

CHAPTER ONE

ST CLEMENT'S PARISH

On 29 May 1660, John Evelyn found himself in the Strand and watched the return to London of King Charles II - "*I stood in the Strand and beheld it and blessed God. And all this without one drop of blood but it was the Lord's doing*". Neither place nor people more typified the changes taking place than that group of spectators who stood with Evelyn in the Strand. During the previous forty years, the area had been developed on a massive scale. Although prohibited by Royal Proclamation, new building had sprung up along the Strand, in Drury Lane, Covent Garden, Long Acre and Lincoln's Inn Fields. When the parish of St Clement Danes had acquired a new burial ground in Portugal Street in 1638, the area was still so rustic that it had been nicknamed "Green Ground" and this land, surrounded by hedges and a wooden gate, had been let out for sheep to graze. Barely more than a decade later, a new market had been established nearby by the Earl of Clare. Clare Market was no Covent Garden with its elegant piazza. Here the buildings were jerry-built and swiftly packed with the poorest form of tradesmen, people who by lack of training could never trade among the guilds of the City of London but nevertheless sought to undercut their more professional neighbours on the other side of Temple Bar.

With the king came a restoration of both the constitution and England's Established Church. That the Church too should be restored was in itself nothing short of a miracle. Before the Civil War, the Church of England had come under violent attack from those who wanted to introduce a purer form of Reformation into the country. Nearly twenty years of Puritanism had now passed; that had been enough to dissuade all but the most determined souls of the folly of this attempt to establish the Kingdom of Heaven on earth. For the Church, while it may have regained its old position, things were never going to be as they had been before the War. New sects - Congregationalists, Presbyterians, Quakers and Baptists - soon sprang up. In an area which had been so recently developed and where so many of the population were recent arrivals, a potential breeding ground for Nonconformity had been established.

Yet even then, the parish of St Clement Danes was already the best part of a thousand years old. By London standards, it was large and must surely have had some earlier provision for education. Of this we know nothing. During medieval times, it was usual for the priests who served the chantry chapels in the parish church to teach in their spare time, of which they would have had plenty. St Clement Danes certainly had several such chantries. When the Reformation swept these away, many parishes took the opportunity to replace these with grammar schools. Nothing of this sort happened at St Clement's, where the involvement of the parish in education seems to have ceased for more than a century. Perhaps it was not needed, as there would have been plenty of small private schools prepared to take in children for a few pence a week, though most were little better than what we would now call child-minders.

There are, however, definite indications that a school, or schools, had been functioning during the latter part of the seventeenth century. The staff of the School Treasurer, though not made until the early nineteenth century, bears the inscription "Founded 1668". Though there is not

now any evidence to support this specific date, it is clear that an earlier school was in existence by the 1660s.

The clearest evidence comes from a licence granted by the Bishop of London on 26 April 1666 in response to the following request by Dr Dukeson, the Rector, "*These are to certify that the bearer hereof Thomas Griffith hath bin but lately approved of & admitted by me & the Ancients of the Parish of St Clement Danes as schoolmaster, to teach their children in a school appointed for that purpose, And that by reason of his so late beginning as also this contagious season he hath hitherto made but very small benefit of his said Employment. In witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand this 25th of Aprill An Dm 1666*".

This seems to suggest that his work had been started some time earlier but that it had inevitably been affected by the plague raging in the summer of 1665. Whether the school was an entirely new venture or whether Griffith was but the latest in a series of schoolmasters is not clear. The St Clement's Vestry Minutes contain occasional references to the parish school. On 6 September 1675, they contain a reference that the Vestry "*Ordered that Mr John Pride shall bee and is hereby elected by this Society to bee Schoole master of the Church Schoole in the place and stead of Mr Thomas Griffith lately deceased; And his time to commence att Mich[aelm]as next, And to take and receive to his owne use the benefitt thereof during the pleasure of this Society*". Both these references may suggest that the school was privately run but somehow under the control of the parish. Within months, the Churchwardens' accounts contain a payment of eight shillings "*expended and laid out att two meetings of some of the Ancients when we settled Mr Pride in the Church School*" and this man was still around a year later when the churchwardens bought an academic hood for him at a cost of twenty five shillings. Only when the Charity Schools were opened did this old school pass away. Even the new schools' own ledger contains a reference to £2 10s being received in 1702 as "*Mr Wood's rent in the old school*".

After the moral laxity of the court of Charles II - the "Merrie Monarch" (whose most famous mistress, Nell Gwynne, had been a resident of Drury Lane) - there was a reaction in society. A new mood of spiritual revival took place. Groups were formed which pledged their members to lead moral lives, to study the scriptures and to attend church on a regular basis. The leaders of this movement were predominantly the ministers of the churches of London.

As the century came to a close, this renewed optimism and the threat to the Church from outside sects resulted in the formation of a number of Church of England societies for furthering the faith. Foremost of these was the Honourable Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge - the "SPCK".

The SPCK was founded in 1698 by a group of leading clergy and laymen and instantly found support throughout the country. Its principal founder was Dr Thomas Bray, Rector of St Botolph, Aldgate, who is known to have preached at St Clement Danes on several occasions. Its initial remit was so wide as to encompass almost every aspect of Christian ministry. Foremost among its aims was the foundation of a countrywide chain of schools where children should be educated in "*the Knowledge and Practice of the Christian Religion as Professed and Taught in the Church of England and for teaching such things as are most suitable for their condition*". These schools were to be maintained by the subscriptions and benefactions of well wishers rather than becoming supported by the local rates.

Money was soon being raised for the new schools and some existing but impoverished church schools applied to join the new scheme. Though there is no evidence that the existing St Clement's school joined the SPCK, it is likely that the advent of new schools spelled the demise of whatever was in existence before. The SPCK itself was keen neither to run nor maintain the schools but restricted its role to providing advice for their foundation and organisation, the books and curriculum to be followed and on the selection of schoolmasters.

In a matter of only a few months since the foundation of the SPCK, dozens of Charity Schools had been founded. In most large and vigorous parishes, enough well-disposed parishioners were to be found who would promote such an undertaking. The scene was now set for St Clement Danes to join their number.

CHAPTER TWO

THE SCHOOLS OPEN

The response from the parishes of London and Westminster was dramatic. These were the areas of highest population density and where the children of the poor could all too easily be swayed into joining other denominations. Within the first ten years of the SPCK's foundation most of these parishes had established schools; by 1707, there were sixty-nine schools in London and its suburbs, with nearly three thousand children attending them. The minutes of the SPCK begin on 8 March 1699 and it is not long before we find mention of St Clement Danes among the parishes interested in forming a school. On 26 October 1699, it was reported "*that a subscription is begun at St Clemens, which will amount to forty pounds per annum*". This is our first indication that parishioners were working actively to form a new school in their midst. On 8 February of the following year a further reference is made that "*the School of St Clement's wanted a recommendation to the Dean of Windsor, the Minister of the said parish*". This was Dr Gregory Haskard, Rector of St Clement Danes from 1678 to 1708, and for much of that time Dean of Windsor also. He cannot have been unaware of the work of the SPCK as he must have known some of its founders personally. It is probable that the "*recommendation*" he was seeking was an outline of the constitution of the proposed school. Even two years later, John Waring, one of the Trustees, presented to the Vestry a paper entitled "*Proposals for the better management of the Schoole*"; the Vestry ordered that the paper should be passed to Dr Bramston, the parish lecturer, for him to give his opinion. Nevertheless, things were progressing well. By 2 May 1700, it was reported by Mr Justice Hook that "*there is £60 subscribed in St Clemens Parish towards a Charity School*".

The whole venture was undertaken independently by the parishioners. In the management of the school, the subscribers were to be supreme and control was therefore directly linked to contribution. The subscribers decreed that there should be an annual meeting on Candlemas Day, 2 February, to elect twelve subscribers to form a committee of Trustees, who should meet to discuss school business every Thursday evening. From the outset, it was intended that, although the new schools would work in conjunction with the parish, they would not be under the direct control of the Rector or Vestry, the governing body of the parish. As early as 1702, the Trustees felt obliged to record, "*Now be it known that this Charitable undertaking is a free and voluntary subscription of good disposed Persons, it is thereby understood and declared that the Church-Wardens and over Seers of the Poor and other Gentlemen of ye Vestry have no right as such in ye Committee, unless they or any of them being qualified as Subscribers be duly elected by the Subscribers upon Candlemas day as afore mentioned ... But be it rightly understood for ye good Harmony in Governance in avoiding all frivolous disputes, the Revd the Rector or his substitute, the Church-Wardens and Over-Seers of ye Poor as such may at any time visit the Schoole to see that all things are orderly and decent ..*". Notwithstanding the contrived separation, the Trustees held their meetings in the parish Vestry Room.

Buildings and staff were now being assembled. On 1 January 1700/01 the Trustees advanced £40 towards buying clothes for 50 children and for fitting up the school. From the opening, the new school was to be clothed uniformly in blue; for the first intake £27 3s 11d was spent on coats, stockings, shoes, caps and bands. The new school was to be situated in New Church Yard (that

is, Green Ground in Portugal Street, not the area around the church) where premises had been rented for £13 per annum. A joiner was paid £5 7s 6d for fitting up the school and considerable cleaning was needed to put the house in order. The "*fitting up*" can have consisted of no more than rows of benches or forms for the boys to sit at. A further sum of £4 19s 21/2d was spent on bibles, testaments, primers, prayer books, paper, quills, ink and ink horns. A pew was provided for the boys to sit in at the parish church; despite the fact that the school was not open on Sundays, the boys were required to reassemble and sit as a school in the church gallery.

The great announcement of the school's birth is found in the SPCK minutes for 13 January 1701 - "*Mr Michell report's that the School at St Clement Danes was open'd this day*".

In the period between March 1701 and January of the following year, the subscribers had paid £82 17s, two charity sermons had raised another £33 8s 1/2d and with other gifts and rent, the Trustees had amassed £160 5s 01/2d. A further source of income was a collection box at the parish church during the monthly catechising (which the children attended). A Master, John Durant, was appointed for the boys' instruction, on a salary of £40 per annum, and rooms were fitted up so that he could live in the school itself.

As in medieval times, it was still obligatory that the schoolmaster had to obtain a licence from the Bishop of London, to ensure that he taught only doctrine conformable with that of the Established Church. Mr Durant was not to obtain his licence until 1703, more than a year after he had begun teaching in the school. It is quite likely that he had held earlier appointments as a teacher elsewhere and his past record may have led to the authorities being relaxed about this aspect. By that time, his wife had been engaged as Mistress, for the school was now to be expanded to provide education for girls as well.

In the haste to open the school, it had only been possible to make provision for boys. This was now to be rectified. On 9 July 1702, "*The Agents for Schools being called in, Mr Mitchell reported that they are about to take 30 Girls Cloath'd, into the Charity Schools at St Clement's*". Educational provision for both sexes was now established.

There was also to be a "school within a school". Within the boys' school were a select number of boys who had been marked out for training for a career at sea. These were the "Navigation boys". For patriotic reasons many of the larger SPCK schools earmarked their brightest pupils for service on His Majesty's ships. Their dress was slightly different to the other boys as they wore special hats or bonnets and distinctive badges; we read that in 1728 eight badges were bought for them at a cost of £1. Additional tuition was provided for them and it appears that part of their training took place at Neal's Navigation School in Hatton Garden. In 1727 a specific salary, though only of a guinea a quarter, appears for regular visits of Mr Ham the "Mathematical Master", showing that they were trained in mathematics and trigonometry, so these were to be more than mere cabin boys. As the Mathematical Master did not form part of the regular establishment, references to him are rare; twenty-five years later it is recorded that the Master was then a Mr Welch.

Constant difficulties arose in relation to the Navigation boys. It is no surprise that, whereas a life at sea might have seemed exciting to a boy of eight or ten, when the reality faced a more worldly-wise teenager years later, a high degree of reticence was encountered. In addition the long and expensive education which the boys had received had equipped them with valuable

skills which could be used in a safer occupation. In 1707, Charles Shory changed his mind at the last moment, when his sea clothes and chest had already been made and these appear as an item of stock for years, presumably until a Navigation boy who fitted came along. Shory himself was apprenticed to the less adventurous trade of shoe maker. Again, in 1749, we read that "*Thomas Walker having absented himself from the service of Mr Danson, Purser of His Majesty's Ship St Alban to whom he was bound the 24th of March last. Ordered that, he being willing to return, the Master write to the said gentleman on his behalf*". Three years later, the Master thought it necessary to call in the parents of prospective Navigation boys to explain the requirements of their profession.

In 1751, Thomas Shed, a Navigation boy, was expelled for refusing to go to sea. Four years later, the Trustees resolved that no bounty should be given to any Navigation boy that refused to go to sea. Many, however, did face up to their obligations and, as an example, we find in 1760 the Master proudly reporting "*that last Wednesday morning John Shelley one of the Navigation Boys was bound to Mr Thomas Stephenson Surgeon of his Majesty's Ship Arethusa of 40 guns, the Honble Raby Vane Com[mandan]t.*"

The same success which St Clement Danes achieved in its early years was mirrored throughout the Charity schools of London. In 1703, it was suggested that, as a display of the success which the SPCK schools had achieved in so short a time, a combined service with all the children should be held. So great were the numbers involved that only one of the largest churches in London would be sufficient to hold them. The choice fell upon St Andrew's, Holborn and there, on the Thursday in Whitsun Week, 2,000 children were assembled. Even so, that huge church proved insufficient for the numbers and, as the parish schools were admitted on an alphabetical basis, Wapping and Whitechapel schools were left standing outside. The following year, the service was transferred to St Sepulchre's, Newgate Street and there it remained until 1737, when the service moved to Christ Church, Newgate Street. In the early days the services made a great impact on the population of London. The antiquarian, Strype, says of the first service, "*It was a wondrous, surprising, as well as pleasing sight, when all the Boys and Girls maintained at these schools, in their Habits, walked two and two, with their masters and mistresses, some from Westminster, and some through London, with many of the parish ministers going before them*".

Whenever there was a great public event, the St Clement's children were both spectators and were themselves put on show, as an opportunity to advertise the new schools. As early as 1702 occurs a reference to "*scaffolding when the Queen passed by*", so presumably the school watched Queen Anne's Coronation Procession. They were present again in 1713 for a famous event when it was planned that all the charity children of London should be seated on stands in the Strand as the Queen went to St Paul's for the Thanksgiving Service for the Peace of Utrecht.

The accounts record that £2 16s 11d was spent on the "*Children's refreshment*", and ten shillings on the attendance of the parish beadles to supervise them. The school received £4 16s 3d from Sir Richard Hoare as a contribution for "*erecting Publick seats in ye Strand on the Thanksgiving day*", so it looks as if the schools themselves had to bear the cost of the stands. In the event, the Queen was taken ill and the event took place without her. Nevertheless, the procession was recorded in an engraving, erroneously showing the Queen passing the maypole in the Strand (where St Mary's church now stands) and displaying the children and the hymn they were to sing in her honour.

In the following year, the school paid Mr Hoare for 110 places by St Paul's Cathedral "*upon .. King George's entry*" into London, as the new Hanoverian dynasty began. Three of the beadles were again there and £1 17s 2d was spent "*to refresh ye Children at St Paul's when King George came*

through ye Citty". Only a year after George I's accession, the country was to be riven by dissension at the Jacobite Rising. London was never directly threatened but there was widespread panic, with the King even bringing in his yacht in case he should need to make a quick departure.

Discipline in the schools was firm and the Trustees were particularly concerned that the school should not receive a bad name if its children, in their distinctive uniform, should misbehave in public. On 16 May 1716, in the wake of the disturbances which had attended the Jacobite Rebellion, the Trustees ordered that the children should "*never mix in any Mobbs or distinguish themselves by any particular marks on such Nights ... That if any Boy or Girl transgress these Orders that they be expell'd immediately ye School stripp'd of their School Cloths*". The passing of the Septennial Act, when the Whig government avoided a general election, due that year, by extending the Parliamentary term from three to seven years, caused tremendous agitation. On 1 August of that year, the accounts record 17s 8d spent "*for Bread Beer & Cheese when the Children stayed in ye School that night from ye Bonfires & Ryotts*".

These were dangerous times for the SPCK schools. In the early eighteenth century, politics and religion still went hand in hand. The founders of the SPCK and the schools had been overtly allied to the High Church wing of the Church and the Tory Party. Many of the leaders of the recent rising had been directly related to these interests. In the wake of the rising's defeat, the victors took a fierce retribution against their opponents. One of the easiest targets was the schools, which some people saw as nothing more than training colleges for seditious Jacobites.

A Parliamentary Bill - the Close Vestries Bill - was introduced into the Commons in 1716. This aimed to transfer responsibility for the control of the schools from their self-electing subscribers to the Vestries, which were elected by the householders of the parish. Another clause in the Bill would have required that schoolmasters were appointed by an elected body. The London schools were loudest in their objections to the Bill. As there was no intention that financial responsibility should pass to the Vestry, the anomaly would have been created whereby the subscribers had no control over the schools they so liberally funded. It was inevitable that this would discourage subscriptions and "*tend to discourage if not totally dissolve the said schools*". The funding aspect was key and the Bill failed but suspicions about the allegiances of the schools were to linger and the SPCK themselves took care to ensure a non-political stance for the future.

Already the financing of the schools had been affected as Whigs and Dissenters cancelled their subscriptions. Some Trustees were still pro-Jacobite and even Thomas Bray was moved to write to the Archbishop of Canterbury that "*the Charity schools are also very likely under the present management to grow worse and worse, so as to bring upon them a fatal Stroke at last from the State*". In their circular letter to subscribers in 1716, the SPCK mentioned that the Archbishop "*who has exercised himself in favour of these charities, has heard some complaints against the conduct of some teachers in the schools, for their disaffection to the Government*". This theme recurs in the following years and in 1718 the Archbishop suggested that the Masters and Mistresses should be forced to sign a declaration of loyalty to the new regime.

These must have been challenging times for the children in St Clement's Schools. The injunction that the blue uniform should not be conspicuous in the nightly riots suggests that the boys may have entered fully into the political battles of the times. The same is found elsewhere, with boys from the Charity Schools actively rioting against the Government.

Compared to many other SPCK schools, St Clement's was large. At the beginning there were 80 children; by 1712 this had reached 100 and by 1714 110. This was the optimum number which

could both be accommodated and financed, at least until the late 1720s, when the schools' fortunes were to change dramatically.

Initially, no boys were to be admitted under 10 years of age. The problem that this must have presented, of attempting to educate children who in their first ten years had received only the most basic schooling, must soon have become apparent. The schools continued with this problem for over two decades, probably because the funds were not yet sufficient to allow an expansion. Despite the financial difficulties, the Trustees decided to establish an infants' Department - the Horn Book School - which opened on 6 May 1724. The name came from the simple horn "book", actually no more a single piece of horn a few inches square inscribed only with the alphabet. With this they would learn their letters repetitively year after year. Thirty children of both sexes were admitted to the new school between the ages of six and nine and the formula - 70 boys, 40 girls and 30 Horn Book children - was set which was to prevail for the next century.

CHAPTER THREE

THE PUPILS

Who were children who attended the St Clement Danes Charity Schools and what became of them? Both questions are difficult to answer. Although we have some details of their backgrounds, it is impossible to be sure of their exact status in society. It was always stated that the schools were intended for the children of the poor, though in the absence of any particular means test, the definition of "poor" could be quite fluid.

All of the pupils had to be nominated by a subscriber who was supposed to attest to their background, which in itself suggests that they may not necessarily have been the poorest of the poor and this must, in any case, have acted as an informal selection process. It seems likely that the wealthy ratepayers of the parish, from whom the subscribers were mainly drawn, were prevailed upon to nominate the children of their tradesmen and live-in servants. It is tempting to think that there might be an advantage in both binding the loyalty of the servants and removing the children from the household. During the middle years of the eighteenth century, when details of their backgrounds are clearer, it is noticeable that many of the children are described as living in the houses of people with a different surname. Some were certainly orphans who had been put out to nurse, for in the 1740s there are frequent references to Nurses Langley and Moore. In 1748, we find that Nurse Richmond let some of the children in her care wear school clothes they were not entitled to; all the children were immediately moved to another nurse. However, it seems very unlikely that children supported by the parish formed more than a fraction of all those enrolled at the school.

It is also noticeable that, until the practice was specifically banned in 1729, some of the children were apprenticed to their own parents, who are shown to have been small tradesmen. Possible examples are Jane Truman, who was apprenticed to her father, William Truman, a tailor, in 1715 and Joseph Hardy, apprenticed to another tailor, Goeing Hardy, the same year. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, when the rules had been relaxed, George Gregory was surely the son of the George Gregory, wire weaver, to whom he was apprenticed. Again, we may suppose a direct connection between the subscribers and the local shopkeepers. This all reinforces the idea that though described from the outset as "*ye Poor Blew Coate children*", the pupils did not necessarily come from the infested slums of Clare Market but were rather from what might be described as the "respectable poor".

From the same surnames appearing with regularity and the evidence that they shared the same parish of settlement, it seems that whole families of siblings attended the school. There are even slight indications that more than one generation of a family may have attended. There was also a small contingent of parish foundlings, all of whom by tradition had the surname Clements. On the opening day there was a James Clements on the roll and for many years there was generally one child at least with this surname in the school.

From their foundation, the schools were to be exclusively for children of the Church of England. The parents or subscribers who proposed the children were obliged to provide proof of their baptism. The schools, their teachers and corporate worship were, of course, exclusively Anglican and this requirement was carried right through to their future employers. When, in 1747, one of the children was accidentally bound out to a Dissenter, the arrangement was instantly terminated and the boy readmitted to the school until a proper master could be found.

The Trustees, many of whom were also Vestrymen, were keen that no child attending the school should become a burden on the parish. The schools were intended for the children only of poor people who were legally parishioners. In those days, if you travelled you still remained the responsibility of your home parish, so that, in a parish like St Clement's, full of people who had come to London seeking work, there were many poor inhabitants who had no right to support by the parish. The original parish of settlement was therefore carefully noted. Typical examples are "*Richard Read aged 73/4 years living at the Spotted Dog in Blackmoor Street, recommended by Mr Stichall, be admitted on the list for the Horn Book School; likewise that Mrs Read his aunt be required to bring a certificate of his settlement to the Master before his turn of admission - Settlement at St Botolph without Bishopsgate, by living above a Year and half in the capacity of Butler with Mr Stiffner*" which dates from 1749 and from the following year, John Christopher Cram, who had settlement at Marylebone, his mother having lived as a yearly servant before marriage with Mr Joseph Lee, a mason.

Again and again, we find the Trustees reaffirming that the schools were primarily intended for their own poor, and other children could only be admitted if there were no parish candidates. When this did happen, their parents were obliged to swear an oath before a magistrate that in the event of their death the children should not be regarded as an "*incumbrance to the parish*". A few of the children had such confused backgrounds that their settlement could only be listed as "dubious". Otherwise, the records suggest that the children were drawn from a very wide area. It is known that the parishes of settlement included Carlisle, Shepton Mallet in Somerset, Rugby, Warwick, Sevenoaks, Honiton, Oxford, Peterborough and Preston. Further afield, children came from Dolray in Galloway and Georgia in the Americas; insisting that the churchwardens of their parishes support them would have been quite a tall order. However, the majority were drawn from homes within the parish, often around Clare Market. Another significant number came from the general London and Westminster area, their entry being allowed as they were recommended by a subscriber. An unusual exception is Joseph Cesar, who was admitted to the school in 1759, who is almost certainly the son of Mrs Cesar, the schoolmistress and Augustus Cesar, the deceased Master of the Boys' School.

Entry to the upper school was only in the place of a departed pupil and generally places were filled from the Horn Book children. By the 1760s and 1770s, the amount of time spent in the Horn Book School had been reduced to a few months or weeks and it was treated as little more than a holding camp for children destined for the senior schools. At the age of 14, the children were discharged from the school and placed as apprentices. They were generally sent upon "*liking*" or upon trial; often the arrangement was similar to "sale or return". The process could be quite brutal; James Chambers was returned by his prospective master, Captain Massam of Ratcliffe Cross, "*on Account he was too little*". Other children were returned for being physically

defective or because they were verminous. In 1748, Charles Coman was sent back by his new master because he was near-sighted.

The parents had strictly no say in the trade to which they were apprenticed and any attempt to interfere would result in the child being expelled. The decision on where the child would be placed rested exclusively with the Trustees, who seem to have taken considerable pains to find the right master. In 1761 we find an apology to them that "*Robert Madden a Navigation Boy was bound to Mr Upham Master of his Majesty's Ship the Guernsey of 50 guns on Saturday last and that the reason of the Board's not being acquainted with it was on account of Mr Upham's being obliged to be with his Ship before this meeting*".

Some forestalled the problem by taking their children out of school before they came of age and the minutes record in each case that they returned thanks to the Board for their children's education. Some were taken out by the overseers or taken to the workhouse. A handful were unplaceable and went back to their parents. The minutes for 1748 record "*Samuel Hart, one of the Upper School boys, being afflicted with the King's Evil, it is presumed no body will take him as an Apprentice and his Father desiring to take him out of the School, Ordered that the Favour be granted*". Those who did particularly well would appear with their masters at the Christmas prize giving and were themselves eligible for a reward. In the first decades there was a strong attempt made to ensure that the children were apprenticed to reputable trades which would set them up for their future. In 1744, it was ordered that no future apprenticeships were made to the keepers of eating or ale houses, these clearly having been no more than a cover for the drudgery of waiting at table.

Early apprenticeships include tailor, victualler, cutler, butcher, bucklemaker, gardener, basketmaker, shoemaker, vintner, house painter, blacksmith and draper. Though these were trades of their masters, it is possible that some of the apprentices, particularly the girls, were only servants in their household rather than learning their trade. Even with the stringent care taken to avoid the system being abused, we occasionally read of cases where a parent has staged a phoney apprenticeship in order to secure the lucrative payment made. In 1760, the minutes record "*Ordered that a General Summons be Issued out against next Wednesday to enquire into the Cause of a Fraud committed by Mr Collins in regard to binding out his son John and to consider whether it may not be necessary to Expell his son Lawrence in order to prevent such Practice for the future*". By the middle of the century, apprenticeships occur far more rarely and the majority of the children were going into service. The high-minded intentions of the founders had been lost sight of and this sad state of affairs was to continue well into the nineteenth century.

At the St Paul's charity sermon in 1724, Edmund Gibson, the Bishop of London, commented on the reduction which had taken place in subscriptions, which he attributed both to the continuing political difficulties and another problem. The founders had enthusiastically set about improving the children morally, spiritually and socially. A new attitude now arose, which resented the children of the poor being educated above their station. Bishop Gibson denounced an education which "*set them above the lower and more laborious stations and offices of life*". The notion took firm hold. The SPCK's circular letter of the following year advised "*that they be not bred up so as to be unfit for or above the meaner sort of service; especially that the boys be not trained up to fine writing but only to write a plain, legible hand, and that the girls be not instructed in too fine sewing, but brought up to plain work, and that likewise without too great a nicety*".

Despite the basic level of the education, the future of the pupils was good. They tended to remain in the area of London and Westminster when apprenticed but, as with their parishes of origin, we find them being scattered throughout the country and the world - Kingston, Jamaica

and Barbados are included in the list. It has not so far been possible to trace any of them through later life but it seems probable that a good number ended their days as small shopkeepers and tradesmen, many still living in the area. If enough research could be done, it would possibly be found that the school was the means which was to set the children of the poor on a path which would lead to their descendants forming the middle classes of Victorian times.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE SCHOOLS IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

In 1753, Seymour, in his History of London, gave a good description of the schools as they then existed - *"In the upper Church Yard are three schools, one for boys, who are taught Reading, writing and Arithmetick, by the Master, who is allowed 40l per Annum, and Coals and Candles; the Boys are also instructed in the Mathematics and are taught to sing by Masters, who are paid for teaching them. In the second school are 40 girls, under a Mistress, who teaches them to Read, sew, knit, etc, and she has 20l per annum, besides Coals and Candles: The Girls have also a singing master to teach them; and both Boys and Girls are cloathed in Blue. The third school is the Horn Book School, where 30 children are taught by the Mistress"*.

In this short account, we find mention of all the key elements of the schools. To us, the most notable features are the narrowness of the curriculum and the famous blue uniform, by which the schools were often known.

The curriculum in the school was indeed very limited. Under rules drawn up in 1706, apart from reading and casting accounts, the children were to be instructed daily in the Christian religion and were to be examined publicly in this on the last Sunday each month, so that subscribers could assure themselves that this aspect had not been neglected. The principal teaching tool was the bible, a copy of which each child had when in the school and which was presented to them when they left (often the same dog-eared copy). Another essential was the "Whole Duty of Man" - in 1724 the accounts record that a Mr Gately was paid for binding 342 copies. This work set out to inform the readers how they should conduct their lives and condition themselves to their station in life. For young children, continuous study of it must have been remorselessly boring. In 1724 also, Mr Torbuck bound 250 bibles and we find the school buying a dozen copies of Dr Beveridge's work on prayer and the sacraments. Later, Dilworth's Spelling Book and Lewis' Catechism were in use. "Cypher books" were a frequent purchase; developing fine handwriting was rather more highly prized than encouraging the children to write anything interesting with it. To combat the danger of theft, for the parents were often tempted to sell anything the children brought home, it was ordered in 1729 that all the books should be stamped with an anchor and the name of the pupil.

Each Christmas, the children had to "present their pieces" or show to the Trustees what they had done during the year. For the boys, this consisted of producing a particularly fine piece of writing; small rewards, in total no more than £1, were paid to each child who *"writes & cyphers for Incouragement"*. The girls had to embroider a sampler and for these special coloured silks were purchased. The samplers often represented months of work and were sold to the advantage of both the school and the child. Such was the charm and delicacy of the work that many have survived to the present day.

Compared to the present day, the hours of attendance were long. School, for all the children, began at 7am and continued until noon. Then there was an hour's break for lunch and school resumed at 1pm until 5pm, or in the winter until the light lasted; as there was no form of artificial lighting, the schools could only function by daylight. On Thursdays, the schools closed at 3pm and on Saturdays at noon. Prayers were to be said in the schools in summer at 7am and in winter at 8am and, of course, the schools attended church morning and afternoon on Sundays.

The only relief from a constant round of copying or sewing were holidays, then only a few days a year. The greatest of these was New Year's Day, in those days far more prominent than Christmas, and on this day all the children were treated to a special dinner. In 1703, it is recorded that the dinner cost £3 7s 41/2d and that trenchers (i.e. plates) and salts were bought for their use at a cost of 8s 6d. In 1737, we find that the children were given a treat at Easter of plum cakes, rolls, cheese and beer. Though it may seem odd to give the children beer, in days when the water supply could not be trusted, beer was the staple drink of all people as the brewing process would have killed off most of the germs and disguised the taste of the water used in it. Eighteenth century beer was, in any case, far weaker than modern beers so we should not be surprised to read that on occasions the children polished off several pints each.

From the foundation of the school, it had been decided that the children would be dressed in a uniform blue. The clothing chosen then was similar in most respects to that which other SPCK Charity Schools were choosing all over the country, effectively a smart version of what adults of the period would have been wearing. Except, of course, that the children of the local poor, and probably their parents too, could never have aspired to own such finery. In choosing such a smart uniform, the Charity Schools were consciously declaring that these were to be centres of excellence and were establishing an aura about the schools so that parents would strive hard to gain admittance for their children. There was, however, a balance to be struck between smartness and extravagance; when later in the century some schools began to add adornments to the uniforms, the SPCK rebuked them strongly for introducing styles incompatible with the charitable ethos.

The introduction of a uniform was an important move, for it immediately gave the school a corporate identity. Subscribers could easily make out the schoolchildren in the street, while such a smart and impressive institution recommended itself as the recipient for further subscriptions.

For the boys, the standard uniform throughout the century was a blue serge frock coat and breeches, blue stockings and shoes with buckles. With these were worn a linen shirt, blue serge waistcoat and white linen bands, such as lawyers still wear; on occasions during the century waistcoats and leather breeches were worn. On their heads they would have worn knitted round black caps with red strings to tie them down. When the schools were being set up, the SPCK reckoned that a boy could be clothed for 9s 91/2d. Generally, the serge material for the clothes was bought by the yard and made up by local tailors. Later in the century, the clothes were made up in the school, often by the Mistress and girls. In effect, the necessity of kitting out the children was turned into a needlework lesson for the girls. The other items of clothing were bought in bulk from local tradesmen. As an indication of the amounts paid, we read of 81/2 dozen black caps with red strings being bought from a Mr Fludyer in 1737 for £2 19s 6d; in the same year the same man supplied six pieces of blue cloth containing 122 yards at 4s 6d a yard for £27 9s. Ten years later occurs a payment to "*Mr French the Taylor for making 60 coats and 60 pair of Breeches for the Upper School Boys £9 12s*". When the "Navigation boys" were established as a select group within the school, special hats were provided for them at a cost of around 2s each. The

head boy of the school also wore a special hat; most likely, this was of the three-cornered variety typical of the century.

The girls' clothing was more elaborate and more expensive; the standard cost of clothing a girl was reckoned to be 10s 7d. In the earliest years, the girls' uniform was not as rigorously blue as the boys'. At the opening of the girls' school in 1702, the girls were given blue serge dresses, aprons of green say, girdles, stockings and shoes with buckles. The green element continued at least down to the 1730s but was eventually replaced in favour of blue. In later years, the girls wore a leather bodice and stomacher, which they would have bound on with leather ties. In 1720, we find that "*forty pair of Leather Bodices*" were bought for £5 8s. Stockings and gloves, all dyed blue, were also adopted; in 1707, there were 86 pairs of stockings and 80 pairs of gloves held in stock. Though not mentioned in the early years, the girls are also found wearing linen caps by the middle of the century. Finer and more specialist cloths were used for the girls' clothing; in 1746 a Mr Mabbs was paid £3 11s 11/2d for "*1 piece of Doulas, 29 yards of Scotch Cloth and 16 Yards of Long Lawn*". Uniformity of dress was strictly enforced and additional adornment forbidden; nevertheless in 1728 the Trustees were obliged to introduce a standing order that the "*Mistress do take what Necklaces or Rings they shall at any time find upon the necks or fingers of the Girls under their care*". From 1750, the girls began to wear the simpler round gowns which became fashionable at that time; it is recorded that their old blue cloathes were returned so that the Mistress could convert them into petticoats for everyday use.

For both boys and girls, new uniforms and new shoes were provided twice a year immediately before the charity sermons. Indeed, so keen were the Trustees that the children should look their best that the uniforms were often delivered on the morning of the day and put on immediately before setting off for the sermon. A typical example of this is found in the Minutes for May 1754 - "*Memorandum the Master reported that by appointment of the Gentlemen that are Inspectors into the delivery of the Children's Cloaths, that on Monday last, the Children in the Upper Schools were Compleatly Cloathed against the Anniversary Day*" and in 1759 it was reported that on the sermon day sixty shirts, forty shifts, one hundred pairs of shoes and one hundred pairs of stockings had been delivered. It looks as the children were allowed to keep possession of their old uniforms when the new ones were supplied, so that they would eventually have a change of clothes. The uniforms, however, remained the property of the Trustees, who were rigorous in retrieving them when the children left. In 1726, they ruled that "*upon any child going out of the school all the Blue Cloathes be returned though they should have three suits*". Twenty years later we find that the Trustees ordered "*that Mr Treasurer be desired to pay for fetching Joshua Burnet's School Coat and Breeches from Pawn*".

As the years went by, stocks of clothing built up and money was more available for their purchase. By 1717, the Trustees were able to purchase 330 pairs of shoes "*being three pair to each child*". The total cost was £40 19s. Around 1755, the Trustees also introduced the wearing of silver badges, which were sewn to the boys' coats; until then, it had been sufficient to distinguish schools by the colour of their coats.

There are few references to the discipline exercised in the schools but it was undoubtedly firm. In November 1756, three children were dismissed for being taken to the Playhouse by their parents. In July 1760, a General Summons of the Trustees was issued to "*enquire into Mr Tumbles' sawing the Lock off the Log put on his son Adam for truanting*"; the boy was expelled at the next meeting. The "log" - probably a hollowed out real log with a hinge, like a miniature version of the stocks - seems to have been a regular punishment. In September 1752 it was "*Ordered that Wm Grasby be well wipt by the Master, and after that one boy of each Form to give him one lash each - and to be*

confined after the School hours in the School, and to have the log on his leg for three Days, for opening the Till of Mr Plimpton in Clare Market and Takeing out Three Shillings and Sixpence". This was by no means harsh; had he been handed over to the legal authorities, he would probably have been hanged.

The ultimate punishment - of expulsion - was used sparingly in the early decades of the century but by the 1740s and 1750s was resorted to on a massive scale. Numerous expulsions took place each month and often for quite trivial offences. So concerned were the Trustees at what was happening that in 1747 they ordered that they and the parents be consulted at least two days in advance. Once expelled, the child was strictly forbidden to have any contact with their former friends and they in turn were forbidden to make contact. We find that in 1727, the Trustees went so far as to pass a resolution that "*no child be allowed to keep company with any child that has been or shall be discharged from the School under a severe Penalty and that 6d be allowed to any child that informs*".

A constant problem was children coming into the school with various forms of infestation. Even in an age not unduly concerned with cleanliness, the scale of the problem was thought by the school authorities to be considerable. In 1750, the Trustees "*ordered that the Master wait on Mr Hilliard the Treasurer of the poor and request the favour he would admonish the Nurses for letting their Children be constantly infected with the Itch*". This instance, incidentally, confirms that many of the pupils were parish children who were boarded out in the area with nurses. Barely a year later, the nurses had to be admonished again "*to get their children that are in the schools forthwith cured of the Itch, or their expulsion will be considered of*". Despite the injunctions of the Trustees that the children should be sent to school clean, we read of unfortunate lapses. In 1749, a boy, Edward Colley was bound out apprentice. Within weeks he had been returned, he being verminous. A few weeks later the Trustees apprenticed him out again. Again he was returned, this time on account of "*an infirmity*". A few weeks later he is again found being bound out by the parish Overseers; no master is mentioned and it looks as if the Trustees, in despair at placing this rather offensive boy, had taken any opportunity to dispose of him.

The first Master and Mistress, Mr and Mrs Durant, appear to have been a particularly kindly couple and we find that they took a number of the children into their own home when the time came for them to leave, probably because they realised that these children would for various reasons have difficulty in finding a position elsewhere. It was Mr Durant who "engrossed" or wrote out the schools' accounts each year and these are undoubtedly a work of love, different coloured inks being used for headings and the whole work being set out beautifully. During 1705, when the Master was ill, the Trustees contributed £1 2s 6d to "*Mr Durant to discharge his Apothecary's bill in his great sickness*". This good couple met an untimely end due to some illness, smallpox perhaps, in 1710. The accounts for that year record

"Paid ye Funeral Charges of Mr Durant & his wife late Master and Mistress to ye school

£8 12s 3d

Paid Mr Sloper ye Apothecary to them

£5

Paid Mrs Durant in her sickness more than her salary

£1 "

Their successors were Mr William Cosyn as Master and Mrs Amey Parsons as Mistress. Mrs Parsons died in 1718, for in that year the Treasurer paid £2 5s 4d for "*the Funerall Charges of Mrs Amey Parsons late School Mistress to this Charity School*" but immediately after another Mrs Parsons is found as Mistress. This new Mistress, surely a relative, disappears around 1723 and was succeeded by Mrs Armstrong. Even more confusingly, a Mr Parsons appears as Master between 1729 and 1736.

The combination of a husband and wife as Master and Mistress was to recur later in the century. In 1742 the illustriously named Augustus Cesar became Master. When the Mistress, Mrs Holland was dismissed in 1750, his wife Ann Cesar was appointed as Mistress and, surviving her husband, went on until her death in 1772. For the greater part of her time, she served alongside Roger Harrison, who had succeeded John Calow as Master in 1758. After Mrs Cesar died, Harrison's wife became Mistress and the two of them remained in office until 1799.

Even where only one member of the couple was employed, the other was allowed to live in the school. In 1747 Mrs Holland was allowed to enclose part of the garret in the school house for her husband to work in. Three years later she was dismissed "*on account of her indisposition, she having not attended her business since the 8th of last April*".

With the foundation of the Horn Book School, a Mrs Wilson appears in 1724. By 1726, Mrs Wilson had moved up to be Mistress of the Girls' School and it was often the case that the senior Mistress had served as Horn Book School Mistress previously.

The first singing Master was a Mr Magnus but within a couple of years he was replaced by Mr Colville who remained with the school for nearly 40 years until 1741. There is also a reference to the children being taught music by the distinguished organist of St Clement's, Anthony Young.

The school was fortunate in having the support of a number of devoted adherents who were prepared to spend long years in its service. The first Treasurer, elected annually by the subscribers, was James Willett. He remained until 1719, when it is recorded that he "*desired to be Excused having served that Office near 20 years*". His successor was Mr Kemp Brydges, who came from a family which served the school over several generations; he himself served as Treasurer for 23 years. It is remarkable that once elected, most Treasurers continued to hold office until death. The rest of the Trustees are also known to have been long serving and to have been drawn from the ranks of prosperous local tradesmen. In 1759, for instance, the Trustees included a mathematical instrument maker, buttonmaker, brasier, combmaker, wigmaker and hardwareman. The schools were, indeed, truly run by and for the benefit of the parishioners.

CHAPTER FIVE

FUNDING THE ENTERPRISE

It is clear that a substantial sum of money had been gathered even before the school opened. This was eaten into speedily and in the early years the school was to be funded mainly through three routes - subscriptions, charity sermons and gifts.

We may guess that some form of general approach was made to the parishioners in church which spurred the original subscribers into coming forward. Supporting the school was an optional activity and the subscribers tended only to be those parishioners with a sense of moral responsibility - and the means to support it. As an incentive, in 1702, a "*decent frame*" was ordered to be set up at the "*Uper End of the School to set up the Doners Names of such Charities as shall be given to this Charity School in Cappitall Letters*". With a population of over 10,000, the parish was already divided into wards and a collector was appointed for each. Initially there were only three wards - Westminster, Duchy and Inns of Chancery but these were to grow in number during the next century. The total raised from subscribers varied considerably. In 1704, for instance, there were 178 subscribers mainly giving £1 or 10s. Just occasionally, larger gifts or legacies were made. In 1730, the total was £150; in 1733 it had risen to £174 but two years later was down to £78.

Another important source of income were the two days of the year on which charity sermons in support of the school were preached in the parish church. These were grand social occasions when most parishioners would have felt obliged to be seen to attend. We should also remember that sermons were almost a form of popular entertainment in those days, particularly if given by a distinguished preacher, and outsiders would be drawn to hear celebrity preachers. St Clement Danes was certainly able to attract these and from the outset the charity sermons were delivered by a galaxy of the most distinguished churchmen of the eighteenth century. The best records of preachers survive from the middle of the century and show a mixture of bishops, deans, archdeacons, fellows of Oxford and Cambridge Colleges and the Rectors and lecturers of parishes in London and Westminster. Sermons were preached by the Bishops of Norwich (1725, 1736 and 1738), Carlisle (1725), London (1726), Gloucester (1726 and 1757), Oxford (1727 and 1754), Lincoln (1728), Lichfield and Coventry (1729, 1735 and 1775), Peterborough (1733 and 1748), Bangor (1739 and 1744), St Asaph (1739), Bristol (1740 and 1759), Chichester (1740 and 1777), Exeter (1750), Chester (1755 and 1774), and St David's (1762, 1776 and 1780). Even the Bishop of far-off Ferns and Leighlin in Ireland appears in 1753. The Reverend Rowland Hill, the famous evangelical preacher, was invited in 1782, Augustus Toplady, the author of "Rock of Ages" in 1777 and John Wesley was a preacher at the sermon on 11 November 1782. The Archbishop of York preached in 1766 and the church accounts record additional payments for ringing the bells on the occasion. Attracting these distinguished preachers must have been quite a task, even for a famous parish like St Clement's. In the middle years of the century, two Trustees would be delegated to supply preachers for the year and the distinguished names above were probably only produced after intensive lobbying. The anxious requests by the Trustees for details of whether preachers had been found suggest that on occasions the arrangements were pretty close run.

Hymns were often specially written for the occasion and to allow familiarisation in advance, we read of the beadles distributing 2,000 copies to parishioners. In 1747, it is also recorded that Samuel Howard, the organist at St Clement's, composed a special anthem to be sung by the Gentlemen of the Chapel Royal at the sermon. In August 1763, the sermon was preached by "*Revd Mr Thomas Murray AM Chaplain to the Rt Honble the Earl of Northampton when the organ will be opened by Dr Boyce and an Anthem sung by some of the Gentlemen of his Majesties Choir*".

In addition to the amounts collected from subscribers, the schools received a steady trickle of gifts. The earliest was the gift of a Mr Andrews of Battersea of £10 to the "*blenwoate boys*" in 1702. In 1704, a major gift, of £100, was made by James Buck; three years later, another £100 was received, as a legacy from a Widow Lewis. In 1710, William Blake gave £100 in East India Company bonds and in 1712 £50 was received from "Mr Herbert Williamson's widow". It is not clear whether this is the same person as Mrs Theodosia Williamson, who left £10 to the schools in 1715. In 1715 also, John Maul left £100 and Thomas Compeer £200 to the schools, while a free gift of £50 was received from "Mr Trench of Paulsgrave's Head Court" in the parish.

Edward Daniel, whose will was dated 13 March 1713, left to the schools the sum of £250 and the residue of his estate. This is one of the earliest occasions on which we read of the schoolchildren attending the funeral of a benefactor. In previous centuries it had been customary for funerals of the rich to be attended by the local poor. When a great nobleman died, his retainers and often the inmates of the local almshouses, particularly if he had left a legacy to them, would all attend the graveside in their distinctive dress. The same custom was now extended to apply to the Charity Schools and there are a number of occasions during the eighteenth century when we read of the school attending a funeral, not least when one of the children died. On this occasion, they were rewarded for their trouble, for we read that 14s 6d was "*paid for the Children at Mr Daniell's funeral att 10 Galls of Ale & 9 doz of rowles*", so a good time was clearly had by all. The Trustees agreed that the legacy should eventually be invested in property but, until something suitable could be found, they invested the total sum - £300 - in Lottery orders and later in South Sea Company stock.

Another major gift to the school came in 1713, when John Smith, a parishioner, made over to the Trustees a Treasury annuity of twenty pounds per year "*for and towards the advancement, maintenance and support and clothing of the Poor Children educated and brought up in the Charity School lately erected in this parish*".

Several years were to pass before any further sizeable endowments were to be received and then, within the space of only a few years, the schools were to receive a number of princely gifts which ensured its continuation for the future.

In 1726, Mrs Elizabeth Palmer, a widow of the parish of St George the Martyr, Bloomsbury, bequeathed to the schools the sum of £500 (perhaps the equivalent of half a million by modern values). This was too large a windfall for the Trustees just to absorb into their general funds and they saw here an opportunity to invest the money so as to provide a continuing source of income. The parish already owned property in various locations throughout London and, adjoining one of these sites, the Trustees discovered that certain houses would be available for sale. The price was rather more than Mrs Palmer had left but by dipping into the schools' "common stock", they raised £560. With this, they bought thirteen houses in the parish of St Giles in the Fields - five in Earl Street, seven in West Street and one in Tower Street. All were on a site adjoining the present day Cambridge Circus. To protect their investment for the future,

the purchase was made in the names of the executors of Mrs Palmer, the Rector, churchwardens, Treasurer and all the Trustees of the schools. In total, there were fifteen Trustees of the property, who were to hold office for life; when through death their number fell to five, they were to elect new Trustees with the approval of the Rector and churchwardens.

In 1727, the stock left by Edward Daniel was sold, though it turned out to have been a poor investment, for the stock now only raised £149 4s. This was used, again with a top-up from the common stock, for the purchase in 1729 of another two houses in Tower Street, St Giles in the Fields, for £168.

With these gifts, the schools became considerable property owners. In the following year, a further large bequest was received. Mrs Martha Strode, or Stroade, of Southill in Cornwall for some reason had an affection for the local Charity Schools. At the time of her death, she had already made over £100 to Benjamin Hoare, for the benefit of the schools of the adjoining parish of St Dunstan in the West. She now bequeathed a further £900 as a joint endowment for the schools of St Martin in the Fields, St Clement Danes and St Dunstan in the West, with the injunction that the first £100 was to be added to the general sum if St Dunstan's were to participate. Her executor, John Duncombe, was also to join the Trustees of each school and have a vote in the election of the Master and Mistress. As with the Palmer bequest, the funds were laid out in property, seven houses in New Belton Street in the parish of St Giles in the Fields. From 1730, a ceremony similar to beating the bounds was introduced, in which the Trustees met at Sam's Coffee House near Arundel Street and then went on a perambulation of all the property accompanied by the Master, Mistress and Navigation boys. In addition, from 1734 the Master was made responsible for collecting the rents and was allowed a percentage for his pains.

One of the earliest and longest serving Trustees had been Edward Halstead of Clement's Inn, in the parish; he is styled in all the documents as "gentleman" but his address suggests he may have been a lawyer. He had also been one of the founding Trustees in whom the property of Mrs Palmer's charity was vested. He died in 1730. By his will, one of three houses that he owned in Church Row, Hampstead, was to pass to his sister Catherine Smith for life, then to another sister, Frances Cave, and after her death was to pass to the Trustees of the St Clement's Charity Schools. He also willed that every New Year's Day, each child in the Horn Book School should be given "*a penny cake and a china orange*".

After the wave of large bequests received at the end of the 1720s, the school was never again to receive endowments on the same scale. Perhaps these represent the legacies of that generation which had taken part in the founding of the schools and the massive burst of enthusiasm that there had been at the beginning of the century. Although there were small gifts and bequests every year for many decades after, it was rare that they should be on a large scale, and as we shall see, the finances were never again stable enough to allow the luxury of such bequests being invested for the future. The main benefactors for the future tended to be the Trustees themselves. Edmund Brydges, one of the earliest Trustees, described as "*late Member of this Society*", died in 1723 and left £50 to the schools. When his son, the Treasurer, Kemp Brydges, died in 1742, he also left £100 to the schools. His nephew in turn left £20 in 1763. Another former Trustee, Benjamin Swete, who died in 1744 left £359 10s.

Despite these lavish gifts, there are indications that the schools began to face lean times as the eighteenth century progressed. While the problem was never so great as to require the reduction in size of the schools, as happened in many other parishes, it was inevitable that the wave of enthusiasm which had attended their foundation should diminish. From the 1730s, the finances began to fluctuate considerably. The accounts thoughtfully contain an abstract of the sums received, spent and in hand between the years 1730 and 1742. At the beginning of the period, despite the depletion of stock to assist with the property purchases, the cash held in stock was at its highest level, at £831. Though it was never surpassed during the period, the stock was maintained at a high level until hard times hit in the 1740s.

Subscriptions and sermon collections remained relatively static. They tended to form only a third to a half of the running costs of the school, which most years were between £300 and £400. Balancing the books was therefore at the mercy of gifts and legacies. The fluctuation of these was extreme, with £200 received in legacies in 1732 but nothing in 1731 and 1741. Gifts too, usually under ten guineas, could jump to £112 in 1735 and fall to two guineas in 1739 and 1741. The inevitable result was that there were years when the school was in deficit and these became more frequent as time passed. From a surplus of £557 in 1734, a deficit of £17 was recorded in 1739 and £127 in 1742. To meet the losses, stock was sold with the result that by 1742 it had halved to £418.

As the 1740s went on, the situation became increasingly precarious. The crisis hit following the death of the Treasurer, Mr Webb, in May 1747. Even before he died, there had been indications that there were problems. In April it had been decreed that no further girls should be put out to household service. However, it seems clear that the other Trustees had not been kept informed of just how bad the finances were. On 20 May, presumably as soon as they had seen the books, the Trustees ordered "*that Mr Matthews and Mr Chimmow be desired to wait on Mr Paris to acquaint the said gentleman with the low state of the schools, what is due to the late Treasurer and all other Debts that have been contracted including the Master and Mistresses' Salaries which will commence due at Midsummer and sollicit the said gentleman to get the Legacy paid, that was left to these schools by Benjamin Swete Esq.*" A few days later, Mr Paris (presumably Swete's executor) offered to advance £100 from the legacy "*without interest towards discharging the debts of the schools*". Despite this, we find that the new Treasurer, Mr Poole, is found chasing any dividends due.

Worse was to come. An inspection revealed that the maintenance of the school buildings was appalling. Two years earlier the churchwardens had passed a resolution that the house where the Horn Book School was kept should be shored up. The Trustees were now faced with finding new accommodation as the building was on the verge of collapse. On 3 June 1747, the Trustees ordered that "*Mr Treasurer, Mr Pardoe, Mr Fletcher, and Mr Matthews be desired to meet at the School House next Saturday at ten o' clock in the forenoon to determine where it will be proper to have the Horn Book School kept and Also to assign apartments for the Master and Mistress*". It was revealed that the roof of the main school building was "*very much decayed*" but funds were not available for repairs. By September, apprentices were able to be bound out only by using money from another legacy and in October the Trustees decreed "*that no more children of either sex be admitted on the List for the Horn Book School for the space of six months.*"

By February 1748, there were seventeen vacant places throughout the three schools and it was agreed that the finances were now stable enough to allow new entrants to be admitted. The large legacy of Benjamin Swete, who had died in 1744, had carried them through the crisis and in 1749

£100 was left by William Matthews. Slowly, the financial position stabilised, though the schools were dogged by problems for decades to come. The Trustees clearly did not have a firm grip on their affairs; despite the lengths which had been taken to protect the property bought with Mrs Palmer's money, by 1757 we find that the Trustees had even forgotten the origin of the property. When the subject was researched, it was found that all the Trustees had died except the Rector. By the 1770s, they even resorted to having three guest preachers on collecting Sundays, though the faithful subscribers must have been heartily sick of sermons after hearing them in the morning, afternoon and evening. As we will see, despite occasional large legacies, the financial difficulties were to continue into the next century.

CHAPTER SIX

THE CLOTHED ESTABLISHMENT

In 1770, the parish devised a scheme for the total demolition and rebuilding of its workhouse. The schools, though independent of this institution, were situated on its upper storey and were required to move. Their new location must have been virtually next door and in 1771 we find that the Trustees paid £75 for "*the remainder of the Lease of a House in St Clement's Lane with all the erections & buildings added to the same for a School House*".

This lease gives an excellent snapshot picture of the schools as they were in 1771. Strangely, despite the move, the accommodation was laid out almost exactly as it had been in the first school buildings. Within the schools, separation of the sexes was rigorously enforced. As early as 1714, the Vestry ordered that "*the Trustees of the Charity School have leave to build a new pair of stairs to the schoolroom over the workhouse to prevent any communication between the boys and girls*". The ground floor of the old building had usually been occupied by the parish workhouse, though there are occasional references to parts being rented out, at one time, for instance, to the school barber and later to a cobbler.

The boys' school occupied the first floor of the building and was entered by a staircase coming up from the rear yard; overall it measured thirty one by fifteen feet. There were desks for the Master and the Usher, six fixed writing desks each six and a half feet long, a further three eight feet long and two reading desks eight feet long, barely one foot of space per boy. The room was lit by six sash windows. On the same floor, the Master had two rooms and a room off the staircase for his own residence, along with a cellar for his coal and the use of an "inner garret" to put the boys' clothes and lumber in.

Above it was the Girls' School, which contained three fixed forms and two moveable ones, a chest and a wooden table. The room possessed only two windows as a fixed wooden partition ran across, separating it from the Horn Book School, which was furnished with six forms. An interconnecting door came between the two. The Mistress similarly had two rooms for her own use, a closet in the entry to put the girls' clothes in, the use of an inner garret for lumber and a coal cellar under the staircase. The Horn Book School, until the 1740s housed in a separate building, had been absorbed and was now situated on the second floor, though the Mistress was only allowed one room leading on to the staircase and a closet in the garret for her coal.

The building was provided apparently with two indoor privies - quite a luxury. There was later a parlour on the ground floor with a kitchen and dresser. Under the building was a brick vault partitioned into three. That was all; by our standards remarkably little space or equipment to teach 150 children but sufficient in the days when the only teaching was constant repetition of standard texts. The mention of an usher is the first occasion on which this office occurs. The usher was effectively an assistant master and the office was of long standing; in 1821 we find that Henry Dermott was being paid £3 12s for his quarter's salary as usher.

The size of the schools in the late eighteenth century was the same as it had been in the early years. In this it was very fortunate, for many SPCK Schools were now facing financial difficulties and had to reduce their numbers. Even at St Clement's, there was a significant change in attitude. The emphasis on training the children for a lowly station in life, which had been propounded by the Bishop of London in the 1720s, becomes very noticeable. Only a few of the pupils, and those mainly boys, were now apprenticed to respectable and profitable trades; for the majority, household service was the norm. From the middle years of the century, as we have seen, the number of expulsions had soared, suggesting a breakdown in the discipline and of the ethos of the schools. Those who were expelled, of course, had to make their own way in the world without the benefit of the financial payment usually made by the Trustees.

The same dropping off of interest is found in the Trustees and subscribers themselves. By 1750, the management of the schools had hit such a crisis that most Trustees no longer bothered to attend their meetings. In that year, the running of the schools was placed in the hands of a committee of three and from that moment the subscribers were to have a diminishing influence over it.

Nevertheless, there are still signs of a caring attitude from the Trustees. The pupils were still producing samplers and articles of their work each year. Though the New Year's Dinners were discontinued in 1733, the cakes and oranges of Edward Halstead's bequest were still distributed each year. We read of a sick boy having a "bottle of mountain tincture" bought for him. In 1799, the Trustees even bought a swing.

The Trustees also began to take a close look at the teaching methods and to make some improvements. A major problem was the time that the girls spent on the general housekeeping of the school. In 1774, the Master and Mistress reported "*the knitting appeared to be rather an incumbrance than any real service to the Girls and that confining so much of their time to that only prevented them from attaining to any proficiency in the more useful branches of a Girl's education, It was ordered that in future the Plain Work etc should be attended to and if there should be any spare time on their hands they should fill it up with knitting*". At the same time, noting the difficulties that the Horn Book School Mistress was having "*on account of her age*", they hired an assistant for her. They then went on to review the uniform. The boys had a waistcoat added to their uniform and gained pockets in their coats; the original coats had had only false pockets. The girls' dresses had been changed to more modern round gowns in 1750 and they now gained straw bonnets.

In February 1778, a major innovation was made. "*Considering the great temptations to which the female children of the poorer population were exposed, [they] introduced a new and important element by the admission of eight girls into the School House, there to be wholly lodged, maintained, clothed and educated, till they attained an age fitted for servitude...a great number of poor girls, some orphans, others friendless, are by means of this Institution preserved from imminent perils, and placed where sound religious and moral principles are inculcated at a period of their lives when the human heart and mind are most susceptible of impression*". The original intention was that twelve girls should be admitted but funds would not permit this. In fact, funds were so limited that only £10 per year was available for each girl. The Trustees sought confirmation from the Master that he could maintain them for this sum, which he agreed to, "*the Gentlemen being satisfied with the Children having meat 3 days in the week*". Even with this penny-pinching, the cost of running the girls' establishment were considerable; in 1821 it had reached £278 19s 6d. In addition, it was agreed unanimously that none but the children of people whose settlement was in the parish should be admitted to the house. Such an arrangement was often, and rather misleadingly, known as an "industrial school". From this small beginning, numbers were to grow until the boarded pupils became known as the "Clothed Establishment". The girls

entered at the age of 9 and left at 16. In later years, forty boys between the ages of 9 and 14 were added to the Clothed Establishment, though they never lived in.

In confirmation that the girls were now housed in the school, the accounts record a series of purchases to meet their needs - 8 pairs of sheets, 3 table cloths, 4 towels, 2 dozen trenchers, 2 dozen spoons, 30 platters, 12 piggins (wooden bowls with a long handle), 12 chairs, 12 knives and forks, a pair of drawers, small looking glass and a small table with a drawer. It is interesting to note that for 8 girls, the Trustees bought four bedsteads so it is clear that they were to sleep two to a bed!

In the latter years of the century a constant stream of bequests continued to be made to the schools. Bequests of £50 each came from Mary Dixon in 1767, Lydia Carter in 1777, Mr Plummer in 1798, of £100 from Mr Blagrove in 1775 and £200 from Edward Lepine and Richard Benning in 1789 and 1799 respectively. An unexpected gift of £50 came from the Phoenix Fire Office, as a present to the parish in thanks for the assistance given by the parish officers and beadles in tracking down an arsonist. All these bequests and many smaller ones, however, were used for the schools' current expenditure. The schools were living from hand to mouth and at the turn of the century the Horn Book School was closed, possibly through lack of funds.

On 16 April 1789, the accounts record that a payment of £1 16s 6d was made for "*Ribbons, etc on the King's going to St Paul's*". Further payments were made for butter, sugar, milk, tea, cakes, rolls and beer. This was the public thanksgiving for King George III's recovery from his first attack of madness. The children of the London Charity Schools were assembled at St Paul's for the event, as was recorded in a contemporary engraving. That year, the revolution which broke out in France was to send reverberations throughout Europe. In England, republicans caused great agitation and on 14 July 1791, the second anniversary of the fall of the Bastille, we find that money was "*p[ai]d for Bread and Cheese for the Children confined in School the Revolution Day*".

From 1781, St Paul's Cathedral had become the venue for the SPCK School Anniversary Services. Here they were to be held until 1877, when fear of the fire threat from the vast wooden scaffolds stored in the crypt caused their abandonment. They were for many years a major event in London's calendar and were attended by fashionable society. Apart from the preaching, the highlight was the singing by over two thousand young voices. Haydn said of them "*No music has ever moved me so much in my life*" and on his attendance in 1815, it is said that the Emperor Alexander of Russia was moved to tears. Despite the early emphasis which there had been on musical teaching at St Clement's, it was allowed to slip in the middle of the century. In 1748, Samuel Howard, the organist of St Clement Danes, was asked to train the children in singing and in the following year he offered to do so for free. In later years we find that singing was again neglected and frequent fresh starts had to be made to improve it.

As the schools began the second century of their existence, many aspects of the style of education established in Queen Anne's time had continued to endure. The accounts reveal that as late as 1819, the school was still using the *Whole Duty of Man* as a textbook. The Georgian era, however, was now coming to its close. In 1810, the school celebrated the Golden Jubilee of George III. On June 7, the event was marked by a service in the parish church at which the

children sang a special hymn, followed by a payment of 6d to each child. It seems there were now only 80 pupils in all and as Mr Foss, the barber, was paid 9s 2d for cutting the hair of 55 boys, the number of girls, including those living in, must have been 25. The accounts record that the Master and Mistress, Mr Jackson and Mrs Peerman each received 5s on that day and the four beadles a total of 14s. Mr Page, the singing master, was paid 21s for training the children. After the service, the school was given its usual treat of rolls, buns, cheese and beer (fifteen shillings' worth - perhaps 3 pints each!).

As the era of reform approached, new developments took hold in educational methods. In some respects, they reflect the industrialisation which had marked the previous half century, for a determined attempt was made to rationalise teaching and make it more systematic.

One of the leading exponents of this systematic teaching was Joseph Lancaster, who devised a system whereby one master could teach several hundred children. The key to the system was the use of monitors - senior pupils who had reached a certain level of attainment and were then used to teach younger ones. The system was that the monitors would be charged with superintending their pupils as they either wrote or chanted the same items over and over. One master could therefore control half a dozen or more monitors who each could have fifty or more pupils. In addition, the schoolrooms were constructed with rows of seats ranged along the side of the room, reaching up like a lecture theatre, so that the master could have constant sight of the pupils. Lancaster was, however, a firm Nonconformist and, despite many inducements to join the Established Church, remained true to his principles. His system was therefore not adopted by the Established Church until an Anglican counterpart had been found.

Dr Andrew Bell had been the superintendent of the Male Asylum in Madras. There he had been greatly impressed by the Indian method of teaching by writing in sand. He realised that this repetitive form of learning, allied to some of the structures of the "Lancasterian" system could enable large numbers of children to be taught. Bell received strong support and in 1811 founded the National Society for promoting the education of the Poor in the principles of the Established Church throughout England and Wales. Within a few years numerous parishes had established "National Schools" to promote his system. At St Clement Danes, a National School of 350 children, who paid 9d a month fees, had been established within a short time, quite separate from the Charity Schools. The parish had also, in 1815, established an Infant School in rural Hendon, where the youngest of the parish foundlings and children from the workhouse were sent. This, no doubt, removed a number of the children who would previously have been entered into the schools.

Another reason for the reduction in the number of available children may have been that in the 1790s the parish resorted to the extraordinary, but not uncommon practice, of farming out all the parish children over the age of about eight as indentured labour to a textile mill near Cartmel in Lancashire. Here they worked eighteen hours a day in conditions reminiscent of those described by Dickens. The advantage to the parish, of course, was that it was freed of providing for their upkeep, all of which was met by the mill owners. Nevertheless, there should have been no shortage of pupils. A survey carried out by the Statistical Society of London in 1837 of education in the parishes east of Westminster, including St Clement Danes, revealed that only one in fourteen received any form of education. The position earlier in the century would, if anything, have been worse.

We know a good deal of the state of affairs at the Charity Schools from a Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons dating from 1818. The numbers of children in the

schools were then given as 80 boys and 20 girls. The schools were still clothed in blue uniforms and the girls boarded in the school with the Mistress.

There was clearly some unease about the way the schools were being run. The Committee reported that *"there appears something mysterious about the management of the property, not only to the minister but to many of the subscribers, from the particulars not being published in the annual reports"*. This subject was expanded on later in the report - *"the misappropriation of the funds ... does not in the minister's opinion arise from embezzlement but from thinking such funds should be laid out upon the present generation, to their utmost extent, so that the greatest possible number should participate in education; and with respect to boarding any child, while one remains uneducated, he considers it to be misapplication which ought to be lamented if not censured"*. The comment, which must have been provided by the Rector, the Reverend William Gurney, discloses a surprising distance between him and the school. Since the foundation, the church and school had been closely connected, which makes his comments all the more unusual. Gurney was himself a Trustee and actually ran a school of his own in West Street, St Giles. Yet when asked whether he ever visited the schools, he replied *"I have never seen the children except at church, where I have occasionally examined them in their catechism. I was tolerably well satisfied with their manner of saying it"*. He was clearly not in sympathy with the way the schools were run. He had commented to the Committee that he believed that the Master had a salary of near £100 a year and the Mistress her board and £40 or £50 per annum. He thought the funds and estates with annual subscriptions *"do not produce less than £800 or £1,000 and perhaps more"*. In all this he was correct, though he should have known that the schools nevertheless always had a problem in breaking even. Despite the Trustees owning extensive amounts of property, the rents were quite small and most of the income came from subscriptions and sermons. The problem of the running of the schools being mysterious, of course, lay in the way the governing body had shrunk over the years. By 1818, the original body of a dozen or more Trustees had been reduced to four elected Directors who acted on their behalf. This was inevitable - the reduction in the number of subscribers and the lack of interest from those there were had caused this. Yet it is clear that even the other Trustees did not know what was going on.

The effective Chairman of the Trustees and Directors was still the Treasurer. Thomas Figg until 1783 and Sampson Rainforth in the years 1783-4 were succeeded as Treasurer by Moses Wingrove who held office until 1807. It was Wingrove who presented a silver anchor as the Treasurer's badge of office in 1796. The anchor is, of course, the symbol of St Clement, who was reputed to have been martyred by being thrown into the sea tied to an anchor in the year 100. Many of the Charity Schools had acquired some such symbols of office and it is a little surprising that a school such as St Clement's had not done so earlier. A few years later, a fine mahogany staff was presented in remarkable circumstances, which are engraved on the staff itself - *"The staff was purchased by Sir Francis Ommanney on his way to attend the solicitor of the Charity Commissioners as one of the Deputation on the subject of the Holborn Estate from an humble traveller, its history and antiquity are therefore unknown but it is his prayer that it may for centuries form the **STRONG STAFF** of prosperity to the admirable institution of which it is now the symbol and is presented by him this 4th June 1810 the day of St Paul's Visitation for the Charity Children of the Metropolis."*

After the tenure of Joshua Johnston from 1807 to 1817, the Treasurer from 1817 until 1840 was this same Sir Francis Molyneux Ommanney; perhaps the other Trustees therefore felt obliged to elect him next time the post became vacant. Ommanney was considerably larger than life and dominated the school for three decades. He was by profession a Navy Agent, and ran his business from his house at 22, Norfolk Street. His other claim to fame was as Member of

Parliament for Barnstaple, a town with which he had only the most tenuous connection, but to which he was elected after a campaign marked by conspicuous bribery. Although associating himself with Radical politics, he generally favoured the most reactionary line in Parliament. He is particularly remembered for opposing the chimney sweepers' regulation Bill for threatening the employment of "*gay, cheerful and contented*" boy chimney sweeps and thereby forcing them to become a burden on the Poor Rates.

Ommanney's appointment was followed swiftly by the critical report by Parliament and the new Treasurer was galvanised into action. Whether there was any direct connection is not known but in 1821 the Charity Schools moved to new, and much larger, premises in Stanhope Street. These had been used as a brewery by the owners for many years. A strange location, perhaps, but large buildings in the parish were always hard to come by and these premises allowed plenty of room for expansion. At the same time, the massively larger National Schools were united with the old Charity Schools; the accounts for that year record £56 14s paid to the Committee of the National School for their fixtures and fittings. For a short period, the National School teaching staff, Mr Slyth and Mrs Young, were paid along with the Charity School staff. Despite the disparity in size of the two, the Charity Schools were still regarded as the senior partner and the National Schools seem to have provided a pool from which the more favoured "clothed establishment" could draw its intake. Even with the space offered by the new buildings, they were insufficient to accommodate the vast numbers now attending and in 1827 it was found necessary to carry out major repairs and extension. The converted brewery was to be home to the schools for the next sixty years.

CHAPTER SEVEN

THE LAST YEARS OF THE CHARITY SCHOOL

When another report on education was compiled in 1838, the situation had changed considerably. The Charity Schools had increased marginally; there were still 60 boys but the number of girls had increased to 26. In contrast, the two parochial schools now numbered 45 and 21, a big reduction. What had happened is not clear but in the next few years the parish was to establish a number of other schools to meet the pressing need for education. The 1838 Report found that, apart from the Charity Schools, the two parochial schools and the infant school at Hendon, there were a further 26 schools in the parish, fourteen of which had been founded in the previous twenty years. In total, over 900 children were receiving education in the parish. Unfortunately, we do not know how many children there were overall in the parish, which would reveal how many were receiving no education at all. The number of parishioners had grown from 13,706 in 1811 to 15,442 in 1831, a considerable proportion of whom would have been children. To meet this need, the parish was later to establish Ragged Schools in Clare Market and a further infant school was erected in Milford Lane in 1855. There was also a full-time schoolmaster, James Wilson, employed in the workhouse from 1834 and from the following year a Sunday School was established.

Against this background, the Charity schools were now looking rather quaint and old-fashioned. In 1854, the Rules were revised. They give a fascinating insight into the running of the Stanhope Street Schools. Though the overall establishment was called the St Clement Danes Charity Schools, the original foundation actually formed only a part of a larger National School. The best pupils from the school were chosen to move up to the "clothed establishment" whenever vacancies arose. The uniform had by now changed, though the blue colour was retained. The boys were now wearing a short blue cloth jacket and waistcoat, corduroy trousers and a silver badge worn on the left side of the chest; even so, as late as the 1860s there are references to laundering the boys' linen bands so it may be that some part of the old uniform had survived. The girls wore a blue checked dress, blue cape and large straw poke bonnets.

Seventy of the boys and thirty five of the girls were to have the "*benefit of Clothing*"; these numbers were clearly a substantial increase on those earlier in the century. Indeed, the establishment had been increased from sixty and thirty respectively as recently as 1851. However, only fifteen years later the Trustees had to admit that due to "*the heavy and unavoidable expenditure in repairs of the premises, the important advantages then gained were necessarily suspended and with the greatest frugality it has not been thought justifiable at present to restore the Schools to the full complement*".

The ultimate source of authority in the school still lay with the subscribers. The Trustees were elected by these and the subscribers could still nominate children for admission; the children were supposed to be known personally to them. Pupils were admitted after an interview with a Trustee at sessions held at 10 am on the first and third Tuesdays every month. The number of the Trustees had been increased to something like the position at the foundation and the Rector, curates and churchwardens now became automatic Trustees by virtue of office. There was also a Treasurer and 40 Trustees from whom were chosen a management committee of 12, audit

committee of 5 and estates committee of 5. Though not Trustees, there was also a Ladies' Committee of 12. The complement included a solicitor to the Trustees, medical officer, clerk, collector and the Master, assistant master, drill master, Mistress, two pupil teachers and a matron. The whole establishment came under the patronage of the Dowager Countess of Mexborough.

The curriculum followed by the children had, however, barely changed. The principal object of the schools was still to "*instruct and educate the poor belonging to, or resident in the parish, in the faith and practice of the Christian Religion, according to the principles of the Church of England, and in such learning and attainments as may be useful to them in their future station*". All the children were to learn reading, writing and arithmetic "*and such other useful employments as the Trustees may from time to time agree on*". The girls were additionally to learn plain needlework and be trained in industrial habits, and taught washing, getting-up linen, and general household work. In place of the SPCK methods, the National Society methods of teaching and books were now the standards for the schools. A public examination of the children was to take place each June, following which there was to be a prize-giving ceremony. These prizes were still extended to include former pupils who had left and could provide a certificate from their new employer that they had given good service for more than a year.

A key element introduced in the mid-century was drill, effectively marching, in which the children were trained by Sergeant Major Spooner. The drill was a part of the curriculum which was included in the annual inspections and became a standard element of school life down to the Edwardian period.

The religious instruction in the schools was to be under the direction of the Rector and he was enjoined to appoint one of the parish clergy to make a weekly inspection and "*impart religious instruction suitable to the capacities of the Children*". All the children were required to attend Divine Service at the parish church twice on Sundays, as did the children of all the various parochial schools, the charity children being required to be present one hour before the beginning of the morning service and half an hour before the afternoon service.

A premium of five pounds was still paid when one of the children was apprenticed out, though the majority of the children were still destined for domestic service which did not require this. It is interesting to note that the amount had not risen in 150 years. On leaving, the children were given new outfits of clothing, a bible and Book of Common Prayer.

The girls' school still centered on the thirty five boarders who were the only children who actually lived in the Stanhope Street Schools. The Mistress lived in with them and, for their better welfare, a Committee of twelve or more ladies whose husbands were subscribers was in existence "*to visit and superintend the school*". This Ladies' Committee had a direct managerial function and it does not appear that the Mistress could make any purchases, even of a trivial nature, without going through it.

The most startling contrast with the present day was the length of the school year. In the summer, the schools were open between 9 am and noon and from 2 to 5 pm in the afternoon; during the winter, school ended at 4 pm. This still represents a considerable reduction on the eighteenth century hours. The scholars also had a holiday every Saturday, on the Queen's Birthday and, bizarrely coupled with it, on the anniversary of the election of the Treasurer. The boys were allowed a holiday of seven days at Christmas, three days at Easter and up to a

fortnight in the summer. The girls were not nearly so lucky. They were allowed only four days a year - the last Wednesday and Thursday in December and two days at Midsummer. These were only partial holidays as they were not allowed out on these days until 9 am and had to be back by 6 pm at Christmas and 9 pm in summer. Even these holidays might be cancelled by the Ladies' Committee if reports of adverse behaviour were received from the Mistress. The girls were therefore confined to the school for the greater part of the year. Their parents were allowed to visit them only one day a month, on the first or third Wednesday, and then only between 4 and 6 in the afternoon. Lest they attempt to make contact on other occasions, the parents were desired "*not to interfere or allow others to interfere with their respective Children in going to or from Church, or during their walking exercise on the week days*". The effect of these rules must have been to create a rather claustrophobic and enclosed atmosphere in the girls' school and particularly to have accentuated the differences between the boarders and those girls who attended on a daily basis.

The parents were instructed to "*send their children with their persons clean, their hair cut short, and their clothes and stockings clean and well mended, and to direct their children to behave orderly and respectfully in the streets*". The children themselves were enjoined "*to behave respectfully to their teachers, to take great care of their books and slates, to behave with the greatest reverence during Divine Service, to be kind one to another, and never to lie, cheat, or to use bad language*".

To meet the needs of local children, which the Charity Schools could not meet, other schools were founded by the parochial clergy. In 1858, the then Rector, the Reverend Skinner Chart Mason, was responsible for establishing Ragged Schools for the very poor in Houghton Street, Clare Market. In a letter to the National Society, he is found seeking their assistance in obtaining desks, forms and books for the library. "*The building*" he writes, "*was an old swimming bath, upon which I have expended a sum of about £400. In fact, it will prove, I believe, a means of great good to the many heathens surrounding it....I have only just opened the building and about 300 children already attend*". The other major schools of the parish were the grammar schools established by the St Clement Danes Holborn Estate Charity. The charity itself dates back to 1552 and drew its income from an estate on the north side of High Holborn. For centuries, the income was used to fund every type of expenditure within the parish. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, however, a proposal to restore the parish church from its income led to a hostile court action against the Trustees from a local dissenter. We have seen earlier that the school Treasurer's staff of office was bought on the way to discuss this action with the charity's solicitors. The long and costly action went against the Trustees; the ruling from the Court of Chancery was that the charity was only to be used for secular purposes. Thereafter the charity was reorganised and began spending freely on new ventures. The parish almshouses, next to which the original schools had been sited, were rebuilt on a lavish scale at Tooting in the 1840s. In 1852, the charity established the St Clement Danes Holborn Estate Grammar School in Houghton Street and in 1862 a grammar school for girls was also opened. The girls' grammar school was not to survive to the end of the century, as secondary education for girls was still the preserve of the middle classes and there were few representatives of this class in the area. The Trustees - who were often exactly the same people as the Trustees of the school and also members of the parish Vestry - were keen to be generous to the old Charity Schools and this generosity was to imperil the schools in later years.

In the mid-nineteenth century, the Charity Schools were still being financed on the same basis that they had always been - rents from property, subscriptions, gifts and the income from charity sermons. A small weekly payment was made by the parents of 2d for each child, or 1d for each

younger member of the same family. Instead of deterring attendance, the payment actually increased it as parishioners were happier to send their children now that the stigma of receiving charity had been reduced.

Even at this period, the school was still able to attract distinguished preachers to the charity sermons. The records show that the Bishop of Bath and Wells preached in 1858, the Bishop of London in 1864 and 1869 and the Bishop of Manchester in 1872. The children were also still attending the annual festivals at St Paul's. These were now made the opportunity for leading subscribers to meet for dinner that evening; ostensibly these were designed to raise funds, as each diner was expected to make an additional donation to school funds. In the 1850s, each dinner ticket cost 15s (about twice the weekly income of a working man), so the attendance was exclusive. Lists of the diners survive for much of the second half of the century and these show that all the leading parishioners were present - the Rectors and churchwardens, the Twinings, Stilwells, Smiths (of W H Smith fame), J F Isaacson (the Vestry Clerk and "correspondent" or secretary to the Trustees). In practice, the "anniversary dinner" had become one of the major social events of the parish's year. Indeed, when the dinners were eventually abandoned at the end of the century, the Amicable Society of St Clement Danes was revived as a dining club and all the same people are found as its earliest members.

The dinners were only one of many social events; another was the regular St Clement Danes Penny Readings, which were held in the Stanhope Street Schools. These consisted of musical recitals, such as ballads sung by the Rector and his wife, and literary recitations; a penny admission was charged. At a time of limited public entertainment these were immensely successful and a small income for the school was produced by the frequent use of its buildings.

It is unlikely that the children attended these social events, though they must have found a way of listening in from elsewhere in the building. They did, however, have entertainment of their own. They were regularly taken on outings to places such as the Crystal Palace and Greenwich, when it was frequently the case that they were presented with an orange.

In 1863, the children were present at the State Entry of Princess Alexandra into London. After two years of gloom following the death of Prince Albert, the country was in a mood for celebration and the arrival of the beautiful young princess from Denmark on her way to marry the Prince of Wales was a welcome relief. The connection between a Danish princess and St Clement Danes was not lost and, as she passed the church, her procession stopped and an oration of welcome was made to her. This connection with the princess was to be played up as the years passed and she was to be a regular visitor to the church in later years. Sixty two years later, the whole school was to attend a memorial service as the Queen's funeral was taking place at the Abbey. Later, on the day of her arrival, the children were treated to a special dinner at the substantial cost of £13 12s 10d. An interesting item was 16s 6d for oranges. To add to the success of the day, the churchwardens made a gift to the schools of £21, part of the profit of letting seats in the churchyard.

The schools were closed again in March 1872 for the service of Thanksgiving for the recovery of the Prince of Wales from typhoid fever. The Master, Edmund Barnes, wrote "*Tuesday being the Thanksgiving Day a whole holiday was given to the boys. The preparations in the Strand were so great that the attendance suffered so much on the previous afternoon. The registers were not marked but regarded as virtually a holiday*".

From 1855 until the end of the century, the Treasurer was Samuel Harvey Twining, a member of a family that has given unstinting service to the schools and parish over three centuries. The founder of the coffee house from which the tea business was to grow, Thomas Twining, is recorded as a subscriber to the schools in 1710. In the early nineteenth century, Richard Twining was a Trustee and from then on, there is scarcely a single document relating to the schools which does not contain the Twining name. At the time of writing the Chairman of the St Clement Danes Educational Foundation still bears the name of Samuel Twining.

The years of Twining's Treasurership witnessed a massive reorganisation of the charitable and educational sector. The reformers were aware that throughout the country there were many trusts and funds which were underdeployed or used for quaint, and to their eyes, unnecessary purposes. The precept that all such funds should be deployed for the greatest public good held full sway, even if that should mean that the intentions of the original donors were disregarded. The establishment of the Charity Commission served to facilitate this process and an Endowed Schools Commission was founded to review all ancient foundations.

Institutions such as the St Clement's Charity Schools were decidedly out of favour. Many such schools still wore their original uniforms and the sight of boys and girls in seventeenth century costume processing to church, often accompanied by a beadle straight out of the pages of Dickens and a clergyman fat with ancient endowments, gave outrage to the reformers. One by one these charming if somewhat outdated institutions fell before the Endowed Schools Commission, which maximised their endowments and reformed them on modern lines.

The result of the various Parliamentary enquiries had been the establishment of education by the state as a major political issue. The passing of the Education Act in 1870 made it obligatory for the first time for all children up to 12 to attend school. Under the Act, local School Boards were set up and substantial funds were provided for the erection of new schools. In the capital, the creation of the School Board for London was a mixed blessing. Churchmen who were active in education tended to be committed already to the National Schools and in the elections to the new School Boards, non-conformists and liberals were in the ascendancy. Despite the presence of some leading Anglicans, such as Bishop Thorold of Rochester, Dr Barry of King's College, London, and W H Smith, the London Board soon showed itself as hostile to the National Schools. The Church schools were often housed in unsatisfactory and cramped buildings, the inevitable result of trying to provide the maximum education with limited funds. St Clement's was a prime example of this. The new School Board was found often to use its financial muscle to erect smart new premises in an area already covered by church provision; the result would be the diversion of pupils to the new school and the consequent withering of the church school.

St Clement's was soon to face just such a threat. Its existing buildings in a converted brewery were hardly satisfactory. There was no chance of being overlooked by the Board, as the headquarters of the new Board were erected in the parish by the Temple station. Before the Board could strike, the parish had to set about the complete overhaul of the schools and find premises themselves. The authorities at St Clement's, at the school, the church and the Vestry, moved to implement their own scheme before outsiders could intervene. Negotiations were held with the Endowed Schools Commission. A Scheme was devised for the abolition of the Clothed Establishment, the sale of all the property and the reinvestment of the endowment in buying a new freehold site. On this, a new National School for 6-700 children was to be erected. The proposals were presented to the parish in January 1872 and endorsed at a "*crowded and*

enthusiastic" meeting. The Scheme was then approved by the Endowed Schools Commission and passed to the Education Department for approval. A New Schools Committee was formed to implement the project on which W H Smith, the Twinings, the Reverend Mr Simpson the Rector, the churchwardens, Vestry Clerk and a host of Vestrymen served.

Work was well progressed when an impediment was raised by the Charity Commissioners. They had noted that the Holborn Estate Charity, which was itself being reorganised, was contributing £300 yearly towards the running costs. Here was the Scheme's Achilles' heel, for the Holborn Estate Charity was not empowered to support specifically denominational activities and must therefore discontinue the grant. There was consternation in the parish. The schools could not stay as they were because, if the parish did not implement its own Scheme, the School Board would draw up one of its own making, probably on a far harsher basis. Yet the schools were dependent on the Holborn Estate money and must either surrender it and become unviable, or surrender their exclusively Anglican ethos, which was why they had been founded in the first place. For a while the parish agonised. A hard-line Anglican minority thought the schools should press on without the money and hope that something would turn up; many Nonconformists rejoiced at this opportunity to kill off a bastion of the Established Church. Meanwhile, the School Board for London stood in the wings ready to impose a Board school. Some people thought that the schools were in any case unnecessary and doubted that there were enough children to fill them. To these, the Rector replied that there were 1,000 children in the various parish schools *"and probably 400 or 500 either running in the streets or going to school outside the Parish"*.

Eventually, there was no choice for the parish authorities but to surrender. In future, the schools would have a strong Anglican ethos but would not exclude children of other denominations. In return, the Commissioners would allow the Holborn Estate Charity to contribute £800, the value of the materials of the Milford Lane School, which was to be demolished and united with St Clement's schools. The contribution of £300 was also to continue. In their Report for 1874, the Trustees wrote:

"There can be no doubt that for many years the Schools thus constituted have conferred many benefits on the children of the poor and their parents; but it is equally clear that, for many reasons, the Schools needed reconstruction, which, while preserving all that was essential, should adapt them to the requirements of the times. Under such circumstances and in consequence of the great changes involved in the passing of the recent Education Act, the Trustees and Subscribers, in meeting duly convened, resolved to reconstruct the Schools and establish them upon a better as well as a more extensive basis. With that view, the Trustees submitted to the Endowed Schools Commissioners a Scheme for the new schools, to accommodate 700 children, and they are happy to inform the subscribers that such scheme as approved by the Commissioners, is in progress of completion. Every parishioner who values religion for his own or his country's sake will thus have reason to rejoice that the children of the poor will receive a religious as well as a secular education in the Parish in which their lot is cast by the retention of our own voluntary National Schools. Such a wise provision renders our Parish independent of a Board School, which was only intended by the Education Act to supplement (where wanting), not to supersede existing voluntary schools"

The result was a Scheme approved by the Charity Commissioners in 1875, very much along the lines of the original proposals. The schools would be controlled by 13 Governors - the Rector by virtue of his office and 12 representative governors, eight elected by the subscribers and four representing the Vestry. It was officially stated that women could become governors, though theoretically they could have been for years, so long as they were subscribers. The Governors would have the ability to sell all the lands and property of the Charity Schools (for it was still

intended that they would have to cash in the endowments to fund the rebuilding). The principal teacher of the school would still have to be a member of the Church of England. The children were to pay small fees, though no more than ninepence a week.

Having made the decision to relaunch and rebuild the schools, the Governors were faced by the perennial problem of finding a site in the parish. This was no easier than it had been in 1700 and several years were spent negotiating to buy the only suitable site - the converted brewery in which the schools were housed. The site was purchased for £4500, to raise which the St Clement Danes Educational Foundation, which had been founded to take over the property of the Charity Schools, had to sell their most valuable possession, the house at Hampstead. Then, while rebuilding took place, all the schools had to cram themselves into the tiny infant school in Milford Lane. Nevertheless, even as the new schools arose, the London School Board was still on their heels. At exactly the same time, the Board opened a school in Vere Street in the parish, which was to be a competitor to the church schools for the next twenty years.

CHAPTER EIGHT

THE STANHOPE STREET SCHOOLS

On Friday, 20 May 1881, the new schools in Stanhope Street were opened. Dr Hessey, the Archdeacon of Middlesex, performed the inaugural ceremony and in his address compared the

schools to a sun "*shining and giving moral light amidst the squalor of the neighbourhood*". Other speakers included the Reverend John Lindsay, the Rector, the Reverend J J Coxhead of the School Board for London and Samuel Harvey Twining, chairman of the Governors. Twining, in his speech of welcome was able to state "*The Governors take this opportunity of congratulating the Subscribers in the fact that they are at length able to meet in Schools erected on their own Freehold Property and also to remind them that as far as we can learn these are the only Church Schools which have been erected in the Metropolis since the introduction of the School Board for London*". During the proceedings, a testimonial was presented to Mr Twining in recognition of his long service as Treasurer and his efforts in promoting the erection of the new schools. Later that evening, a celebratory dinner was hosted at the Freemasons' Tavern by W H Smith, MP for the Strand. A few weeks later, on 13 June, the staff and pupils moved from their temporary home in Milford Lane. For the first time in their history, the schools now had their own purpose-built premises.

The architect had designed a handsome facade of red and yellow brick with projecting pilasters and mouldings in red brick. The design provided for 183 infants and 147 girls on the ground floor and 163 boys on the first floor, a total of 493. The introduction of a large baize curtain to divide the boys' school into two some years later, reveals that originally all the teaching was done in one enormous room. The second floor was entirely given over to the occupation of the caretaker. It appears that all 183 infants were housed in one large square room lit by a lantern in the roof, with a "*stepped gallery*" along one side of the room. These galleries were also a feature in the boys' and girls' schools. The cost of the buildings was said to be £3,400, in addition to the £4,500 needed to purchase the freehold of the site.

In moving from Milford Lane, the school brought with it the pupils and staff of the school there and of the Houghton Street Holborn Estate School. which were both closed. From Houghton Street came the Mistress, Mrs Cartwright, a teacher named Boucher and three monitresses, who were absorbed into the teaching staff.

In the late nineteenth century, and well into the twentieth, it was expected that the teaching staff would owe an exclusive duty towards the school. Any personal life was required to be secondary to their job and, so far as the women teachers were concerned, it was expected that they would ask permission of the Governors if they wished to marry and leave if they were expecting a child. From 1883, there exists a very poignant letter from Mary Parker, the Girls' School Mistress, who had already been at the school for several years and was provide many decades of future service:

"Gentlemen,

I wish to ask you whether if I should marry in the course of the next twelvemonth, you will allow me to retain my school. I have been engaged to Mr Sizer now for six years and he thinks it time we were settled. It is not his wish that I keep on the school, as he can keep me quite comfortably, but I wish it for several reasons,

1st I have been so used to my school work, that I should not know what to do without it

2nd I think it a pity after studying hard for my certificate, and working for good reports, to waste them

3rd My mother has no settled income and I want to help her as long as I can.

I have no decided plans yet, but I thought I should first of all like to mention the matter to you.

Awaiting your decision, I am Gentlemen,

Yours obediently,

M F Parker"

It says much of her abilities that the Governors acceded to her request and continued with the unpalatable concept of a married schoolmistress. The matter, however, did not rest there for they then requested that she vacate the school house as having a married headmistress living on site with her husband seems to have been a step too far. Her reply to Mr Livett, the Correspondent, makes interesting reading:

"12 Feb 1883

Dear Mr Livett,

I have written to Mr Twining explaining how very awkward I should find it to retain my school under any circumstances without the apartments. Will you kindly put in a word for me, if you can, as I am sure I should find room enough for a few years at any rate. It is the usual thing in Church Schools for there to be houses for the headteachers and they occupy them, whether married or single. When I was at St Mary's both mistresses were married, not to masters and lived on the premises. There are no houses under the Board but they do not have to teach pupil teachers as the pupil teachers go to one centre in the day time for lessons, the staff being sufficiently large to spare them. I have to take mine from 8 to 9 in the morning, and often from 6 to 8 in the evening. That would necessitate my leaving home soon after 7 and not returning until 7 or 8 at night. I think the real reason Mr Knapp has held out against Pupil Teachers for so long is the bother and extra time to be given to their lessons. If I did not live on the premises, we should probably take a house Hampstead way. Of course, I must keep a girl but I doubt very much if I should find one to stay all those hours alone in a house, and if I did, you know what servant girls are. I certainly could not trust them unless I wanted my property made ducks and drakes of in my absence. I do not see how I could manage at all. I could, of course, if my mother would stay with me but she will not under any circumstances. She thinks young married people are best left to themselves. I hope you will excuse my troubling you with this lengthy epistle.

Yours truly,

M J Parker"

The school was indeed still making use of pupil teachers. These were employed only after passing the examinations set by the Education Department, which were held twice yearly. As well as sitting the written examination, the girls also had to undergo assessment in their ability in needlework and to produce examples of garments made by them during the previous year. The annual inspection of the school also included the pupil masters and mistresses along with their charges; following a report in 1888, the inspector commented well on their standard but hoped that "*Saville (pupil teacher) will do better this year*".

The employment of teachers who were barely teenagers themselves led to many problems. From 1884, we have the case of Constance Hardinge. It soon became apparent that she did not "*seem to know how to manage a class or understand her work*". Mrs Sizer thought it best that she should leave at the end of February. As soon as she was informed of this, she absented herself to seek another situation. Soon after, a letter was received from her father seeking payment of her salary to the end of the month. The idea of a pupil teacher receiving such a payment, as they did not normally have a formal contract caused great agitation at the school. While the subject was still under consideration, Miss Hardinge walked out "*in a very abrupt manner*". She was not missed by Mrs Sizer who "*had never before had one like her to deal with*" but a month later another very humble letter was received from her father by Mr Twining. "*During the solemn season of Lent I did not wish to trouble you*", he wrote, "*with an application of any kind, nor, indeed, during the gladsome Easter weekI know, Sir, I have but to mention this to you and will do myself the pleasure of waiting upon you D V on the ensuing Monday morning*". The humble approach was in this case the right one, as a cheque for £1 10s was duly dispatched.

An interesting example was Annie Clarke, who qualified as a pupil teacher in 1889. In that year, Mrs Sizer wrote plaintively to the Education Department seeking advice on whether Annie could sit for the examination that Christmas or whether she should first sit for the scholarship examination in July. Whether she passed the scholarship for another school is not clear but she certainly returned to St Clement's. In March 1900, she wrote rather pathetically to the Managers, asking for a pay rise - "*I beg leave to make application for an increase in my salary considering I have been "certificated" for the last six years. I have now worked 7 years in the Boys' School, during which time I have had my salary increased only twice. I do my very best to obtain "Good Results" in the Lower Standards, the work of which is very tedious and heavy.*" The redoubtable Miss Clarke was to remain with the school for several decades to come.

Even the Master of the Boys' School, Frederick J Knapp, who was in post between 1879 and 1898, was reduced to having to plead for salary increases just like his staff. On 4 January 1884, he wrote to Mr Twining "*I have been considering for some time the conveniency of asking the Governors to give further consideration to my salary but have deferred it from time to time from my knowledge of the state of the school funds I might further add that my otherwise spare time is fully occupied by the various institutions connected with the schools, which fall entirely on me*".

The salaries were a perennial problem and, as the schools were independent of any other pay structure, they depended on the arbitrary decisions of the Governors and the state of the school finances. A grant was paid by the Government but was strictly limited to the pupils' results in examinations, effectively payment by results. As typical examples, the full salary bill for 1897 was:

Boys' School	
Mr F J Knapp	£150 + 20% Grant
Mr E Gerard	£95
Miss Clarke	£55

Girls' School	
Mrs Sizer	£100 + 20% Grant
Mrs Perham	£80
Miss Cole	£50
L Claridge (Monitress)	£1 per month

Infants' School	
Miss Sullivan	£85
Miss Lackington	£40
Miss Turner	£40

In September 1892, the Governors abolished the weekly admission charge. Almost at once, the number on the roll rose to 446. For some time, the income of the Governors from their historic endowments had been barely sufficient. Even in 1889, the local District Officer of Health was refusing to accept payment for work at the schools in view of "*the arduous struggle which the Stanhope Street Schools have now to undergo in relation to the adjacent Rate-supported schools of the London School Board*". Very soon the burden of running the schools on a free basis began to bite. The Chairman, Samuel Harvey Twining, wrote only two years later "*The funds are in a very unhealthy position....The Governors shrink from the probable alternative of being compelled to hand over their schools to*

the management of a School Board". Help was sought from the National Society but they could offer no financial assistance. During these years, the schools really lived from hand to mouth. After the transition from Charity to National School, the number of subscribers had dropped from hundreds to a few dozen. In effect, once the school had begun to be supported by Government finance, the whole impetus for supporting it had collapsed. By the end of the century, the income from the estates also had been greatly reduced as most of the property around Seven Dials lay empty for some years as Cambridge Circus was developed.

The log books for all three schools survive in full from the latter part of the nineteenth century. A common theme is how aggressive and awkward the parents could be towards the staff. The school stood in a tough area and physical violence toward the teachers was not unknown. In 1875, Mr Barnes recorded that *"It is a curious fact that though Thomas Bravington was but 11 years old last January, his parents now assert that he is 13, being anxious to get him to work and evade the interference of the School Board"*. The parents would haggle over the few pence the children paid each week. As always, there were cases where the parent objected to aspects of the curriculum. In July 1881, the Girls' Mistress received a letter from a Mr Gray requesting that his daughter was not *"tortured by performing such hurtful tricks as touching elbows, etc, as he does not wish her to be an acrobat or gymnast"* and the year before, she recorded that *"Mrs Hawkridge entered the school room on Wednesday in great rage, her son having been kept in. After unsuccessfully attempting to reconcile her, I advised her to take him to another school, which I presume she has done"*. Where one child in a family had gone down with a notifiable disease, even smallpox, the parents would swear that there was no problem in order to avoid investigation by the local medical officer. The teachers were equally complacent about illness; in 1875, Mr Barnes noted *"Last Saturday Mr Knapp informed me Mr Hutton had the smallpox. As he could not be persuaded to go to the hospital and he was lodging in Mr Knapp's house, both Masters were obliged to be absent this week and Master carried on the work of the school with the help of the P[upil] T[eacher]"*.

The log books reveal that quite a varied curriculum was being taught at the end of the nineteenth century. The subjects were set by the Government as part of the Code, a forerunner of the National Curriculum. In 1883, the Headmaster is found complaining on behalf of all the staff that in the latest revision to the Code, *"the Upper Standards are required to read aloud 3 passages, one of history, one of geography or science - full knowledge of spelling, meaning, allusion & style of composition required. Letter writing, essay, etc, to be added to writing with no extra grant. Arithmetic - mental calculation added. Physical geography added. English literature & structure of language added to Grammar. The changes in needlework and singing are simply monstrous"*. He asked the Managers that they should *"use all the weight of your influence and power in abolishing such a system of national cramming in our elementary schools ... were it not for the need of the hard-earned grant in aid of the support of the schools, I would recommend the withdrawal of the schools from Government Inspection"*.

The Inspectors' Report for 1902 gives a positive account of the schools at this time. They wrote:

"Boys' School The spirit of industry and anxiety to do well among the boys is very pleasing. They will do still better if promiscuous answering is repressed and answers are given with more fullness ...

Girls' School There is a pleasant tone in the Girls' School. The Upper Class, especially, shows that the girls have profited from good training. The Object Lessons should be used more for mental training than for giving information.

Infants' School Sickness among the children and changes of staff have put the Infant School to some disadvantage. But it continues to be taught with care, kindness and satisfactory success".

In 1897, all the schools of the kingdom celebrated the Golden Jubilee of Queen Victoria. In a Loyal Address presented on behalf of the Children of the Church Schools of London, the

Bishop wrote "*We, at the beginning of our lives, desire to greet your Majesty, so full of years and full of honour. Some of us may, perhaps, lay down our lives on battlefields-to-come for the country that we love and the throne we revere. We beg you to accept our childlike greetings and we will pray our Lord Jesus Christ to lengthen the reign that has been so long and so honourable, and to make it shine out in the stories of kings for ever as a time when the blessings of heaven have been most abundantly bestowed*". Prophetic words indeed.

As the Queen's procession to St Paul's was to pass by the parish church, the Treasurer was moved to seek some part of the proceeds for the schools:

"8 April 1897

To the Rector and Churchwardens,

Dear Sirs,

In view of the large and satisfactory sum which in all probability will be realised through the letting of the Parish Churchyard on the approaching event in commemoration of Her Majesty's long reign, I trust I may be permitted to draw your attention in connection with any distribution of the proceeds to the strong claims of our National Schools in Stanhope Street to a liberal and substantial contribution.

The financial position of the Schools is so well known to you that it is scarcely necessary to remind you that we have for some years past been struggling against an ever increasing deficit which at the close of last year had amounted in the large sum of upwards of £,980.

Next to the necessary expenditure on the Church itself, it seems to me that there can scarcely be a more appropriate purpose for the application of a portion of the fund raised in this interesting occasion than assistance and the support of the National Church of England Schools of our Parish and earnestly commending them to your favourable consideration,

I am, Dear Sirs, Yours very faithfully,

Samuel Harvey Twining".

The school was, of course, closed on Jubilee day and after the procession the children were entertained to a Jubilee Treat in Inner Temple Gardens as the guests of the Benchers.

Also in 1897, the London Diocesan Church Schools Association, the fore-runner of the Diocesan Board for Schools was founded. Through this, small, though much needed, grants were received, which in part relieved the financial crisis.

The turn of the century was marked by major changes at the schools. In 1900, the august Treasurer and Chairman of the Governors, Samuel Harvey Twining died. He had been Treasurer since 1855 and had personally seen the schools through the new constitution of 1854, the battles with the reformers and school boards, the transition to a National School, the rebuilding and twenty years of development after that. He handled all the finances and much of the correspondence single handed. The fact that we know so much of this period is because he preserved all his working papers, which after his death were passed to the Educational Foundation. Three years later, his brother and fellow long-serving Trustee, Richard Twining, was forced to resign as a Governor due to "*his age and failing strength and eyesight*". He was at the time 96.

In 1903, the Education Act (London) brought further changes. The School Board for London was wound up and responsibility for education was passed to the new London County Council. The role of subscribers was abolished, though there were few left by now. In place of Trustees elected by the subscribers, Foundation Managers were created.

The bicentenary of the schools' foundation fell in 1900/01, though little was done to celebrate it. Unfortunately, as Mr Twining had been failing in health immediately before the anniversary, nothing had been done. A bicentenary fund was raised but the whole sum, amounting only to £52 10s, was distributed among the staff. Perhaps all the key players were too old or otherwise occupied to make much of the occasion. For at that very time a major problem loomed.

For many years there had been talk of building a new road between the Strand and Holborn. With the creation of the London County Council this speculation became reality. Unfortunately, the new schools, of which the parish was so proud, lay in the path of the new street. On 13 October 1898, the LCC wrote to the Governors announcing their intention to acquire the site of the schools for the new road. It is clear that the intention to provide full compensation had been made, so the only discussion concentrated on the amount to be paid and timing of the demolition. Although work began on the new road in 1900, peripheral sites such as the schools were not needed at once. As late as April 1902, the Governors put in a claim for £196,997 based on the cost of a new site with new buildings and fixtures. The sum was truly astronomical and was not accepted. The LCC did, however, suggest two alternative sites that they were prepared to give as compensation, one in Houghton Street and the other in Drury Lane. Neither was suitable and over the next year discussions continued on finding a better site; one site was inappropriate as it would be "*entirely surrounded by high buildings, so that the small playgrounds would be merely cold and cheerless yards, and any School placed upon it could not be properly lighted, so that the rooms would inevitably be dismal and gloomy*".

The Stanhope Street Schools were required by the LCC by summer 1904 and so they proposed putting the schools into a disused local Board School. For by a bizarre twist of fate, the St Clement's Schools, despite all their problems, had increased in success at the expense of the intruded Vere Street School. The School Board had now thrown in the towel and closed the school. This was to be the schools' home for the next four years while new schools were erected. The site backed onto the new Kingsway and in the playground there a stand was erected so that the pupils could watch the opening of Kingsway and the Aldwych by King Edward VII and Queen Alexandra.

In October 1904, a new site was offered in Drury Lane. At last a site of the right size had been found. The long negotiations meant that the foundations were not laid until 1907. On 6 December of that year, at half past eleven in the morning, the Treasurer, Herbert Haynes Twining laid the memorial stone which can be seen on the outside wall today. The construction must have been well advanced, for it was decided to hold a formal opening early the following year. A succession of dignitaries - the Bishop of London, the Bishop of Kensington and Lord Chief Justice of England - was approached to perform the ceremony and each declined. Eventually the Governors were reduced to inviting the Archdeacon of Middlesex. Even then, to suit his diary, the opening had to be deferred until 20 May 1908. Nevertheless, the opening ceremony went ahead and, to celebrate, a special peal was rung on the bells of the parish church.

CHAPTER NINE

DRURY LANE

In August 1908, the school was at last able to move into its new buildings. The premises may have been up-to-date, but the ethos of the school was not. St Clement's in the Edwardian period retained a strong Victorian feel to it, even a more-than-passing taste of the old Charity Schools. In its administration, the new school was still divided into the boys', girls' and infants' departments, between which there was no co-ordination and little contact; however, such arrangements were standard in Board schools also. The situation was not helped by the fact that the staff had been in post a long time and were to carry their Victorian ways far into the twentieth century. The Master of the Boys' School, William Gerard had come as Assistant Master in 1879, just before the Stanhope Street Schools were rebuilt, and was to remain in post until 1926. The Mistress of the Girls' Department, Mrs Sizer was similarly long serving, retiring in 1916 after 41 years' service, while the Mistress of the Infants' Department, Miss Sullivan, served from 1890 until 1920. This meant that all three key staff dated back to the days of the transition from Charity to elementary School.

Not long after the introduction of oversight of the schools by the LCC in 1903, it had begun taking a keen interest in reforming the school structure. In April 1908, it was proposed by the LCC *"that the three Departments should be placed under one head teacher as a combined mixed and infant department. This would mean that at least two of the head teachers would be displaced and probably the third also. These would be transferred without loss of salary to the direct service of the Council on the unattached list .. a protest from the Head Teachers was read. They trusted that the managers would see their way to resist the change. Failing that, to make an application that the present Head Master should be appointed to the Head Master's position and the other Heads to be Head Assistants at their present salary"*. In reply, the Managers wrote to the LCC to say that *"after giving the matter their full consideration, they are of the opinion that matters should be allowed to continue as they are. The results obtained by the present staff who have occupied their posts for many years have been and are eminently satisfactory and their conduct has in every way earned the highest commendation of the Managers. The Managers would therefore be much grieved to see them displaced or superceded just as they are going into their new schools"*.

Another problem for the school was the heavy-handed approach taken by the LCC. Despite the theory of the school being run by its Managers, it was subject to an all-embracing bureaucracy which covered everything from staff employment to choosing the type of broom to sweep the floors. The Managers and Headmaster had no room for manoeuvre under this system. In particular, the LCC had a very strict ratio of teachers to pupils, which the school was to suffer from badly in later years. The first taste of this came in February 1906, only two years after they had taken over, when the LCC ordered the dismissal of Mr Kempton, the Assistant Master in the Boys' School and Miss Jenkind, the Assistant Mistress in the Infants' in order to return to the correct staffing ratio. Thereafter, the supply of teachers was controlled by County Hall and new appointments needed their sanction.

Regular reports from the separate departments to the Trustees have survived from this era. The two problems which dominated the attention of staff have a perennial feel to them - lateness and sickness. The problem of late attendance is referred to in reports over several decades. In the view of Mr Gerard, the cause was mainly "*lack of effort on the part of the parents*". At a time not long after the introduction of compulsory education, it was difficult to inspire any enthusiasm among parents, many of whom may not themselves have received any schooling. Another result of compulsory education was that the numbers at the school fluctuated wildly as families moved in and out of the area, and particularly when whole families would disappear hop-picking in Kent. There also seems to have been a policy that any child who applied to attend the school would be admitted instantly, so that the children of families working temporarily in the area would attend the school on a short term basis. This policy applied also to the other local schools, with whom there was much rivalry in trying to attract pupils. St Clement's - admittedly as seen through its own eyes - was much the most respectable school of the neighbourhood when compared against Macklin Street (Roman Catholic) school and the rough and rightly-named Wild Street school.

The other major problem was sickness. All the usual illnesses are reported - measles, chickenpox, ringworm and diphtheria - and large parts of the school would go down with one of these every winter. Unlike today, these diseases were very serious and deaths from them were common. The comment "*one little boy (Willie Bennett) has died from broncho-pneumonia following whooping cough - the latter complaint is very prevalent among the children now*", from 1910, is typical of the resigned attitude to such fatalities. In the period before the First World War it was not uncommon for several of the children to die each year; in January 1916 it was reported that since last writing there had been five deaths. There were also a constant trickle who were designated by the attendant doctor as "*mentally defective*" and were promptly dispatched to the Drury Lane Mentally Deficient School.

No small factor in the health of the children was the uncleanness of the school. It seems remarkable that having spent so much on erecting the fine new premises, very little was done to keep them clean. In 1910, Miss Sullivan commented that "*the frequency of the epidemics since we have been in the new buildings causes me anxiety and leads me to suggest that the floors of the Infant Rooms should be scrubbed every week, as they were in the old buildings. At present they are scrubbed one in three weeks*". The total absence of hot water on the upper floors of the new school cannot have helped.

The reports to the Trustees from this period are not very forthcoming about the curriculum that the children were following. It was still very limited. The teaching curriculum in the new school had also been brought from the Stanhope Street Schools. The school was split into the three rigid Departments; within these, the teaching was broken down into "standards" which equated to classes. These in turn were divided between an upper and lower Division, rather like modern Key Stages. In the Boys' School, Mr Gerard personally, and solely, was responsible for the four senior standards (IV, V, VI and VII), which formed the Upper Division. His "invaluable assistant", Miss Clarke, was responsible for standards I, II and III. This presumably means that they taught each standard in rotation by setting work and then calling in to check progress from time to time. On occasion, Mr Gerard must have been teaching over 100 boys simultaneously. It is not surprising to find that in 1909, when Mr Hubble, the Science Organiser of the LCC, visited "*after inspecting the scheme of work submitted to him, [he] made a note of the work having to be carried on with a class consisting of 4 standards and expressed his sympathy with the difficulties in trying to carry it out*".

Nothing is said of the subjects being studied but they were probably still along the basic reading, writing and arithmetic skills of the Charity School. An attempt to introduce French as a subject in the early 1880s, even going so far as to employ a real French master, Monsieur Roques, was

discontinued by 1884. The children did attend swimming lessons at the Endell Street Baths and the boys were encouraged to play cricket in the summer, despite the frequent breakages of school windows. In 1908, the LCC presented "*apparatus for the game of basketball*". Music lessons, including the violin, were also available before the First War. From time to time, the children put on special entertainments. As early as 1888, a historical tableau - "The Armada" - was staged.

It was traditional for the school to close on Lord Mayor's Day, in those days held on a weekday. At Christmas in the years after the First War, a party was held at Australia House. All the children, even the three year olds, also attended services in the parish church on Ascension Day, when a Children's Flower Service was held. At this service, each child had to bring a floral offering and it is recalled as being a dazzling sight as the whole school processed in carrying their flowers. These were presented at the altar to the Rector, the children kneeling; afterwards the flowers were distributed to local hospitals.

The school also attended church on Ash Wednesday, All Saints' Day and St Clement's Day. At Harvest Festival, the highlight was always Mendlesohn's Hymn of Praise, performed with soloists and full orchestra. The close connection between the school and church continued. The Rector at the turn of the century, the Reverend Septimus Pennington was a trustee and frequent visitor to the school, as were his son-in-law and successor, the Reverend William Pennington-Bickford, his daughter Mrs Louie Pennington-Bickford and the long-serving Rector of St Mary le Strand, Alderman the Reverend Frederick Harcourt Hillersdon. These were strong supporters of the school and the prizes were generally distributed by one of them each year. The other Managers and the correspondent (or secretary) were also encouraged to attend on the last day of each term.

The Pennington-Bickfords were particularly concerned for the health of the children and at their own expense established a holiday home at Southwick near Portslade in Sussex where the children of the area could go for fresh air and recuperation. For over forty years, the "Louie Home" provided a respite for children brought up in the smoke of central London. A bible class for over 70 of the girls was run by Mrs Pennington-Bickford and these would spend a week at the home each summer; after them, children from the Sunday School and the Primary School would spend a fortnight there. During the rest of the year, the home was used for delicate or convalescing children or for whole families if there was trouble at home.

Another major occasion in the school year was 24 May, Empire Day. This had first been introduced at the time the schools were in Vere Street. In 1909 we read that "*the children, after being instructed as to its meaning, sang several patriotic songs and after parading and saluting the flag were dismissed for a half holiday*" and in 1926 "*Empire Day was celebrated on May 24th and a large number of parents were present. The children gave a dress display interspersed with song and dance and national songs with a final Patriotic Tableau of Britannia and her Colonies. A half holiday followed*".

The school was closed for the whole day on both the death and funeral of King Edward VII and was shut for the whole period of 20 to 29 June 1911 in preparation for the coronation of George V, when "*after the treat provided by the Churchwardens of St Martin's, the children were entertained in the evening by the Mayor of Westminster*".

Before the First World War, academic achievement at the school was rare. Most children left at 14 with little more than the most basic skills. Very occasionally a pupil would progress to one of the local Central or Grammar Schools. Scholarships to these, however, were hard to come by

and in such a predominantly working class area we often read that the parents were unable to accept places offered at the Grammar School. In 1912, one boy proceeded to the Holborn Estate Grammar School; in the following year, Alfred Cox had to turn down a place at Westminster City School but was later successful in winning a Junior County Scholarship and went on to the Holborn Estate Grammar School. Winning this scholarship was such an achievement that the whole school was given a half holiday.

At the outbreak of the First World War, the school was closed briefly but reopened on 12 August. The then Assistant Master, Mr F Griffith, managed to enlist by 7 September and in the following year Mr Gerard was able to report that he had been commissioned as a 2nd Lieutenant in the 3/10th London Regiment. Early next year, a request was received from the Veterans Athletes Corps to use the schools *"for the purpose of drilling recruits for Lord Kitchener's Army two evenings each week"*. Although the Managers patriotically agreed to the request, alternative premises were found.

By October 1915 it was reported that attendance had been low - *"Many of the parents this year had gone hopping owing to the dearth of men owing to so many having gone on active service"*. In June that year, Mr Collins, the schoolkeeper, was called up by the National Reserve to serve with the Army Pay Office at Shrewsbury. While the Managers were not exactly happy at his disappearance and his transference of his duties to his wife, they felt obliged to support him in this patriotic venture. By February 1918, Mrs Collins had been put on War Wages of an extra 4/6 a week. When Mr Collins resigned in April 1918, his replacement, Frederick Hawkins was appointed on War Wages of 38/6 a week, soon raised to two guineas.

During the war, there was a rapid turnover of supply teachers, which cannot have helped. In 1915, the air raids on London, by Zeppelin airships, began. Instructions were issued to staff as to what they should do in the event of a raid. One of the children, Edward Howard, was killed in an air raid on the Law Courts in October 1916 and by the following year the children were being referred to as being in a *"nervous state"*. In October 1917, Miss Sullivan reported *"I am very pleased to say that there is very little sickness amongst the children. They have naturally been much disturbed by the air raids - their rest being broken and their nerves shaken"*. After the end of the war, the children were all entertained by the Mayor of Westminster and each was given a beaker.

Unlike secondary schools, who had well developed networks for former pupils, it was exceptionally difficult to determine which former pupils had served in the Forces and what had become of them. A Roll of Service was compiled listing seventy five former pupils, though this must be a gross underestimate. It seems improbable that less than 80% of all the boys who had attended since 1890 served in some form. Four former pupils are known to have died, again surely a major underestimate.

Several of the former pupils had received rewards for gallantry, among them Captain H Waghorn who received the Military Cross, Francis Salter who won the Distinguished Conduct Medal, Alfred Lynch and S Bennett who both received the Military Medal.

CHAPTER 10

THE INTER-WAR YEARS

After the war, it was difficult to maintain the same style of management at the school which had so far prevailed. The main problem lay in the nature of the staff, who were old fashioned, even by pre-war standards. In April 1916, Mrs Sizer had retired as Mistress of the Girls' Department after 41 years. Her assistant, Miss Clarke, had joined in 1889 and was to continue in post until 1933. As early as 1912, an Inspector had recommended uniting the Boys' and Girls' Departments and, from 28 August 1916, these joined in a Mixed Department under the control of Mr Gerard. This was definitely a step forward but there is a strong indication that the long exposure which the staff had had to the status quo of the school had created a complacency about the need for any change or modernisation.

In 1920, Miss E S Sullivan retired as Mistress of the Infants' Department. Her replacement from February of the following year was Mrs Mabel Lynch, with whose arrival a decidedly more business-like attitude commenced. She was concerned to stimulate the youngest children both by improving their surroundings and by widening the scope of their work. New methods - script writing, the Dale system of reading and encouraging "individual occupations" - were introduced. An Open Day, on which the parents could visit and see their children at work was introduced, probably for the first time ever, in 1921. Small improvements, such as pillows for the youngest children to take a nap on, a magic lantern and even a maypole, were constantly being requested by her from the Managers. By 1923, the Infant School was being used as a model for student teachers. There are, however, clear signs that her innovations were resented by the older staff.

Even so, the school was still dogged by poor punctuality and falling numbers. There was also a long running problem of thefts, both by passers-by and by the children, for the school was powerless to stop undesirable children being transferred in from other schools. In 1916 Mr Gerard reported "*the defiant and impudent conduct of Wilfrid Price a boy who since his transference from Wild St School has done much harm to the School discipline by his unruly example*". In 1922 he had to complain about two boys who had been admitted by order of the Strand Petty Sessions and had promptly set about robbing their new classmates. There were many small scale thefts from the school, not least because public access was in no way restricted and passers-by from Drury Lane would often call in to use the infants' toilets.

Two different thefts give a fascinating insight into the way that teachers of the period dressed. On 4 February 1913, it was reported that "*Miss Peerless' Room was broken into yesterday between 2 and 3 and there was stolen - 1 long black coat, 1 pair of boots (nearly new), 1 seal plush muff and stole, 1 bag with a purse containing 10s in gold, some silver and coppers and 1 latch key, feathers and 3 hat pins taken from the hat, four reels of Bright Eye*". In 1930, Mrs Lynch had a "*white fox fur (price £2 10s), a pair of black patent shoes (mother of pearl buckles) £1 5s 9d, and a new pair of fawn kid gloves 6s 11d*" stolen from her room. One wonders how many of the present day staff even own a seal skin muff or white fox fur, let alone wear it to work!

In the early years of the twentieth century, a Care Committee - later called the After Care Committee - was formed to monitor the children's health and to assist them in finding work. The Committee was responsible to the London Advisory Council on Juvenile Employment and therefore had representatives of the LCC and the Ministry of Labour. In the early years, the children were sent to the Apprenticeship and Skilled Employment Commission and the Care Committee concentrated on medical issues.

The most notable problems were eyesight and bad teeth. Many parents were strenuously opposed to letting their children wear glasses; there was still a cultural antipathy to the wearing of glasses and in many cases the cost of buying them was beyond the means of the parents. The other problem, bad teeth, had a similar cause. Dentistry was still pretty primitive but often the cost was too great to bear until real agony set in. A frequent solution was to wait until the teeth were so far gone that they were all extracted. It is curious that, poor as the children of Drury Lane were, they were still regarded as better off than the children of the East End. When a proposal was made in 1910 to form a Boot Club, to buy boots at half price from the Ragged Schools Union, the Managers decided "*that as there were so few really necessitous children in the Schools, each case as it was brought to the notice of the Committee should be put in touch with the Parish to which it belonged*".

To modern thinking, the Committee was quite imperious in the way it dealt with employment cases. In December 1911, we find that Ella Ayres had obtained a place as a Mother's Help at a Dairy Shop; "*Mrs Sizer is anxious that the Committee should keep an eye on her, as she belongs to a theatrical family and is inclined to be flighty*". She was right. Two months later, Ella had moved to another post in Lambeth but the Committee "*decided that it was too far away to keep in touch with the girl*". In 1913, we read "*Hannah Saunders - 39 Siddons Buildings - will not decide what she wishes to do. Mrs Pennington-Bickford says that she is of a restless, shifty character and it is not important to get her to settle in some employment*".

The Committee certainly had a no-nonsense attitude when considering cases. In February 1926, Frederick Pearson "*attended and thought he would like to be a Page Boy. He is very small and delicate and has poor eyesight and is said to be very undisciplined. Mrs Cocq [the Ministry of Labour Representative] said she thought the best place for him would be on a training ship and she would enquire about it*". The same year Samuel William Spalding appeared - "*a delicate boy who had met with an accident being knocked down by a lorry which had affected his head. He was to call on Mrs Cocq with a view to obtaining manual labour of some kind*".

A very high proportion of the children had addresses in the immediate locality and were found employment equally close. A large number of the boys went on to be page boys with local companies, theatres and restaurants. Those who were qualified went on to W H Smith, or to the Post Office, though particularly good qualifications were needed for this. Occasionally, where a boy was particularly bright, we read that the Rector would use his contacts to get him a place in a solicitor's office or City company. For the girls, domestic service, shopwork or the cigarette manufacturers, Lambert and Butler, were the usual occupations. There is no mention of them going on to any form of business career.

Towards the end of 1925, Mr Gerard was taken ill. An acting Headmaster, John Kitchener, was

brought in for a brief period. His reports to the Managers are highly circumspect and contain no criticism of his predecessor but do mention small improvements being made. One was that some form of shelter was requested for the school entrance, where for the previous twenty years the children had been forced to wait in the rain until the school opened. The absence of Mr Gerard also allowed the LCC inspector to state his concerns - "*There is another matter about which the Managers should know. I visited all the classes and was amazed to find that the equipment in books and apparatus was much below that of other schools...I find that not a single new book has been requisitioned since the War. The money has been set apart for the school and in the case of the senior Department it has not been spent... I have advised Mr Gerard to find out what he can have and order all he can get. In the first place, I must put the task on him. If he fails, I shall have to try myself but this will probably involve a full inspection*".

Now that the situation was unmasked, Mr Gerard's retirement was pushed ahead. Aware of the revelations being made, he announced his intention to return to the school to instruct his successor on how it should be run and was told clearly that he should not visit unless requested. The Headmaster's parting from the school was a painful process and a sad end to nearly half a century's service.

The next acting Headmaster, Henry Harris, who came a few months later, was far more forthright in his comments. He was utterly scathing about the previous regime and some of his comments are worth repeating :

"April 21st 1926

Mr Chairman, Mrs Pennington-Bickford and Gentlemen.

At the commencement of one's term of office it would perhaps be advisable to give the Managers some idea of the present state of affairs in respect of the Upper School.

There is a meekness about the children which is unnatural. They do not appear to be happy in their school surroundings and seem to realise that they are not receiving to the full measure their due both with regard to education and physical culture; in fact, there is almost a sadness about their demeanour. The children lack spirit and enthusiasm and no school can be happy and successful without these qualities. A little healthy rivalry both in class work and physical exercises would do much to eradicate this lack of interest and enthusiasm.....

One can hardly imagine a more ill-equipped school than St Clement Danes' Mixed Department. The amount of stock in the school is almost a negligible quantity. In one class of 40 children, I found 12 arithmetic text books only and these had been secured by Mr Kitchener during his Headmastership. A supply of dictionaries and a Globe for teaching Geography are absolutely essential.

[The timetable] requires complete re-organisation and bringing up to date. Many lessons which should appear on a timetable are absent e.g. mental arithmetic, speech training, etc.

There are many scholars who according to their age and size should be in a much higher class. I have seen two parents who have threatened to take away their children because they have not been moved into a higher class. One child has left for this reason.

There seems to have been no attempt to introduce "Organised Games", a most desirable and beneficial aspect in a school. Swimming needs fostering and drill requires far greater attention.

There appears to be no material for the teachers to consult and an entire absence of reference books.

The majority of the assistants have not kept abreast with modern educational progress and there appear to be "water-tight" compartments causing lack of co-ordination and producing a spirit contrary to the general welfare and progress of the school. This adverse spirit is bound to be reflected in the scholars."

And so he went on, at length. His final recommendation was that the new Head Teacher should be freed from teaching in order to concentrate on the reorganisation of the school. The Managers were fully supportive of the changes which were needed. In a letter to the LCC, they went so far as to say "*For a long time the school has been suffering from untrained teachers*". In the next few years a major replacement of the staff took place. The turn around of the school and the introduction of twentieth century teaching practices had now begun. Mabel Lynch was promoted from the Infants' Department to take over as Head Mistress and all the Departments were merged to form one school under her control. For the first time since the beginning of the eighteenth century, St Clement Danes consisted of one school.

The new establishment was completely reorganised. There were now four classes in the Mixed Department with a total of 144 children and three in the Infants' Department with 112 children. The total strength at the beginning of 1926 was therefore 256. In that year, Mrs Lynch reported that the whole school had "*a very thorough examination in all subjects with 100 max for each - it was the first examination of its kind that the children have ever had. The results on the whole were appalling but very enlightening and we are now in a position to know exactly the standard of every child's work... It is very evident that a colossal task is in front of one and all*".

At the same time as the reorganisation of the classes, four houses - Australia, Clement, Dane and Clare - were introduced. The Managers decided that the large numbers attending the school were too cramped in their existing buildings and during 1927 and 1928 the school buildings were extended in accordance with the original design to provide additional classrooms. The expansion allowed the creation of a new Housewifery Centre for the girls, which was opened by the Marchioness of Exeter, wife of the Patron of St Clement Danes. A domestic science teacher had first been appointed by the LCC in 1923, though this had effectively created another Department in the school and relations with the existing staff seem to have been strained. After the expansion of the buildings, the school began to be used on Tuesdays and Thursdays by the Evening Institute, an arrangement which caused particular inconvenience for the running of the school. In 1934 a wireless was installed and a talkie attachment acquired for the film projector, St Clement's being the first in London to have its own cinema equipment. In October 1934, daily milk was introduced by the Government and the children were also supplied with Virol and Ovaltine.

The improvements soon began to be reflected in the children's results. In 1928, Edwin Smith won a Junior County Scholarship, the first in the school since 1920.

Just as things seemed to be improving, a new problem emerged. For centuries the surrounding area had been densely populated, predominantly by the very poor. The area had been supplied quite liberally with schools in the nineteenth century, though as early as 1903 the school log book records concern that the Aldwych clearances had caused a drastic reduction in population. When Mrs Lynch took over in the Infants' Department in 1921, the number on the roll had been 47, probably due to the lethargy of her predecessor. By 1926 she could report that the accommodation in the Department was for 114 pupils and that they then had 118. Before Easter the number had been 125, more than 10% above the LCC regulation number for the space available and it would have been illegal to admit another pupil. This was not to be the situation

for long.

After the Great War there was a strong impetus to improve the lot of the men who had served their country so valiantly. The LCC led the way with the construction of vast council estates in the suburbs of London. The result was that the population of the area began to drop dramatically, and the first to be moved out were those with large families whose children had been the mainstay of the school. Only three years after the high water mark of 1925, Mrs Lynch could write "*The number on the Roll is steadily decreasing - the large families are constantly leaving and going to the new housing estates - and there are no children to take their place. The infant roll is only 75, 56 below what it was three years ago and there seems no chance of increasing it. There is no doubt that this is a dying district with too many schools serving the area*". This was to become a constant theme.

In 1930, the LCC proposed that St Clement's should be merged with St Martin's Northern School and St Giles in the Fields' School to form a Church Central School. Though often talked of, nothing came of the proposals. In 1934, Mrs Lynch wrote, "*I am still greatly worried about the falling numbers. The roll now stands at 225 and at Midsummer will be under 200. The school will then most certainly be downgraded from III to II and we must inevitably lose another teacher*". As the years went by, her desperation became intense. By 1935 there were only 170 on the roll; the following year she wrote "*if we could by some means get about 20 children the Grade of the school would be secure*". For Mrs Lynch herself, the reduction would have meant a substantial reduction in salary "*but this is the least of the tragedies - the school means more to me as you know*". In 1936, we read "*the inevitable has happened and we are to lose another teacher at Easter - children 3 to 7 will then be in one class. No teacher can do justice to such a group and the tiny ones are sure to suffer*".

The fresh air and light which the locals sought to find in suburbia was strongly promoted in the 1920s and 1930s. In 1931, the Inspectors recommended that the "*wonderful roof playground should be utilised as an open air class for delicate children and the little infants could be taken up there to work and sleep in the air and sunshine*". There were also experimental open air classes for delicate children in the summer in St James's Park and later in St Giles' churchyard. Although the local area had little by way of sports grounds, to allow the children to play football, cricket and netball to the full, they would be taken in Orange Coaches to the playing fields adjoining the St Clement Danes Almshouses at Tooting. Boys would go on Monday afternoons and girls on Thursday afternoons.

In the summer, the children continued to go for an annual treat; in Edwardian times this was to the Crystal Palace and by the 1920s it became usual for the whole school to be taken by motor coaches to the seaside. Southend was the favoured location, though Margate and Clacton were also visited. In later years, Mrs Lynch recalled of these visits, "*Fate was always kind - I never remember a wet or sunless day. The staff of the School were the Rector's guests for the day and were treated royally*".

In her reports to the Managers, Mrs Lynch is found constantly requesting small improvements or purchases for the school. What is remarkable is that for the first half of the twentieth century, head teachers were given virtually no financial discretion by the Managers. A very small amount of petty cash was retained at the school - on one occasion Mrs Lynch mentions that she still has 2½d in hand - but all other purchases were outside her discretion. The position of the head teacher must have been made even more difficult by the fact that not only did they not have direct control over the hiring and firing of teaching staff but the Domestic Economy Mistresses and the schoolkeeper were the direct employees of the LCC, over whom they had no control at all.

By October 1937, the constantly falling number of pupils resulted in Mrs Lynch being supported by only four assistants - there had been seven assistant teachers in 1926. With this, the total reorganisation of the school was unavoidable and totally mixed classes were introduced, some covering a wide age band. A result was that all the teachers were faced with the new situation - "*Mr Hickmott must necessarily take boys and girls again and he does not like girls*". With the school in this depressed condition, it now faced the greatest threat in its history.

CHAPTER ELEVEN

WARTIME

Even before the outbreak of war, the authorities had begun preparations for the evacuation of the school population of London. An evacuation plan had been compiled before the Munich Crisis of 1938; early in 1939 the LCC had carried out a full dress rehearsal for the schools of Chelsea.

As the advent of the Second World War approached inexorably, a full scale evacuation began. The evacuation order was received by schools on Thursday 31 August, to be put into execution the following day. Within the next ten days around half of the schoolchildren of London, nearly 200,000 in number, were evacuated. The youngest were accompanied by their mothers; the rest were generally tagged with a luggage label and went clutching their gas masks. Nevertheless, evacuation was not compulsory and a similar number was left in London. To address this problem, emergency schools were opened, on an entirely voluntary basis, and St Clement's was one of these.

For the history of the school during the Second World War, we are reliant on an account drawn up by Mrs Lynch for the Managers in 1943. The early war years had been truly terrible. The parish church was damaged on seven occasions and finally destroyed in the great attack on London of 10 May 1941. The loss was almost total, most of the fittings of the church also being destroyed. The galleries where for over the century the charity children had sat; the Smith organ which had accompanied their singing at the Charity Sermons, all were destroyed. The death soon after of the Rector and of Mrs Pennington-Bickford also left the school without the two most energetic of its Managers. Later in the war, the death of the Reverend Frederick Harcourt Hillersdon was to remove the last of the pre-War governing body.

Initially, when the emergency school opened, the low number of children still present meant that the school was encouraged to take in additional pupils from other schools or the tutorial classes which had been set up in their places. In April 1940 the LCC Education Officer wrote to Mrs Lynch, *"It is noted from your roll at the end of last week that there would appear to be sufficient places for you to admit younger children without exceeding your shelter accommodation limit and you are hereby authorised to do so as regards any children living in the vicinity who have attained the age of five years. If tutorial classes are meeting at your school, the additional children should be drawn mainly from these classes. Such classes should not be disbanded unless the children can be absorbed into your school or tutorial class"*. But in October 1940, the school buildings had been requisitioned for use as a Welfare Centre and the whole school was disbanded. Mrs Lynch alone remained of the pre-War staff, now employed as an Registration Officer for evacuation. As she herself put it - *"later this more or less finished, but I managed to hold on and keep in touch with the buildings and children who were running wild. I approached the late Rector to use all his influence in getting the top floor opened as a school and on 20th January 1941 I reopened. Children 5-14 all in one class. Numbers steadily grew until over 60 were on roll. It was necessary to have another room teacher and Miss Pawley, one of the original staff, was recalled"*

By June 1941, Room A was open again, with Miss Green in charge. In November of that year, the Domestic Science centre was reopened, to serve St Clement's along with three other schools - St John's, St James' and St Peter's, and Macklin Street School. In April 1942 it was possible to reopen another class and from Easter 1942 the establishment comprised:

Mrs Lynch	Class I	Room D
Mr Redstone	Class II	Room C
Miss Riddell	Class III	Room A
Miss Pawley	Class IV	Room B

By July 1942, a "baby room" had been opened on the middle floor, with Miss C L Munday in charge. By August, there were four full time teachers and Mrs Lynch was able to be relieved of teaching. Further reorganisation and expansion took place throughout that year. In January 1943, the boys commenced manual training at Wild Street School. From 14 May, the boys also recommenced football, playing at Coram's Fields and from 19 May the girls began again to play netball at Lincoln's Inn Fields. From 18 January until 8 March 1943, Mrs Lynch was seriously ill and the school was placed in the hands of a Deputy Head, Miss Winterburn. Despite this, the expansion of the school continued and on 24 May, Room D on the middle floor was released and another teacher was taken on. The organisation was now:

Mr Jones	Class I	Room A
Miss Sprules	Class II	Room C
Miss Riddell	Class III	Room B
Miss Pawley	Class IV	Room D
Miss McGeghaw	Infants	Room D mid
Miss Munday	Babies	Room B

Since 1941, as the worst of the Blitz had eased, there had been a consistent drift of the evacuees back to London. By June 1943, the roll stood at 212, a tremendous achievement considering the falling numbers which had been experienced in the 1930s. Detailed air raid drill rules had been drawn up and there was a practice once a month. There was also a monthly gas mask inspection. School meals were prepared by the Rest Centre staff (presumably in the parts of the school which had still not been released) and in May 1943, the Mayor and Mayoress of Westminster visited to encourage the good work. At Christmas that year the children were given a tea party paid for from funds contributed by Canadian students and distributed by the Mayor. The Governors even paid for a visit to the circus for the school. With some pride, Mrs Lynch was able to report that "*after being silent for nearly 4 years, the bell was rung for the first time on Monday June 28th*". After all her work in refounding the school, Mrs Lynch, who had also taken over as Churchwarden of St Clement Danes and was shouldering the burden of running the parish in the absence of a parish church, concluded her report "*I'm sure you will realise what a lot of work and worry it has entailed*".

Fortunately, the school buildings did not sustain any serious damage, other than that caused by the creation of bomb shelters on the ground floor by bricking up the windows. By the end of the War, it might be said that the school had actually prospered. One reason was probably that the closure of other schools in the area, who had traditionally been competitors for the limited number of children, allowed St Clement's to draw from a wider area. By 1945, there were 200 on the roll, with a Headmistress, 5 Assistants and a Domestic Economy Mistress. The Rest Centre quickly relinquished their remaining use of the building and by 1946 the school had been redecorated.

By February 1946, the Infants were again in possession of the ground floor, where they had been based until 1940. Even a sixth assistant was taken on. In some respects, the War had led to a renaissance of the school.

As with the First World War, it must have been difficult to trace the service of former pupils on War Service. Five former pupils are known to have died, though the true number must be greater than this. Albert Bromley, a sergeant in the Royal Tank Corps, died of wounds in November 1941, aged 23, the first known casualty. Kenneth Lambert was killed aged 19 when HMS *Algerine* was lost with all hands on 13 November 1942. Edmund Coverley died of meningitis while serving in the Middle East, aged 21. James Smith, known in his schooldays as "the shrimp", was killed in Holland while serving as a corporal in the 9th Lancashire Fusiliers. Most poignant of those lost was Sergeant Pilot Roy Davenport, who was killed in action over Hamburg on 3 March 1943, along with the rest of the crew of his bomber; though this was his thirteenth raid, he should not have flown that night but stood in for another.

CHAPTER TWELVE

ORANGES AND LEMONS

"*Oranges and Lemons say the bells of St Clement's*". If there is one thing for which the school has become famous and which every pupil will remember for life, it is the annual Oranges and Lemons service. For eighty years, this service has continued, becoming in its way an essential part of the London calendar. With its tradition of inviting distinguished clergy to attend, it has also taken on something of the mantle of the old charity sermons.

The idea of the service originated with the Reverend William Pennington-Bickford, Rector from 1910 to 1941. He was one of the most remarkable clergymen of his generation, fanatically devoted to the parish of St Clement Danes and an outstanding publicist and showman when it came to promoting the parish to the public. In 1919, the famous bells of St Clement's were restored and rehung. Typically, he used the event as a major publicity opportunity, persuading Queen Alexandra and her sister, the Empress Dowager of all the Russias, both of them Danish princesses, to inaugurate the first peal. In accordance with ancient tradition, the bells were first blessed and were dressed before rehanging with canons or garlands of oranges and lemons.

Thus was the seed sown within Pennington-Bickford's mind. Why he chose to connect St Clement Danes with the ancient nursery rhyme we shall never know. Previously, it had generally been thought that the church referred to in the rhyme was St Clement, Eastcheap. Prior to 1919, there had little suggestion that there was a link with St Clement Danes. Nevertheless, the new notion took firm root. Once the bells were in place, the restoration moved on to the carillon. When this was returned to use on 31 March 1920, the tune had been changed to the nursery rhyme. Crowds assembled to hear the new tune. That same day, Pennington-Bickford and his wife arranged for a special service to be held for local children, at which each child was to be presented with an orange and a lemon. The press loved it and a regular annual service became essential.

Though the service had emanated from the romantic spirit of Pennington-Bickford, the origins of the tradition lay deeper than he knew. For hundreds of years there had been an association between the parish and oranges. It has been said that, after Clare Market was established, the porters landed the fruit at the wharves within the parish and carried it to the market through the churchyard, for the use of which they paid a toll of oranges and lemons. While this could be true, there is no documentary evidence to support it. The written records of the parish do contain an order as early as 1706 "*that noe person or persons whatsoever shall be permitted to sell fruit, herbs, or roots or any other goods whatsoever in the churchyard*". With the bequest of Edward Halstead in 1730, it became obligatory to provide a china orange to each of the children every New Year's Day. From then on, they figure constantly in the accounts and on every major occasion a treat of oranges was given to the children.

There were also many ancient traditions associated with St Clement and his festival day, November 23, which may underlie the revived celebrations. Coming in that dark time towards the end of the year, St Clement's day was one of those saints' days that was marked by festivities. There was an ancient custom in some parts of the country of going from house to house to beg for drink to celebrate with; the practice itself became called "Clementing". There were traditional songs for the night, just like Christmas Carols, the most well-known beginning "Clemenly, Clemenly, year by year" and "Clementsing, Clementsing, apples and pears". At Ripon, it was usual for the choristers to go about the cathedral carrying apples with a sprig of box stuck in it, offering them to the people they met. A similar tradition is recorded to have survived at Clement's Inn within the parish, where, down to the early years of the nineteenth century, the officers of the Inn would go about presenting oranges to the lawyers present, for which they were traditionally given half a guinea. Whatever the origins from which the Oranges and Lemons service was drawn, there was a good tradition for linking the saint with such ceremonies.

The attendance at the early Oranges and Lemons services was huge, with over 500 children present. An early feature was the school handbell ringers opening the service with a rendition of the nursery rhyme. On the first anniversary of the service, 31 March 1921, six hundred children attended the service, during which a new hymn "The Fields of Nazareth" written by Mrs Pennington-Bickford was sung, while the handbells performed between each verse. As the children left, oranges and lemons, the gift of the Danish community of London, were presented by Danish children. Eight handbell ringers are recorded as having been present at the service on 28 May 1923, when the church was decorated with oranges, lemons and narcissi. This was the occasion on which the Oranges and Lemons hymn, written by Mrs Pennington-Bickford to be accompanied by music composed by her husband, was first used. In 1924, the service was broadcast to the nation on 2LO, then based at Savoy Hill, and the fame of the service was guaranteed. Thereafter, the formula of the hand bells and the hymn were standard features of the service until the destruction of the church.

After the Blitz and the death of the Rector the service became sporadic. In 1944, it is recorded that the then Priest in Charge of St Clement's, the Reverend P D Ellis, distributed oranges - no lemons were available - to twenty six children in the bombed out ruins of the church. Even then, the handbell ringers were present and a choir from the school sang Psalm 122.

For some years, the service was in abeyance but with the restoration of St Clement Danes as the Central Church of the Royal Air Force in 1957, the opportunity was taken to revive the tradition in 1959. At the dedication of the new bells, garlands of oranges and lemons were hung above them and the

children's service was resumed. For many years, the oranges and lemons were specially flown in from RAF bases on Cyprus, though in recent years they have been paid for by the Amicable Society of St Clement Danes. The tradition has also grown up of a distinguished cleric attending each service, which in some way recalls the long tradition of charity sermons going back to the earliest days of the school.

CHAPTER THIRTEEN

THE POST-WAR YEARS

The school which reopened in January 1948 was a tremendous contrast to its predecessor. Firstly, there was a new Headmaster, George Jones; after more than a quarter of a century Mrs Lynch was not present. Secondly, in line with the Education Act 1944, the school had been completely reformed as a Junior Mixed and Infants' School. The age for leaving the school was now eleven rather than fourteen. The senior children in the school were therefore transferred to St George's School, South Street. In consequence, the number on the roll fell to 150 along with 22 under-5s. In early 1948 the Managers wrote to the LCC pressing for the nursery class to be recognised officially. Unlike the pre-War years, there was now a waiting list to join the school and even a second nursery class was suggested. There was even, briefly, an open-air class on the roof so that delicate children could enjoy plenty of fresh air. This was, perhaps, an optimistic hope in Drury Lane.

In the late 1940s, the deaths of a number of Managers intensified the break with the past. Mr Ford, the Chairman of the Governors, died in January 1948; Miss Cotter, the daughter of one of the pre-War churchwardens died later that year. Early in 1949, Miss Margaret Horn, who had been associated with the school first on the Care Committee and latterly as Westminster City Council's nominated Manager retired. In token of the tremendous support given by her over so many years, one of the rooms on the ground floor was named in her honour.

Although the War was over, austerity and rationing continued for many years. In December 1949, the Agent General for Western Australia attended as gift parcels from Western Australia were distributed to every child in the school. Celebrations were few but in April 1948 the school was given a half holiday to celebrate the Royal Silver Wedding Anniversary. On 27 May 1948 the Headmaster, Miss Riddell and twenty children were present at St Paul's to celebrate the 250th anniversary of the SPCK and in early 1950 the head took the top section of Class V to see the President of France pass down the Strand.

In 1951, the 250th anniversary of the founding of the school was marked by the unveiling of a "focal point" - a remarkable piece of woodwork somewhat reminiscent of a headboard - in the middle hall by Archdeacon Phillimore of Middlesex. On 8 February 1952, the head and twenty children were present at Temple Bar to hear the proclamation of Queen Elizabeth II. Three days later the head, two staff and the top two classes were present in Aldwych at the passing of King George VI's cortege. At the King's funeral, on the 15th, two minutes' silence was observed in the school at 2pm.

As the parish church was still in ruins, virtually all the religious services were held at Holy Trinity, Kingsway. In the post-War period, the Church authorities were confronted with the problem of far more church buildings than were needed, many of which were in ruins. In 1952, the parish of St Clement Danes was merged with its neighbour, St Mary le Strand, whose parish church was now to serve both the former parishes. But the old St Clement's church, designed by

Wren, was far too important to be left as a ruin. It was announced that the building would be restored as a Central Church for the Royal Air Force, to give a central and prominent focus for RAF services and to commemorate the sacrifice made by air crews during the War. As the rebuilding took place, the Headmaster and twenty children attended the rededication of the famous bells in 1957. In 1958, the restored church was rededicated and from then the school was able to use again this fine building with which its history had been associated for so long.

The school during the 1950s and 1960s slowly made the transition from the model methods introduced by Mrs Lynch to the teaching style of the present day. The 1950s curriculum centered around mathematics, English - which comprised reading, a weekly written essay and spelling - history, geography and scripture. The school, designed for three separate schools, still had three halls. In the top hall, physical education was held, with the high jump, horse and mats. The middle hall was used for assembly, lunch and the weekly country dancing sessions taught by Mr Watt. The hall on the ground floor had a stage and was used for the end-of-term plays and the annual prize giving.

In the 1920s, the domestic economy unit had been the last word in education for girls. Cooking, washing and housework were the necessary preparation for future married life. The unit had been revived after the War but even as early as 1951 its closure was being recommended as the space was needed for regular pupils. By the early 1960s, the unit had been closed and converted to a kitchen for school meals, though the rooms on the bridge between the school and school house were still used for practice of how to lay out a table and other aspects of housework, such as making a bed, dusting and polishing. Originally designed for the older children, pupils of local secondary schools still continued to attend the unit after the school became a primary school. For the infants, the institution of the cots and pillows introduced by Mrs Lynch for the after-lunch nap continued into the 1960s. Reflecting the more relaxed attitude to physical education, "free movement" was introduced in 1949, as far removed as it would be possible to get from the drill of Edwardian times. Games for the older pupils were now played in Coram's Fields every Friday afternoon, football and netball in winter, athletics, running, long jump, etc, in the summer.

Just as in the nineteenth century, there were still a large number of half holidays given during the year for the Lord Mayor's Day, Dr Johnson Day, Ascension Day, All Saints' Day and Oranges and Lemons Day. Another major occasion in the school's year was prize giving, still a grand and formal affair. Each leaver was, and still is, given a bible, in those days embossed with the anchor of St Clement. The other prizes were similarly bound and class prizes were also presented by the Foundation, of new books, board games or jigsaws to use on rainy days. A prominent person was usually invited to distribute the prizes. Examples of the period include Sir Samuel Gluckstain in 1948, Lady Helen Smith in 1957 and Baron Sainsbury of Drury Lane in 1960, who marked the occasion by presenting a fine red leather bible to the school. Other celebrities included former pupils, such as Dr Lena Robinson in 1963 and the actor, John Slater, who was present at the Oranges and Lemons Service the same year.

Each Christmas, there would be a party funded by the Foundation. For the girls, this was an opportunity to wear their best party dresses. There was always an entertainer, either a magician or a clown, or even "cowboys and cowgirls" demonstrating the art of lassoing.

In 1967, after several years of discussion, school uniform was introduced. Before the War, the boys had worn a cap of light and dark blue with an anchor badge. The new official school outfitters were the remarkably exclusive Thresher and Glennys, a company connected with the parish for two centuries. Unfortunately, the prohibitive cost led to the uniform being abandoned after only a few years.

Despite the optimistic trend of the post-war period, by the late 1950s, the school was again dogged by the problem of falling numbers. In 1959, the Managers seriously considered the school's closure. The situation was not helped by the fact that for many years in the mid-1960s, the whole area was blighted by the proposed Covent Garden Scheme, which intended the demolition of virtually all the area between the Strand and Long Acre and its replacement with concrete blocks. As no one could be sure when or if this would happen and what population there would be afterwards, no decisions could be made on what provision for schools would be needed. The Scheme spoke specifically of demolishing the Drury Lane buildings and of reorganisation of all the schools in the area. Again, closure or amalgamation looked possible; in 1968 consideration was given to joining the school with St James's and St Peter's primary school. Only after the failure of the Scheme and the restoration of Covent Garden Market was there any growth in the area but, by then, the birth rate throughout the country had dropped and the ILEA was talking ominously of cutting the places in London church schools by two thousand. Again, a merger with St James's was suggested but thankfully numbers at St Clement's began to increase. By 1975, though the number of infants was still "*depressingly low*", the Headmaster could write "*We now have 91 juniors. This is the highest number I have known in the school. We are experiencing growing pains, and in one of the classes, which has a roll of 44*".

As the gradual improvement of the area began, it is to be regretted that the Foundation Trustees sold the old endowment properties in Earlham, West and Tower Streets to the GLC in 1978. Had they waited another ten years, the value would have been greatly enhanced. For these were years of raging inflation followed by booming property values. It is amusing to note that when the school safe was broken into and £3 stolen in 1950, the CID was called in! These were also politically troubled times; in 1970 the school was for the first time insured against riot and malicious damage. After the IRA began its bombing campaign in England, far greater vigilance was needed. The school's first bomb drill took place in 1974 - it was recorded as a "*complete shambles*" -and for the next twenty years the school was to be disrupted by frequent bomb alerts and the occasional real bombing in Covent Garden.

George Jones retired in 1966 and was replaced as Headmaster by Alan Maddison, who, for the next eleven years, was to guide the school through the uncertainties and troubles of those years.

A major problem for the church schools of Westminster was, and continues to be, the fact that whereas primary schools in the area are numerous, there are few church secondary schools, so a large percentage of the pupils have to move on to state secondary schools. An attempt was made to redress this situation in the mid-1950s, when the London Diocesan Board for Schools proposed the creation of a comprehensive - to be called St Michael's - in Westminster. Despite a commitment from the St Clement Danes Educational Foundation to contribute towards creating this school, nothing came of the proposal.

John Newell, who became Headmaster in 1977, was unusual in having had a career which embraced both the public and private sectors. From his arrival, he was determined to establish

the school as part of the community. Discussion with members of the local community confirmed that this was just what the local people wanted. In an area where children were a rare commodity and schools plentiful, it was no longer tenable to attempt to recruit mainly from Anglicans. Accordingly, he arranged for the admission criteria to be shifted to proximity of residence rather than attendance at church. The numbers on the roll began to grow very quickly, a trend that has thankfully been maintained to the present day. In the late 1970s, the nursery in particular was revived, for this had been the part of the school which had been most threatened.

In the quest to develop links with the community, a relationship was developed with the Covent Garden Community Association. Sports were played at the Jubilee Hall, then run by the Association. A five-a-side football competition was established with St James's School and St Joseph's, both of which were to become firm friends. In December 1979, a joint ecumenical carol service was held with these schools at the church of the Assumption, Warwick Street. All three schools took part in these services for several years, later at Notre Dame de France in Leicester Square, at which the Headmaster of St Clement's played the organ.

A summer fair was also instituted and at the first one, the head and children walked around Covent Garden ringing a handbell and inviting all to attend. In 1978, the Parent Teacher Association was established. Soon they had taken over organisation of the Christmas party and the summer fair. They also were hosts at a Cheese and Wine party at the time of Annual General Meetings, when governors, staff and parents could meet informally. In 1978, in a move to revitalise the school, a fair was held to celebrate the 280th anniversary of the school's foundation. The children were dressed in costume through the ages and entertainers were engaged in the playground. The highlight of the festivities was a cake, made in the form of the figures 280, which was cut by the Reverend Edward Thompson, the Rector and then Chairman of both the Foundation and the school governors.

John Newell had a keen interest in drama and a school at the heart of Theatreland offered many opportunities for developing the children's interest in this field. In his first term, "Joseph and his Amazing Technicolour Dreamcoat" was produced and soon the school had established links with the Unicorn Theatre. Soon, the stage was removed from the nursery to the middle hall and re-equipped with probably the best stage lighting to be found in any primary school. From then on, it became usual for there to be plays each summer and a pantomime each Christmas. Soon, invitations were received for the children to appear in television and in commercials. There was even a brief period when the Sylvia Young Stage School, which had been burned out of its premises further down Drury Lane, was housed in the old domestic science room. The two schools were jointly to stage a shortened version of songs and choruses from "Oliver" in the Covent Garden Piazza.

The Piazza performances were arranged in conjunction with the Covent Garden Community Association; the children paraded through the market area carrying torches and singing carols to raise money for charity. The school sang in the Capital Radio Carol Service at St Paul's, Covent Garden and each Christmas sang under the portico there; on one occasion they were accompanied by Joe Loss and his orchestra. Some of the performances were arranged in conjunction with Hammick's bookshop in the market. Newell, together with Major Bruce Lowe who during these years was tremendously supportive as Chairman of the Governors, developed a close relationship with the staff in the children's department and offered to help them by taking part in small shows intended to publicise the work of a particular publisher. All this served to keep the school in the public eye locally.

In the 1950s and 1960s there had been school journeys to places such as St Mary's Bay in Kent. As numbers declined, these had been discontinued. In 1978, a school journey took place to Swanage, the first time in several years that this sort of activity had been attempted. Though a success, the many demands on the school led to only day trips being attempted in later years, the Nursery class going to the London Zoo, the Infants to Regent's Park and the older infants to see the dinosaur models at the Crystal Palace.

In the early 1980s, a new initiative was started to address the problem of the many children both of whose parents were still at work when school ended. The result was the Play Centre, in the creation of which the then deputy head, Dennis Lynch, was instrumental. It met between 4 and 5.30pm. During this period the children could enjoy games, art, craft work and reading.

With the school improving so well, it was tragic that Newell was compelled for health reasons to take early retirement in early 1987. He was followed until 1994 by the Reverend David Derrick, the first clergyman Headmaster in the school's history. Under him, and his successor Marilyn Kinnon, much was done to improve the fabric of the school and to make it a more attractive setting. Artist-designed figures were erected around the hitherto-bleak walls of the playground and, within the building, extensive redecoration took place. Gradually, the school was growing, its numbers more secure and its surroundings more attractive.

It was during David Derrick's headship that the school took its first school journey overseas. The venue was another St Clement Danes Primary School, this one at Rheindalen in Germany, the headquarters of the British Forces on the Rhine. The children were lodged with service families and the staff were accommodated at the Visiting Officers' Mess. Jean Rymer, who accompanied David Derrick and Charles Morris, later to be acting-Headmaster, remembers that one visiting American Officer at dinner had so many medal ribbons on his chest that he was virtually lopsided. For the week, the children went to the school and shared lessons and outings with the service children. One of the visits was to an air base, where the children were allowed to sit in a Tornado jet. A particular impression was made on the girls, who were disappointed to learn that girls could not go on to become pilots. In subsequent years, there have been a series of foreign trips - to Paris, to Berlin when the Wall was being demolished, to Moscow, St Petersburg, the Netherlands and Belgium. A child attending the school during these years would have had the opportunity to become well-travelled indeed.

CHAPTER FOURTEEN

THE PRESENT DAY

In any book of this type, a major difficulty is encountered in attempting to write about the present day. Each reader will have their views on how the recent past should be handled and, of course, it is not possible to put in the spicy personal details which do so much to bring earlier centuries to life. It would also be invidious to concentrate on the achievements of particular teachers who are still live but not to give others their due. I do not, therefore intend to treat the present day in the manner of earlier chapters but only to focus on a couple of specific aspects.

We have seen earlier how the number of pupils has stabilised at around 200 after the problem years of the mid-twentieth century. The present school roll is widely cosmopolitan. For St Clement Danes, this is no new thing. By the mid-nineteenth century, German names began to appear on the roll; later came Italian and then Greek, Scandinavian, Chinese families. Today's school includes representatives of every continent and the speakers of twenty three mother tongues, reflecting the diverse nature of the local community.

The geographical situation of the school, itself, means that attendance at it provides access to all the historic and cultural institutions of the metropolis. The regeneration of the Covent Garden area over the past twenty five years culminated in the total refurbishment of the Royal Opera House itself. Keen to involve the local community in its activities, the authorities at the Opera House approached the school early in 1999 with the proposal that the pupils should create their own opera, to be performed at the same time as the reopening of the House itself. The result was the creation of the St Clement Danes Junior Opera Company. The remarkable thing about the whole enterprise was that the children themselves, ably assisted by Peter Wilberforce and a team from the Royal Opera House Education Department, were responsible for writing and designing the words, music, costumes and sets of the opera, its public relations, stage management and raising sponsorship from the local community.

The resulting opera, "*Separation: the story of Bullman and the Moonsisters*" was performed at the Linbury Studio Theatre in December 1999. This remarkable production, performed on three occasions, was even the subject of a short television film, marking the reopening of the Opera House. Few other schools would ever have such an opportunity, or, for that matter, would rise to it so magnificently.

The present-day school is divided between the Early Years Unit, for ages 3 1/2 and 5, and Key Stages 1 and 2, covering ages 5 to 8 and 8 to 11. In this the school follows the standard framework laid down by the Government. The school is also the base for a Play Centre run by the Westminster Youth Service in the afternoons after school has ended. As we have seen, this is but the latest manifestation of a school which has been changing and evolving throughout its history.

At the time of writing, the school prepares to enter into a year of celebration for its three hundredth birthday. The preparations for this have only served to highlight how much the school is cherished by its local community. Many institutions, companies and individuals have come forward to offer support in a host of ways. Among them, mention must be made of the Royal Opera House and another firm friend of the school, Richard Niazi, the owner of Sarastros' restaurant.

Three hundred years ago, it was the parishioners of St Clement Danes who came together to establish an SPCK charity. Within that school was a Navigation school and later the Clothed Establishment came to dominate the schools. By the nineteenth century, the SPCK school had been transformed into a National School and, after 1876, this became an Elementary School teaching children up to the age of 14. Since 1948, St Clement Danes has been a Junior, Mixed and Infants School. And one hundred years from now?

APPENDIX 1

ST CLEMENT DANES CHARITY SCHOOLS 1701-1876 ST CLEMENT DANES ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS FROM 1876 MASTERS AND MISTRESSES

BOYS' SCHOOL

1700-1710	JOHN DURANT
1710-1725	WILLIAM COSYN
1725-1726	- SMITH
1726-1736	- PARSONS
1736-?	- COMAN
? -1742	- CLARK
1742-1751	AUGUSTUS CESAR
1751-1758	JOHN CALOW
1758-1799	ROGER HARRISON
1799-1800	JOHN ABBOTT
1800-1805	- STEARE
1805-1825	PETER JACKSON
1825- ?	FREDERICK SPARKMAN
?	- COLLINS
? -186?	- MORRIS
186?-1879	EDMUND BARNES
1879-1898	FREDERICK J KNAPP
1898-1925	WILLIAM GERARD

GIRLS' SCHOOL

1702-1710	MRS DURANT
1710-1723	MRS AMY PARSONS
1723-1725	MRS ARMSTRONG
1725-1742	MRS WILSON
1742-1745	MRS ELEANOR WHEELER
1745-1747	MRS COMAN
1747-1750	MRS HOLLAND
1750-1772	MRS ANN CESAR
1772-1799	MRS SARAH HARRISON
1799-1823	MRS PEARMAN
1823-1824	MRS GREETHAM
1824-1826	MRS HANNAH MARSHALL
1826-?	MRS MIDDLETON
<i>No details for middle years of nineteenth century</i>	
1872-1875	MISS EMILY MARY DAVIES
1875-1916	MRS MARY J SIZER (nee PARKER)

HORN BOOK SCHOOL

1724-1725 MRS WILSON
1725-? MRS SPICER
 ? -1742 MRS ELEANOR WHEELER
1742-1747 MRS HOLLAND
 ? –1753 MRS SARAH HILLARY
1753-? ELIZABETH GRIFFITHS

School closed by end of eighteenth century

ST CLEMENT DANES ELEMENTARY SCHOOL 1926-1948 HEADMISTRESS

1926-1947 MRS MABEL LYNCH

ST CLEMENT DANES PRIMARY SCHOOL HEADTEACHERS SINCE 1948

1948-1966 GEORGE JONES
1966-1978 ALAN MADDISON
1978-1987 JOHN NEWELL
1987-1994 THE REVEREND DAVID DERRICK
1994-1997 MARILYN KINNON
1997- DIANE MOUNSEY-THEAR

APPENDIX 2

ST CLEMENT DANES SCHOOLS

TREASURERS

1700-1719 JAMES WILLETT
1719-1742 KEMP BRYDGES
1742-1747 EDWARD WEBB
1747-1765 PHILIP POOLE
1765-1772 THOMAS HEATH
1772-1783 THOMAS FIGG
1783-1784 SAMPSON RAINFORTH
1784-1807 MOSES WINGROVE
1807-1817 JOSHUA JOHNSON
1817-1840 SIR FRANCIS MOLYNEUX OMMANNEY
1840-1849 DAVID BOOBYER
1849-1855 HENRY THOMAS WOODS
1855-1900 SAMUEL HARVEY TWINING
1900-1921 HENRY HAYNES TWINING

Since 1921 the Treasurership has been held by successive Managers of Lloyds Bank, 222 Strand.

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