'THE YOUNG LADIES ARE WITH GREAT CARE TAUGHT': THE WOOD FAMILY, DANCING MASTERS AND SCHOOLMISTRESSES, 1716–1812

by DAVID TOMLINSON

IN 1695 THE members of the House of Commons refused to renew the Licensing of the Press Act of 1662, which had effectively confined the publication of newspapers to London and the university towns. Provincial newspapers began to appear soon afterwards: the earliest is thought to be the *Norwich Post*, which was probably first published in September 1701.¹ The *Ipswich Journal*, which provided much of the information given in this article, came into being in 1720. At first, provincial newspapers did not run to many pages and usually contained some national news (mainly obtained from London or continental newspapers), local news and advertising. As the century progressed, more and more advertisements appeared. By about 1740, provincial newspapers with the largest circulation – the *Ipswich Journal* was amongst them – contained over 2000 advertisements a year.² These newspapers are of great value to historians as they give information that is not available elsewhere, though their content needs to be treated with caution.

This article draws on advertisements published in a number of East Anglian newspapers in the eighteenth century to give an account of members of the Wood family who were involved in the teaching profession. The women ran successful schools in Bury St Edmunds, Ipswich, Dedham and Hadleigh, whilst the men, besides teaching in at least three of the women's schools, had their own dancing schools in some of the towns they visited regularly or went to other schools to give instruction in dancing and (possibly) in music.

The advertisements show that the range and success of private schools varied greatly. Some strove to achieve high standards and offered a broad curriculum, whilst others had little more to offer than dame schools. Towards the end of the century there was a plethora of school proprietors hoping to earn a profitable living by meeting the increasing demand from the middle class for their children to be educated. Many of the schools – most were extremely small compared with today's, often having no more than a handful of pupils – did not survive long for one reason or another. Newspaper advertisements suggest that most proprietors faced similar problems: rumour, well-founded or otherwise; possible ruin brought by an outbreak of smallpox or other infectious illness; obtaining satisfactory assistant teachers; gaining and maintaining a good reputation; and meeting the requirements of a more liberal curriculum, which took account of the wealth of recently acquired scientific knowledge and was relevant to a working life in commerce or industry.

Advertisements from c. 1720 onwards in the *Ipswich Journal*, *Suffolk Mercury*, *Chelmsford Chronicle* and other newspapers published in East Anglia indicate that the curricula of schools for young ladies changed little over ninety years, though the importance attached to some subjects almost certainly varied. The more expensive of these schools endeavoured to educate their pupils to feel confident in polite society, and to acquire accomplishments such as music, dancing, drawing, and a foreign language. Their curricula, compared with those of boys' schools of a similar standing, were far from academic, and concentrated on needlework (plain, fancy and tambour embroidery), the English language, French, handwriting (usually taught by a peripatetic master) and accomplishments such as music, dancing and drawing. Many of the accomplishments were charged as extras, as was often arithmetic, particularly in

the earlier part of the period being considered. Even if the girls did not study arithmetic as such, they must have been taught some simple number work. Some girls' schools taught subjects relevant to the successful running of a house and family. Only a few advertisements for such schools have been found. In 1727 Mrs Riley in Ipswich was teaching the art of a pastry cook and was prepared to board 'country gentlewomen'. Mary and Martha Murrill opened a boarding school for the daughters of farmers and tradesmen in Dedham in 1769, where they were taught 'all sorts of plain and useful Needle Work' and were 'qualified for Housewives'.

In the 1720s and 1730s, only a few proprietors advertised their schools, but by the turn of the century a considerable number were doing so.⁵ Advertising was not cheap: in 1740 the *Ipswich Journal* charged 2s 6d for an advertisement, 4s 6d for two, 2s each for a series of three or more.⁶ This charge was for a 'moderate' number of lines, probably up to eight or ten. The more details the advertisement contained, the more expensive the school tended to be.

THE WOOD FAMILY

From the advertisements have emerged the activities of a family who exercised their teaching skills throughout much of the eighteenth century. Members of that family, the Woods of Bury St Edmunds and Ipswich, faced many of the difficulties met by other proprietors, overcame them, and acquired reputations for good teaching. This article records their activities and achievements, in the belief that such a prolonged involvement by one family in the field of education was unusual for the time, and also shows how involved the life of a peripatetic master could be.

The earliest known fact about Isaac Wood, the founder of the family, is that he married Hannah Bellamy by licence at St Nicholas's church, Rushbrooke, on 25 September 1716 (Fig. 136). He was twenty-six years old and she was eighteen, and both were described in the register as being 'of Bury St Edmunds'. The marriage licence allegation, obtained from the Vicar General of the Archbishop of Canterbury, was issued on 14 September, and stated that

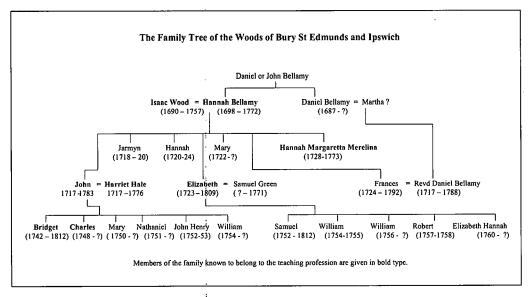


FIG. 136 - The family tree of the Woods of Bury St Edmunds and Ipswich.

Isaac was of St Edmundsbury in the county of Suffolk and Hannah of the parish of St Vedast, Foster Lane (near Cheapside, London). Both Isaac Wood and John Bellamy (Hannah's father) signed the allegation. It is interesting to speculate why the couple chose to be married at Rushbrooke. The clue may be in the name they chose for their second son – Jarmyn (one of the several ways of spelling Jermyn). At Rushbrooke House lived Sir Robert Davers and his son Jermyn, who was the grandson of the second baron Jermyn of Edmundsbury. Was Isaac or Hannah a kinsman of his, or was one of them friendly with a member of the family? Perhaps Isaac may have been in Sir Robert's employ, but he certainly was not a servant. If he had been, the incumbent of St Mary's would not have prefixed Isaac's name with the word 'Mr' when recording the baptism of the Woods' two sons. 10

Of Isaac Wood's background nothing is known. Hannah was probably born in London, as her brother Daniel was born there, in the parish of St Martin Pomeroy, Ironmonger Lane.¹¹ Their parents were John and Martha Bellamy. Brother Daniel started to train to be a lawyer until family financial difficulties forced him to stop. Instead he earned his living as a writer. Daniel took an interest in girls' education, and wrote several plays to be performed by the pupils at his wife's school¹² or by those at Hannah Wood's school in Bury St Edmunds. His book *The Young Ladies Miscellany*, first published in 1723, was dedicated to 'My very affectionate and much respected sister, Mrs Hannah Wood, Mistress of the College-Boarding School in Bury in the County of Suffolk'.¹³

At the time of their son John's baptism (29 October 1717), Isaac and Hannah were living in Bury St Edmunds. In the 7 October 1723 issue of the Suffolk Mercury, also known as St Edmund's-Bury Post, the Woods advertised their boarding school for young ladies, which they may already have been running for a few years. Isaac certainly taught dancing at the school, and probably music too. In the 1720s he bought and sold 'harpsichords or spinnets' and 'setteth instruments in order', '4 but how long he continued to do so is not known. He seems to have had a love of music, for his name is found among the lists of subscribers to several pieces composed by local musicians and in his will he left all his instruments and music to his son John. 16

After a period of decline resulting from the decay of the cloth-making industry in the early Stuart period, Bury St Edmunds was, in the early eighteenth century, a prosperous market town, a magnet for the wealthier inhabitants of the surrounding area. Daniel Defoe, who visited Bury St Edmunds in 1704 (and possibly in the early 1720s too), wrote of the town:

It is crowded with nobility and gentry and all sorts of the most agreeable company, and as the company invites, so there is the appearance of pleasure upon the very situation, and those that live at Bury are supposed to live there for the sake of it.

This is hardly surprising when nearby were several large estates, including those of the Herveys of Ickworth, the Davers of Rushbrooke and the Fitzroys of Euston. Defoe comments:

Here is no manufacturing in this town, or but very little, except spinning, the chief trade of this place depending upon the gentry who live there or near it, and who cannot fail to cause trade enough by the expense of their families and equipment among the people of a county town.¹⁷

Bury St Edmunds was clearly an affluent town, and a considerable number of attempts were made to establish schools there, especially in the second half of the eighteenth century, when middle-class parents were becoming keener keen to have their children educated.¹⁸

At Bury St Edmunds, as in so many towns in England, assemblies began to gain in popularity in the early years of the century. At first, assemblies were for conversation, cards and tea, but soon they included dancing, which quickly became a popular and fashionable

recreation.¹⁹ Bury was the first town in the region to have regular commercial assemblies, which were organised by James Eastland, a dancing master, who commenced them in 1715.²⁰ In 1784 a young Frenchman, François de la Rochefoucauld, spent a year in Suffolk and recorded his experiences and thoughts. One of the subjects on which he commented was balls.²¹ The dancing, he thought, was badly done and that all the dances seemed the same. The cost of a ticket was considerably more for a gentleman than for a lady, possible to ensure that only the more sociably acceptable men were able to attend.

The enjoyment of dancing provided an ideal opportunity for Isaac Wood to extend his business. In 1723 he announced in the local newspaper that he had come to an agreement with Mr Eastland ('now of Norwich') to have 'free use of his Great Room in his late Dwelling House, on the Angel Hill in Bury aforesaid, call'd the Assembly Room, and another Room adjoining call'd the Coffee Room, to teach Scholars of him the said Mr Wood to Dance in, and to hold and keep Publicks and Balls'.²² The Eastlands, like the Woods, ran a boarding school for young ladies in Bury St Edmunds (they also had one in King's Lynn), and they held assemblies monthly in Bury St Edmunds and also at other times such as the assizes and the fair. Isaac, in his advertisement, also reminded readers of his school at 'his own Dwelling House call'd the College'.

The Woods announced in February 1729 that they had moved to a 'Large, Commodious House in the Chequer Square', which suggests that the number of pupils at their school may have been increasing.²³ The advertisement gives details of the boarding school for the first

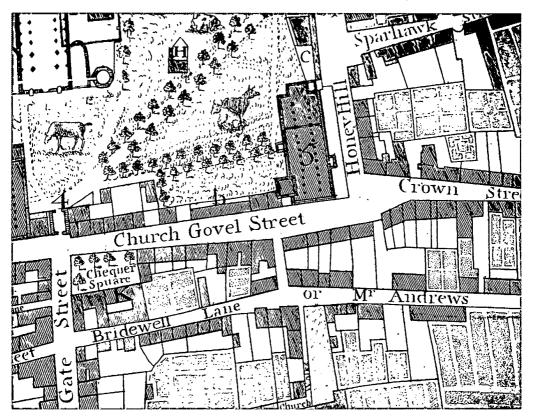


FIG. 137 - Thomas Warren's map of Bury St Edmunds, 1776 (reproduced with kind permission of the Suffolk Record Office, Bury St Edmunds, ref. SROB/373/17).

The Woods' school, now 3 Chequer Square, is the building marked K.

time. 'The Young Ladies are with great Care taught within his own House, all sorts of Needle-Work, Reading, Writing and Arithmetik, French, Musick, and Dancing'. The family continued to use this house as a school until Bridget Wood, Isaac and Hannah's granddaughter, retired in 1811 (Figs. 137–38).²⁴

In the early years of their marriage, and whilst they were building up their business, Hannah bore Isaac several children. In 1717 John was born, then in 1718 came Jarmyn (died in May 1720), followed by Hannah (1720–24), Mary (1721/22), Elizabeth (1722/23), Frances (1724), and Hannah Margaretta Merelina (1727/28).²⁵ John, Elizabeth and Hannah Margaretta Merelina entered the teaching profession. Whether Frances did so is not known: by the time of her mother's death (1772) she was the wife of the Revd Daniel Bellamy,²⁶ her first cousin.

Like all school proprietors in the eighteenth century, the Woods were faced with the problem of smallpox, which could cause schools to close permanently, or lose a large number of their pupils, because parents removed their offspring to areas free from the illness. In 1733 there was a serious outbreak in the Bury St Edmunds area, and it affected the Woods' business considerably. Such was the situation that Isaac was compelled to advertise:

The Small-Pox being so long here, has been very prejudicial to Mr Wood's Boarding School, and he having very good Encouragement to teach at Colchester, and those Parts, has given a Handle for some persons to report about the Country, that he intended to leave Bury and reside in Colchester. Mr Wood therefore thinks it proper to acquaint all persons the Report is false, he having above 18 Years to come on his Lease; and as the Small-Pox ceases, he hopes his Friends will give him encouragement as usual, by sending their Daughters or Relations to Board and School with him, where all due Pains and Care shall be taken in their Education.²⁷



FIG. 138 - No. 3 Chequer Square, Bury St Edmunds (photo: Joanna Martin).

A further outbreak in October 1744 again forced the Woods to inform readers that Bury St Edmunds was 'entirely free of the Small-Pox, or any other contagious Distemper'. 28

In March 1735 the Woods mentioned their fees for the first time. For boarding and the basic education they charged £16 a year, plus 2 guineas entrance. Parlour boarders were charged £20 and half boarders £8. The Woods were certainly aiming their sights at the more exclusive and expensive part of the market. By April 1739 their fees had changed. For board and instruction in needlework and the English language, they asked 3 guineas a quarter. Music, dancing, writing and arithmetic, and 'all the other Branches of a Genteel education' were taught at 'very reasonable Rates'. At first admission, a girl had to bring with her 'one Pair of New Sheets, Six Napkins, Six Towels, and a Silver Spoon, or in Money One Guinea and a Half'. Did the Woods lower their fees because they were seeking more pupils or had they restructured their prices to make a greater profit from their charges for extras?

Isaac augmented the income from his wife's boarding school by working as a peripatetic dancing and music master. The terms of his agreement with Mr Eastland suggest that there was plenty of opportunity for him to build up a successful business teaching dancing. His reputation as a dancing master was such by the 1730s that he was invited to teach in Inswich too. Who invited him we do not know, but it was a good suggestion as there were several private schools in the town where dancing would have formed part of the curriculum. Isaac announced in the *Ipswich Gazette* that his dancing school would open at the 'Assembly Room on Friday the 18th April 1735, at three in the Afternoon, where all that had been Scholars at Mr Cocker, the late Mr King, or Mr Burny, may learn again without paying Entrance, the Rates as usual. 30 The response to his advertisement seems to have been good. Within ten days of starting at Ipswich, he informed the public that he would be at the Assembly Room every Friday afternoon at 2 o'clock and Saturday morning at 9.00. Also, if business required, he would attend 'in the Morning on Friday, and the Afternoon on Saturday'. In this second advertisement he offered the scholars of Mr Crocker, Mr King and Mr Burny 'the first Visit Gratis, and afterwards at Eighteen Pence per time, when and as often as they please'. Such an offer suggests that Isaac had a good head for business. About a year later, another advertisement informed the public that he taught every Friday and Saturday at the Assembly Room and could be contacted there, or at his lodging at Mr Cavill's in Cross-Key Street, or at Potter's Coffee House. It would seem that he was soon well established in Ipswich.³¹ He was also active elsewhere: when, in 1738, the Revd Mr Williams moved his school from Norton to Walsham, he mentioned in his Suffolk Mercury advertisement that 'Mr Wood of Bury had been engaged to attend constantly once a week to teach Musick and Dancing if required', 32 For the next few years nothing is known about the activities of Isaac and Hannah, Perhaps their reputations were such there was no need to advertise.

Nothing is known of the early career of Isaac and Hannah's son John Wood. He probably served his apprenticeship with his father and then obtained more experience by working away from the family business. In 1737 he married Harriet Hale by licence on 30 December at St Andrew's, Great Saxham, Isaac being his bondsman for £100. The rate books suggest that John came to live in Ipswich shortly after his marriage.³³ By 1742 he and his wife were living in St Clement's Street, where they were running a boarding school for young ladies (Fig. 139). Boarders were charged £3 10s a quarter and taught all sorts of needlework and the English language. Learning to dance cost 15s a quarter (entrance 10s 6d and attendance at a ball 5s); instruction in writing and arithmetic, 10s a quarter (the charge included the cost of pens, paper and ink and being taught by John himself); and lessons on the spinet, 15s a quarter (10s 6d entrance and 2s 6d a quarter for use of an instrument and keeping it in good order).³⁴ In 1741 or 1742 John's wife gave birth to their daughter Bridget, but no record of her baptism can be found. Whether she was her parents' first child is not known either. By 1748 John and

At Mr. WOOD's House in St. Clement's-street, IPSWICH,

OUNG LADIES are Boarded and carefully Instructed in all Sorts of Needle Work and the English Language, for Three Pounds Ten Shillings per Quarter, bringing, at first Admission, one Pair of new Sheets, six Napkins, six Towels, and a Silver Spoon; or in Money Two Guineas.

The Rates for other Accomplishents.

For Learning to Dance, half a Guinea Entrance, and fifteen Shillings

per Quarter, and at a Ball five Shillings.

For Learning Writing and Arithmetick, (including Pens, Ink and Paper, and the Master's coming home to Teach the Young Ladies) ten Shillings per Quarter.

For Learning on the Spinnet, half a Guinea Entrance, and fifteen Shillings a Quarter, and half a Crown per Quarter more for the Use of

an Instrument, and keeping it in order.

Likewise all other Branches of a genteel Education are there taught,

By John and Harroure Wood.

FIG. 139 – An advertisement for John and Harriet Wood's school in Ipswich from the *Ipswich Journal*, 19 June 1742 (reproduced with kind permission of the Suffolk Record Office, Ipswich).

Harriet were resident in the parish of St Nicholas, as the parish registers record the baptisms of some of their children (the first is that of Charles on 31 March 1748, the boy having been born on the fifteenth). In March 1751, John Wood, dancing master, announced that he had been obliged to alter his days of teaching in Ipswich. In future he would teach there on Monday morning and Thursday, in Dedham on Tuesday and Colchester on Wednesday. John also informed readers that he was teaching at Barth. and Elizabeth Justinier's school for young ladies, which had opened in the autumn of 1750 in Cross-Keys Street, Ipswich. The Justiniers' advertisement informed parents that a master taught music. No doubt that master was John. John's sister Elizabeth was governess of a young ladies' boarding school in Dedham and almost certainly John taught dancing and music there too.

By the early 1750s, if not before, John Wood was holding publics in local assembly rooms. The purpose of publics was twofold: first, they gave an opportunity for the children to demonstrate their dancing skills to their parents, and second, it was a good way for the master to obtain pupils. The publics were open to spectators who, if they were neither parents nor guardians, paid for a ticket to come, usually priced at 2s 6d. Children were often brought to and collected from the assembly rooms by servants. Such was the behaviour of servants that they were not allowed in until eleven o'clock, and in Bury St Edmunds not at all as they had broken the furniture by standing on it.³⁷ John Wood held assemblies regularly, his first recorded ones being in Ipswich and Colchester in 1752.³⁸ In subsequent years he held publics in Ipswich (first at Dodd's Coffee House, later at Bamford's Coffee House), Dedham and Colchester (at the King's Arms).³⁹

John was obviously well known in the area, as his name was amongst those to whom a lost pinchbeck metal watch could be returned.⁴⁰ By 1755 John had fallen out with Drusilla Jackson, the governess of the young ladies' boarding school in Dedham at one time kept by his sister (see page 483). In an advertisement Mrs Jackson stated:

For the more expeditiously and perfect accomplishing of the Young Ladies education at my School in their Dancing, I have engaged a Gentleman, who is a Complete Master of the Profession, and of an unexceptional Character, to come from London and reside in this town, to teach, instruct and perfect all such Ladies as now are, and shall be placed under my Care, in their Dancing; who will be constantly attended and instructed Two Days in every Week, and taught all the Dances now in use according to the true London Method, with great Expedition.⁴¹

John was incensed by his dismissal and felt that Mrs Jackson's claim was not justified:

Mr Wood takes this public Method of return Thanks to the Parents of all those young Ladies that are, or have been under his Care at Mrs Jackson's School at Dedham, in particular to the Rev. and worthy Gentleman from whom he received so kind and obliging a Letter ... However inconvenient it may be to himself, yet, rather than hazard the Loss of so many valuable Friends, he is determined to teach twice a Week, and hopes to have the Continuance of their Favours. He further begs Leave to acquaint his Friends, that he teaches all the Dances now in use, and hopes likewise to convince them, that he teaches in the new London Method (as Mrs Jackson is pleased to call it) as well as Mr South, or any other Master she shall choose to introduce: And least there should be any Alteration in any of those Dances since he was last in Town, he proposes being in London in Easter week.

He finished his advertisement thus: 'N.B. Mr Wood continues to teach the Revd Grimwood's and Mr Colchester's schools [the Free Grammar School and Writing School in Dedham respectively]; both which Gentlemen are determined to support his Interest, as they think he has been very ill used in this Affair.'42

Rumours in the autumn of 1756 caused John to deny that he was leaving his Colchester school. However, there must have been some truth in them, for at the end February the following advertisement appeared three weeks running in the Norwich Mercury: 'Mr Wood from Ipswich, opens his School to teach Dancing, in a commodious Room opposite St Simon's Church, on Monday, 21st of next month, where young Ladies will be carefully taught, and punctually attended every Monday and Tuesday.' At the end of the week in which he opened, he had another advertisement placed in the same newspaper. It was similar to the first one with the additional information that letters and messages could be left for him at Gray's Coffee House, in the market place. He obviously wished to make a success of his venture, because the advertisement ran for twelve weeks, much longer than other advertisements for schools, which were generally repeated only once or twice at most. In the Ipswich Journal of 19 March 1757 he announced that he was to close his schools in Colchester and Dedham, as 'in Hopes of advancing his Business' he was to teach dancing in Norwich. The Revd Mr La Roche, when advertising his academy in Norwich, informed prospective parents that details could be obtained from Mr Wood's school in Ipswich. This suggests that John was teaching at La Roche's school. Robert Aylmer took over John's school in Colchester, and shortly afterwards Mr South, the dancing master employed by Drusilla Jackson, announced that he had been encouraged to open a school there too.⁴³ Aylmer met with success as he placed subsequent advertisements, whereas none has been found for South.

Within a few months of John's commencing work in Norwich, his father died at the age of sixty-seven on 16 December 1757.⁴⁴ In the following week, John announced that he would be taking over the school in Bury St Edmunds and would teach there on Mondays and Tuesdays, and 'hopes for the Favour and Interest of his Father's Friends'.⁴⁵ He also mentioned in his advertisement that he would continue to teach in Ipswich on Thursday and Fridays. In the same advertisement, Hannah took the 'Opportunity of returning Thanks to those Friends who have entrusted their Children to her Care, and also informing them that she continues her School with proper Assistants'.

Isaac Wood's will was proved three months after his death. He had done well for himself. Hannah received the bulk of his estate and it included about £250 in stock. John, Elizabeth and Frances were bequeathed £50 each, and Hannah Margaretta Merelina £60 as she had 'not [had] so much moneys' of Isaac. He forgave all his children's debts to him, and left all his music, instruments and dancing books to John. On Hannah's death, 'the messuage or tenement in or near Exchequer Square [known as Chequer Square]' was to be sold and the proceeds shared amongst his children. The Poor Law rate books for St Mary's parish, Bury St Edmunds, record for 1758 that the Woods occupied two houses in Chequer Square, next door to each other, and both with a rent of £16 a year, so the houses must have been fairly large. From 6 June 1760, Hannah Wood widow is recorded as the ratepayer until her death on 21 February 1772. The Woods continued to use both houses until the death of Hannah Margaretta Merelina (1773). It is not known whether the school occupied two houses, or whether one house was the school and the other the private residence of the Woods. When Bridget, the granddaughter, ran the school, she paid the Poor Rate on one house only, and a Mrs Jane Armiger occupied the other house. The leaseholder on the second house was John.

As John's plans were changed by his father's death, he had to build up his business in the Ipswich area again. There must have been plenty of work in Ipswich, as the number of private schools there was on the increase. For the next few years John Wood held publics in the autumn at Ipswich and Bury St Edmunds. It is safe to assume that he resided in Ipswich, particularly as the advertisements are headed 'Ipswich', and when his son moved to King's Lynn he referred to himself as 'from Ipswich'.

The early 1770s were to bring upsets and difficulties for the Wood family. In May 1770 John was forced to advertise because another dancing master had replaced him at an Ipswich school. This time there seems to have been no animosity:

Mr Wood returns his most sincere thanks to the Gentlemen and Ladies who have entrusted him with the Education of their Children, and flatters himself that the satisfaction he has given will recommend him to their future favours ... Mr Wood thought this Advertisement necessary, as Miss Ray has acquainted him with her having formed a Connection with another Person of his Profession, to teach in her School at Ipswich.⁵¹

A year later 'Miss Wood' announced that she 'proposed with proper assistants to take the school of the late Mrs Carter [in Brook Street, Ipswich]'.⁵² This was John's daughter Bridget, not his sister Hannah Margaretta Merelina, who was probably helping to run her mother's school in Bury St Edmunds.

On 21 February 1772 Hannah Wood died aged seventy-four years. The *Ipswich Journal* wrote of her that she 'had been governess of the young ladies boarding-school for upwards of fifty years, which she supported with great credit and reputation'. Her will was proved on 11 April.⁵³ Though she directed that John and her son-in-law, the Revd Mr Bellamy, should hold in trust her house in Chequer Square and 'whatever real estate I may be possessed of' until they had been sold, she appointed her youngest daughter, Hannah Margaretta Merelina, her sole executrix. Her personal estate was to be divided amongst her children. Hannah Margaretta Merelina was bequeathed all her mother's household goods, linen, plate and china because she had spent her youth assisting her mother and this would enable her to continue with the school. Frances was to receive 'her gold watch and the trinkets thereto belonging', with the request that she give the metal watch in the green case to her sister Elizabeth Green. Elizabeth was to receive one silver soup spoon and six large tablespoons, and John was given £10 with which to buy a piece of plate. The will had been drawn up in 1766 and one of the witnesses was Elizabeth Stallon, who was to be a partner of Bridget's in the years to come.

In the *Ipswich Journal* of 28 March 1772, readers were informed that Miss Wood had taken over her mother's school and that John would continue to teach there as usual. In April, John had to postpone the Ipswich public held over from the previous autumn and fixed for 24 April, as he was unwell. Three weeks later the ball was advertised for 22 May at the Long Room, Bamford's Coffee House. He also informed his pupils that 'As his business will not permit him to wait on those Ladies that he has had the honour to teach in the country, [he] hopes they will excuse him, and favour him with their Company'.⁵⁴

The Woods were advertising again in early June, this time to inform parents that Miss Wood (Hannah Margaretta Merelina) was fully recovered, that the Bury St Edmunds school would open after the holiday (had the pupils been sent home?), and that a teacher from London had been engaged to give lessons in English and French.⁵⁵ Hannah's recovery did not last, however, and she died on 2 September 1773, aged forty-five. Two days later John 'gave this public notice to his Friends, that the School of his late Sister at Bury will be continued by one of the family'. Two weeks later parents were informed that 'Miss Wood would be leaving Ipswich to take her Aunt's School at Bury St Edmunds with Mrs Stallon who had taught there for many years'.⁵⁶ It was also announced that John would continue to teach at Bury St Edmunds as usual. The Miss Wood was John's daughter Bridget.⁵⁷ Within a few days Miss Graves announced she had taken Miss Wood's house in Ipswich, no doubt hoping to gain some of Bridget's pupils.⁵⁸

Was John beginning to feel his age, for he was now fifty-six years old? Or was it, as his advertisement in early 1774 stated, the increase in business that required him to engage an assistant from London? The new teacher was Mr Charles Matthews. He became a partner within six weeks of joining John, and was 'at liberty to attend a school or two, or private families'. The partnership was not a success, and its dissolution was announced in September 1775. John also informed his pupils that he would teach as usual in Ipswich, Bury St Edmunds and Woodbridge, and would be seeking an assistant from London. Matthews, with the help of his son, continued to teach on his own. There was clearly bad blood between the two men, for in June 1776 Matthews advertised that 'he was teaching as usual without puffing and advertising falsities'. Two weeks later he paid for another advertisement:

To Mr Wood, Dancing Master of Ipswich Sir.

I am obliged to vindicate myself in this public manner, as you have maliciously and falsely given out that I would take your business from you, when you know that I promised to teach for you at the Rev. Mr King's and Miss Graham's, for one half of the profits, and do all that business myself, and you to have the other half of the profits of these two schools as the Rev. Mr King and Miss Graham can testify by my letters containing these proposals.

I am, with respect, your humble servant
Charles Matthews, Ipswich, June 17.59

John took as his assistant Mr Dagueville, 'late a principal dancer at the opera, and a gentleman of great merit in his profession', but on this occasion he did not rush into partnership and waited five years before doing so.⁶⁰ The men held balls regularly at Ipswich and Bury St Edmunds.⁶¹ In 1781, the first year of the partnership, Dagueville, it seems, taught with John at Bury St Edmunds, Woodbridge and Ipswich, and went to Dedham on his own.⁶²

John Wood's wife, Harriet, had died in 1776. On 13 July 1783 'died, much respected by his acquaintance, Mr Wood, many years a dancing master in this town [Ipswich]'. In the parish registers of St Nicholas's, Ipswich, the clerk besides recording, as was normal, John's burial, noted that he was a dancing master and buried 'in the church'. Like his father, John must have been a good teacher and met with considerable success. Like his father, too, he had an interest

in music, and his name is to be found in several lists of subscribers to music composed by local musicians. 44 Was John an easy man to work with? His falling out with two governesses and a partner suggests not. Why did his son Charles not come to work with his father? Was it because Charles felt they would not make good partners? Or was it because he was well established in the King's Lynn area and did not want to move? In his will dated, 31 March 1779, John left the bulk of his estate to this two daughters, Bridget and Mary. They were to receive his messuage or tenement in Bury St Edmunds (the house in Chequer Square occupied by Mrs James Armiger) and the residue of his estate. Charles was to have £50, and his father's instruments and music books. 55 Why were the daughters the executors and not Charles? Was it a question of convenience, their being nearer to Ipswich than their brother? Or can more be read into John's decision?

Little is known of Charles Wood. He served his apprenticeship under his father and practised for some years with the best masters in London. In 1770 he left for King's Lynn to establish himself as a dancing master in the area. He planned to teach two days a week at Mr Taylor's Great Room in the High Street, and to charge 10s 6d entrance and 15s a quarter for lessons. Of himself he says:

Mr Wood having served an apprenticeship to his Father, and practised some Years with the first Masters in London, humbly presumes to offer his best Services in the above Capacity, and hopes he shall convince those Gentlemen and Ladies who are pleased to honour him with their Encouragement, that he is qualified to teach the Art of Dancing according to the most fashionable Mode, and with the proper Grace and Elegance of Manners, assuring them also, that the strictest Regard to Decorum and Propriety of Behaviour, shall be observed in the School.⁶⁷

Charles indicated that he was prepared to teach in gentlemen's houses. It is likely that he taught music as well as dancing.

The boarding school for young ladies continued to flourish under Bridget Wood's guidance for nearly forty years (1773–1811). Mrs Stallon, Bridget's partner, retired at Christmas 1790 and Mrs Green, who took over the school when Bridget retired at Midsummer 1811, came in her stead. The school must have had a good reputation, for if it had not, would Mrs Steele of Bury St Edmunds have stated in her announcement of taking Miss Garritt into partnership, that Miss Garritt had taught at Mesdames Wood and Green's school? From the few advertisements that have been found for the school during Bridget's time there, little can be gleaned about the curriculum, except that dancing was taught by Mr Harrington; a French teacher had been employed; and 'French was spoken in the house'. From bills paid by Mrs Ann Anderson for her niece Lucy Watt, who attended the school in the early 1800s, we know that some of the extras included music, drawing and writing.

LUCY WATT: A PUPIL AT THE WOODS' SCHOOL

Lucy Watt was the daughter of Dr Robert Watt, who practised medicine in Montego Bay, Jamaica, ran a hospital there, and owned domestic slaves. Her mother was the sister of Ann Anderson, who had charge of Lucy whilst she was in England. When Lucy arrived in England is not known: Helena Harrison suggests she came to Bury St Edmunds in 1798.70 If she did, Lucy would have been at Bridget's school for eight years. Besides her Aunt Anderson, Lucy had several other aunts living in England. One, Mrs Little, lived at Quy near Cambridge⁷¹ and it may have been on her recommendation that Lucy was sent to Bridget Wood's school, for she surely must have known of it, as its reputation in the area must have been considerable. Another aunt, Mrs Prince, had a son John being educated at a well-known boys' school at

Linton in Cambridgeshire.⁷² Lucy was accompanied to England by Black Peggy, a slave, who had probably been her nurse, who stayed at Quy with Mrs Little, and of whom Lucy wrote 'Peggy wishes very much to return to Jamaica, which I do not wonder at'.⁷³ The small bundle of papers concerning Lucy Watt deposited in the Suffolk Record Office at Bury St Edmunds,⁷⁴ provides some insights into Bridget's school.

First, it is very apparent how expensive it was to keep a girl at a school of the standing of Miss Wood and Mrs Green's, particularly when one recalls that a labourer earned only a few shillings a week. From the bills paid by Mrs Anderson at Christmas 1806 we learn that the charge for half a year's board and basic tuition was £11 11s, the total bill from the school amounting to £39 18s, less deductions of £3 0s 1½d. Some of the extras were very expensive. The charges of Thomas Harrington, the peripatetic dancing and music master, amounted to £10 14s. Two pieces of music cost 10s 6d; a blank book 6s 6d; and writing music and paper 1s. The use of a piano and wire came to £1s 1s; thirty-three piano lessons and tuning to £4 2s 6d; and nine singing lessons to £1 2s 6d. Mr Warren, the writing master, submitted a bill for £1 15s 3d, which included 2s 6d for seventy-two pens, 10s for teaching Lucy to make pens, and 2s 6d for a penknife. £3 9s was paid to the French master Mr Fountaine, and £2 16s 6d to Mr Cooper the drawing master (his bill included 7s for materials, 5s for a border of flowers, etc.). Bridget had other charges too. Pianoforte and drawers (use of?) came to 10s; washing was 19s 9d, various materials for needlework etc. £2 16s 6d, teachers and servants (probably gifts) 10s 6d, afternoon tea 18s, and church 6d. Then there were additional expenses incurred by Lucy: chaise to Quy and back, turnpikes etc. £1 16s 6d, allowance 5s, and cash 10s 6d.

Besides the expenses incurred by Lucy at the school, Aunt Anderson had to pay bills from local traders for new garments and repairs to clothes and shoes. These bills amount to over £11 in the autumn of 1806. From all the invoices for the half year ending at Christmas 1806, it would seem that parents would have had to find a sum in the region of £80 or £90 a year to keep a daughter at Bridget's school. As the cost was so high, it suggests again that the school catered for girls from the more elevated echelons of society. This is confirmed by the fact that the basic fee of twenty-two guineas a year was, in the early 1800s, more than many other proprietors of schools for young ladies charged.

Lucy left for Jamaica at the end of 1806, leaving her uncle's house in London for Portsmouth on 18 December 1806.75 The two letters concerning her departure suggest that, though planned, it had been fixed suddenly as suitable travelling companions had been found. Amongst the passengers were Mrs Kitchen, the wife of the captain of the ship on which Lucy was to sail and with whom Lucy could travel to Portsmouth, and a Mrs Hall and family, who no doubt would provide good company for Lucy.76 Probably Lucy left the school within two or three days of knowing that passages for her and Black Peggy had been booked on the William Lushington. Poor Aunt Anderson had much expense on Lucy's behalf, expense she could ill afford. Comments in the letters such as 'unless Dr Watt sends a remittance shortly I do not know how I will keep Lucy at school', and [I have] 'already exceeded my annual income and am in debt' indicate that her resources were small. Lucy had to be provided with yet more clothes, the bills amounting to £57 13s 10d.77 A Broadwood piano had been purchased for 75 guineas and the cost of the passages to Jamaica came to £73 10s.

A letter concerning Lucy's departure was written to Mrs Anderson by either Bridget or Mrs Green. It began by informing Aunt Anderson that Lucy was to leave for Quy in the morning, followed by good wishes and concern for a safe journey to Montego Bay. The writer then continued, 'For ourselves we have done all in our power to render her as accomplished as possible'. Next, Mrs Anderson was requested to drop a line informing them of Lucy's safe arrival in London. Finally, details were given about the delivery of Lucy's trunk (it was to be

sent on the following Thursday evening by Catchpole's wagon, which would reach London on the Saturday evening). The letter ended 'We remain, dear Madam, Much Your's Wood & Green '78

In June 1811, Bridget Wood announced that the partnership between her and Mrs Green was to be dissolved at midsummer and that Mrs Green would continue with the school on her own.⁷⁹ The advertisement concluded with the hope that Mrs Green would continue to receive 'that liberal patronage which has so many years distinguished the Establishment in Chequer Square'. Bridget did not live long to enjoy her retirement and died on 15 February 1812. Her death was noted in the *Ipswich Journal*:

Early on Saturday morning last died, after having retired to rest the previous evening in nearly as good health and cheerfulness as usual, Mrs Bridget Wood, who, for more than half a century, had jointly conducted the very respectable ladies boarding-school in Chequer Square, Bury, and from which she had but recently retired.⁸⁰

Margaret Green continued to run the school until Christmas 1812,81 when she retired in favour of Miss Garritt (probably the partner whom Mrs Steele had taken on in 1802) and Miss Gedge (niece to Margaret Green). Miss Garritt and Miss Gedge did not remain at the school for long, their names being recorded in the Poor Law rate book only for 1813. It is not known why. The Miss Pizzeys of Long Melford took over the school in early 1814 and continued there until some time in 1817.82

ELIZABETH GREEN (NÉE WOOD)

Isaac and Hannah Wood's eldest surviving daughter, Elizabeth, also pursued a career in education, and no doubt developed her teaching skills under her mother's guidance. When she became a governess of a school is not known. At some time, probably in the mid 1740s, she went to Dedham in Essex, either to continue a boarding school for young ladies already established there or to start one alongside Dedham's two well-known boys' schools. By the time of her marriage to Mr Samuel Green of Monks Eleigh at St Nicholas's church, Rushbrooke, on 8 January 1750, Elizabeth had declined her school in favour of Mrs Drusilla Jackson. From the advertisement announcing the change of ownership, a good idea of the curriculum can be obtained.⁸³ The girls were taught all kinds of needlework and French, and had the opportunity to learn music, dancing, handwriting and arithmetic. Elizabeth's brother John almost certainly taught music and dancing there, as he was teaching at the nearby Grammar and Writing Schools. The advertisements suggest that the school had been running for at least a few years, and that Elizabeth had acquired for herself a good reputation for her pedagogic skills.

It would seem that the first years of her marriage were taken up with childbearing. Samuel was baptised in May 1752, William in December 1754 (died September 1755), a second William in September 1756, Robert in September 1757 (died July 1758), and Elizabeth Hannah in September 1760.84 In February 1757 Elizabeth Green opened a boarding school for young ladies in Monks Eleigh. Three years later the Green family moved to Hadleigh, possibly because of Samuel Green's employment.

In her advertisement giving details of the opening of her school in Hadleigh on 4 February 1760, Elizabeth states that 'an exceedingly good House and convenient Tan-Office, with all Outhouses etc in good repair, situated in Monks Eleigh' were to let immediately, so Samuel Green probably earned his living as a tanner. In the announcement Elizabeth made reference to her schools at Dedham and Monks Eleigh. Such was her reputation that she was invited in

1763 to return to Dedham, but declined as the 'number of Boarders they [the gentlemen of Dedham] could promise her were so few as not to answer her removing, and many of her Young Ladies' friends [i.e. their parents] objected to her carrying their children with her'. In 1777 she refused a request to open a school in Colchester and commented in her advertisement that the 'Hadleigh House was a large commodious House convenient for the Reception of any Number of Boarders'. 85

Like her parents and other proprietors, Elizabeth occasionally had to deny rumours about her school. In 1761 it was alleged that her house was so full of boarders that there was no room for any more. She informed parents that she had had an extension built and had space available Three years later, tales were again circulating about her cramped accommodation:

Mrs Green having had several of her Friends object to the Smallness of her House, for the Number of Boarders she in general has in her School, takes this public Manner of acquainting those Gentlemen and Ladies whose Daughters are at present under her Care, and any others who will be so kind as to send their Children to her, that she has taken a large and convenient House situated in the Middle of the Town, now in the occupation of Mr Parson, Surgeon, (who is going to remove into a House opposite Mr Tho. Payne's) where she will have Room enough to accommodate, in a genteel Manner, any Number of Ladies that may offer, and hopes all her Friends will be so good as to continue their Favours, which will be gratefully acknowledg'd by their oblig'd humble servant.

Towards the end of her teaching days, Elizabeth was forced into advertising yet again because of unfounded rumour:

Mrs Green being informed by some of her Friends, That a Report has been spread in several Places, that she was totally blind, and incapable to attend school, thinks it proper to acquaint her Friends, that there never was the least ground for such a report, Mrs Green having enjoyed good health for many years past, and is now quite recovered of her late Rheumatic complaint she had some months back.⁸⁶

More than once Elizabeth was bothered by outbreaks of smallpox in Hadleigh and had to assure parents that the town was free of the pestilence.⁸⁷

In 1790 Elizabeth Green retired after thirty years of teaching in Hadleigh. Throughout those years she had met with considerable success and lived in a fairly large house in the centre of town (the Land Tax record for 1772 gives her rental value as £8, one of the larger rents recorded for Hadleigh). Towards the end of her teaching career she had moved twice. First in 1777 as her premises were to be sold, when she rented a smaller house and decided to take fewer boarders. Just over four years later she moved to the house that she first occupied in Hadleigh, the one situated near Cross Corner. The advertisements suggest she must have been an outstanding teacher. How long she remained in Hadleigh is not known. Elizabeth lived on until 1809 and died in Colchester. Such was her reputation that her death was noted in the Bury and Norwich Post:

Died at Colchester, aged 84, Mrs Green, who formerly kept a ladies' school of great reputation at Hadleigh; she was no less deservedly respected by those parents who confided their children to her care, than she is regretted by all who had the pleasure of her acquaintance'. 91

The newspaper gave her age incorrectly. If she was born on 15 March 1723 she would have been eighty-seven, as the inscription on her grave records. Her gravestone stated that she had kept a boarding school for 'upwards of forty-two years'.

CONCLUSION

The Woods' achievement was considerable. It would be wrong to suggest that their business success was unique, though it is certainly rare to find in eighteenth-century England a private school run profitably by one family for at least ninety years. There were other families in East Anglia who had similar businesses, but these did not last as long, John and Catherine O'Brien ran a young ladies' boarding school together, first in Ipswich and then Beccles for more than ten years, with John working as a peripatetic dancing master at the same time.⁹³ Robert Avlmer was a dancing master for more than thirty years, and he and his wife Ann had a boarding school at Witham from 1762 to 1778 and then possibly moved it to Colchester.⁹⁴ The Woods' success indicates that reputations had to be earned and then justified by each successive generation. Henry Boad had run a successful boys' school alongside the Dissenters' Green Coat Charity School in Colchester for more than thirty years, but, on his death, his son Fauntlerov was unable to keep the school going longer than a few months.⁹⁵ It would seem that Robert and Ann Aylmer's daughter was not successful in keeping her parents' school for young ladies open for long after her mother's death. There were in eighteenth-century England good schools with acceptable standards, which satisfied the demands of the middle classes. At times, conditions in school were harsh and cruel, as they were at home too, but if they were thought to be excessive parents reacted accordingly. Golding Constable removed his son John from the Grammar School, Lavenham, where Mr Blower's usher was reputed to flog the boys unmercifully, and instead sent him to the local grammar school at Dedham. With certainty it can be stated that the Woods' school at Bury St Edmunds met the requirements of the day, turned out young ladies accomplished to the best of their abilities, and provided a happy atmosphere for their charges. The Woods had to work hard to earn their keep, particularly the men who either rode or travelled by some form of wheeled transport to teach in various towns in Suffolk, Norfolk and Essex each week, and proved, like other successful peripatetic teachers, that it was a satisfactory and profitable modus operandi. Though the work was demanding, it provided a good living and gave the Woods status too.

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NOTES

- 1 The first known issue is number 348 dated 1 May 1708. For more details see Cranfield 1962, 15.
- 2 See Cranfield 1962, 210.
- 3 For instance, see Thomas White's advertisements for his Colchester Academy in the *Ipswich Journal* (30 Dec. 1785 and 30 Dec. 1803) and Tomlinson 2008.
- 4 IJ, 25 Mar. to 1 April 1727; 28 Jan. 1769.
- 5 According to J.H. Plumb (1975, 73), between 1743 and 1747 thirty-five schools were advertised in the *Ipswich Journal*'s columns; and between 1783 and 1787 ninety-one plus ten others that were mentioned in advertisements placed by dancing masters.
- 6 IJ, 10 May 1740.
- 7 Their ages were obtained from Isaac's marriage licence allegation in Lambeth Palace Library, dated 14 September 1716. According to Mon. Ins., Hannah was sixteen or seventeen years old.
- 8 Parish register, Bury St Edmunds St Mary: Jarmyn was baptised 25 October 1718 and buried 1 June 1720.

- 9 See Hervey 1903.
- 10 See entries for 29 October 1717 and 25 October 1718.
- 11 Burns 2004(a).
- 12 In 1722 Martha Bellamy's school was situated in Old Boswell Court, near St Clement's Inn, London, and by 1726 it had been moved to High Wycombe in Buckinghamshire: see Bellamy 1722 and 1726. The obituary notice for her son, the Revd Daniel Bellamy, in the *Gentleman's Magazine* of 1788, states that the school was in Chelsea, so it must have returned to London at some time.
- 13 Bellamy 1723.
- 14 SM, 3 Feb. 1728/9.
- 15 See Eight Solos for a Violin with a thorough Bass for the Harpsichord or Bass Violin, composed by Joseph Gibbs, organist at Dedham, 1749. For further details see ERO, C905, the Bensusan Butt papers, Box 6, envelope marked 'Subscribers' Lists'.
- 16 TNA, PROB 11/836.
- 17 Defoe 1949, 70, 72.
- 18 Approximately thirty schools were advertised in the Ipswich Journal between 1746 and 1810.
- 19 See Girouard, 1990, 127-44.
- 20 Down 1997. The first known assembly in Ipswich was in 1721 (IJ, 24 June to 1 July 1721) and in Colchester in 1727 (IJ, 17-24 June 1727).
- 21 See Scarfe 1988.
- 22 SM, 7 Oct. 1723. Publics were occasions held by dancing masters to demonstrate the dancing skills of their pupils.
- 23 SM, 24 Jan. 1725/6, 13 Mar. 1726/7, 3 Feb. 1728/9.
- 24 BNP, 5 June 1811. The house is now No. 3 Chequer Square. No. 4 is the house that Isaac Wood leased in 1754: IJ, 3 Aug. 1754; see also SROB, 312/45/47(a).
- 25 Hannah was perhaps called Margaretta after Margaretta Green, daughter of the Revd Edward Green of Drinkstone and future wife of Sir Jermyn Davers; and Merelina after one of the descendants of the second Lord Jermyn, who had a daughter and granddaughter called Merelina. Hervey (1903, 310) suggests that Merelina was a made-up name, given to a daughter of the second Lord Jermyn who had married a Mary Merry. Merelina married Sir William Gage and they had a daughter called Merelina who married Thomas Discipline of Bury St Edmunds.
- 26 TNA, PROB 11/977; Burns 2004(b).
- 27 SM, 9 July 1733.
- 28 II, 20 Oct. 1744.
- 29 IJ, 8-15 Mar. 1734/5; SM, 9 Apr. 1739; IG-14 Apr. 1739.
- 30 IG, 8-15 Mar. 1734/5.
- 31 IG, 26 April to 3 May 1735, 6-13 Mar. 1736.
- 32 SM 22 Dec. 1738. Almost certainly the Walsham referred to is Walsham-le-Willows, which is within easy reach of Bury St Edmunds.
- 33 SROI, FB98/E3/2.
- 34 IJ, 12 June 1742.
- 35 Other children baptised there were: Mary (born 13 April 1750), Nathaniel (born 24 May 1751), John Henry (born 30 October 1752, died 23 February 1753), William (2 June 1754). John and Harriet Wood may well have had other children baptised elsewhere.
- 36 IJ, 23 Mar., 10 Nov. 1750; 20 Jan. 1749/50.
- 37 IJ, 14 Sep. 1771.
- 38 IJ, 29 Aug. 1752. Possibly this change of date was necessary as in September eleven days (the third to the thirteenth) were omitted from the calendar to bring England's calendar into line with that of many European countries.
- 39 See for instance IJ, 29 Aug. 1752; 1 Sep., 20 Oct. 1753; 11 May, 24 Aug. 1754.
- 40 IJ, 20 Oct. 1750.
- 41 IJ, 8 Mar. 1755.
- 42 IJ, 15 Mar. 1755.
- 43 IJ, 9 Oct. 1756; NM, 26 Feb., 26 Mar.; IJ, 19 Mar., 26 Aug., 26 Mar., 2 Apr. 1757.
- 44 Mon. Ins.
- 45 IJ, 24 Dec. 1757.
- 46 TNA, PROB 11/836/98: Isaac Wood of Bury St Edmunds, gent, proved 18 March 1758.
- 47 SROB, N3/3/1, N3/3/2. When Isaac leased the second house in Chequer Square, he planned to provide accommodation for the judges on the assize circuit and, at other times, to rent it out: IJ, 3 Aug. 1754, 4 Sep. 1756. I am grateful to Dr Murrell for providing this information.

- 48 IJ, 28 Feb. 1772; Mon. Ins.
- 49 SROB, N3/3/3-9; SROI, IC/AAI/203/65.
- 50 IJ, 24 Mar. 1770.
- 51 IJ, 26 May 1770.
- 52 IJ, 18 May 1771.
- 53 Mon. Ins; IJ, 28 Feb. 1772; TNA, PROB 11/877.
- 54 IJ, 11, 18 Apr., 9 May 1772.
- 55 IJ, 6 June 1772; NM, 13 June 1772.
- 56 II, 4, 18 Sep. 1773.
- 57 SROB, N3/3/2.
- 58 IJ, 18 Sep. 1773.
- 59 IJ, 2 Apr. 1774; 30 Sep., 7 Oct. 1775; 15, 29 June 1776.
- 60 IJ, 27 July 1776, 24 Mar. 1781.
- 61 IJ, 22 May 1779, 6 June 1778, 26 May 1781.
- 62 IJ, 24 Mar, 1781.
- 63 Harriet was buried at St Nicholas, Ipswich, on 14 August 1776; IJ, 19 July 1783.
- 64 ERO, C905, Bensusan Butt papers, Box 6, envelope marked 'Subscribers' Lists'. Among the pieces to which John subscribed were: Six Quartettos for Two Violins, a Tenor, and Violoncello or Harpsichord' (1777) by Joseph Gibbs (organist at Ipswich); Eight Solos for a Violin with a thorough Bass for the Harpsichord or bass violin (1749) by Joseph Gibbs (organist at Dedham); The Grove or Rural Harmony (c. 1760) by John Carr of Boxford.
- 65 SROI, IC/AAI/203/65.
- 66 IJ, 10 Mar. 1770.
- 67 NM, 10 Mar. 1770.
- 68 BNP, 13 Oct. 1790, 5 June 1811, 16 June 1802, 19 Sep. 1798; IJ, 12 Jan. 1782; BNP, 13 Oct. 1790.
- 59 SROB, Acc. 2190.
 Harrison 1969, 29-31. Additional information about Lucy Watt and her family not given in SROB, Acc.
 2190 was obtained either from Helena Harrison's article or the card index in the Suffolk Record Office,
 Bury St Edmunds. When Lucy married in 1813 in Jamaica, Black Peggy was included in her dowry.
- 72 Ibid., letter 1.
- 73 Ibid., letter 2.
- 74 The bundle of papers consists of five letters (SROB, Acc. 2190, part 1) and bills from the school, peripatetic masters and tradesmen, and a statement of accounts by Mrs Anderson (Acc. 2190, part 2).
- 75 SROB, Acc. 2190, part 1, letter 5.
- 76 SROB, Acc. 2190, part 1, letter 3.
- 77 SROB, Acc. 2190, part 2: Mrs Anderson's bill for clothing Lucy.
- 78 SROB, Acc. 2190, part 1, letter 4.
- 79 BNP, 5 June 1811; IJ, 8 July 1811.
- 80 Mon. Ins.; IJ, 22 Feb. 1812.
- 81 IJ, 14 Nov. 1812.
- 82 IJ, 25 Sep. 1813; SROB, N3/3/10-11.
- 83 II, 20 Jan. 1749/50.
- 84 For the details of the boys see the parish registers of Monks Eleigh; for Elizabeth Hannah's baptism see the parish register of St Mary's, Hadleigh.
- 85 IJ, 19 Feb. 1757, 19 Jan. 1760, 19 Feb. 1763, 29 Mar. 1777.
- 86 IJ, 16 May 1761, 17 Mar. 1764, 4 July 1789.
- 87 IJ, 12 June 1776, 27 June 1778.
- 88 II, 16 Oct. 1790.
- 89 SROI, 04/09, Land Tax, Hadleigh, 1772.
- 90 IJ, 23 Aug. 1777, 3 Feb. 1781.
- 91 BNP, 13 Sep. 1809.
- 92 Local Studies Library, Colchester, Genealogical Collections relating to the County of Essex; Register of Monumental Inscriptions at St Michael's, Myland, Colchester, vol. 13, p. 35.
- 93 See IJ, 26 June 1770, 28 Dec. 1771, 30 May 1772, 9 Jan 1773, 18 Dec. 1779.
- 94 See IJ, 8 Sep. 1753, 14 Sep. 1754, 26 Mar. 1757, 17 July 1761, 2 Jan. 1762, 8 July, 23 Dec. 1780; and ChC, 25 May 1778.
- 95 Henry Boad was master of the Green Coat School, Colchester, from about 1725 (see ERO, D/Q 30/60/1, Arthur Winsley's will) to April 1759 (ERO, D/Q 56/1, Rules and Orders of the Charity School, entry for

29 Sep. 1759). He published three textbooks (see *IJ*, 22 Sep. 1744). His son advertised his father's school in August 1759 (*IJ*, 4 Aug. 1759), after which nothing more is known of Fauntleroy or his father's school. 96 See Sunderland 1981, 7.

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Abbreviations

BNP Bury and Norwich Post
ChC Chelmsford Chronicle
ERO Essex Record Office
IG Ipswich Gazette
IJ Ipswich Journal

Mon. Ins.

Monumental Inscriptions, Abbey Burying Ground, Bury St Edmunds, vol. 1 (1887), compiled by the Revd F. Hazelwood

(SROB)

NM SM

Norwich Mercury Suffolk Mercury

SROB

Suffolk Record Office, Bury St Edmunds

SROI

Suffolk Record Office, Ipswich

TNA

The National Archives