

THE IPSWICH CHARITY SCHOOLS OF GREY COAT BOYS AND BLUE COAT GIRLS

1709—1809.¹

By H. STONE.

A feature of the end of the 17th Century and the beginning of the 18th was the remarkable success of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, founded in London 1699. One of its primary objects was the establishment of charity schools maintained by subscription for the education of children in the principles of Christianity as held by the established Church.² The movement spread quickly from London to the provinces. There is no direct evidence of a connection between the Ipswich Schools and the S.P.C.K., but on comparing the 'fundamental rules' of both bodies, there appears a similarity so marked that it is possible to conclude that the founders of the schools here knew and approved of the work of the central body, and borrowed extensively from it.³ Although it appears that an attempt was made to create such a school in Ipswich in 1700, nothing seems to have come of it,⁴ for it was not until 1709, when 'some well-disposed persons in this town out of a charitable intention, desirous to set up a society for the educating of poor . . . children and have them brought up in the principles of religion according to the established Church of England. . . . To this intention in the month of July, 1709, Devereux Edgar, Esq., undertook this good charitable work' and headed the subscription list.⁵

¹ The Minute Books of the charity, upon which this survey is mainly based, are in the Ipswich Central Library, MSS. Collection. All statements made in the text are founded upon entries in these books unless otherwise stated. The following abbreviations are used in the notes:

GQM—General Quarterly Meetings, minute books	K22/1/1.6,7.
DM—Directors' Meetings, minute books	K22/1/1.1-4.
Treasurers' Accounts	K22/1/2.1,2.

² Allen and McClure, *S.P.C.K., 1698-1898*, p. 23.

³ S.P.C.K. Rules for Schools, *Account of Charity Schools*, (S.P.C.K. pamphlet, 1704). The rules are reproduced in Allen and McClure, *op. cit.*, pp. 138-9 and in M. G. Jones, *The Charity School Movement in the 18th Century*, (1938), pp. 98-9.

⁴ Allen and McClure, *op. cit.*, p. 98: 'A Society is lately begun at Ipswich under his direction and that they have set up Evening Prayers which are very laudably frequented, and were propounding the design of schools'—(Mr. George Raymond of Ipswich, Feb. 20, 1699-1700).

⁵ Edgar Family MSS., Ipswich Central Library, S1/9/2.2.

ESTABLISHMENT OF THE SCHOOLS.

A meeting was held 30th September following in the vestry of St. Mary-le-Tower Church, after a sermon had been preached. It was decided to establish a school for boys, 'wherein poor children may be taught to read write and cast accounts and be instructed in the principles of the Church of England'.

The management of the school was entrusted to five governors or directors elected annually from the subscribers, 'to dispose of this charity by providing a master and school for him to teach in and taking into it such poor children as they shall judge most fitting and real objects of charity'. The treasurer, who also was elected annually had the aid of a paid collector, whose successors had to give a bond of £100 as surety for their honesty. The governors appointed a clerk at their first meeting but since the master did their clerical work, it appears that the clerk acted as collector.⁶ Finally it was decided that the general quarterly meeting should be preceded by a sermon, unless the quarter day happened to fall on a Sunday, when the meeting would be held on the next day. This practice was later modified: the sermon was preached on the Sunday afternoon, and the general quarterly meeting held on the Thursday following the quarter day.⁷ An important part of the quarterly sermon was the collection, for which four pewter soup plates were provided. The Bishop of Norwich was requested to preach when his visitations brought him to Ipswich. It is noticeable that the collection on those occasions was far greater than usual.⁸

At this first meeting the principles of the government of the school were laid down. The subscribers insisted that everyone connected with the charity must be a member of the Church of England, whether governors, teachers, pupils and even the masters to whom the boys were bound apprentice after they left. It seems that children of Nonconformists were allowed to enter the schools but only if their parents agreed to their education in the ideals of the established church.

The subscribers at the first meeting were asked to give a donation towards the foundation of the school and then to pay quarterly their annual subscriptions. Three main lists are given in which 91

⁶ The clerk was subsequently referred to as the 'collecting clerk' (DM Nov. 3, 1709; Oct. 20, 1712).

The master was ordered to send letters to subscribers notifying them of meetings and the form to be used was detailed (DM Mar. 4, 1739/40).

⁷ The four quarter days were: Sept. 30, Dec. 30, Mar. 28, June 30 (GQM Nov. 30, 1710; Nov. 18, 1717).

⁸ The amounts collected at Quarterly sermons are to be found in a MS. book, K22/1/3.2, 1709-1795. They range from £1 9s. 8d. to £20 10s. 6d. (collected at a sermon preached by the Bishop of Norwich), averaging approximately £6 10s. 0d. throughout the whole period.

people paid down £153 12s. 6d. and promised to pay each year, £112 10s. 0d. (Plate XXVII).⁹ The directors appointed from their number were so pleased with this response that a school for girls was opened shortly after.

The qualifications of the teachers were detailed: 'The master shall be a person of good life and character above the age of 25 years constant at the worship and communion of the Church of England... who can read and write well and is well skilled in the grounds of arithmetic,¹⁰ of prudence to manage youth, and of competent knowledge in the principles of religion as he may be able to teach and instruct his scholars to read the Bible, and in teaching them the principles of religion he shall use the Catechism . . . and such expositions as the Governors . . . shall direct'. Finally he was to read at the beginning of school each morning a service approved of by the directors 'with the assistance of two or more of the Reverend clergy subscribers'.¹¹

The mistress's duties were similar to the master's. She had to be 'a person of good life and character above the age of 30 years . . . a good workman that she may teach her pupils the use of their needles in all necessary and housewifely sorts of plain work and knitting'.¹² She, too, had to teach her pupils to read and the principles of religion according to the Church of England. She was bidden to 'reprove all vice, idle talk, lying, swearing and pilfering in her scholars, and if any are notoriously guilty of such faults she shall inform the directors in order [*sic*] to their public chastisement'.

Only seven months after the first general quarterly meeting two schools had been set up with their teachers and pupils, 40 boys and 24 girls. The boys' school was in 'Lockwood's room or chamber in St. Mary Tower [parish] if it can be hired at a reasonable rate', which presumably it was; a girls' school was in rooms hired of Thomas Gray, carpenter, for £4 per annum and included two little upper rooms for the mistress. Gray was 'to pay all duties, parish rates and Queen's taxes'.

THE PUPILS.

At first children were admitted between the ages of seven and twelve, but soon the range was narrowed to exclude applicants under nine or over eleven; later the age limits for admission was fixed at between eight and ten years. It was not long before the governors insisted on the production of certificates of baptism, as a

⁹ GQM, K22/1/1.6, pp. 9-12.

¹⁰ For teaching methods in arithmetic, see K22/1/3.1.

¹¹ See Appendix A. The qualifications are very similar to those required by S.P.C.K. (See note 3, above).

¹² M. G. Jones, *op. cit.*, p. 99, n.1.

A TRUE COPY

of the Original Subscription

for the Erecting and Maintaining of the aforesaid

Charity School

The Subscribers Names, their Ready, or Term'd Payments, with their
Several Receipts, &c. in the said Charter as first Intended,
Distinckish'd in Different Columns

The Original

All Lists taken in Paper, since Revocation, Intended to be kept as a Record

Note The Original Copy is deposited in the Public Office of the City of Ipswich, and is open to the Inspection of all Persons who may desire to see it. It is also deposited in the Public Office of the City of London, and is open to the Inspection of all Persons who may desire to see it.

Ipswich Agreed by us whose Hands are hereunto, towards the setting up of a
Charity School in the said City of Ipswich, to be fixed upon Rules & Orders as
Committee to be appointed for that Purpose shall determine, & to be Educated with Principles
of the Church of England, to pay the several Rates & Duties
The said Rates & Duties to be paid as a Fund for Malt's Coats Bookers &c.
The said Schooling Books and other Annual Demands
to be paid Quarterly
The Annual Payments to continue only during the said Term

- William Barker, Doct.
- Jacob Pitt, Master
- Thomas Bourne
- Orlando Bridgeman
- William Edgar
- William Alton
- Robert Brooke
- John Pitt
- John Clark
- John Blomfield
- John Blomfield

Amount paid	Amount due	Amount due	Amount due	Amount due	Amount due	Amount due	Amount due	Amount due	Amount due
05 07 00	04 10 00	01 00 00	01 00 00	M Thomas Dow, Treasr	03 00 00	02 00 00	00 00 00	00 00 00	00 00 00
05 07 06	04 00 00	01 00 00	01 00 00	M William Lamb, Treasr	04 00 00	01 10 00	00 00 00	00 00 00	00 00 00
05 07 06	04 00 00	01 00 00	01 00 00	M John Goodwin	03 00 00	03 00 00	00 00 00	00 00 00	00 00 00
05 07 06	04 00 00	01 00 00	01 00 00	M William Goodwin	02 00 00	03 00 00	00 00 00	00 00 00	00 00 00
05 07 06	04 00 00	01 00 00	01 00 00	M Walter Goodwin	02 00 00	00 00 00	00 00 00	00 00 00	00 00 00
05 07 06	04 00 00	01 00 00	01 00 00	M John Goodwin	01 03 00	00 00 00	00 00 00	00 00 00	00 00 00
05 06 00	04 00 00	01 00 00	01 00 00	M Thomas Goodwin	01 00 00	01 00 00	00 00 00	00 00 00	00 00 00
05 07 06	04 00 00	01 00 00	01 00 00	M Thomas Goodwin	01 00 00	00 10 00	00 00 00	00 00 00	00 00 00
02 03 00	00 00 00	00 00 00	00 00 00	M John Goodwin	01 01 00	01 00 00	00 00 00	00 00 00	00 00 00
03 08 00	03 00 00	00 15 00	00 15 00	M John Goodwin	01 00 00	01 00 00	00 00 00	00 00 00	00 00 00
02 03 00	02 00 00	00 10 00	00 10 00	M John Goodwin	01 00 00	01 00 00	00 00 00	00 00 00	00 00 00
02 03 00	02 00 00	00 10 00	00 10 00	M John Goodwin	01 00 00	01 00 00	00 00 00	00 00 00	00 00 00
01 04 00	03 00 00	00 10 00	00 10 00	M John Goodwin	01 00 00	01 00 00	00 00 00	00 00 00	00 00 00
01 04 00	03 00 00	00 10 00	00 10 00	M John Goodwin	01 00 00	01 00 00	00 00 00	00 00 00	00 00 00

Part of the first List of Subscribers, 1709.

State of the Annual Expences, And Income of the Society,

FOR SUPPORTING THE CHARITY SCHOOLS OF

Grey Coat Boys and Blue Coat Girls in Ipswich,

As it appeared on settling the Accounts, OCTOBER 29, 1779.

Which State the Directors are induced to lay before the Public, because they have Reasons to believe, That several Persons, well inclined to encourage this Charity, have been prevented from so doing, by a Persuasion that it does not want their Assistance.

ANNUAL EXPENCES of the SCHOOLS.

£. s. d.

Upon an Average since the last Augmentation in 1775, 341 10 0
Towards defraying which Expences the Society are, by the Blessing of God, possessed
of the following Annual Income, viz.

O R F O R D E S T A T E.

£. s. d.

Average of last Ten Years, - - - - -	7 2 0
Mr. Gibbon's Legacy, - - - - -	4 0 0
Mr. Coſin's Legacy, deducting Land-Tax at 4s. - - - - -	4 0 0
Mr. Pemberton's Legacy, Average of last Ten Years, - - - - -	83 10 0
Mr. Quintin's Legacy, deducting Land-Tax at 4s. - - - - -	3 8 0

S H O T L E Y F A R M.

Average of last Ten Years, - - - - -	52 10 0
Interest of 200£. lent to the Hundreds of COLNEIS and CARLFORD, - - - - -	8 0 0
Same of 500£. to S. M F O R D, - - - - -	22 10 0
So that the Schools depend upon the VOLUNTARY CONTRIBUTIONS of such charitable Persons } as are pleased to encourage this good Work, for the Annual Sum of - - - - -	137 10 0
Towards which Sum the SUBSCRIPTION ROLL has produced on an Average of the last Ten } Years, - - - - -	81 0 0
The COLLECTIONS AT CHURCH on the same Average, - - - - -	28 10 0
And OCCASIONAL LEGACIES on the same Average, - - - - -	33 0 0
	142 10 0

By the above Accounts it appears, that the Yearly Payments of the Society have, upon an }
Average for the last Five Years, exceeded their Receipts, - - - - - } 15 0 0

They trust nevertheless, under the Protection of the same good God, who hath hitherto so remarkably prospered their Endeavours, still to be enabled to support these NURSERIES of RELIGION and INDUSTRY, and therefore hope for the further Assistance of all charitable Persons.

WILLIAM LYNCH,
ROBERT LAWTON,
THOMAS COBBOLD, } DIRECTORS,
JOHN KIRBY,
P. C. NEGUS,
RICHARD BROME.

JOHN KERRIDGE, TREASURER,
WILLIAM TRUELOVE, STEWARD.

proof of age, and also that no girl could be entered into the school if she had a brother already in it. This rule was later withdrawn at a moment when some difficulty was being experienced in keeping the girls' school full, but only to permit one boy and girl at a time from any one family.

A parent wishing to enter a child had first to gain the interest of an annual subscriber of £1 or more, who would then put forward the child's name when next a vacancy occurred or when it was that subscriber's turn to recommend a child. At first vacancies apparently were bespoken, for later no recommendation was accepted unless there was an actual vacancy, and then it had to be made in person by the patron, or in a letter written in his own hand.¹³ In 1781 new rules were laid down 'relative to subscribers and the recommendation of children to take place at Michaelmas next'. These rules constituted an elaborate system of deciding the order of precedence of subscribers to be used when recommending children.¹⁴ After 1788, if those nominated by subscribers were not enough to fill the vacancies the governors were empowered to choose children at their meetings in order to keep the schools full.

The schools had opened with 40 boys and 24 girls; 16 more of the latter were admitted in 1711. At first the number of boys remained fairly steady, while that of the girls fluctuated considerably.¹⁵ In 1728 the directors reduced the number of girls to 20 and at the same time admitted another ten boys to make 50 in all. After this, apart from a complaint registered in 1748 that it was difficult to keep the girls' school full, there appears to have been little difficulty experienced in filling vacant places. So well had the schools been established that in 1756 the number of boys was augmented yet again to 60, and the girls to 24. Numbers remained

¹³ The child was expected to know his or her patron. The formula for recording the admission of a child used for much of the period was as follows: 'Ordered that Thomas, son of Thomas and Sarah Kettle, baptised Feb. 15, 1732[-3] be admitted into the School of Grey Coat Boys in the room of Thomas Wythe now dismissed at the request of Mr. Richard Dobson an annual contributor thereto.' (DM July 29, 1742)

¹⁴ (1) That the larger subscribers shall have the preference to those of a later date in similar cases. (2) That subscribers of the longest standing shall have preference to those of a later date in similar cases. (3) That a new subscriber of one guinea shall have a right to recommend after having been a subscriber two years. (4) An annual subscriber of two guineas shall have a right to recommend at the end of one year. (5) That no subscriber's recommendation shall be accepted if his subscription be two years in arrears. (6) That the master of the schools shall give every subscriber six months' notice when his right of recommendation commences' (GQM Apr. 5, 1781).

¹⁵ In Jan. 1715-6, the girls' numbers were down to approximately 28, when the directors ordered them to be made up to 40 again. But they soon dropped: 30, Feb 1720-1; 25, Feb. 1722-3; 30 again 1724. In the period 1722-4, the boys' numbers fluctuated between 30 and 40.

static until after the move was made to the new buildings in St. Mary Elms parish (1771), when six more girls were admitted because '24 girls are not able to do the work of the school'. A final increase took place in 1810 when the number of girls was increased to 40 making, with the 60 boys, 100 pupils altogether.

Generally speaking the impression is gained that the governors rarely had any difficulty in filling vacancies especially after the schools had had time to establish themselves. Frequent entries in the minutes show that a child was dismissed and his or her place filled if not—as sometimes happened—on the same day, very shortly afterwards.

CURRICULUM.

It is to be supposed that no radical change in the curriculum was made until 1770 when a resolution was passed 'that the boys spend part of their time at work . . . spinning wool as soon as a proper house can be provided'. For this purpose a house was bought in St. Mary Elms parish, and the stable and warehouse at the foot of the garden being completely rebuilt to provide a work-room for the boys and two classrooms.¹⁶

In School the daily session opened with prayers, absence from which twice in a week was held to merit a whipping. A list of absentees and latecomers had to be handed to the Treasurer each Saturday.¹⁷ The boys' 'reader' was naturally the Bible, and in the first stage of the school's history, scholars rarely saw books other than those connected with religion: the Bible, Book of Common Prayer, a Testament, Lewis's *Catechism* and one or two others. Of secular books, a primer and spelling books appear to have been the only ones used.

The girls, apart from learning to read and being taught the principles of religion, knitted the stockings worn by the children and made the boys' shirts and their own shifts.¹⁸ The directors ordered them to be catechised regularly on Wednesday and Saturday mornings. They were taught to write until 1737, when during some financial difficulty the mistress was ordered to stop teaching to write 'at great expense to the charity'. After April 1774, the girls were paid 3d. for every pair of stockings they knitted and 6d. for every shirt or shift they made.—The payment of this money

¹⁶ 1770-1. The site of the house and school, it seems clear, was in Curriers Lane, which certainly is in St. Mary-at-Elms parish. White's Directory of Ipswich, 1844, mentions the schools as being there, and gives no hint that it had been moved since 1809.

¹⁷ The boys ran errands for tradesmen before and after school, as to-day, but the governors forbade them to serve fishmongers, butchers and publicans. They were also to make sure that they came to school at the proper time.

¹⁸ A quantity of linen at 8½d. a yard and yarn at 2/8 a lb. were ordered from the very beginning.

was conditional on good behaviour, as an addition to the allowance for clothes and linen given to them when they left. By 1808 the 3d. and 6d. had been increased to 4d. and 9d. respectively. Also, conditional on good behaviour the boys' earnings at spinning were added to their premiums when they were apprenticed.

CLOTHES.

The children were supplied with their school uniforms. The boys were each given, at the first issue after the school was opened, a grey coat with blue facings and a blue cape, a blue waistcoat, a pair of breeches (made from the same grey 'thicksett' cloth as were the coats), a leather cap, two shirts, two neckcloths, a pair of shoes, a pair of stockings and a pair of buckles.¹⁹ Subsequently, they received each year an additional pair of shoes and stockings. Towards the end of the century hats replaced the caps, but otherwise no change in uniform is recorded.

The girls were given blue coats and later were ordered bonnets and gloves, but no detailed list of their clothes survives; merely 'habits fit for girls from eight to eleven' were ordered for them. From time to time these were supplemented by leather 'bodies'²⁰ and stomachers. The mistress was enjoined 'to take care that the children appear always in their proper habit . . . and such children as are in default' were to be reported to the governors. Not only were they to be properly dressed, but they must also come to school clean and tidy. Shortly after the schools were opened the children were inspected to see if they were looking after their clothes.

DISCIPLINE.

It was very soon found that severe disciplinary action was needed. One boy 'being an incorrigible truant and having been already

¹⁹ Grey thick-sett cloth for coats and breeches	...	...	2/- per yd.
Blue kersey for waistcoats and facings	...	...	1/6 per yd.
to make up a suit of clothes	...	...	3/-
Caps, 10d. each; shoes 2/3 a pair; stockings 9d. a pair (DM Dec. 29, 1709; DM Dec. 30, 1709).			
Compare these prices paid for the first suits of clothes ordered for the boys, with those paid in London:			
1 yd. and $\frac{1}{2}$ qr. of grey Yorkshire broadcloth 6 qrs. wide	...	...	3/-
making the coat; pewter buttons and all other materials	...	...	1/-
1 pr. breeches of cloth or leather lined	...	...	2/6
waistcoat	...	...	3/6
1 knit cap with tuft and string of any colour	...	...	10d.
1 band, 2d.; 1 shirt 1/6; 1 pr. woollen stockings 8d. 1 pr. shoes 1/10;	...	...
1 pr. buckles 1d.	...	...	4/3

(Allen and McClure, *op. cit.*, pp. 140-1).

15/1

²⁰ Old spelling of 'bodice'.

admonished' and two others 'having been guilty of several crimes, viz., breaking into a dove house and stealing pigeons', were expelled. This sentence was carried out more frequently than one might expect. The usual causes were truancy; the withdrawal of a child from the schools without the governors' consent, and prolonged absence. Sometimes children were expelled for 'grave misdemeanours', uncleanliness, and in one case for persistent lateness. One boy was expelled for bad spinning.²¹ Another's mother 'made a loud outcry in the town at her son's being whipped', kept him from school to glean 'pretending she had leave from one of the directors which was false': the governors resolved to expel him if it happened again. One extraordinary case may be noted, when Caroline Kent was dismissed 'on account of Mr. John Sharp having withdrawn his subscription' (1782). She had been admitted to school two years before on his recommendation. It appears that the subscribers agreed with this decision for they resolved that 'if a subscriber shall withdraw his subscription any child in the school recommended by him shall be dismissed' unless some other subscriber shall think it proper 'to continue that subscription until the child is bound out or otherwise disposed of'.

HOURS AND HOLIDAYS.

Compared with children to-day, those in the schools worked longer hours and had shorter holidays. From 1st November to 14th February they attended school from 8 to 11 a.m. and from 1 to 4 p.m.; and for the remainder of the year from 7 to 11 a.m. and from 1 to 5 p.m.²² On Saturdays and Holydays they finished at

²¹ An analysis of expulsions over the whole period shows the following reasons:

	<i>Boys</i>	<i>Girls</i>
Absent	15	9
Withdrawn without consent of the governors	4	8
Truancy	10	1
Misdemeanours and bad conduct	4	6
Insolent behaviour	3	1
Conduct subversive of discipline	2	—
Swearing and idle behaviour	1	—
Stealing	7	—
Uncleanliness	—	4
F frivolous complaints against the teachers	—	1
Coming late	—	1
Forging a governor's signature	1	—
Bad spinning	1	—
Unspecified	2	—
	—	—
totals	50	31

²² When spinning was started a proposal to increase School hours for the boys from 6 a.m. to 6 p.m. was soon modified to 7 a.m. until noon and 1 to 6 p.m. That winter they stopped work at 4 p.m. as usual. Normal hours were re-adopted in 1775 (GQM Feb. 25, 1772; Apr. 2, 1772; Jan. 5, 1775).

4 p.m. Every Sunday and Holyday they went to St. Mary Tower Church, where special seats and matting to kneel upon were provided for them by the charity. The only thing they had which modern children might envy was their quarterly cake and ale, and their Christmas dinner. The holidays were short and became fixed as follows: 'from Easter Eve till Monday se'nnight following; from the Thursday before Whitsuntide to the Monday se'nnight following, and from St. Thomas's day [21 December] to Plow Monday [second Monday in January], and the children are not to be absent from school at any other time unless they have leave given them under the hands of two directors'. Permission also from two governors was needed before any play could be granted.²³ Children were allowed to glean during the harvest until 1725, when on July 23, names of absentees were ordered to be handed in each Saturday morning. From this time there appears no record of their being granted anything that might be interpreted as a summer holiday.

The children were normally dismissed at the age of fourteen, after having been in the schools for four or five years. At first, when some of them entered at eight years of age, cases are recorded of individuals having been there for 'six years and upwards'.

APPRENTICES.

One of the primary objects of the charity was the apprenticing of boys²⁴ and finding domestic 'services' for the girls when their time came to leave. At first £5 was given as a premium for binding out a boy but after a short period when varying sums were paid it was reduced to £3. This standard amount was paid until 1765, except for 30 boys who were given £3 6s. 8d. each, under the will of Devereux Edgar, who died in 1739. After 1765 £4 was paid until 1807-8, when the amount was increased to £5. It was increased again almost immediately to £8. One thing that stands out is the great frequency with which parents, relations and occasionally officers or overseers of various parishes and even private gentlemen gave additional sums to enable boys to pay premiums far in excess of the amount given by the charity.²⁵

We find boys apprenticed not only to masters living in Ipswich, but also to many others in Suffolk, Norfolk, Essex and London. One boy was bound to a mariner of Sunderland. They were encouraged to choose their trades, for very numerous entries in the

²³ DM July 22, 1720.

²⁴ 'No boy who is not discharged for some misdemeanour be dismissed from the school before he shall be bound out apprentice or otherwise provided for to the satisfaction of the governors, then such children shall be discharged immediately' (GQM Apr. 2, 1719).

²⁵ See Appendix B—Apprentices.

minutes show that they were allowed to 'go upon tryall' or 'upon liking' to a particular master or trade with a view to being bound out later on: 'John Bensley being gone a voyage to sea upon liking ... and that upon his return home, if he likes he may be bound apprentice to learn the art of navigation'. An indenture was executed showing that he was eventually bound to a mariner.²⁶ Ultimately the practice arose of dismissing boys 'being now qualified to leave' and ordering them to find within four months a master of whom the governors could approve. During this period regular attendance at school had to continue. No money was given for binding a boy apprentice to his own father. An apprentice could not be assigned over to another master without the consent of the governors,²⁷ whose interest in the boys did not stop with their dismissal. They were invited to the Christmas dinner given to the children.

In a few cases boys were taken into service for a short time before being bound out and a warrant for the premium-money was given to the employer, to be paid when finally the boy was apprenticed: 'Samuel Hawkes be dismissed ... being qualified to leave ... and being accidentally lamed and so incapable of being bound out apprentice, the governors, at the request of Devereux Edgar Esq., do agree that [he] ... may live in his service till such time as he may recover from his lameness'. After 1753 the girls were given by the charity clothes and linen to the value of 40/- on 'being lett to a yearly service', provided that they had attended for four years and had behaved orderly and well during that time'. Towards the end of the century some abuse of this provision seems to have crept in, for the governors ordered the sum to be paid in two equal instalments; the first when the girl left school and the second when a year had expired and she had been engaged for a further period of service. In practice, however, the second half was very often paid after six months had elapsed.

An interesting sidelight on wages paid to girls going into service would be provided if the book ordered for entering the 'names of masters and mistresses to whom the girls shall be let ... and ... the wages he or she agree to pay ... not allowing less than 26/- for the year' were extant.

²⁶ DM Jan. 28, 1740-1: An indenture, entry no. 135 (1741) in the back of GQM K22/1/1.6 shows John Bensley bound apprentice to William Harvey of Ipswich, mariner.

²⁷ 'The mother of John Twells bound out apprentice about four years ago to Wm. Turner of Hearnstead, housecarpenter, appeared and upon her complaining of the very hard usage he had met with from his master, the governors now met, do agree that he may be immediately assigned over to Mr. Thomas Crick of St. Mary Key parish in this town pursuant to her request' (DM Nov. 21, 1740).

THE TEACHERS.

The teachers of the schools appear to have been treated not ungenerously. After 1720 the practice was adopted of appointing a husband and wife and their combined salaries amounted to quite a respectable sum for the period. Thomas Dove the first master was paid £30 per annum, and provided with the house adjoining Joseph Norton's in Carr Street and his schoolroom in Lockwood's 'room or chamber'. The rent of the latter was paid by the charity. When he died, about Christmas 1713, Abijah Mansur was appointed. He in turn was followed by Matthew Newcomen in February 1719/20, 'being judged well qualified for the discharge of this office . . . upon the same salary and advantages allowed [Mansur] . . . viz., £30 p.a., 50/- p.a. for the rent of his school and two chaldron of coals for firing for the use of the boys in the school'. When he retired on a pension of £15 a year because of his 'great age, his blindness and other infirmities' (1753), William Keeble was appointed. Within a year of his appointment, he accepted as apprentice John Denny, a pupil of the school, for a premium of £5.²⁸ It seems clear that Keeble had kept a school of his own before he was appointed to the Charity School, for he was 'allowed to teach his day scholars in the . . . school besides the charity children', but only during the lifetime of Newcomen who died within three months of his retirement. Two and a half years later, when ten more boys were admitted, Keeble's salary was raised from £30 to £36 per annum and he was to 'henceforth be allowed the remainder of the house rent, being £3 10s. 0d. on condition that no other children be taught by him . . . after Michaelmas next' as private pupils. At the same time he replaced the singing master, John Green and was paid £3 a year for teaching the boys to sing, giving him a total of £45. This did not include the half-crown he was paid for drawing up each indenture.²⁹ When he died in January 1765, his former apprentice, John Denny, succeeded him.

During his lifetime Denny served the charity well. His duties included acting as secretary to the society. He drew up indentures for the boys; sent out notices of meetings to the subscribers in a form prescribed by the governors; sent to the publisher of *The Ipswich Journal* the name of the preacher of the next Quarterly sermon; attended the quarterly meetings accompanied by the other 'servants of the charity'.³⁰ When the collector for the time

²⁸ See apprentices' indentures enrolled GQM K22/1/1.6, entry no. 221, 1754.

²⁹ See Treasurers' Accounts, from 1732-3, when the master was paid 2/6 for drawing each indenture.

³⁰ The 'servants' of the charity were the master, mistress, collector, clerk and sexton of St. Mary Tower church and the sexton's wife. They attended the quarterly meetings when they were allowed 1/- each for refreshments (GQM Dec. 29, 1737).

Later the singing master, when there was one, and the spinning master joined the others, being allowed 1/- each also. This was increased to 1/6 at the end of the period for the master and spinning master (GQM Jan. 20, 1808).

became ill and died, Denny took over and carried out those duties for the remainder of his life. His salary was increased to £50 a year in 1775. A clear indication of what was thought of him was the granting to his widow of a pension of £20 a year, which had been her full salary as mistress. He died in the early part of 1807, having been master for 42 years. His successor, John Boggis, did not maintain the same high standard, for a year later he sold two hats belonging to the charity; he was acquitted of any bad intention and reprimanded. It was not long, however, before he was in trouble once again, 'serious complaints' this time being levelled against him, unfortunately unspecified. The petition he sent to the governors and subscribers, who met especially to consider these complaints, was favourably received, so that he did not lose his post; but 15 members led by Mileson Edgar, who shortly before had acted as chairman to the charity, resigned, being of the opinion that 'whenever it shall be made a rule that no Freeman or Freeman's son shall be elected master' they would rejoin. Their resignation was accepted, but called forth a protest from Edward Bacon who apparently had led the members in support of accepting the petition. The subscribers at the next general quarterly meeting, 12 April, 1809, reviewed the master's conduct and he was dismissed with a quarter's salary provided he quitted the house within 14 days. A fortnight later William Leggatt was appointed; he was in the opinion of those who had resigned, 'a very proper' master, and they requested that their names be put back on the subscription roll.

John Boggis in his short term of office had not only fulfilled all the multifarious duties of his predecessor, but also received £6 a year 'for taking an account of the boys' spinning earnings', a task previously performed by a Mr. Garrard amongst others. The close of the period we are concerned with found Leggatt as master and was marked very clearly by the cessation of spinning, 'it having been fully and satisfactorily proved that the spinning was not attended with any advantage'. The master's salary was increased at the same time from £50 to £65, to compensate partly for the loss of the fee for looking after the spinning earnings and partly for the extra work entailed by supervising all the boys at once instead of half of them.

Mrs. Mary Gibbon, the first mistress, was paid £12 a year, and provided with a schoolroom and accommodation above it rent free; she also was allowed two chaldron of coals for her school. In 1716 she was permitted to have six private pupils. After she retired in 1720, all subsequent mistresses were wives of the masters. Mrs. Newcomen was given the help of some boys to move her school 'to the house of Matthew Newcomen'. She died within a few weeks of her husband and Mrs. Keeble took her place (1753). When

Mr. Keeble's salary was increased in 1756, his wife's was raised too, from £12 to £14 a year, on condition that she also stopped having private pupils. She remained as mistress several years after her husband died in 1764, sharing the house with John Denny.³¹ She was succeeded in 1774 by Mrs. Denny, whose salary was raised the next year from £14 to £20 a year, 'on account of the high price of provisions'. When she retired in 1807 at the death of her husband, Mrs. Boggis who succeeded her was paid £30, and she in turn was replaced by Mrs. Leggatt whose salary was increased to £35 in November 1809.

During the period when the boys spent half their time spinning, 1771-1809, there were four spinning masters. The first, Thomas Spencer was paid 7/- a week; the second, Samuel Moore, 1777-92, 7/9 a week from 1782; the third, Michael Boley, 1792-1807, 9/- a week from 1797 until his death, and the last, Samuel Hamblin 1807-9 was paid 12/- a week at first, but this was increased to 14/- in 1809.³² Of these men little was recorded, except Samuel Moore, who in 1789, 'for the future be not allowed to use any other weapon than a cane' to correct the boys within the spinning school for any fault'. He was to report serious misdemeanours to the master. In the following three years several cases occurred of boys being reprimanded or expelled for conduct 'subversive of discipline, inattention and disrespect to the spinning master'. Then in 1792 Moore was reprimanded for ill-treating a boy; further inquiry was ordered, which it seems resulted in his dismissal.

As already noted, the master acted as clerk to the charity while the mistress looked after the children's clothes.³³ Her girls knitted the stockings and made the shirts and shifts which were issued annually. The spinning master and the schoolmistress were given the aid of a Mrs. Stowe (1772) who was paid 3/- per week. Finally, there are frequent mentions of singing masters who during the term of their appointments, taught the children to sing psalms for an hour twice a week, and sang with them at church on Sundays.³⁴

ADMINISTRATION.

The governors or directors (the terms were used interchangeably) took their work seriously. They met frequently—at one time

³¹ 'Mrs. Keeble to have her part of the house, namely the back parlour with the chamber over the same and one other chamber next to the yard with a pantry and passage adjoining to the parlour . . . and John Denny to hold the other part of the same house, and further that Mrs. Keeble have the use of the wash house in common.' (GQM Jan. 3, 1765).

³² See Treasurers' accounts, 1773-1809.

³³ Children expelled and sometimes those dismissed were ordered to return their last suit of clothes.

³⁴ See Appendix C—Teachers.

once a fortnight—and kept their own minutes. As already mentioned they were elected annually at the Michaelmas quarterly meeting. They looked after the financial affairs of the charity; appointed tradesmen to supply their needs, ensuring that no money was paid, or warrant signed, until the goods were delivered.³⁵ They lent money out at interest or on mortgage. They examined applicants for vacancies; took disciplinary action when it was necessary; arranged for the inspection of the schools; protected their teachers from indignant parents on occasion; apprenticed boys on leaving and kept in touch with them while they were serving their time. They acted as landlords and looked after their estates. They formed in short a small body of men devoted to the affairs of the charity, giving up much time and energy to attending meetings and supervising its widening interests.

The financial position of the charity was kept on a very sound basis. Within a year of starting, the directors were able to lend out £100 at interest and by 1733 they could recommend the purchase of an estate. At first one at Holbrook was considered, but declined when it was found that there would be some difficulty in obtaining possession of the title-deeds. Another estate in Shotley and Chelmondiston was offered to the charity for £1,100, and was accepted. The £400 needed to complete payment was raised on mortgage, and thus for almost the only time in their career the directors borrowed money.

Two years later (1736) they were showing anxiety about the state of their finances, thinking it 'improper to enter into any new expense except their circumstances shall be in a more prosperous condition'. Several measures to cut down expenditure were introduced. Then, in 1738, they found it necessary to accept a loan of £40, interest free, from Devereux Edgar to pay a legacy charged on the estate. Finally they ordered a 'representation of the present state of the Society . . . to be drawn up in order to be printed and dispersed for the further promoting of the charity'.³⁶ This appeal seems to have been successful since no further financial difficulties were experienced until 1779 when another detailed representation of the state of the charity was drawn up. This was due to the fact that new school buildings had been purchased, adapted and com-

³⁵ 'Whereas Wm. Humphrey had a warrant signed at the last General Quarterly meeting for £2 10s. 0d. being the whole sum due for all the shoes that were ordered to be made by him and whereas . . . [he] has received the sum . . . yet it appears that seven pairs of shoes mentioned and charged in his bill have not been delivered and that [he] . . . is now in gaol on an action of debt, and probably the money received by him . . . will be lost, ORDERED that for the future the master do not make out any warrants to be signed by the governors except the goods for which such warrants be made have been actually delivered.'

³⁶ DM Oct. 26, 1739; Edgar Family MSS., S1/9/2.3 (copy of the representation).

pletely paid for in 1770-1. This statement, published in *The Ipswich Journal* (Plate XXVIII), shows the average annual expenditure on the schools over the previous four to five years to be £341 10s. 0d. and the income £326 10s. 0d. leaving an average annual deficit of £15 0s. 0d.³⁷ The action taken had the desired effect, for the governors were able to purchase £100 New South Sea Annuities five months later.

Perhaps the greatest contribution to this financial stability was made by the legacies received from time to time. These ranged from an estate at Orford left by William Edgar, Pemberton's charity (the residue of the rents of his estate at Pettistree and Wickham Market after certain other legacies had been paid), and Dudley North's £500; to the modest £5 left by Samuel Thurston. These bequests amounted over the century to £2,807, 6s. 8d., and the estates produced an annual income of £52.³⁸ Since the value of land soared in the second half of the period this income increased considerably. The substantial yearly balances which were enjoyed, except for two short periods, were never left idle, but immediately invested; whether lent to the overseers of the poor in the Hundreds of Samford, and Carlford and Colneis, or invested in New South Sea Annuities paying 3%, or lent on mortgage.³⁹

The charity showed itself to be a careful landlord. Trustees were appointed to conduct negotiations for the purchase of the estate at Shotley and Chelmondiston in 1733, and were kept active throughout the remainder of the period; they were chosen from leading members of the society. A steward was appointed as the 'surest method to prevent any fraud or waste . . . to look after all repairs . . . to assign wood for the tenant and rough timber when necessary for repairs, to see the tenant performs his covenants and to receive his rent'. The same meeting ordered the estate to be surveyed.

The sharp rise in land values and rents in the second half of the 18th century is well illustrated. In 1745 John Callum the tenant at Shotley was granted a further lease for 18 years at £56 per annum on conditions set out very fully.⁴⁰ At the end of this period

³⁷ GQM Mar. 28, 1780; *Ipswich Journal* Jun. 10, 1780 p. 3 col. 1; Edgar MSS., S1/9/2.5.

³⁸ For gifts and legacies to the charity, see K22/1/3.2.

³⁹ See Treasurers' accounts in general, 1770-1 in particular.

⁴⁰ '[The Trustees] . . . reported that . . . they have agreed with John Callum . . . to grant him another lease of the farm for the term of 18 years . . . [as] under . . . the present lease, excepting only that [he] . . . shall do 70 rod of ditching every year, shall leave 30 acres of summerland and ten acres of arable land laid with rye grass two years before the expiration of the lease, shall not lop any timber trees under the penalty of £5 a tree, shall find straw for thatching and shall not assign the whole or any part of the premises to any other person without leave except Calton common Meadow and that the covenants for chalk were omitted' (CQM July 4, 1745).

⁴¹ The Shotley Farm now in the occupation of Robert Boyce, be letten to him

the estate was let to Robert Boyce for 11 years at £70 on similar terms; on the expiry of this lease Mr. Joseph Alderton agreed to pay £90 for 11 years. He was followed by the Rev. Mr. Battley, a subscriber, who in 1795 took the lease for 11 years at a rental of £100 a year. Thus in a period of 65 years the value of the estate nearly doubled. The treasurer's accounts show that the taxes paid on it were defrayed by the charity, as were the repairs ordered from time to time.

The schoolhouse and buildings needed repeated expenditure for repairs. The oak floor ordered for the spinning school was changed to one of redwood deals. Four years later (1775) oak trees were ordered to be felled to provide flooring to replace the deals which apparently had worn out.⁴¹

CONCLUSION.

Looking back over the first 100 years must have given much satisfaction to the governors and subscribers to the charity, in spite of the trouble they had had with Mr. Boggis in 1808, and the consequent split in their ranks. The centenary celebrations were a great success. The Bailiffs and Corporation were invited to a dinner at the 'Bear and Crown'⁴² (tickets 12/- each), after they had gone in 'procession to St. Mary Tower Church where, during the service, the Rev. Thomas Cobbold gave 'an appropriate and impressive discourse . . . to a numerous and attentive audience'. There was a record collection of £57 11s. 7d. The children were previously regaled with roast beef and plum pudding at the 'King's Arms' Inn.⁴³ That occasion marked the closing of a chapter in the history of the Charity, for almost immediately afterwards changes were made, mainly in the curriculum, which were to alter quite considerably the character of the schools.

In 1808 a committee led by Mileson Edgar examined the 'fundamental rules' of the charity and the orders made from time to time;⁴⁴ the former were felt to be 'so imperiously handed

for 11 years from Michaelmas 1763 at the rent of £70 upon the other terms of the present lease, excepting he is not to be allowed any wood for firing and that [he] . . . is to find four chaldron of coals at his own expense every year' (GQM July 1, 1762).

⁴¹ Repairs to the Shotley estate were ordered in 1773, 1778, 1808. Extensive alterations to the buildings of the estate were made in 1808 by the charity.

The schoolhouse and schoolrooms were repaired quite often too; 1775, 1776, 1778, 1795, 1800; 1808 to value of £85.

⁴² Now the 'Oriental Cafe', Westgate Street.

⁴³ *Ipswich Journal*, Oct. 14, 1809.

⁴⁴ GQM Jan. 20, 1808. For extracts made by the committee see Edgar MSS. S1/9/2.6, and 2.7. The Fundamental Rules were entered in the front of each Directors' minute book and certain of them were ordered to be read at each quarterly meeting. A printed copy of the revised rules is in the pamphlet collection, Ipswich Central Library.

down to posterity as neither to induce nor permit them to make any alteration', but the latter they adjusted to meet the requirements of the time where it was felt necessary. It is very noticeable that these adjustments were minor in character.

This account of its first century illustrates the working of a typical charity school of the 18th century,⁴⁵ in which a distinctive feature was the attempt to combine the 'advantages' of an industrial school (where children were put to work) with the normal charity school.⁴⁶ In 1809 this experiment was declared unsuccessful and terminated. From being wholly supported by subscription, it had by the middle of the period been strengthened by legacies amounting to over £1,000, the income of three estates and the interest of the leading citizens of Ipswich. The minute books record a century of steady progress, although we sense at first that the governors were feeling their way by trial and error. There never seemed to be any great difficulty in keeping the schools full. Representations of the charity calculated to revive flagging public interest were only issued twice, in 1739 and 1780, and each appears to have had the desired effect. Towards the end of the period fairly frequent purchases of New South Sea Annuities are noted together with the acquisition of new buildings.

The Ipswich Charity Schools at the end of the first hundred years of its existence may be said to have been very successful in spite of the failure of the spinning section. The objects expressed at its foundation seem to have been achieved; hundreds of children had passed through, received a religious education, and had been helped with their careers. The great frequency with which premiums were paid in excess of the amounts given by the charity to bind boys out apprentice, seems to indicate that there was no very general acceptance of the idea that people should keep to their own 'station'. In a great number of cases parents appeared to be using the schools as a means of obtaining a good start in life for their children. They denied themselves the earnings which their sons and daughters would have made had they been put to work. The latter were, however, given the immeasurable advantage of literacy, being able to 'read, write and cast accompts'. If they could not rise above their 'station', they would at least have the opportunity to rise to the highest strata in it. The impression gained is that all those connected with the charity, directors, subscribers, teachers, parents, and children, had much reason to be proud of its achievements.

⁴⁵ M. G. Jones, *op. cit.*, pp. 42 ff.

⁴⁶ *ibid.*, pp. 90-4. Putting the children to work was experimented with widely but it was generally found that the results were disappointing.

APPENDIX A.—SCHOOL PRAYER.

A prayer to be read every morning by the schoolmaster to the boys and by the schoolmistress to the girls:

Almighty and everlasting God, in whom we live and move and have our being, we render Thee our humble thanks for the preservation of us from the perils and dangers of the night past and hast given us quiet and comfortable rest and brought us safely to the beginning of this day. Let the same good Providence continue to watch over us, that we may be defended from all dangers and mischiefs, and from the temptations of the world, the flesh and the Devil. Bless, O Lord, our friends and relations and every member of this family. Reward all our benefactors and especially those through whose charity and benevolence * our wants and necessities are so liberally provided for under this roof *. Give us Grace we beseech Thee to be truly thankful for the same and to behave ourselves with sobriety diligence and honesty in the business of our stations: with duty and submission to those whom Thy Providence hath set over us; and to live quietly and peaceably with one another. Make us to remember that thine Eye is continually upon us and that the great Day is approaching in which we must give a strict account of our thoughts words and actions and according to the Works we have done must be sentenced to eternal happiness or misery. Vouchsafe, O Lord, to keep us this Day without sin. Grant this most merciful Father, for the sake of Thy Son, Jesus Christ, our blessed Saviour and Redeemer. Amen.

* . . . *: inserted above the text is an alternative,

we are clothed, protected and instructed in this seminary of religious education.

(Edgar MSS., S1/9/2.6: cf. also the Grammar School's 16th century prayer, Gray & Potter, *Ipswich School, 1400-1950*, p. 36).

APPENDIX B.—APPRENTICES.

Short analysis of trades to which boys were apprenticed:

<i>(a) The Sea:</i>		<i>(c) Clothing:</i>	
mariners	... 109	tailors	... 91
fishermen	... 10	shoemaking	... 142
shipwrights	... 13	general	... 19
miscellaneous	... 22		
	<hr/> 154		<hr/> 252
<i>(b) Building and Carpentry:</i>		<i>(d) Miscellaneous:</i>	
housecarpenters	... 49	supply of food and drink	37
bricklayers	... 21	metalworking	... 60
joiners and carpenters	... 24	hairdressing	... 48
glaziers and painters	... 22	general	... 77
miscellaneous	... 15		
	<hr/> 131		<hr/> 222
		Total	... 759

An analysis of the places to which the boys went:

Ipswich	... ..	507
Suffolk (62 separate towns or villages)	... ..	142
Essex	... ..	61
London	... ..	34
North-East Coastal towns	... ..	9
Norfolk	... ..	6
		<hr/> 759
	Total	... 759

APPENDIX C.—TEACHERS.

		<i>yearly salary</i>	<i>Allowances; conditions of service.</i>
MASTERS:			
Thomas Dove	1709-1713	£30	Rent; 2 chaldron of coal.
Abijah Mansur	1713-1719/20	£30	Rent 50/-; coal.
Matthew Newcomen	1719/20-1753	£30	Rent and coal.
		£36 (1756)	
William Keeble	1753-1764	£36	Rent and coal; private pupils 1753-6; remainder of house rent £3-10; £3 for teaching singing.
John Denny	1764-1807	£36	Rent and coal; £6 as Collector (1791).
		£50 (1775)	
John Boggis	1807-1809	£50	Coal; £6 as Collector; £6 for looking after boys' spinning earnings.
William Leggatt	1809-	£65	
<i>(After 1720, all masters were paid 2/6 for each indenture drawn up).</i>			
MISTRESSES:			
Mrs. Mary Gibbon	1709-1720	£12	Rent and coal; living accommodation above school; 6 private pupils (1717).
Mrs. Newcomen	1720-1753	£12	Coal; her school moved to husband's house; 6 private pupils.
Mrs. Keeble	1753-1774	£12	Coal; private pupils.
		£14 (1756)	No private pupils (1756).
Mrs. Denny	1774-1807	£14	Coal.
		£20 (1775)	Retired 1807; pension £20.
Mrs. Boggis	1807-1809	£30	Coal.
Mrs. Leggatt	1809-	£35	
<i>(All mistresses looked after children's clothes).</i>			

SINGING MASTERS:

Lott Knights

appointed

1712

£6

To teach children to sing twice a week; to sing a hymn first Sunday afternoon in each month.

John Carman

1715

Isaac Blythe

1716/7

£5

Allowed 2/6 a quarter; to sing with boys. To attend at S. Mary Tower church first Sunday in month and other Sundays when convenient.

John Carman

Nov. 1720

Mar. 1720/1

£4

To have 10/- for teaching singing. To attend Tuesdays and Thursdays at school, and Sundays at church.

'The gentlemen of the Society being of the opinion that teaching the boys and girls to sing anthems in the manner that has been used for some time past is unnecessary, do order that the £4 a year allowed Mr. Carman . . . be withdrawn for the present.' (GQM Dec. 29, 1737).

Matthew Newcomen

Dec. 1738

Allowed 10/- for assisting in singing psalms.

John Green

Apr. 1739

£3

To attend at school Wednesday, Sunday morning; at church Sunday morning and afternoon and all festivals.

Joseph Parkhurst

Jul. 1740

£3

To attend school twice weekly; at church whenever psalms required in service.

'Many complaints having been made . . . that the children's singing has . . . been offensive to the Congregation, . . . ' singing stopped. (GQM Oct. 10, 1745).

John Green

Mar. 1749

£3

To attend school three times a week and every Sunday before church; to sing with them in church.

William Keeble

Jul. 1756

£3

'The master do cease from singing with the boys at church, complaints having been made of their bad singing'. (GQM Oct. 7, 1767).

Mr. Baldray

Oct. 1799

Allowed to teach singing as an experiment
for one year.

SPINNING MASTERS:

Thomas Spencer

1771-1777

weekly

Samuel Moore

1777-1792

salary

Michael Boley

1792-1807

7/-

7/-; 7/9 (1782)

Samuel Hamblin

1807-1809

7/9; 9/- (1797)

12/-; 14/- (1809)