re - joice; And Children of Si-on be glad in their King.

In our great Cre - a - tor let If - r'el re - joice; And Children of Si-on be glad in their King.

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