

ST LAWRENCE JEWRY FROM THE 11TH TO 19TH CENTURIES

Nick Bateman and Adrian Miles

SUMMARY

During the insertion of drain runs close to the east end of St Lawrence Jewry in late September 1997 a void appeared. This hole was opened sufficiently to allow access to archaeologists from the Museum of London Archaeology Service to the chamber below, which proved to be a small burial vault filled with lead coffins.

Following discussions with English Heritage and the Corporation of London it was clear that the vault would have to be emptied of coffins and then recorded without being demolished, the work constituting a late extension of the Guildhall Yard East excavations.

In this paper, Nick Bateman describes the masonry discovered in the vault and the light it throws on the history and development of the church of St Lawrence Jewry, while Adrian Miles describes the evidence from the coffins.

BACKGROUND TO THE EXCAVATION

Rescue excavation of the Roman amphitheatre site by the medieval Guildhall of the City of London was undertaken in several stages from 1987–1997 by the Museum of London Archaeology Service. The area has now been redeveloped by the Corporation of London as a new Art Gallery, and this necessitated the excavation of all archaeological deposits on the site. The main excavation (GYE92, the *Guildhall Yard East* site; see Figs 1 and 2) finished early in 1997, and a substantial programme of post-excavation analysis and publication has recently been agreed. Preliminary interpretations of some of the medieval material at Guildhall have appeared in various journals (*eg* Betts *et al* 1995, Bateman 1997, Bateman 1999).

The earliest documentary references to the medieval Guildhall and the Yard on its south side go back as far as *c.*1128 (Barron 1974, 15 & 44 n1). Both the Guildhall and the Yard have remained in the same location throughout the succeeding centuries, and archaeological deposits in the area have therefore been largely protected from development till the present day. Towards the end of 1997, construction workers involved in the relaying of Guildhall Yard around the new Art Gallery had been breaking out the underlying concrete slab when a hole opened up beneath them. On looking down into the void it was clear that a previously unsuspected brick vault filled with lead-lined coffins had been discovered (see Figs 20 and 21). A search through the archives in the Corporation of London Records Office confirmed the existence of such a vault at or near the east end of St Lawrence Jewry: a vault which had been sealed up in the mid 19th century and since forgotten.

After negotiations between English Heritage and the Corporation of London it was clear that the vault would have to be emptied of coffins and then recorded without being demolished, the work constituting a late extension of the Guildhall Yard East excavations (*ie* as part of GYE92). The process of removing the coffins was undertaken from 30 March 1998, and 62 single coffins were recorded. The process of recording the masonry of the vault took place from 29 April to 13 May 1998 (see Figs 3 and 4). Photographs were taken during all stages of excavation, but rectified photography and PenMap digital planning were also extensively used in the recording of the masonry.

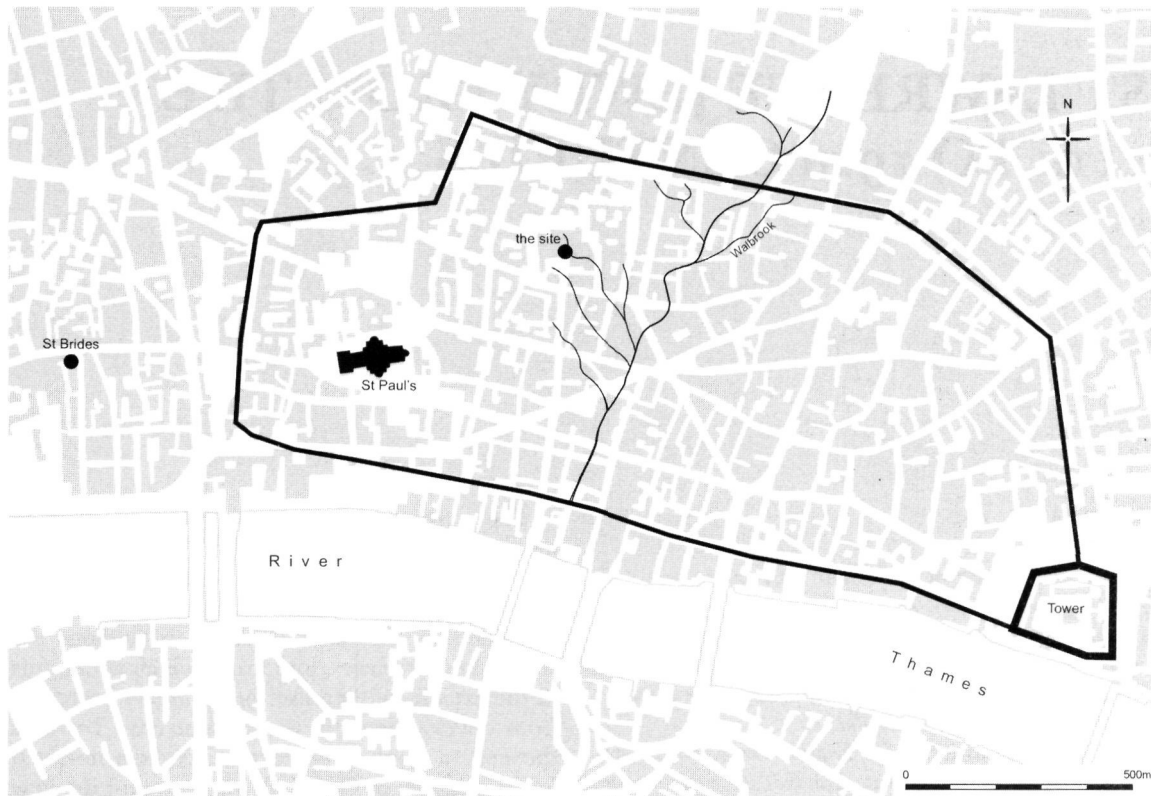


Fig 1. Site location plan showing the City of London

NEW EVIDENCE FROM THE N-E VAULTS

Nick Bateman

The early history of St Lawrence Jewry

It is generally believed that nearly all the City parishes had been established in their medieval form by the end of the 12th century (Davis 1909, 180 ff; Brooke & Keir 1975, 335; Schofield 1994, 44), and indeed the earliest certain documentary references to the parish of St Lawrence date from 1180 and 1197. There is also a reference to Lawrence Lane, which was the principal access from Guildhall to Cheapside until after the Great Fire, in the late 12th century (Harben 1918, 341; Wilson 1938, 14). There is an unsubstantiated tradition that the church was founded in 1136, and others have suggested that it was William I who presented the church to the convent of St Savve and St Guingalaens of Montreuil, to which it certainly belonged in the late 12th and early 13th century. At a later date, the parish was

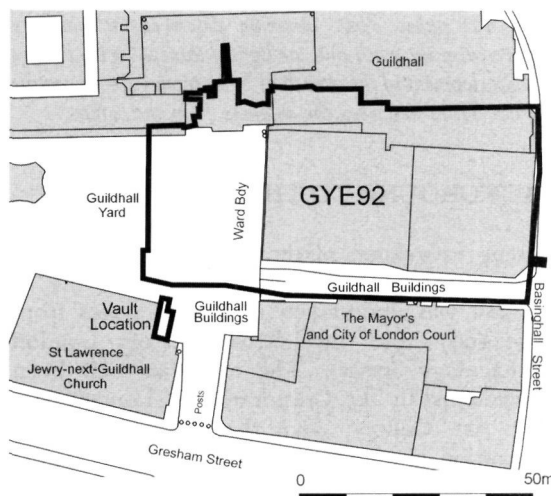


Fig 2. Site location detail: showing the vault at the NE corner of the modern church and the adjacent GYE92 excavation area

described in the *Liber Albus* as the Soke of St Winwaleus (Guingalaens) (Wilson 1938, 7–8; Young 1956, 95).

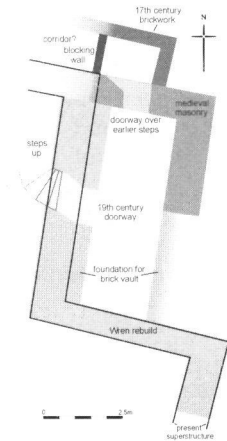


Fig 3. Plan showing the extent of the vaults in their final form

The recent excavations in Guildhall Yard East (GYE92) uncovered a sizeable area of the early graveyard on the north side of St Lawrence, in which some 70 burials were found in well-preserved timber coffins. Although analysis is not yet complete, dendrochronology has already

made clear that the earliest burials date from before the Conquest of 1066. This early churchyard went through several different phases, in which its boundaries were encroached upon or expanded again, although broadly speaking the same size and shape was maintained. The busiest phase of the churchyard produced over 50 burials, most of which were found within very well preserved pseudo-coffins, or lying on biers with timber planks laid over them. Dendrochronology provided a date for some of these graves of *c.*1140. An earlier phase of the graveyard with 18 burials was also differentiated, and coffins from this have been given reliable dendrochronological dates of *c.*1040, thus implying a church or chapel in existence by at least that date (Bateman 1997). Discovery of an 11th-century decorated tile fragment, of a type unique in the City but also found at Westminster Abbey, within the churchyard of St Lawrence indicated that such an early chapel might have been unusually prestigious (Betts *et al* 1995).

In 1247 the church was given by the abbot of St Salvius (Savve) in Montreuil to a canon of St

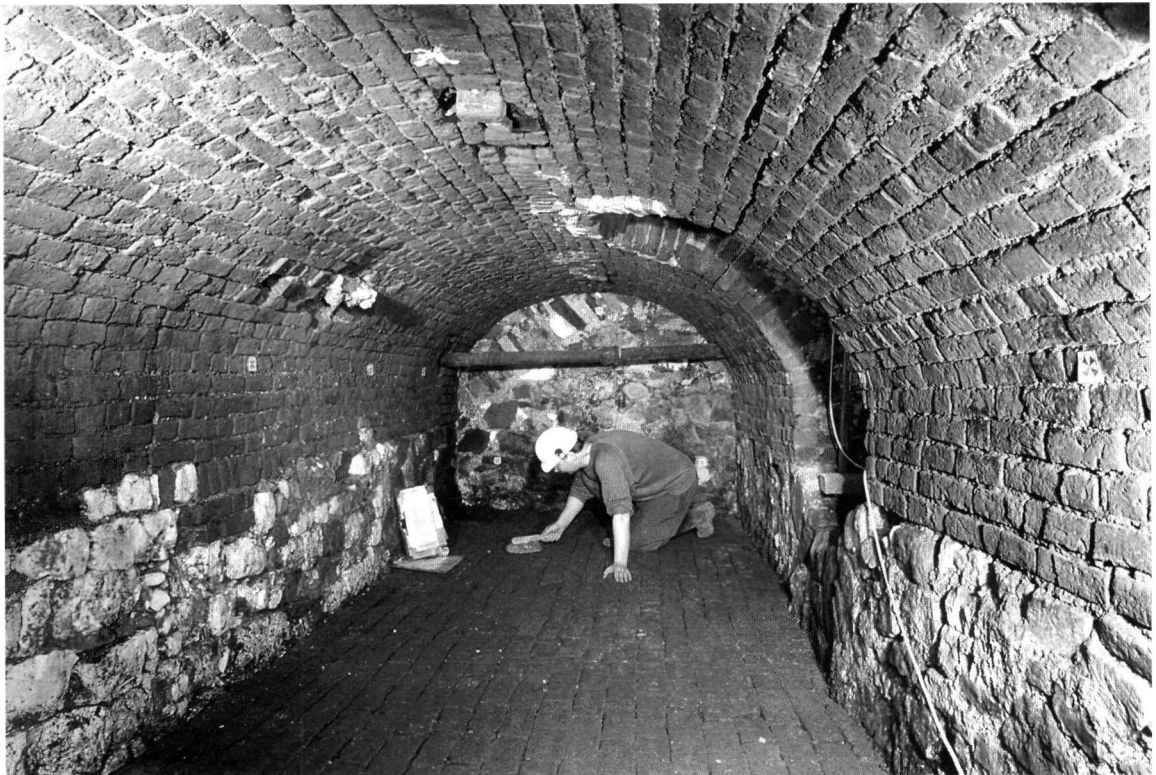


Fig 4. Photograph showing cleaning in the crypt (looking south)

Paul's, Sir William Facet (Harben 1918, 341). In 1284–5 Henry le Feyte, to whom it had devolved, sold the advowson of St Lawrence Jewry and three tenements which lay on the north side of the cemetery of St Lawrence to Hugh de Wychambroke, a canon of St Martins-le-Grand (Barron 1974, 17), and two years later Le Feyte also sold him his own house in the same area. In 1287–8 Wychambroke sold the whole property to a fellow canon of St Martin's, Hugh de Vyenne (*ibid.*, 17). In 1294 the advowson was transferred by Hugh de Vyenne to the Master and Scholars of Balliol College Oxford (Harben 1918, 341). Immediately following this in 1295 the Bishop of London made it a vicarage, confirming its appropriation to Balliol College (Bumpus 1923, 329). Before that it had been a rectory (*ibid.*, 341 n5). The advowson remained with Balliol College throughout the succeeding centuries, as indeed did the possession of the properties immediately to the north of the church on the west side of Guildhall Yard. By 1342 the College was leasing one tenement and a garden to the Vicar of St Lawrence for his private house (Barron 1974, 45 n.21).

St Lawrence Jewry has had an association with the Girdlers' Company for much of its history. As a profession the girdlers had been linked, from time immemorial, with the area around Bassishaw and Coleman Street (Barker 1957, 11). They started, like most Companies, as a semi-secret religious fraternity, probably existing by the mid 13th century and established and flourishing during the 14th and 15th centuries (*ibid.*, 20). They were never, however, amongst the most powerful of Companies, and no girdler was ever an Alderman (*ibid.*, 10). The church of St Lawrence, which interestingly lay slightly to the south of their geographical centre, was rapidly adopted as the guild church and received increasing levels of financial assistance from individual girdlers. For example, the will of John Potyn, who died in 1333 and was only the second Master of the Company, specifically mentions moneys to be left for the burning of candles at the altar of the Holy Cross at St Lawrence Jewry (*ibid.*, 19). He was, however, only the wealthiest of a number of girdlers who died between c.1330 and 1430 and whose wills 'almost always mentioned' St Lawrence Jewry, either in monetary bequests or in requests for a burial place (*ibid.*, 32).

Following the Great Fire of 1666, in which it was substantially damaged, the church was rebuilt by Wren. Substantial alterations included

the re-entrant corner of the N-E aisle following enlargement of Guildhall Yard, and regularisation of the internal spaces. It was to remain unchanged, in most important respects, until it was destroyed by bombing in 1940, and was rebuilt after the war as a replica of the Wren church.

The archaeological remains at St Lawrence Jewry

This text below represents a phasing of the contexts recorded in the masonry burial vaults revealed at the N-E corner of St Lawrence Jewry. It should be remembered that no excavation or removal of features was permitted, and all relationships of masonry contexts – shown thus [ooo] – were based entirely upon what was visible.

Phase 1: early cemetery soil?

This phase represents the evidence for the earliest material seen at the site, a relatively homogenous but sterile dark silt deposit, with no dateable characteristics (not illustrated). The deposit was up to c.400mm thick, being exposed in section at the base of later brick walls, and directly beneath a later brick floor. There was no evidence for burials in the earth. There was no dating evidence but the layer was probably post-Roman and pre-14th century.

Phase 2: a 14th-century crypt

This phase comprises the evidence for what may be a single build of a medieval crypt (Fig 5), though the elements described were initially seen as representing more than one phase. There were no finds but analysis of masonry fabric and form suggest a probable 14th-century date. There are three principal elements which are described as follows:

The N wall and stairs: The earth observed to the north (Phase 1) was penetrated by a construction cut for a masonry wall [23714] with an irregular subsurface (*ie* cellared) north face. As a result of later modifications only a small part of the south side of the wall was observed, though here it also comprised a series of regular steps of c.240mm height and width. The steps were well made, using coursed stone and tile for the facing, and

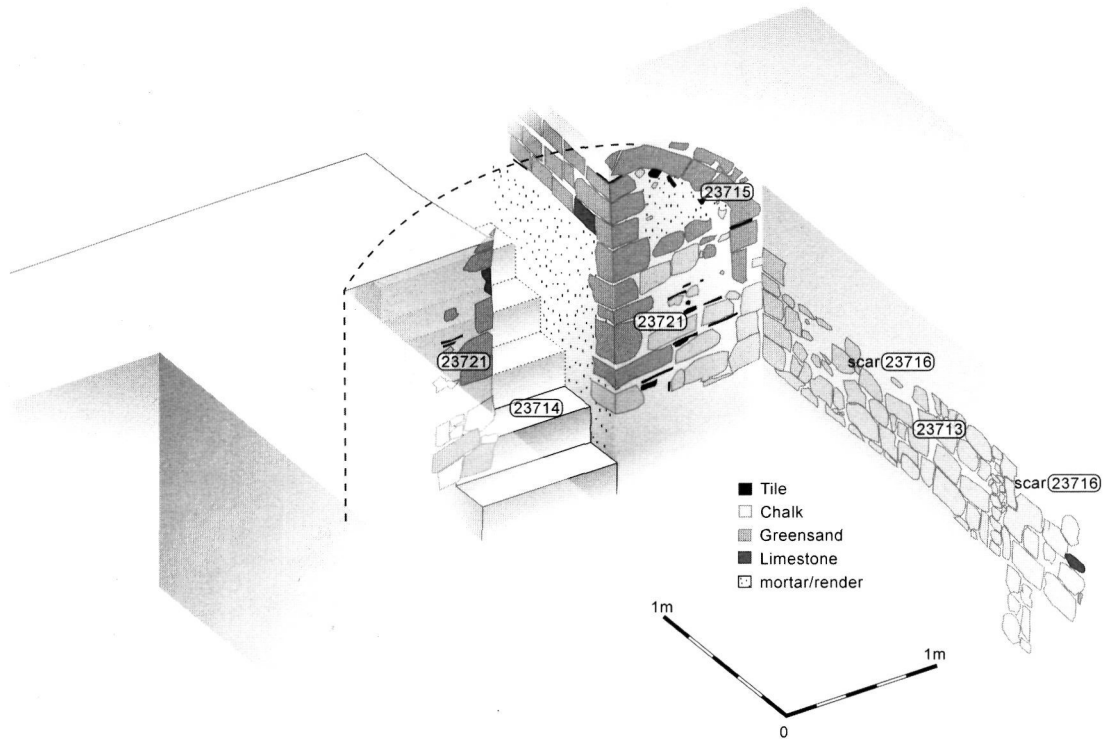


Fig 5. Reconstructed view: the medieval crypt walls

rendered smooth – though worn with use – with yellow mortar. This contrasted with the core of the wall which contained much chalk and was apparently built of random rubble. Two whole steps were observed (shown with solid lines on Fig 5), the lowest sealed beneath backfill and the higher directly beneath a later brick floor (see Phase 4). The ends of the south face of a third step was observed in the sides of the later doorway, but most of the step had been hacked roughly away in antiquity. The existence of at least two higher steps to the north can be inferred from the shape and level of later brick infilling (Phase 3; see Fig 7) in the doorway. Whether the lowest step actually observed was the final step down onto contemporary floor level remains uncertain: removal of a second core of backfill beneath the main chamber floor revealed *c.*450mm of fill and no lower floor was encountered.

The dimensions, alignment and position of this E-W foundation clearly suggest the possibility that it represents the north wall of the medieval church. The steps may be seen as the means of access from a room or crypt under the body of the church to the churchyard outside and to the north.

E wall and arch: The east side of the vault was formed by a regular linear wall [23713] of up to seven courses of ashlar chalk blocks. The internal face of this wall was much eroded and/or damaged, except where it survived beneath the later brick floor, where its face was seen to be fair-faced and flush. The wall was aligned N-S but a return (W) survived at the north end. This return acted as the base for a finely built arch or rib [23715] of Reigate-type stone (greensand). No south return was identified and the N-S chalk wall ended somewhat irregularly *c.*2.9m south of the stone arch. At this

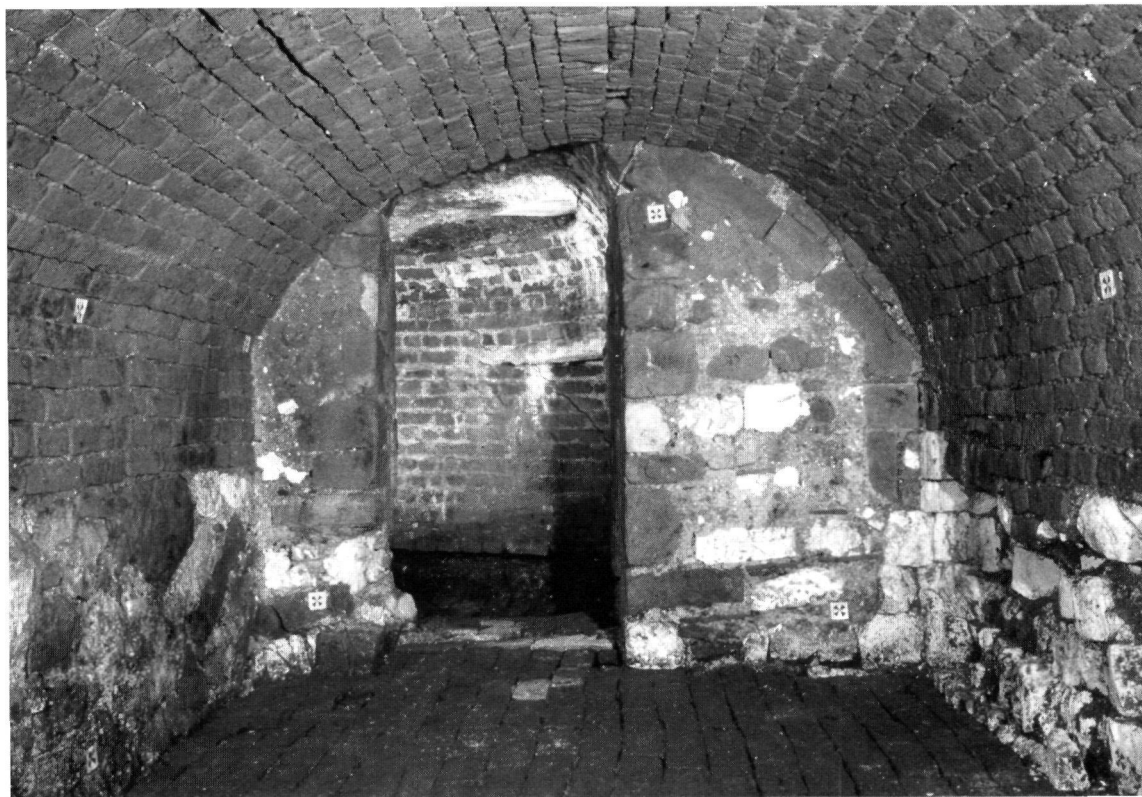


Fig 6. *Photograph of the medieval arch and doorway*

point it was abutted, in a line which only approximated to the vertical, by a later rebuild (Phase 3).

The masonry over the north return, *ie* [23715] comprised five well-dressed Reigate-type stones forming one side of an embrasure arch or vault rib (presumed to be pointed), the other side lying beyond the west limit of observation (see Fig 6). The stones vary in size but were all dressed with a fair face and deeply chamfered return on the arched stones, the return dying into a vertical face on the lower stones. There was very slight evidence for a similar chamfer on the hidden north side. Directly above and of an integral build with the rib were a number of similar stones laid as voussoirs. As laid the masonry was flush with the front face of the embrasure rib, though in places it had later been hacked back irregularly for the construction of the brick vault. The whole was set in a strong sandy mortar, which contrasted with the very degraded and thin medium used for the contemporary ashlar chalk wall.

It was noted that two small rectangular robber

cuts or 'negative scars' [23716] in the upper surface of the N-S wall (filled with later brickwork, see Fig 7) seemed to indicate the previous existence of other vaulting ribs. These scars were regular in shape, and their bases were level with the base of the surviving rib. They were *c.*150mm deep from the ?truncated top of the chalk wall, *c.*430mm wide and, taking the surviving rib into account, spaced at 1.32m centres. They appear to imply the continuation of barrel vaulting with regular ribs, and the division of the chamber into at least two or more bays.

Although it was not possible to establish the thickness of the N-S chalk wall it is presumed to have been similar to that of the E-W wall [23714]. Its alignment and position are clearly different from that of the east wall of the present north aisle (see plan, and below for development of the N-E corner of the church). It has therefore been interpreted not only as part of an underground crypt but as the foundation for the east wall of the pre-Fire church.

N wall Doorway/infill [23721]. Forming the

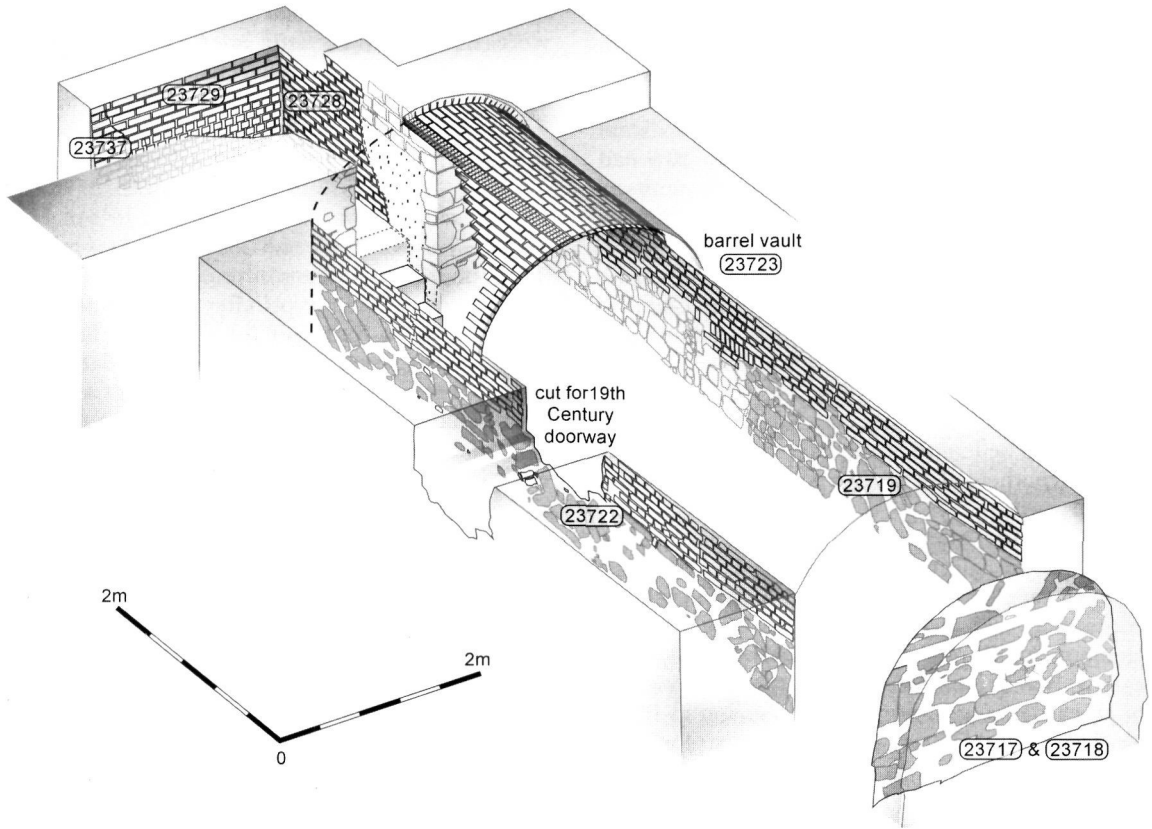


Fig 7. *Reconstructed view: the post-Great Fire rebuild*

greater part of the north wall of the main vault were the masonry jambs of a narrow doorway. Construction comprised irregular horizontal coursing of roughly squared chalk and Reigate-type stone with some roof tile, with more regularly dressed chalk and greensand used for the quoins. The latter were much eroded or damaged, presumably by use. The faces of the walls had been rendered more or less smooth and flush on more than one occasion, thus masking some of the coursing. The south face was made up flush with the dressed face of the vault rib [23715], thus overlapping the chamfered return on the greensands. A very similar mortar to that of the rib was used.

The doorway itself was *c.*800mm wide, and the masonry *c.*940mm thick. The masonry of the western door jamb formed a regular and flush face for only *c.*580mm (*ie* the depth of the doorway) before it returned or was truncated irregularly at an oblique angle to the west. The

latter face was very rough and irregular: either the return had never been rendered or made good, or it had been very damaged by, for instance, the frequent passage of heavy lead coffins.

Because masonry [23721] clearly overlapped and concealed the well-dressed chamfer on the rib stones [23715], the masonry of the doorway was initially considered to be a later blocking of a much larger entrance over the steps. However, a probe through later soil backfill revealed that Step 1 did not continue east as far as the rib but terminated only 60mm to the east of the doorjamb face. From this it may be inferred that the stairs descending into the crypt were of the same width as the doorway, and there is no evidence for any earlier, wider steps or doorway. This seems to be conclusive evidence that the masonry of the doorway [23721], the stairs [23714] and the vault rib [23715] were all contemporary and should be viewed as a whole.

The medieval crypt as a whole

In conclusion, it is possible to suggest a single structure comprising two (or more, see below) vaulted bays over four walls, of which two were observed and the position of the other two can be deduced. The structure was below contemporary ground-level, and entered from a narrow doorway and steps on its north side. The width of the crypt can be arrived at through mirroring the door-frame shape around a nominal central axis. This would suggest a chamber *c.*2.6m wide, and at least 2.2m high from the invert of the fully reconstructed arch [23715] to a possible floor level directly beneath the lowest step observed. The length of the chamber is somewhat more hypothetical, and two alternatives may be put forward.

In the first alternative, attention should be drawn to the fact that, at its south end, the east wall [23713] was abutted by a later rebuild containing two distinct elements. One of these elements might represent the making good of the east wall of the new vault after the grubbing out of an earlier south return (see discussion in Phase 3). The internal face of such a return could be suggested at *c.*0.89m to the south of cut [23716], *ie* the same bay width as seen to the north. This would make the overall length of the crypt *c.*3.50m.

The second interpretation of the crypt length differs from the first in that it does not differentiate elements of the later rebuild (Phase 3), but sees the whole as a replacement for an original crypt east wall extending as far south as the chancel foundation. This would make the original crypt *c.*6.2m long with five equal bays of *c.*0.89m each, separated by ribs (or at least their robbing scars) of up to *c.*430mm width at their bases.

A tentative 14th-century date can be supplied for the crypt's construction. Roof tiles observed in both the steps and the doorway wall were standard 12th to 19th-century types. On the other hand, the use of 'combing' on the arch or vault rib dressing confirms that it cannot be earlier than *c.*1300, and the choice of building material (*eg* chalk and Reigate-type stone), the nature of the mortar, and the architectural style, all suggest a 14th-century date (Mark Samuel of MoLSS, pers comm on visit to the site; for the use of building materials see also Schofield 1993, 99). A 14th-century date is also consistent with the interpretation which is offered below for the

crypt. Most of the secular undercrofts in London were built after the end of the 13th century, though the occurrence of crypts in City churches at any date can be considered a rarity (Schofield 1994, 49–50).

Phase 3: rebuilds after the Great Fire

This phase constitutes the evidence for the rebuilding of the crypt after the Great Fire. There were no finds but the form and fabric of masonry suggest a late 17th-century date. The evidence comprises the rebuild of the St Lawrence Jewry chancel foundation; the rebuild of the east wall of the north aisle; a new east wall for the vault itself; a brick vaulted roof, and a brick-built corridor leading out the north (see Fig 7).

The new chancel foundation

The foundation of the north wall of the chancel of St Lawrence Jewry was recorded. Although obscured by the brick vault which butted up against it on its north side (see below), part of a subsurface flattened relieving arch [23717] was visible, with stones of varied petrology, including Purbeck and Reigate-type stone, laid as voussoirs to form the arch, which clearly extended beyond the west and east sides of the vault. Horizontally bedded stones were visible both above this relieving arch and below it, where courses were initially interpreted as a later blocking and given a separate number [23718]. An initial interpretation of the foundation suggested that the relieving arch might have formed part of the original pre-Great Fire church, with the blocking [23718] being added at some later date. The latter did, it is true, appear to contain different building material, including some limestone and small brick and roof tile fragments, but excluding the Purbeck fragments. There was, however, no obvious difference in the mortar used in the two elements, which was a grey charcoal-flecked type characteristic of late or post-medieval date. Further cleaning of the foundation face revealed two small red brick fragments within the body of the supposed earlier element [23717]. Common use of brick only appeared during the 15th century in London (Schofield 1993, 129) which is certainly much later than the likely construction of the earliest parts of the pre-Fire church including the chancel. It is therefore now

suggested that the two elements should be seen as contemporary and that both were probably part of the post-Great Fire rebuild.

The chancel foundation was clearly abutted by 'later' foundations (see below) both of which are likewise interpreted as post-Great Fire rebuilds. Butt joins are frequently seen as evidence of non-contemporaneity, but in certain circumstances it is possible that walls which were designed to function together were not keyed into one another.

The new east wall of the north aisle

The east wall of the north aisle of St Lawrence Jewry was rebuilt [23722]. Within the vault a length of the lower part of the foundation was exposed up to c.700mm high. Where a later doorway had been cut through the wall (see Phase 5) it was possible to observe in cross-section the entire thickness of the foundation, which was offset c.400mm to the east of the regular ashlar superstructure of the church, making a foundation c.1.1m thick in total. Within the burial vault parts of two approximately symmetrical subsurface relieving arches were observed along the length of the foundation, with irregular horizontal coursing of building material both under and over the arches. The crowns of the relieving arches lay at the interface with the overlying brickwork of the vault's brick roof (see below). A random mixture of roughly squared Reigate-type stone (c.65%), chalk, limestone and brick was used. A small proportion of the Reigate-type stones and limestone blocks (probably under 5%) were clearly re-used and/or scorched, and had probably been derived from the ruin of the medieval church after the Great Fire. Some had evidence of finely cut scallops, chamfers and other mouldings.

It seems likely that the foundation represents the post-Great Fire rebuild, when the east wall of the north aisle of the church was set back to its present position to allow for expansion of Guildhall Yard (see below). This suggestion is confirmed by the nature of the re-used building material found within the foundation, observation of several typical late 17th-century type bricks, and the grey charcoal-flecked mortar used.

Late 17th-century Vestry minutes record that the builders encountered severe difficulties with waterlogging at the east end of the church in the reconstruction after the Great Fire. Edward

Pearce, the mason, spent 22 days on 'pumping and carrying out of wet soyle in tubbs in the east foundation', and John Longland, the carpenter, made two timber frames of four feet by five into which some 30 piles were driven, their heads being then wedged tight and levelled over (Jeffery 1996, 254).

The new eastern foundation

The rebuilt burial vault was provided with a new east wall [23719]. As previously discussed, the masonry comprises two separate elements, not given separate contexts and distinguishable largely by the mortar and building material used in them. In the first element (*ie* the south end), which was built with a typical post-medieval grey charcoal-flecked mortar, a number of large Reigate-type stones and limestones, some of which had evidence of earlier use and/or scorching, were laid to form a very rough relieving arch or buttress which rose up towards the south wall of the vault, the chancel foundation [23717]. Rough horizontal courses of similar building material were laid within and under the arch, and they too abutted the south face of the chancel foundation. It would appear likely that the half-arch was built to act as a supporting buttress against the chancel foundation.

The second element of the same context comprised a less regular 'plug' of masonry between the part just described and the robbed, irregular, south end of earlier wall [23713] see above, Phase 2. The building material in this element was about 50% chalk and 50% Reigate-type stone laid in very rough courses. One interpretation might be that this 'plug' represents a making good of the robbing scar after the removal of the south wall of the medieval crypt. The mortar used here was light pebbly mortar without charcoal flecks.

As with the foundation for the west wall (see above) it seems likely that, taken as whole, the foundation represents a post-Great Fire Wren rebuild, when the east wall of the north aisle of the church was set back to its present position to allow for expansion of Guildhall Yard. This suggestion is confirmed by the re-used building material found within the foundation.

The brick vaulted roof

The foundations just discussed provided the base for a well-built brick barrel vault [23723]. Bricks

were laid in a mixture of Flemish and English bond to form a curving vault above four horizontal courses forming the springers on each side. Rows of bricks laid vertically on end were used to form the key-stones at the crown of the vault. The vault was only one brick length (*ie* c.9ins or 230mm) thick. The bricks were an orange red colour, hand made, and probably of late 17th or early 18th-century date in fabric and style (dating kindly provided by Terry Smith of MoLSS on visiting the site, pers comm). The crown of the vault was c.1.7m above the surviving early 19th-century floor but it is uncertain at what level the original late 17th-century floor level lay.

It is presumed that the late 17th-century vault covered over by this brick roof was used for burials, though these must have been cleared away, perhaps before the new set of burials was started in the early 19th century (see Phase 6). It may have been this and other vaults that were intended in a legal dispute at the end of the 17th century. Strype wrote that (1720, vol 1, bk iii, 49), following a dispute between the Parish and Balliol College Oxford in 1694, an agreement was reached whereby 'The Chancel [was], for ever hereafter, to be repaired by the inhabitants, they receiving the profits of the Burials there'.

The new entrance corridor

The steps leading up and through the outside wall of the medieval church were replaced with a narrow brick built corridor which turned at a sharp angle to the west, presumably emerging into the churchyard further along the length of the church. The evidence comprises four distinct elements: *wall fragment 23737* which formed part of the north side of the corridor and may be the same phase of work as *wall 23729*, which is the remaining length of the north wall; *wall 23728*, which was bonded to and contemporary with wall [23729] represents the east wall of the new corridor; *wall fragment 23727* (not illustrated) represents repair or making good along the truncated remains of medieval masonry and formed the south side of the new entrance corridor. It was probably the creation of this new corridor, at right angles to the entrance through the medieval doorway, which necessitated the irregular hacking back of the medieval masonry to create a splayed opening of sufficient depth to permit the passage of coffins to the vault.

Each of these elements was built in a very similar fashion, employing orange red hand-made bricks which have been dated to the late 17th or early 18th century (Terry Smith, pers comm). Three of the elements were bonded with a softish grey charcoal-flecked mortar typical of the same period, though the mortar in the north wall [23729] was noted to be much harder. Where coursing was visible (and wall fragments [23737] and [23727] were too small to note) there was no exclusive bond used (Flemish, English, etc).

Wall 23728 survived up to 16 courses high and butted up against the north face of the earlier medieval masonry. The lowest six courses stepped irregularly but progressively southwards to a maximum of c.340mm from this line, and this is presumed to reflect the making good of the scar caused by the removal of the previous medieval steps (see discussion in Phase 1). It was notable that the top of this irregular offset lay at c.480mm above the top of Step 3, a distance exactly equal to the depth of two more steps of 240mm. The base of the new brick wall was level with the top of Step 3, which it is presumed was not hacked through at this stage. The top of the brick wall lay under the irregular underside of a later rebuild (Phase 5).

There was a noticeable step up of c.200mm in the level of the base of *wall fragment 23737* at the junction with wall [23729]. In fact the lowest part of the wall fragment was very irregular and not coursed, giving the impression that it was made not to be seen. This step was mirrored in *wall fragment 23727* on the opposite side of the corridor. This fragment was built up against the irregular chopped face of earlier medieval masonry and had two distinct faces. One, forming a continuation of the line of the oblique truncation of the earlier wall, survived for a maximum length of c.250mm, though it is possible that it had once continued along most of the (truncated) medieval masonry face. The other face returned at an oblique angle to form the south side of the new corridor.

Missing floors?

Apart from the surviving brickwork described above, a number of missing elements may also be inferred from the evidence. The first and most obvious of these is the contemporary floor. It is suggested later (see Phase 5) that the brick floor

actually discovered in the corridor contained 19th-century bricks and therefore cannot have been contemporary with the activity described here. Furthermore, it is difficult to see why that floor would have been deliberately built so much lower than the regular and level base of the corridor walls [23728 & 23729], leaving earth visible in the sides. Later subsidence and compaction of underlying soft deposits cannot, alone, account for this: even where the observed (19th century) floor was laid over solid medieval masonry [23714] it was at least 150mm lower than the base of the brick walls (*cf* Fig 8). It is therefore suggested that there must once have been a floor laid at the same level as the base of the brick walls; and that this floor has been subsequently removed, and earth removed beneath it, to insert the lower 19th-century floor. A hypothetical floor at this height would have been exactly level with the top of Step 3 in the doorway through to the main chamber, and it seems likely that this step was not hacked down until after the laying of the 19th-century floor [23726] (see discussion in Phase 4).

Another inferred element concerns the step up of at least *c.*200mm recorded at the junction of

wall [23729] and [23737] (see Fig 7). This step clearly implies that the walls flanking the corridor to the west of the final blocking wall were not as low as those to the east, that the contemporary floor was also higher, and that it must have been reached by at least one more step.

Phase 4: late 18th or early 19th-century modification

This phase contains the evidence for the replacement of the floor within the main chamber after deliberate backfilling, itself probably in more than one phase. The presence of tobacco pipes in the backfill, and the brick types, suggest a late 18th to early 19th-century date.

As noted in discussion of Phase 2 the original floor of the medieval crypt must have been at least 0.5m down from present floor level. Two cores of *c.*100mm diameter through the earth under the present floor revealed that this gap had been made up with a dump (or possibly more than one dump) of mixed earth and building material. One core was removed immediately adjacent to the medieval doorway, and was taken down *c.*240mm to locate the

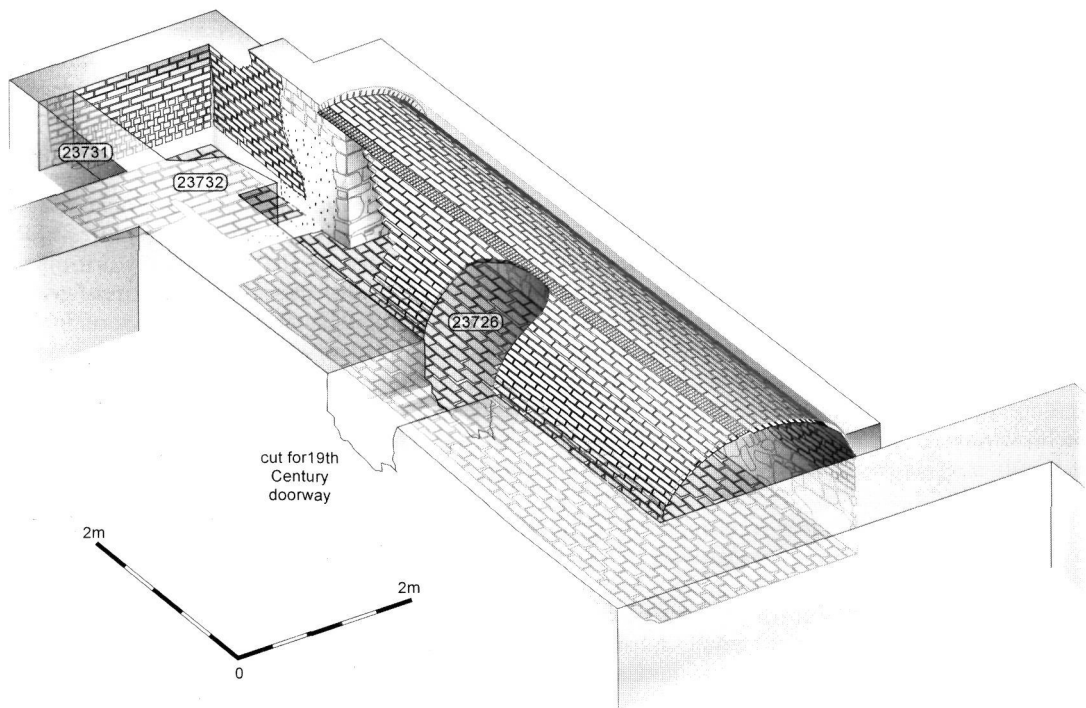


Fig 8. *Reconstructed view: the final phase of the burial vaults*

lowest medieval step beneath. At least three bands of material were observed, the central band of *c.*100mm thickness being almost pure yellow sand, whilst the other bands were mid-grey silts with occasional small brick and clay pipe fragments. By contrast the second core, which lay *c.*2m to the south, penetrated to a depth of *c.*450mm, but here the material was dark grey clay-silt with frequent fragments of chalk and greensand, and no banding was observed at all. As a result it remains ambiguous whether the infill should be seen as the product of one or more phases.

The backfilling of the medieval crypt, and/or the 17th-century floor, was sealed by a laid brick floor [23726], comprising more or less regular rows of whole red bricks laid end to end on a bed across the width of the vault (see Fig 8). At the north end of the vault, where the floor was laid into the doorway resting directly on Step 2, the brick pattern was more irregular and clearly laid up to and against the south face of Step 3; which confirms that the step was still in use and had not yet been truncated when the floor was laid.

Many of the bricks had small frogs apparent in their upper surface and have been dated as late 18th or early 19th century. It is obvious, therefore, that the brick floor was not original or contemporary with the late 17th-century brick vault over and around it. It must be suggested that the floor contemporary with that vault was either: a) the original floor of the medieval crypt retained for later use after the Great Fire; b) a new brick floor lying above the medieval floor level and later removed, possibly at the level of the sand bedding observed in one of the cores described above; c) a brick floor higher than the original medieval floor but not reached in either of the cores through the backfill. The surviving floor is presumed to have been laid before 1819, the date of the first of the lead coffin burials which overlay it.

Phase 5: early to mid 19th-century modifications

In this phase the north entrance corridor was blocked and converted to a small subsidiary vault, within which a new floor was laid and a new roof built; in the main chamber a new entrance was cut through existing masonry. There was no direct dating evidence but the

nature of the brickwork suggests a 19th-century date.

Conversion of the corridor into the smaller burial vault

The blocking of the north entrance corridor to the brick vault comprised a single brick wall ([23731], see Fig 8), probably *c.*220mm or one brick wide, formed of dark red, yellow or purple stock bricks. The bricks were of 19th-century date.

A brick floor [23732] was laid within the newly created smaller vault chamber. As a preparation for this, the previous floor (not found) and up to 350mm of earth beneath it were removed, and it was necessary to cut into the body of the earlier medieval wall. Preparation also included the cutting down of Step 3. A strip of roughly truncated medieval masonry was left as a kind of *de facto* sill between the two brick floors of the main vault and the new small vault.

The new brick floor comprised a number of very irregular rows of whole and half bricks laid E-W across the width of the chamber. The southern three rows lipped over and were laid directly upon the truncated remains of wall [23714]. Although up to 350mm lower than the base of the surrounding walls, the floor did not extend beyond the limits of the blocked off chamber, so it can only have been laid *after* the corridor was blocked off. The bricks themselves were very similar to those seen in floor [23726] and have been dated to the 19th century. Once again, it is presumed that the floor must have been laid before the earliest of the burials, which has been dated to 1819.

Over the new chamber a new roof was built (not shown). The crown of the roof had been truncated in modern times, though enough survived on all sides to suggest the curvature of the vault. The rebuild comprised a number of different elements though they were all keyed together, employing red, yellow, and purple stock bricks and bonded with the same hard white mortar, similar to that in the blocking wall [23731]. Linking the north and east walls and vaults was a rebuild along a new alignment, N-W to S-E, supported on a single slab of ?York limestone which projected out from the corner of the underlying walls. The brickwork of the roof vault was corbelled out from above this slab.

The construction of the roof does not appear to have been very sophisticated and, although

allowance may be made for the complexity of the build and the meeting of several different wall alignments, it may be suggested that the brickwork as a whole was not laid by someone familiar with vaulting and arches. The bricks used were a 19th-century type but it is possible that the roof was rebuilt at any time before the final sealing of the vault in the 1850s.

A new entrance to the main burial vault

A new entrance was made to the main chamber of the vaults. Although there is no stratigraphic association it is likely that this was contemporary with the blocking of the earlier entrance passage to the north. The evidence comprises several different elements: render over exposed old masonry; new brickwork 'making-good'; and steps under a doorway leading into the church (see Figs 3 and 8).

A hole for the new entrance was cut through the body of the church foundation [23722] immediately beneath the level of the lowest ashlar superstructure, and through the side and top of the vaulted brick roof [23723]. The base and sides of the cut through the masonry foundation were left rough (though rendered with mortar), but where the brick vault was cut it was made good with new brickwork. There was evidence for a flattened arch brick roof to the new entrance (not shown), most of which was destroyed by later activity. The mortar used for all the brickwork was a hard yellow mortar/cement, and the bricks have been dated to the 19th century.

A stone step [23733] was identified at the foot of the new entrance into St Lawrence Jewry. The step was rectangular, well-dressed, c.200mm high, and at least c.120mm of its width was visible. The doorway itself was c.1.1m wide. The end of an identical second step was just visible at the north end of the doorway. Though it was mostly concealed behind the footing of the later blocking wall, it was clearly aligned at a different angle, which suggested a turn in the passage. Directly over the steps a thick render of grey cement preserved what was clearly the negative impression of a timber door-frame. The position of this doorway, and the steps beneath, match almost exactly the position of the steps shown on the Clayton survey of c.1848 (see Fig 9). These curved down from the north aisle of the church,

passing under the east wall c.4.5m [15ft] from the outer face of the north wall.

Phase 6: the burials

The two vaults were filled with 61 lead lined coffins, most of which had names and dates on small attached brass plates. The first dated burial was of the 16th January, 1819; the last was of the 12 September, 1845. None of the coffins were opened and they were reburied elsewhere (see Miles, below).

Phase 7: the final sealing of the vaults, c.1850

This phase contains the evidence for the final sealing up of the vault by blocking the remaining entrance. A wall (not shown) was built directly over the steps in the entrance way described in Phase 5. Courses of red, yellow and purple stock bricks were laid from the west side of the passage, as confirmed by the presence of extruded hard grey cement mortar on the east side. The wall is likely to have been built at some date after the latest burial in the vault of 12 September, 1845 and *The Burial Act* of 1853 which required the closure of the remaining City burial vaults.

Appearance and layout of the medieval church

Until now little was known of the appearance or internal arrangements of the medieval church of St Lawrence Jewry. Schofield for instance has no more than a few lines on it in his gazetteer of City churches (Schofield 1994, 109). Stow merely says that it was 'fair and large', and provides a long list of the eminent people buried inside it (Stow, Kingsford ed 1971, vol 1, 276). Pepys mentions in his diary for 12 February 1665 that he went to St Lawrence Jewry to hear the divine Dr Wilkins, adding that he '...was very pleased with the church, it being a very fine church'.

Chantries

Stow does, however, mention the existence of a chantry established there by Walter Blundell in the 14th year of Edward II (*ie* c.1320). Schofield (1994, 58) notes that 59 perpetual chantries were

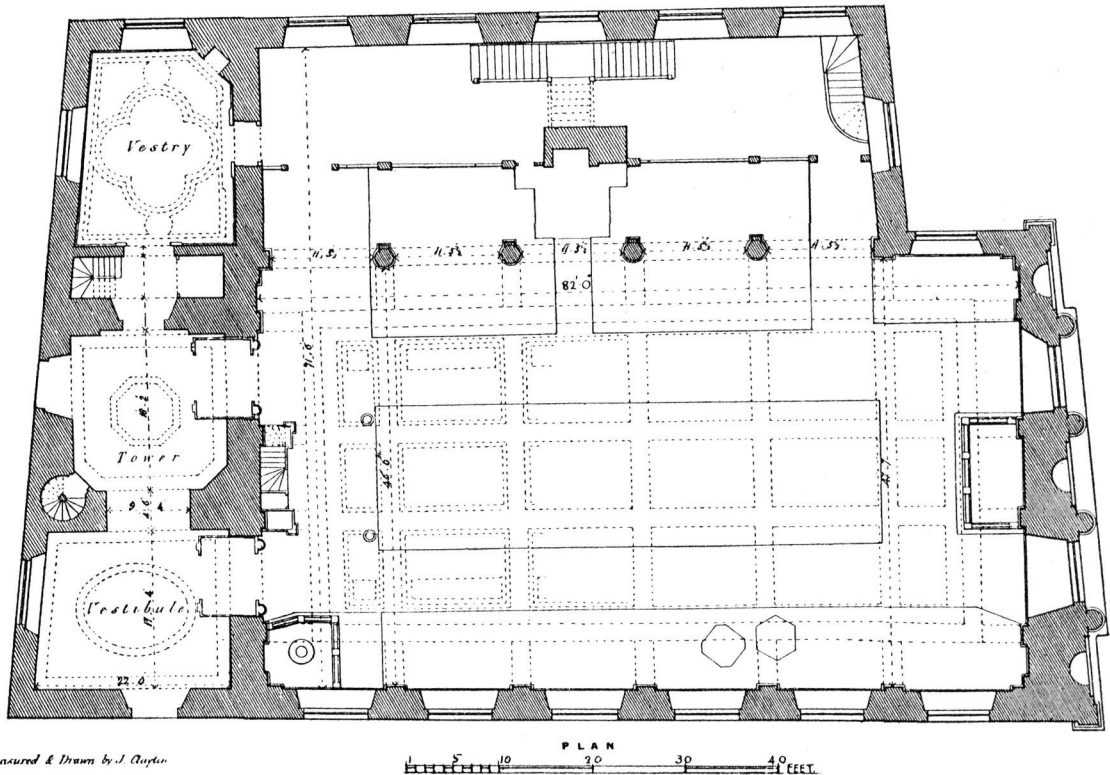


Fig. 9. St Lawrence Jewry in the Clayton survey of 1848

founded in London between 1259 and 1300, whereas in the 14th century an average of 28 chantries were founded every decade. Strype (1720, vol 1, bk iii, 48) mentions two medieval fraternities in St Lawrence Jewry of which he was aware. The first was set up for the Holy Trinity in the reign of Edward III, members paying for candles to be burnt before the Crucifix. The second was for Christ, The Blessed Virgin and St Anne, 'whose image stood in the Chapel of St John.' This fraternity began on the Feast of St Anne 'in the yere of the Reygne of King Edward III after the Conquest the 46' *ie c.* 1373. In a list of the interments and monuments in St Lawrence Jewry – longer than Stow's original list – Strype mentions (*ibid*, 44) this Chapel of St John as the place in the church where, amongst others, Godfrey Bollein (Geffrey Boleyn) was buried in 1463.

There are also records of a Chapel to the Blessed Virgin in St Lawrence Jewry: a Lady Chapel. Strype informs us (*ibid*, 45) that Roger

Thorney, Mercer, made a request in his will of January 1514 as follows:

In the name of God, Amen, &C. First, I bequeath my Soul to Almighty God, our Bl. Lady St Mary, &C. And my Body to be beryd in the Chapell of our Lady within the Church of S Lawrence in the Hold Jury, &C.

This is presumably the same 'Chapel of St Mary' where, Strype informs us (*ibid* 44), Richard Rich was buried in 1464.

Although there is no proof it is possible that Blundell's chantry of 1320 was associated with the Lady Chapel. The cult of the Virgin started to take off at the end of the 13th century, intensified in the 14th century, and was marked by the construction of altars and separate spaces dedicated to her all over the country. The cult was usually associated with linked guilds, whose function usually started quite simply (*eg* keeping a candle permanently lit), and then progressed to the erection of a separate chapel and employment of a chaplain to perform services at the Virgin's altar. They also looked after the

funeral arrangements of their members and their operations were generally financed through bequests (Milne 1997, 109; following Godfrey, 1944).

The Bute plan

The main source of information as to the appearance of St Lawrence before the Great Fire is a survey plan (here, the 'Bute plan') drawn just after its destruction, currently in the possession of the RIBA with copies in the Conway Library (Fig 10). The plan turned up in the 1951 auction of the Bute Collection, amongst which were lots containing plans and drawings

associated with Wren's work in the City churches, though none are actually in the hand of Wren. The plan was then identified as being of St Botolph's Aldersgate in Summerson's catalogue of those drawings (Summerson 1970, no. 25 & fig 16a). In fact, St Botolph's Aldersgate was damaged in the Great Fire but not rebuilt until the mid 18th century, and thus had no connection with Wren or his helpers. Furthermore, there are a number of distinct differences which make it highly unlikely that it could be the church shown in the drawing, even in its medieval form: *eg* the tower of St Botolph's is actually disengaged from the aisles, projecting from the west end. Most importantly, the dimensions given on the Bute illustration (76ft [23m] west side, 121ft 6ins

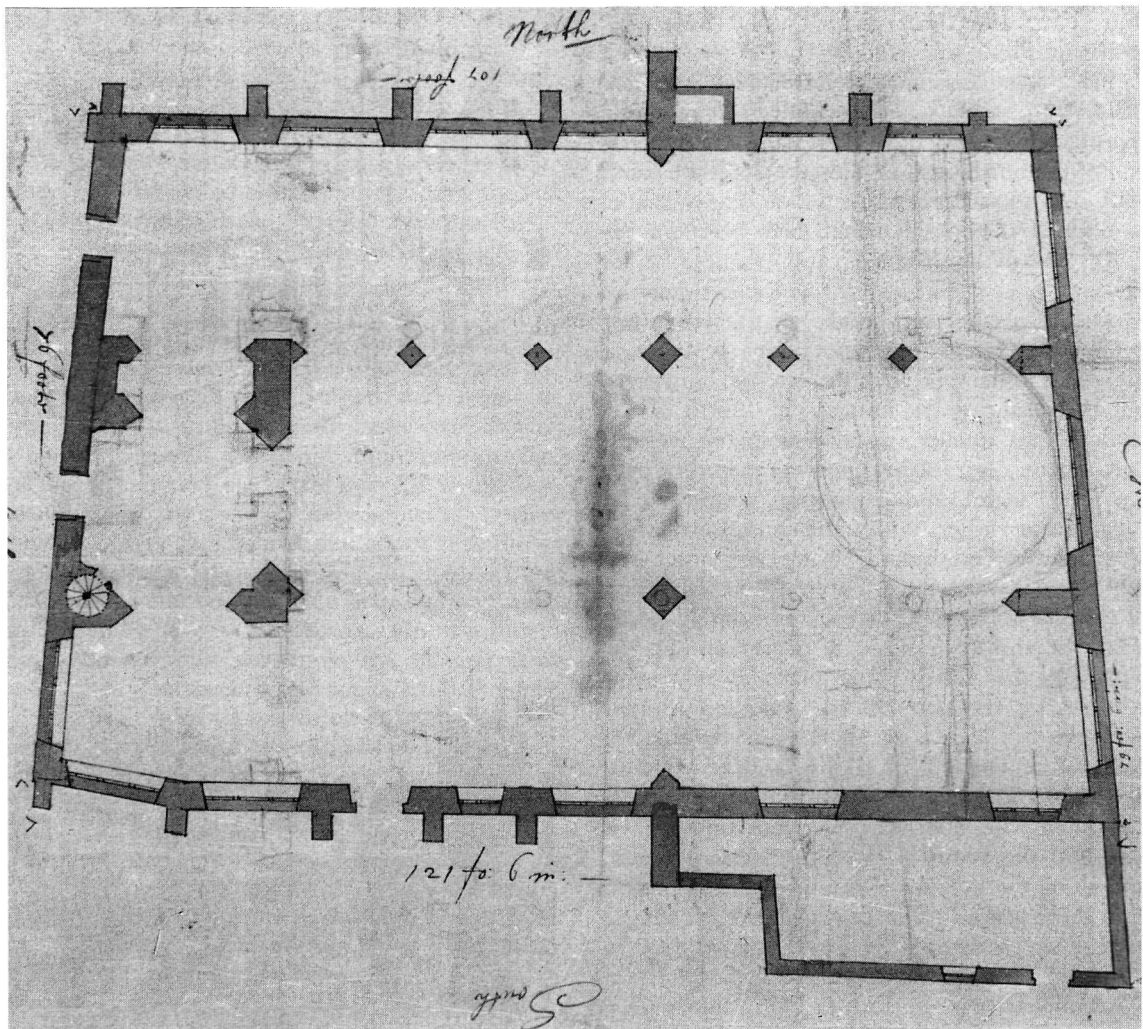


Fig 10. *St Lawrence Jewry? the pre-Great Fire (Bute) plan (courtesy of the Conway Library, Courtauld Institute of Art)*

[37m] south side, 79ft [24m] east side, and 107ft [32.5m] north side) bear no resemblance to those of St Botolph (at least the present version, of which the width at the west end is *c.*55ft [16.7m] and length along the south side is *c.*100ft [30m]). Subsequently, identification as St Botolph's was accepted by others – *eg* Schofield 1994, 94 – until Paul Jeffery first identified the Bute plan with St Lawrence Jewry (Jeffery, 1996, 108, fig 26). Jeffery's identification is presumably based upon the strong resemblance between the trapezoidal plan form of the present St Lawrence Jewry (not marked at St Botolph's) and that of the Bute plan church, and the close match between the dimensions indicated by the Clayton survey of 1848 (which is the best representation of the post-Fire form before its destruction in World War Two) and those given on the Bute plan (compare Figs 9 and 10).

The Bute plan shows a church of trapezoidal plan form, with external buttresses regularly spaced, at *c.*4.25m [14ft] intervals, along the west end of the north wall, and less so along the south wall. The most likely place for the Lady Chapel mentioned previously would have been on the north side of the chancel, and examination of the Bute plan confirms a distinction between the two ends of the north aisle as it existed just before the Great Fire: not only is there a difference in the spacing of the external buttresses, but the eastern part, immediately north of the chancel, has smaller windows than the western part (about 2.4m [8ft] wide as compared to over 3m [10ft] wide), and could thus tentatively be suggested as earlier. Within the church two larger piers, placed equidistantly from each other and the external walls, must represent the separation of the chancel and the nave. Immediately to the north of this division is a projection on the outside of the church which probably represents a turret for the stairs to the rood loft (similar examples are known at All Hallows Barking, St Andrew Undershaft, St Dionis, and St Magnus; Schofield 1994, 62). The principal internal piers also align with internal projections on the east wall and the south piers of the western tower, and along the division of the nave and the north aisle there are a further four columns creating a total of seven bays. In London, aisles started to be added to the simpler rectangular plan form of parish churches in the 12th or 13th century (*ibid.*, 46), but there is little evidence for what is now seen as the standard pattern of a nave and two

aisles until the beginning of the 15th century (*ibid.*, 78).

The Copperplate and Agas plans

The church also appears on the so-called Copperplate map of *c.*1559 (Fig 11) (as well as its derivative woodcut of *c.*1561 known as the Agas map), and on the panoramic view of the City by Hollar of *c.*1647 (Fig 12). Both of these agree in showing a large rectangular tower at the west end, with angle pinnacles. Schofield (1994, 52) advised caution in estimating the height of

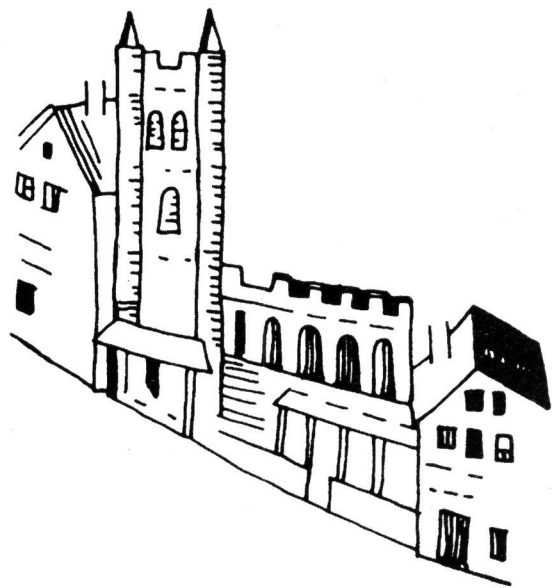


Fig 11. *St Lawrence Jewry in a detail from the copperplate plan of c.1559*



Fig 12. *St Lawrence Jewry in a detail from Hollar's view of 1647*

towers from the Copperplate Map: artistic licence frequently resulted in towers of three or four stages being shortened to two or three stages. St Lawrence Jewry is, however, shown with four stages. The tower appears to be somewhat more elaborate than other towers shown and has some resemblance to that of St Martin Vintry, which may have been built shortly after 1397; in fact many London parish churches had towers added in the period after 1370 (*ibid.*, 53 & 77).

Both the Copperplate map and Hollar's panoramic view show the roof of the nave with a crenellated parapet above five clerestory windows, and what appears to be a sloping roof covering a southern extension, though this is not the full aisle shown on the Bute plan. There are no documentary references to battlemented church roofs in London earlier than 1473 (*ibid.*, 48), though they became fashionable as a modification to civic buildings such as Guildhall from the mid 15th century. They appear frequently on both the Copperplate map and Hollar's view. Schofield has suggested that, at least on the Copperplate, they may be a convention rather than a realistic representation, though, since St Lawrence Jewry is also shown as battlemented on Hollar's view it might be suggested that this is more likely to be a true representation.

The Copperplate map shows an entrance to the tower on the south (street) side under a simple pentice, whilst domestic houses are shown adjoining the west end of the church and as far as the corner with Aldermanbury. It is unclear whether this south door represents the main entrance or not. Schofield points out that there was something of a tradition in London of entering the church through a principal entrance in the south side of the tower. On the other hand the entrance shown on the Copperplate map for St Lawrence Jewry appears to be much smaller than those shown for other churches, and Schofield notes (*ibid.*, 55) several London churches which had both west and south doors through the tower. Given that the Bute plan of the medieval church shows two small entrances on the west frontage, one into the north aisle and one into the tower itself, it could be suggested that there was a narrow alley or passage separating the church from the buildings to its west.

The Copperplate map shows some kind of a portico along about half of the south side of the church, and this structure seems to form the

frontage onto Catteaton (Gresham) Street. The Bute plan and Leake's 1666 survey after the Fire (Fig 13) show a different, and presumably later, elongated projection along the eastern part of the south side of the church (no longer existing), while the western part, although set back from the street, comprises a new aisle to the south of the tower.

Strype's account

Strype (1720, vol 1, bk iii, 43), presumably using Anthony Munday's updated and extended edition of Stow (1633, 284–286 & 840–843), says that St Lawrence Jewry was 'repaired and richly and worthily beautified at the charge of the inhabitants' in 1618. 'In this said year ... all the windows in this church were glazed by so many good Benefactors, with the Arms of the Company of every one of them. Under the middle Window in the Chancel a very rich and costly one, is this written

Sir William Eastfield, Kt, and Alderman of the Honourable City, and free of the Worshipful Company of the Mercers, glazed this Window at his own proper Cost and Charges, in the Year of our Lord 1442. And it was afterwards repaired, and the Story supplied at the Charge of the said Company, in the Year of our Lord, 1618.

Strype (and Munday) goes on to describe a 'fair Window' on the north side of it which was glazed in 1619, and another on the south side which was glazed in 1618. From this he progresses to describing each of the windows around the whole church: five along the south aisle, with one at its

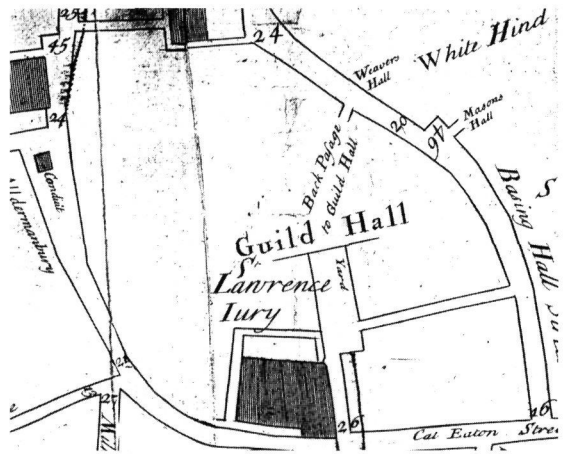


Fig 13. St Lawrence Jewry in detail from Leake's plan post-Fire of 1666

western end; and six along the north aisle (which matches the Bute plan). These windows were all glazed anew in 1618, the expenses paid for by a variety of rich benefactors, individual Mercers, Haberdashers, Vintners, *etc.* To this they added in 1631 'the cost of a new and very curious pulpit then also setting of their font, and the place in which it stands'.

Appearance after the Great Fire

Not long after these restorations, the church was badly damaged in the Great Fire of 1666, and substantially altered in the reconstruction afterwards. Clearly it had not been totally destroyed, since the tower was shown almost unscathed in Hollar's view of the City after the Fire, and Vestry minutes for 13th April 1670 record that the steeple was to be 'repaired' by Thos. Cartwright, mason.² However, it quickly became apparent to the parish committee overseeing the rebuilding that they could obtain a completely new church far more easily (though hardly more cheaply: accounts tell us that this was the most expensive of all the Wren City churches, costing more than £11,000 (Bumpus 1923, 329)). Contracts for the demolition of the medieval church were given in March 1671.

Traditionally the subsequent rebuilding, which commenced officially on 12 April 1671, is supposed to have been overseen by Wren, but doubts have been expressed as to the extent of his involvement. The irregular plan form with its acute and obtuse angles, the rebuilding of the medieval tower with its old irregularities and the retention of a single aisle have all been adduced by Jeffery (1996, 107) to suggest the hand of Robert Hooke, one of two others who shared with Wren the responsibility for rebuilding the 51 destroyed churches following the Rebuilding Act of 1670. He does, however, note that the east frontage is a fine piece of work recalling Wren at St Paul's. On the other hand, Schofield (1994, 25) suggests that Wren himself often incorporated above ground fabric, especially towers, into his new designs, probably because they were of more substantial masonry. As with its predecessor the western front was obscured by housing along Catteaton (Gresham) Street, and had not originally been intended to be visible. The tower remained aligned at a strange angle to the west wall, and was probably rebuilt on the foundations of the medieval tower. By

contrast the south frontage and, in particular, the east frontage along the entrance to Guildhall Yard, were treated with great attention to detail. It was at this time that the parish was united with the parish of St Mary Magdalen, Milk Street (Harben 1918, 341).

After the Great Fire the Corporation sought to make use of the opportunity to increase the size and status of Guildhall Yard, especially on its western side. This led to a dispute between the parish of St Lawrence Jewry and the City concerning the ground occupying the junction between the S-W of the Yard and the N-E of the church. The Corporation sought the agreement of the parish vestry and referred the matter to Wren and Hooke for arbitration.

The parishioners of the said parish have pressed the Court that the same may not be taken in but continue to be built as formerly upon the old foundations. This Court does not think fit to grant the said petition, but doth refer it to Sir Christopher Wren and Mr Hooke to contrive the building ... as may best answer the desires of the said parishioners, and without disappointment or hinderence, the conveniency and ornament intended to the said Court (Guildhall Library, MS 25540, 6 June 1671)

Whether Wren or Hooke ever commented as requested is uncertain but clearly the eventual decision favoured the Corporation and the new church was built with a small re-entrant in the N-E aisle (see Fig 9).

During the 16th century the whole property north of the cemetery of St Lawrence (that is the garden and adjoining houses on the west side of Guildhall Yard) began to be let to laymen on a series of short leases, and Strype (1720, vol 1, bk iii, 49) says that by the time of the Fire there was no Parsonage or Vicarage house for St Lawrence Jewry. After the Fire of 1666 the Corporation sought to acquire these properties as well to further their purpose of extending Guildhall Yard westwards. This they were able to do, having bought out the chief and sub-tenants, and a new Vicarage was built to the north of the church and its burial ground, though the freehold of the original property remained with Balliol College until it was finally obtained by the Corporation in 1969 (Barron 1974, 45 n21). Balliol College records include plans of the Vicarage, its garden, the passage and churchyard from 1695, c.1750 & 1791 (B.19.20-21). There is also a plan dated 1681, and showing the same plots, in the City of London Records Office (CLRO G1d). Churchwardens' accounts record that John Longland, the Carpenter for the rebuilding of St Lawrence Jewry was paid £100

to rebuild the new Vicarage House (Wren Soc vol XIX, 26).

The appearance of the church in the 18th and 19th centuries is better documented. It appears on several drawings, engravings and watercolours, the earliest of which is an (anon) engraving of c.1750 from the south. Most of these views show the east frontage, either from the south, the west or the north. Views include those by Malton c.1780–1798, Schnebbelie c.1810, Greig c.1817, and Shepherd c.1830 (Guildhall Library Print Collection). These reveal interesting details such as the blocking of the S-E door before 1838; the railings and pavement around the east end of the church; and the walled burial yard on its north side. Of even greater interest is the full survey of St Lawrence Jewry by J. Clayton in c.1848 (Fig 9) which shows external and internal views of the church – before its late 19th-century restoration – in considerable detail (these have been reprinted by the Wren Society, see vol IX, 33ff). Amongst other details revealed is the stairway at the N-E corner of the church which probably led down to the final manifestation of the burial vaults described above (see Phase 5).

Conclusions

Plan form and location

Recording of the two burial vaults found at St Lawrence has made a substantial contribution to understanding the location, size and appearance of the medieval church, as well as its later development. One of the most interesting aspects of the work is the new insights it affords on the original position, extent and alignment of the medieval church. Previously it has been largely a matter of conjecture where the medieval church lay in relation to the post-Fire rebuild. Now, a judicious combination of the correct identification of the plan of its pre-Fire layout, and the discovery of original medieval masonry, can finally establish both location and dimensions. It is suggested that the two principal walls identified in the crypt formed the northern and eastern walls of the medieval church itself; and therefore that the crypt lay directly under the N-E corner of the church (cf Figs 10 and 14).

It is apparent that the 17th-century rebuilders, whether Wren or Hooke, made extensive use of pre-Fire masonry, not only as a source for building material but as upstanding surviving

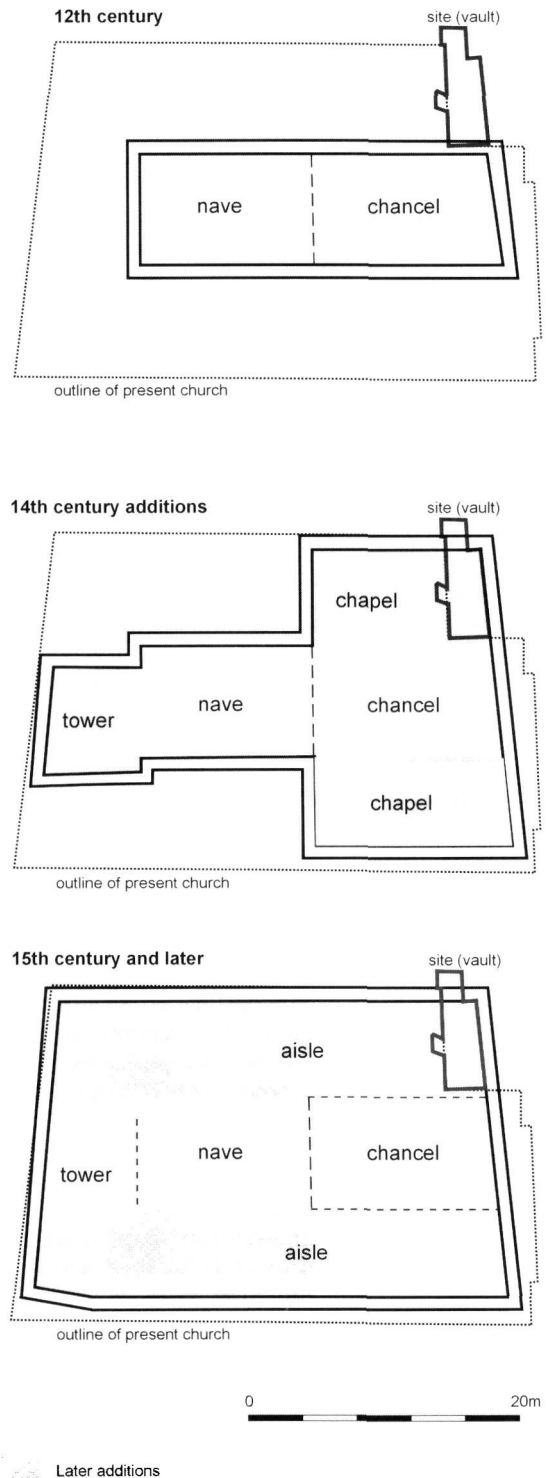


Fig 14. St Lawrence Jewry: a possible development sequence.

remains. Comparison of the plans makes it clear, for instance, that the western tower was substantially reused, and it is to be supposed that elements of the medieval masonry survived within or beneath 17th-century repair work. Similarly, from archaeological observation, it is clear that the north wall was rebuilt directly over its medieval antecedent. The south and, in particular, the east walls were the most altered after the Fire; and this is by no means surprising in view of the greater elaboration of those frontages, the difficulties encountered by the builders in the subsoil, and the changes necessitated by the loss of the N-E corner. The original east wall of the medieval church as shown on the Bute plan presented a single linear face at an acute angle to the Catteaton (Gresham) Street frontage. Assuming that the east wall identified in the vaults represents the footings of this eastern frontage it is notable that a continuation of its alignment intersects the south wall at approximately the same point as its post-Fire replacement. Furthermore such an alignment is parallel to the medieval boundary wall of Guildhall Yard to the north.

A conjectural development sequence

Based on the documented history of the church, detailed examination of the Bute plan, analysis of the recent archaeological recording, and comparison with other London churches, it is possible to propose a tentative chronology for the building sequence for St Lawrence Jewry (see Fig 14). The picture which this presents appears to be one of continuous expansion. But as Milne & Reynolds pointed out (1994, 144) such expansion is an index not necessarily, or only, of growth in parish population, so much as of changing liturgical practice and the ebb and flow of private investment.

The earliest church, dating perhaps from the mid 11th century, probably comprised a simple one or two cell structure, probably corresponding in location, more or less, to the present chancel and/or nave. At the beginning of the 14th century the church started to expand, possibly as a result of considerable financial bequests from rich merchants and, in particular, individual girdlers (Schofield 1994, 78; interestingly, there is no evidence in London of embellishment of churches by trade fraternities as corporate bodies). At roughly this time, a chapel, possibly

a Lady Chapel, was built on the north side of the chancel and directly over the recently discovered crypt. How, or if, the crypt and the chapel functioned together is unknown.

The crypt lies directly beneath what was, until after the Great Fire in 1666, the N-E corner of St Lawrence Jewry. Schofield commented (1994, 49) that 'the occurrence of crypts in [medieval] churches is a rarity and governed by individual or special circumstances'. However, a strikingly close parallel can be identified in the crypt beneath the N-E corner of St Bride's church in the west of the City (see Fig 1). This was $c.3.2\text{m} \times 5\text{m}$ in plan (as compared to $c.2.6\text{m} \times 3.5\text{m}$ or 6.2m for the Guildhall crypt), was divided into three bays by pointed ribs, and was aligned N-S with an entrance at the north end leading down from the churchyard outside the church. It too was built of chalk and Reigate-type stone, with irregular coursing but more regular quoins around the doorway and window, and has been dated on grounds of architectural style and use of building material to the late 13th or early 14th century (Milne 1997, 38–40). Another example of a similar structure has been noted at All Hallows Barking, though here it lay under the S-E corner of the church (Schofield 1994, 50). It is possible that there was another vault in this position, *ie* the S-E corner, at St Lawrence Jewry: work in 1952 exposed a number of steps leading into a sealed-up vault which may either have been part of the pre-Fire church, or purpose-built at the time of the Wren rebuild (*ibid*, 109).

The crypt at St Bride's has been interpreted as the associated substructure, possibly known as *la looge*, of the Lady Chapel which lay above it and which is known from documentary sources to have existed there from before *c.*1361 (*ibid*, 100; also Milne 1997, 109). The function of such crypts remains uncertain. If, as with St Bride's, the only exit from the St Lawrence Jewry crypt was the steps to the churchyard it would seem unlikely that the crypt could have had a direct ritualistic or liturgical relationship to the chapel above. The practice of individual burial within vaults under or near the church did not really take off until the early 16th century, though 'charnels' – for the clearance of earlier graves or tombs – were often added from the mid 15th century (Schofield 1994, 51). Harding has shown that from the 15th century a range of fees began to be elaborated by parishes for burial within the body of the church: *eg* a fee of 3s 4d was charged

for burial within the vaults at St Michael Cornhill in c.1455–6 (Harding 1992, 130–1). Milne proposed (1997, 109) that the St Bride's crypt was indeed used as a place of burial continually from at least 1361 until the 19th century, though he has subsequently suggested that there is little real evidence for such early use: indeed, the general nature of the architectural embellishments there, and the provision of a window, would seem to argue against it (Milne, pers comm).

It was probably towards the end of the 14th century, or the beginning of the next, that the western tower of St Lawrence Jewry was built. The gap between its north piers and the piers of the north aisle suggests they were not contemporary. The latter was probably added in the early 15th century, possibly with a similar structure along part of the south side of the nave (see Fig 14). This may have been the full south aisle since the Copperplate map of 1559 shows the entrance to the tower directly off the street, while a complex arrangement that looks like a porch occupies the east frontage of the church (however the Copperplate map is notoriously unreliable). Further modifications in the 15th century might have included the addition of battlements to the nave and tower roofs. The size and regularity of the windows shown along the east frontage on the Bute plan – two lateral windows c.4m [13ft] wide and a central window c.4.5m [15ft] wide – might suggest that this frontage had been remodelled and made more unitary in design at some late stage in the church's development, again possibly the mid 15th; which was also the high point of the adjacent Guildhall precinct (Barron 1974, 41). This might appear to be borne out by the glazing inscription referring to 1442 and noted by Strype. On the other hand it is curious that this frontage appears on the Copperplate map to be almost obscured by the Gatehouse to Guildhall Yard, which was probably added at the start of the 14th century and not removed until the late 16th century (Barron 1974, 23 & 42; however see note of caution on Copperplate map, above).

The Bute plan may show St Lawrence Jewry as it was just before the Great Fire, and the changes between this and the church shown on the Copperplate map might possibly have been the result of the substantial 'repair and beautification' of 1618 or 1631. Certainly there were far fewer substantial additions or modifications to London churches throughout the religious turmoil of the 16th century. Schofield (1994, 78), for

instance proposes the period from c.1300 to 1530 as the main period of parish church expansion in the City. St Lawrence Jewry as it appears on the Copperplate map of 1559 could therefore be representative of its appearance through most of the period from the late 15th century to the beginning of the 17th century. The final modifications, whensoever they took place between 1559 and 1666, may have included the formalisation of the structures to the south of the church into a regular aisle. At the west end of this new aisle three large windows (one facing west, two facing south), must have made the interior of the church much lighter. A further extension, possibly a new entrance porch, was added to the south frontage, and this is what appears on Leake's survey as well as the Bute plan (*cf* Figs 10 and 13).

Future work

This report represents only a preliminary analysis of the implications of the discoveries. It is clear that much will only emerge when analysis is completed of all the material excavated to the north in the main Guildhall Yard East site. In particular it will be interesting to trace the relationship of the evolution of the church to the evolution of Guildhall Yard immediately to its north and east. It is already known, for instance, that the building flanking the east face of the medieval church was probably a gatehouse to the Yard, and such a building is shown on the Copperplate map. Recent excavation in the Summer of 1999 (GUD99) has actually revealed substantial remains of this structure. Explanation of some of the strange oblique and acute angles of the medieval church's internal layout may also be derived from understanding the development of the underlying topography. Attention has been drawn before, for instance, to the strange coincidence of St Lawrence Jewry's shape and position to the Roman amphitheatre wall beneath it. Only available published sources have been studied so far but it is likely that much more information on the history of St Lawrence Jewry remains to be discovered within the records of the parish and of Balliol College Oxford. It is hoped that all of this can be addressed in the final publication of the Guildhall Yard East site.

The rebuilding of Guildhall Art Gallery and the relaying of Guildhall Yard, and the discovery

thereby of part of the vaults of St Lawrence Jewry, represent the final act in a story of reconstruction that goes back more than 50 years. After a long and chequered history St Lawrence Jewry was severely damaged (yet again) by enemy action in the 1939–45 war, when the nearby Art Gallery was itself partially destroyed. Only the tower and shell of the church were left standing. In a curious coincidence, given the other parallels between the churches, it was destroyed in the same bombing raid as St Bride's; which went on to be the first parish church in England to be excavated totally in plan, following an initial brief limited to locating the Lady Chapel crypt (Milne & Reynolds 1994, 143; Young & Young, 1986).

ST LAWRENCE JEWRY CRYPTS: THE BURIED POPULATION

Adrian Miles

Introduction

The objectives of the investigation were to record the lead coffins within the vault, noting the style of their construction along with any coffin furniture present, especially name plates. Where these were present a further objective was to determine biographical information on the buried individuals.

The investigations

The opening at the top of the vault was widened to allow easier access and to permit removal of the coffins within. Prior to any recording taking place modern debris was removed from the interior. A baseline was established running north-south through the vault and an overall plan drawn showing all the visible coffins.

Each coffin was issued with a context number and was recorded on a coffin sheet and a plan drawn. The plan recorded the actual state of the coffin as removed, including any damage or crushing, while the measurements on the coffin sheet referred to its original dimensions where possible.

The recording undertaken (see Fig 15) was carried out in line with the *Museum of London Archaeological Site Manual* (3rd edition 1994)



Fig 15. Recording of the coffins in the vault

although use was made of the work published from Christ Church, Spitalfields (Reeve & Adams 1993) on post-medieval lead coffins. This identified nine different variations in lead coffin construction and it is this numbering system which has been used in this report. The coffin plates were identified using the typology developed from the work carried out at New Bunhill Fields, Islington Green (Museum of London site code IGN96, Miles 1997) and Christ Church, Spitalfields.

None of the lead coffins were opened during the excavation, the burials being removed from the vault intact by The Necropolis Company and taken straight for reburial in the City of London Cemetery.

Post-medieval burial practices

Little work has been carried out in the post-Fire burial vaults and crypts of the City of London. Work at St John Zachary, Gresham Street

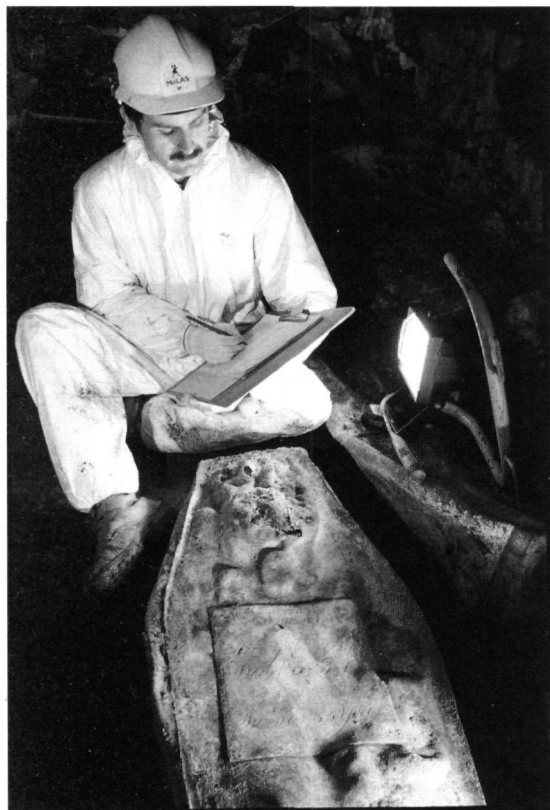


Fig 16. John Mitchell's coffin

(GM205 1960 in Schofield with Maloney 1998) produced a list of coffin-plates found during clearance of the vaults. Twenty plates are described, dating from 1759 to 1833, one of which was retained. Nineteenth-century coffin-plates were recorded from vaults at the north east corner of St Mary Aldermanbury church, Aldermanbury, (GM245 1967–8 in Schofield with Maloney 1998), and from the Hog family vault at the west end of the nave abutting the tower. A number of investigations have been carried out at Christchurch Greyfriars, Newgate Street where both north and south aisles contained post-medieval brick vaults (GF73, CHR76, CCN80 & CIS89). A number of lead coffins were exposed and reburied on site. A further brick vault containing lead coffins was recorded in 1980 (CCN80). Grimes's work at St Bride's in 1952–3 (Milne 1997) recovered nearly 300 burials from the crypt of the church but no proper archaeological records for the excavations have been preserved. The skeletal remains are stored in the crypt of St Brides church. A

watching brief by MoLAS at St Peter Cornhill (PTE90) recorded some lead coffins, although most of the burial vault had been cleared in the 19th century. In 1992 MoLAS carried out a small-scale project in an undisturbed vault of St James Garlickhithe (Miles 1993), where five lead coffins were recorded. Apart from this work has been limited to recording of the structural remains after the commercial clearance of the burials, as at St Botolph's Aldgate (SAB87 and BCC93).

Burial in a vault rather than the churchyard was an expensive option, with most parishes insisting on the use of lead coffins for inter-mural burial from the early 19th century. Chadwick, in his 1843 study of Metropolitan burial, gives a number of examples of funeral costs; those for lead coffined burials vary between £62 and £121 (Chadwick 1843). A guide for undertakers by Joseph Turner, published around 1838, gives the fees charged for interment in most of the burial grounds in London. Unusually, St Lawrence Jewry is not included, but figures from the surrounding parishes give an indication of the various rates (see Table 1).

The archaeological results

The burials within the vault

A total of 61 lead coffins were removed from the vault, of which most of the occupants could be at least partially identified from coffin plates or inscriptions. By cross-referencing the coffin plate information with that in the parish registers, further individual burials could be identified. Only six burials could not be positively identified, although the likely identity of most of these can be postulated. The date range of the burials was 1819 to 1845 for the main chamber and 1819 to 1837 for the small chamber (see Fig 17).

From the registers it was determined that the burials recorded had been buried in the 'vault in the aisle'. They also show that the burials recovered form 95.5% (61 out of 67) of the total burials recorded as being within the vault during the period 1819–1845. As can be seen in Table 2 the vault burials formed just over 19% of the total burials of the parish for the period 1813 to 1854.

The excavation produced 39 burials from the main chamber and 22 from the small chamber to the north. It is not possible from the registers

Table 1. *Burial costs for adjacent parishes, after Turner c.1839*

| | Burial area | Cost | | |
|--|---|------|----|---|
| | | £ | s | d |
| St Mary, Love Lane, Aldermanbury | Back Ground | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| | Front Ground | 1 | 0 | 6 |
| | Grave in the Church passage | 1 | 18 | 6 |
| | In any other part of the church | 3 | 0 | 8 |
| | North, South & Middle Aisles in limits of the church | 3 | 15 | 8 |
| | New Vault at the Christening Pew | 2 | 6 | 8 |
| | Chancel | 6 | 0 | 8 |
| | North & South Aisles | 5 | 5 | 8 |
| | Churchyard | 1 | 6 | 6 |
| St Michael Bassishaw, Basinghall Street | Vaults | 4 | 4 | 0 |
| | In the church, about | 14 | 0 | 0 |
| St Olave's, Old Jewry | In the Churchyard | 1 | 18 | 0 |
| | Chancel Vault | 7 | 14 | 6 |
| St Stephen, Coleman Street | Body | 6 | 3 | 6 |
| | Under Vestry | 2 | 0 | 0 |
| | North Churchyard | 1 | 6 | 6 |
| | Common Vault & School round | 0 | 9 | 2 |
| | Vaults under the church | 2 | 2 | 8 |
| | In the Chancel | 5 | 10 | 0 |
| St Mary-le-Bow; St Pancras, Soper Lane; and Allhallows, Honey Lane | In Bow Churchyard | 9 | 2 | 6 |
| | In Pancras Soper-lane Churchyard | 2 | 5 | 2 |

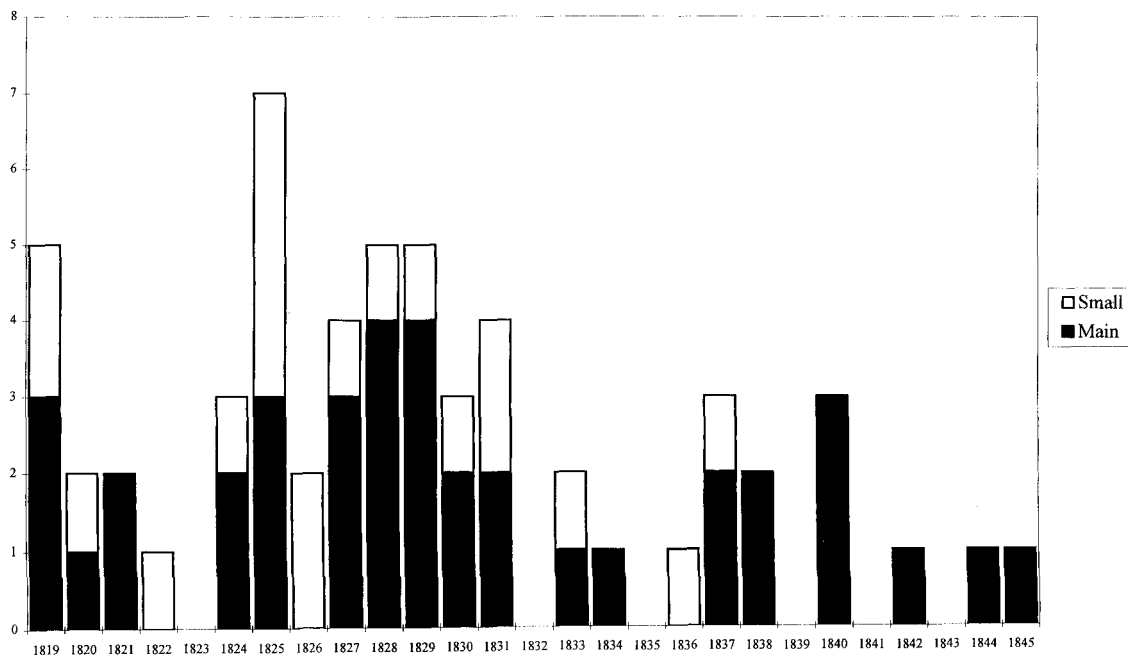


Fig 17. *Burials per year in the vault*

to determine if there was any distinction between the northern and southern areas of the vault. Some of the burials are referred to as from the

'little vault', but these are in the main area alongside those recorded as 'vault in the aisle'.

The 'triple shell' coffin was most commonly

Table 2. Burial location for St Lawrence Jewry, 1813–54

| Burial location from registers | No. of burials, 1813–54 | % of total |
|--|-------------------------|------------|
| Churchyard | 182 | 52.8 |
| Chancel | 16 | 4.6 |
| 'Great Vault' | 11 | 3.2 |
| North, South or Middle Aisle of Church | 11 | 3.2 |
| Family Vaults | 12 | 3.5 |
| 'Vault in the Porch' | 9 | 2.6 |
| 'Vault in the Aisle' or 'Little Vault' | 67 | 19.4 |
| 'Vault under the Vestry' | 37 | 10.7 |

used in vaults, the construction of which is described in Julian Litten's book *The English Way of Death* (1992, 101–3).

The inner coffin was usually of elm and similar in type to the standard coffin of the period. The lead shell was made-to-measure in two common types. The 'smooth wrap' type was produced by placing the inner coffin on a width of lead which was then cut to be three inches larger all round than the coffin. This was then turned up and tacked to the wood. A similar sized piece was then laid on the lid and the process repeated. The joints were then soldered together and smoothed, the heads of the tacks soldered also to maintain the airtight and water resistance of the coffin. The 'shoe box' type was produced the same way but with the sides being fitted before the lid. The coffin maker probably took the outer case from stock rather than hand making one. These were of similar type to the inner and were sumptuously upholstered and provided with elaborate coffin furniture, in the form of handles, lid motifs, coffin plates in lead or sometimes brass and studs to hold the covering in place. These all had to be attached before the insertion of the lead shell and had to be carefully positioned so as not to come into contact with the lead shell, grooves often being cut internally to prevent this. Great care was required to place the lead shell into the outer so as to avoid piercing or damaging it, it often requiring six men to lift it, with webbing, into position. Finally the lid was put into place and screwed or bolted down into countersunk holes. In many cases, cross-hatched incised lines can be found on the lead shell.

The preservation of organic material in the vault was in general very poor and wooden outer coffins did not survive *in situ*, except where they were preserved below plates or other coffins. This degradation of the wood led to the majority of the coffin furniture having become detached from its original location. Therefore, although a number of coffin handles and occasional other fittings were recovered from the vault, in the majority of cases these could not be assigned to a particular coffin.

The lead shells were, in general, reasonably well preserved, although some deterioration had

occurred and none of the coffins were completely sealed.

The work at Christ Church, Spitalfields during the 1980s identified a series of variations in lead coffin construction, which can be divided into three main forms, referred to as 'pie-crust' (types 1–4), 'shoe-box' (types 5 & 6) and 'flush-soldered' (types 7–9) (Reeve & Adams 1993, 82, 84–5).

Of the lead coffins recorded at St Lawrence Jewry, the division of different types can be seen in Table 3.

Coffin plates were recorded from 43 of the coffins, of which 40 were lead, two brass and one iron. Of the remainder, 13 had details inscribed directly into the lead of the coffin and five had no information in any form. Many of the other coffins also had information cut into the lead of the coffin as well as plates and in a number of cases more than one plate was recorded. These tended to be smaller plain plates, giving basic information, and would have been attached to the end of the coffin, either at the head or foot end which would have been used to identify coffins when they were laid in piles.

A small collection of disarticulated human bones was recovered from the south east and south west corners of the vault. This consisted of

Table 3. Division of lead coffin types

| Coffin Type | No. | % |
|-------------|-----|------|
| Type 1 | 24 | 42.1 |
| Type 2 | 7 | 12.3 |
| Type 4 | 4 | 7.0 |
| Type 7 | 3 | 5.3 |
| Type 8 | 17 | 29.8 |
| Type 9 | 2 | 3.5 |

the remains of a minimum of two adults and one child. It was not clear whether this material had been dropped down behind the coffins or if they had been pushed into the corners prior to the placement of the coffins in that area.

The parish registers for St Lawrence Jewry are held in the Guildhall Library and are available on microfilm. The burial registers provide information that relates to the date of death and burial, place of burial and age at death, while addresses, occupations and family relationships can be obtained from the baptism and marriage registers.

The burial registers for 1813–53 are MS 6979 and the marriage registers 1813–1928 are MS 6978. The baptism registers from 1813–1940 were destroyed or damaged beyond repair by the wartime bomb in 1940. A bishop's transcript of these for 1813–25, 1837–42 and 1845–6 survive as MS 10,442A. The baptism 1715–87, marriage 1715–54 and burial 1715–1812 registers are held as MS 6976, while the marriage 1754–94 is MS 6977, marriage 1794–1812 is MS 6981 and the baptism register for 1787–1812 is MS 6980.

The age at death was recorded for 59 of the 61 burials (see Fig 18) from either the coffin plates or from the registers. The two coffins for which no age was obtainable were both infants, the larger being only 0.55m long. By comparison with those of known age it seems likely that these

two must have died either at birth or very shortly afterwards.

Work carried out by the author on post-Fire burials in London (Conheeny & Miles, in prep, Miles 1997a, 1997b & 1998) and on the documentary sources has shown that in general crypts and vaults tend to contain a smaller percentage of infant burials than churchyards, even in the case of family vaults. The reasons for this are not entirely clear, but it probably relates to the high costs involved in a crypt burial at a time of high infant mortality.

However, the plot produced for the St Lawrence Jewry crypt is much more in line with the expected pattern of age at death for all burials in the 18th century (Birch, 1759) than is usual for crypts, with a high percentage of infant burials (see Fig 19).

As can be seen from the illustrations (see Figs 20 and 21) the coffins within the vault were not laid out in a neat, ordered fashion. Post depositional reordering of the coffins had clearly taken place, probably on more than one occasion. By comparing the year of burial with the position of the coffins this can be quantified to an extent.

A minimum of ten coffins within the vault had been moved, both in the small and the main chambers. However, no indication can be gained into whether this was due to a single occurrence, or several separate events. Clearly, some tidying

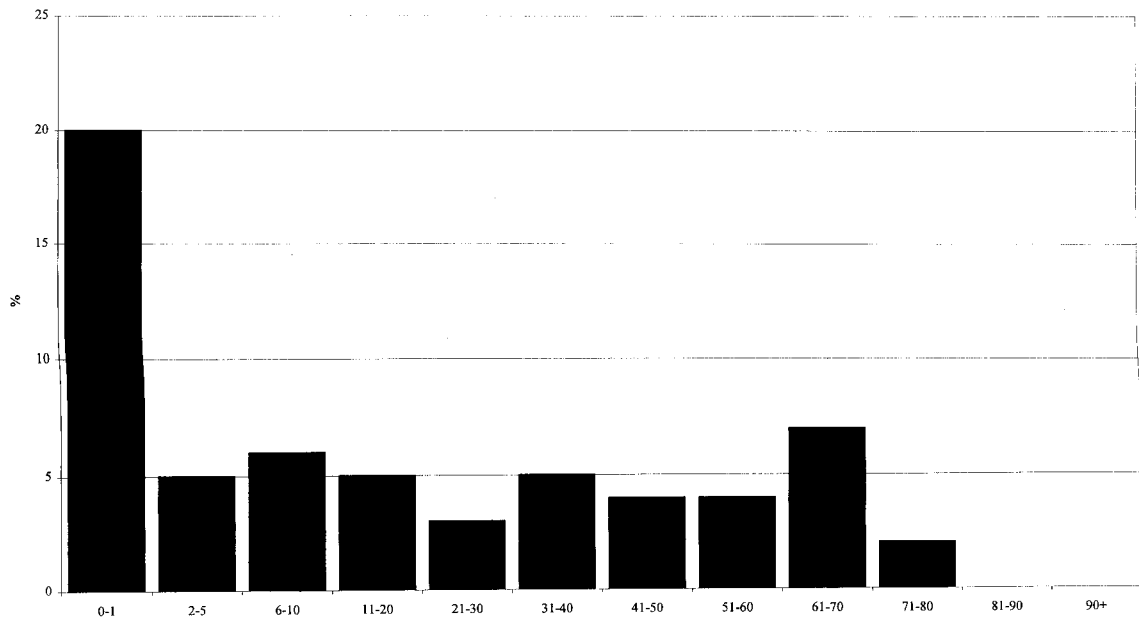


Fig 18. Age at death of burials

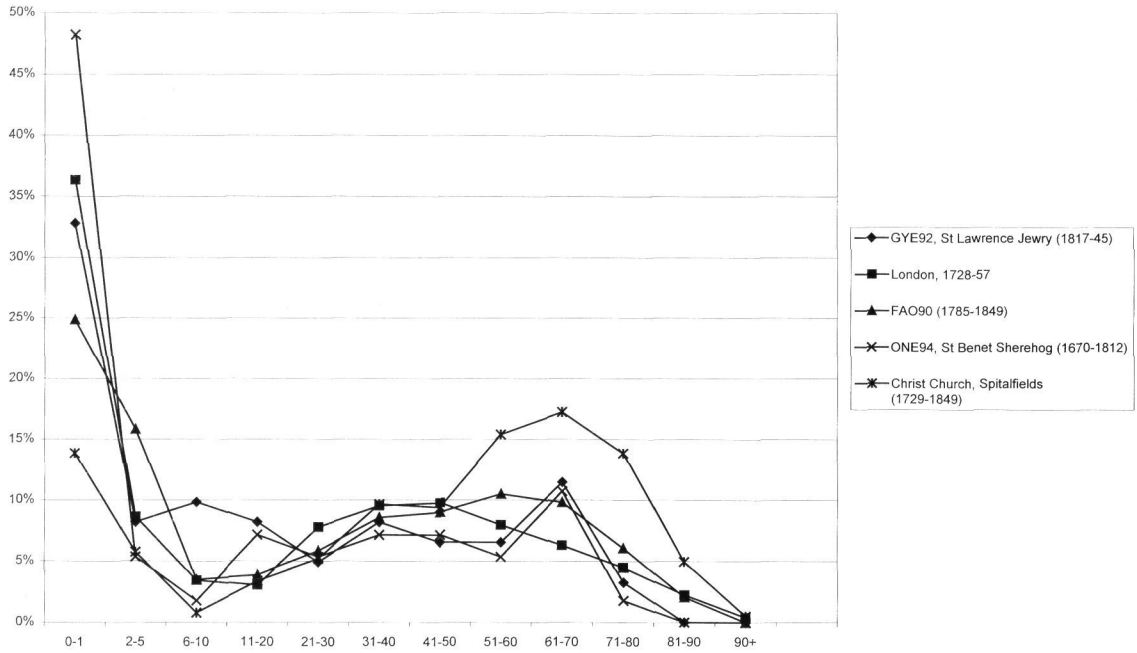


Fig 19. Age at death for comparative archaeological groups



Fig 20. The vault looking north



Fig 21. The vault looking south

up would have been required and some working space for manoeuvring coffins into position necessary, but some of the displacement may have occurred during the inserting of a drainage duct after the closure of the vault to burials.

Social and economic history

From the registers the burials can be divided into groups of 14 families and 18 individual burials that have no obvious relationship to any other within the vault. Some of these individuals are likely to belong to extended families of the other groups. The largest family group was that of the Kiplings, nine members of which are represented, of whom eight were children. Seven of the burials were located in the small chamber (see Fig 22) with the other two being in the northern part of the main chamber.

The address at the time of death is given in the registers for 57 of the 61 burials. These can be precise location, including the house number, street name or just the parish. The parishes of St Lawrence Jewry and St Mary Magdalen, Milk

Street were ecclesiastically united after the Great Fire, as St Mary Magdalen was not rebuilt and did not retain its own separate burial space. The addresses by parish can be seen in Table 4.

This is similar to other crypt populations investigated by the author, for example St John Wapping (Miles 1998), which tend to have a higher percentage of burials from outside the parish than would be the case for the main churchyard. In the case of St Bride's lower churchyard and St Benet Sherehog burial ground over 90% of the inhumations come from the parish and although the St Lawrence Jewry churchyard has not been looked at in this study it is likely to show the same pattern.

The area around the church was characterised by traders. Milk Street, the full length of which was in the combined parishes, for example, in 1771 had 43 houses assessed in the rate books at a total of just under £2,000; 18 at between £50 and £100, and the remainder between £20 and £50. In 1820 traders occupied all but one of the houses; these were hosiers, glovers, ribbon, silk and calico manufacturers, or warehousemen. In only six of the 32 houses then in the street, was



Fig 22. *The small chamber*

Table 4. *Address at time of death*

| Parish | No. | % |
|---------------------------------------|-----|------|
| St Lawrence Jewry | 15 | 25.0 |
| St Mary Magdalen | 17 | 28.3 |
| St Lawrence Jewry or St Mary Magdalen | 11 | 18.3 |
| Other parishes | 13 | 21.7 |
| Unknown | 4 | 6.7 |

any trade carried out other than in textiles. By 1840 the street contained 39 houses, three or four of which were still occupied by private residents; apart from three the remainder were all devoted to one branch or another of the drapery trade, ribbon manufacturers pre-dominating.

Occupations of the buried individuals or of their parents can be obtained from a number of sources, particularly baptism registers and trade directories.

For only seven of the 32 families or individuals recorded could the occupation not be determined

(see Table 5). Of the remainder 11 were definitely part of the drapery trade, including hosiers, robe makers, linen factors, Welsh flannel manufacturers and Manchester warehousemen. A Manchester warehouse supplied household linen and cotton goods, such as sheets and towels. A further five are listed as either merchants or warehousemen who could well be connected to the same trade. It is clear, therefore, that the buried population were completely representative of the area at that time.

The burials represent part of a reasonably well-off section of the early 19th-century community in the parish of St Lawrence Jewry, comparable with the Spitalfields' 'middling sort' (Molleson & Cox 1993, 214). They were merchants, traders or the children thereof, mainly associated with drapery, the main activity in the area. The coffins recorded and the fittings were of a high quality and would have been expensive. The necessity of the use of a lead coffin and the higher cost of burial in the vault would have put this option out of the reach of the working classes.

A family history

William Kipling was a hosier and glover who lived and worked from 47 Cheapside. He was married to Elizabeth, who died on 14 October

Table 5. *Occupation of the buried population from Trade Directories*

| Occupation | Total |
|---|-------|
| Boot & shoe warehouseman | 1 |
| Butcher | 2 |
| Clergyman | 1 |
| Coach Proprietor | 1 |
| Fishmonger | 1 |
| Hosier & Glover | 1 |
| Lawyer | 1 |
| Manchester warehouseman | 4 |
| Merchant | 3 |
| Merchant & Linen factor | 1 |
| Plumber | 1 |
| Robe maker | 1 |
| Small ware and scotch thread warehouseman | 1 |
| Trunk & cabinet maker | 2 |
| Victualler | 1 |
| Warehouseman | 2 |
| Welsh flannel & hosier | 1 |
| Woollen stuff warehouseman | 2 |

1829 at the age of 39. No record can be found in the St Lawrence Jewry or St Mildred Poultry registers for either their marriage or William's death.

They had at least eight children who died in childhood, the eldest being 15 (see Table 6).

The first mention of William Kipling in the Post Office Directory is in 1815, when he is listed as a 'Hosier etc' of 16 Poultry. This remains the same until 1818 when he is listed as at 16 Poultry and 47 Cheapside, while the following year Richard Kipling, hosiery manufacturer, occupies the Poultry address. By 1820 a further Kipling can be found in the hosiery business with Thomas setting up at 164 Strand as a hosier and glover, while William now occupied premises at both 29 and 47 Cheapside. It is possible that the 29 is a misprint in the directory as in 1821 Richard is listed at 16 Poultry and 59 Cheapside, and it is this address that continued in following years in the Kipling name.

The 1823 Directory lists:

Kipling, Richard, Hat manufacturer, 59 Cheapside.

Kipling, R, Hosier manufacturer, 16 Poultry

Kipling, T, Hosier & glover, 197 Strand

Kipling, W, Manufacturer of Hosiery, 47 Cheapside.

Richard Kipling was married to Isabella Mary Barnett of St Luke's on 22 March 1825. He died aged 30, and was buried at St Mildred Poultry on 28 November 1831. The registers for St Mildred's also show a Robert and Elizabeth Kipling living at 16 Poultry during the same period.

By 1835 yet more Kiplings are involved in hosiery, with the Post Office Directory listing:

Kipling & co, Hosier & glover, 197 Strand

Kipling, Richard & co, Hosiers, glovers & outfit warehouse, 16 Poultry

Kipling & son, Hosiers, 59 St Martin Lane

Kipling & Taylor, Manchester warehousemen, 30 Cateaton Street

Kipling, T, Hosier & shirt maker, 29 New Street, Covent Garden

Kipling, W, Manufacturer of Hosiery, 47 Cheapside.

The last listing for William Kipling is in 1845, when he is listed as a manufacturer of a hosiery and outfitting warehouse.

By 1846 the Kiplings had been replaced by *J.W. Blackburn, Successors to W. Kipling, Manufacturer of Hosiery, Wholesale and Retail, Family Linen Warehouse.* Their daughter is also buried at St Lawrence Jewry.

Of the other burials recorded in the vault that of Ellen Jane Sweeting is worthy of note. She died on 1 April 1837, aged 6 months and was buried on 7 April. She was the daughter of John Sweeting, the founder of the famous Sweeting's fish restaurant. The first Sweeting's restaurant was established in 1833 at 17 Milk Street, at the corner of Lad Lane, the house rated at £70. When Gresham Street was widened, just before 1850, the building was pulled down and the business moved to its present site at the junction of Queen Victoria Street and Queen Street.

Conclusions

Although only a small group, the burials recorded from St Lawrence Jewry do provide further information on 19th-century burial traditions. The group clearly represents a wealthy section of the parish society with the 'vault in the aisle' being a preferred burial location. The cost to the Kipling family of the coffins alone must have been in the region of £180 and if a typical funeral is assumed, the total cost for the eight children and one adult would have been around £600.

The coffins and coffin furniture recorded were typical of the period for a comfortably off population and compare directly with the

Table 6. *The Kipling children buried in the vault*

| Name | Born | Baptised | Died | Buried |
|-------------------------|-------------|--------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| Charles William Thomas | 29 May 1817 | 24 Sept 1817 | March 1826 | 22 March 1826 |
| Mary Elizabeth Harriott | 29 May 1817 | 24 Sept 1817 | 24 February 1819 | 28 February 1819 |
| Elizabeth | 26 Nov 1818 | 30 Dec 1818 | 17 November 1834 | 21 November 1834 |
| Mary Ann | 14 Mar 1820 | 9 April 1820 | 20 July 1825 | 24 July 1825 |
| Jane | 20 Mar 1821 | 6 June 1821 | 18 April 1830 | 22 April 1830 |
| Margaret | 25 Aug 1822 | 20 Sept 1822 | 10 June 1826 | 14 June 1826 |
| Susannah | 7 June 1825 | 17 July 1825 | 10 May 1826 | 14 June 1826 |
| William | 10 May 1828 | | 12 September 1828 | 16 September 1828 |

material recovered from similar groups at Christ Church Spitalfields, St John Wapping and New Bunhill Fields, Islington Green.

The age at death pattern is unusual for a crypt group, containing as it does 41% below the age of five, while the figure for Christ Church Spitalfields is 19.6% and 13.3% at St John Wapping. The higher percentage may be more common in smaller vaults and crypts, but at present too little work has been carried out to allow comparisons.

NOTES

¹ Mark Samuel has reiterated that, based on what had been admittedly a very short visit, he would prefer to see the 'blocking' and the rib as distinct phases, with the latter probably representing a window embrasure rerearch, part of a ventilation and light loop (pers comm). However, even if this were true, given that both contain identical building materials, there cannot have been much separating them in date.

² Some doubt has been expressed as to whether Hollar's post-Fire view was really just a distressed version of his pre-Fire panorama of 1647.

³ Arguing from what happened at other City churches, a separate small bell-tower (belfry) may have been added to the south of the church not long afterwards; but there is no archaeological or documentary evidence for this.

⁴ 'The crypt may have been a sub-structure for a Lady Chapel. This is not yet an association found in the other examples among medieval churches but it is an attractive hypothesis' (John Schofield pers comm on the St Lawrence Jewry crypt).

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Nick Bateman would like to thank Tony Dyson, Gustav Milne and John Schofield for comments on the text and the interpretation; Mark Samuel and Terry Smith of MoLSS for comments on the dating of the structure recorded; Duncan Lees, Kate Pollard and Kikar Singh of MoLAS for the reconstructions of the crypts, and Jon Sygrave for the other artwork; Andy Chopping and Maggie Cox for the photographs; and Lindy Grant of the Courtauld Institute for help with the Bute plan of the pre-Fire church.

Adrian Miles would like to thank Julian Ayre and Robin Wroe-Brown for their work on site; Maggie Cox for the photographs; the staff of The Necropolis Company, particularly Roger Webber; Dr Susan Young and John Schofield for comments on the text.

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APPENDIX: FULL NAMES LIST

| Context | Surname | Christian names | Date of death | Age at death | When buried | Address | Year of death | Age | Family occupation | Coffin type | Location |
|---------|----------|-------------------------|-----------------|--------------------------------------|-------------|------------------------------------|---------------|-----|-------------------------------|-------------|----------|
| 23703 | (Becton) | (Margaret) | (- / 1 / 1822) | (3 years 7 months) | 10-Jan | Honey Lane Market | 1822 | 3 | | 8 | Small |
| 23708 | (Gibbs) | (William Henry) | (* / 1 / 1827) | 36 | 15-Jan | Castle Court, Lawrence Lane | 1827 | 36 | | | Small |
| 23707 | (Parker) | (Anne Elizabeth) | (- / 3 / 1831) | (11 days) | 20-Mar | 19 Milk Street | 1831 | 0 | Butcher | | Small |
| 23683 | Barry | Frances | 5 / 5 / 1825 | 8 (8 years 1 month) | 12-May | Cateaton Street | 1825 | 8 | Merchant | 1 | Main |
| 23659 | Barry | James | 29 / 12 / 1840 | 72 | 06-Jan | Woodford, Essex | 1840 | 72 | Linen factor | 8 | Main |
| 23689 | Beck | Walter | 6 / 1 / 1819 | 60 | 12-Jan | of the Parish of St Leonard | 1819 | 60 | | 8 | Main |
| 23702 | Becton | William Hunt | 9 / 8 / 1820 | 9 months | 15-Aug | Shoreditch | 1820 | 0 | Victualler | 8 | Small |
| 23690 | Capper | William | 17 / 3 / 1819 | in his 70th year | 23-Mar | Milk Street | 1819 | 69 | Manchester linen warehouseman | 4 | Small |
| 23661 | Chretien | Harriet Jane | 23 / 8 / 1827 | 15 | 02-Sep | 43 Milk Street | 1827 | 15 | Trunk maker and carpenter | 8 | Main |
| 23701 | Chretien | Edward | 23 / 5 / 1825 | 8 months | 29-May | 43 Milk Street | 1825 | 0 | Trunk maker and carpenter | 8 | Small |
| 23657 | Cleaver | Musgrove William | 2 / 12 / 1838 | 10 months | 08-Dec | Ashby Street, Clerkenwell | 1838 | 0 | | 1 | Main |
| 23658 | Cleaver | Clarke Elizabeth | 7 / 11 / 1838 | 25 | 14-Nov | 17 Lawrence Lane | 1838 | 25 | Woollen factor & warehouseman | 1 | Main |
| 23664 | Cleaver | Susanna | 20 / 12 / 1840 | 32 | 28-Dec | 2 Ashby Street, Northampton Square | 1840 | 32 | Boot & shoe warehouseman | 1 | Main |
| 23662 | Corroek | James | 21 / 11 / 1829 | 13 | 28-Nov | 29 King Street | 1829 | 13 | Robe maker | 9 | Main |
| 23677 | G(ore?) | Neville | - / 1 / 1833(7) | 5 months | | | | 0 | Merchant | 1 | Main |
| 23674 | Gerard | George | 17 / 12 / 1827 | 47 | 22-Dec | 43 Milk Street | 1827 | 47 | Trunk & cabinet maker | 8 | Main |
| 23682 | Gerard | Elizabeth Ann | 21 / 2 / 1827 | 41 | 01-Mar | 43 Milk Street | 1827 | 41 | Trunk & cabinet maker | 8 | Main |
| 23680 | Gibb | Thomas | 7 / 2 / 1824 | 10 | 14-Feb | Milk Street | 1824 | 10 | Merchant | 4 | Main |
| 23671 | Gibb | Marsham Frederick | 21 / 8 / 1828 | 10 yrs 6 months | 29-Aug | Milk Street | 1828 | 10 | Merchant | 1 | Main |
| 23653 | Gibb | George | | | 20-Jun | Milk Street | 1829 | 0 | Merchant | 7 | Main |
| 23668 | Gibb | George Thomas Alexander | 15 / 6 / 1829 | 4 months in the 61st year of his age | 07-Jan | Russia Row | 1831 | 60 | Merchant | 1 | Main |
| 23665 | Gibb | Francis Charles | 10 / 1 / 1837 | 14y 3 months | 24-Jan | Milk Street | 1837 | 14 | Merchant | 2 | Main |

APPENDIX: FULL NAMES LIST (Cont.)

| Context | Surname | Christian names | Date of death | Age at death | When buried | Address | Year of death | Age | Family occupation | Coffin type | Location |
|---------|-----------|-----------------|---------------|------------------------------------|-------------|----------------------------|---------------|-----|-------------------------|-------------|----------|
| 23696 | Gibbs | Elizabeth | */1/1825 | 1 year 8 months | 06-Jan | Castle Court | 1825 | 1 | Warehouseman | 2 | Small |
| 23656 | Gilbert | Edwd. | 19/9/1840 | 12 days 7 months | 24-Sep | Queen Street | 1840 | 0 | Coach proprietor | 1 | Main |
| 23654 | Groom | Alfred Corrock | 24/9/1842 | 5 days 2 | 03-Oct | 29 King Street | 1842 | 2 | Lawyer | 2 | Main |
| 23672 | Hodgson | Thomas | 5/12/1825 | in his 70th year | 11-Dec | 11 King Street | 1825 | 69 | Manchester warehouseman | 8 | Main |
| 23678 | Hodgson | Sarah | 5/1828 | 54 | 11-May | 11 King Street | 1828 | 54 | Manchester warehouseman | 8 | Main |
| 23676 | Holmes | James | -/1/1831 | 13 months | 30-Jan | 16 Milk Street | 1831 | 1 | Plumber | 1 | Main |
| 23705 | Hutton | Harriet | 11/10/1824 | 15 months | 17-Oct | Milk Street | 1824 | 1 | | 1 | Small |
| 23663 | Kipling | Jane | 18/4/1830 | 9 | 22-Apr | 47 Cheapside | 1830 | 9 | Hosier | 1 | Main |
| 23669 | Kipling | Elizabeth | 17/11/1834 | in her 5th year (16) | 21-Nov | Cheapside | 1834 | 16 | Hosier | 1 | Main |
| 23704 | Kipling | Harriet | 24/2/1819 | 21 months | 28-Feb | 47 Cheapside | 1819 | 1 | Hosier | 1 | Small |
| | | Elizabeth | | | | | | | | | |
| | | Mary (Mary | | | | | | | | | |
| | | Elizabeth | | | | | | | | | |
| | | Harriett) | | | | | | | | | |
| 23700 | Kipling | Mary Ann | 20/7/1825 | 5 years and 4 months | 24-Jul | 47 Cheapside | 1825 | 5 | Hosier | 1 | Small |
| 23697 | Kipling | Susannah | 10/5/1826 | 12 months (1 year 7 days) | 14-Jun | 47 Cheapside | 1826 | 1 | Hosier | 1 | Small |
| 23698 | Kipling | Margaret | 10/6/1826 | in her 4th year (3 years 9 months) | 14-Jun | 47 Cheapside | 1826 | 3 | Hosier | 1 | Small |
| 23694 | Kipling | William | 12/9/1828 | 1 month 2 days (4 months 3 days) | 16-Sep | 47 Cheapside | 1828 | 0 | Hosier | 1 | Small |
| 23709 | Kipling | Elizabeth | 14/10/1829 | 39 | 19-Oct | 47 Cheapside | 1829 | 39 | Hosier & Glover | 1 | Small |
| 23695 | Kipling | Charles William | */3/1836 | 8 years 10 months | 22-Mar | 47 Cheapside | 1836 | 8 | Hosier | 1 | Small |
| 23687 | Kynaston | Sarah | 28/2/1821 | 28 | 08-Mar | 18 Milk Street | 1821 | 28 | Welsh flannel & hosier | 8 | Main |
| 23688 | Kynaston | Sarah Frances | 28/2/1821 | 14 months | 08-Mar | 18 Milk Street | 1821 | 1 | Welsh flannel & hosier | 1 | Main |
| 23691 | Kynaston | Emily | 11/8/1837 | 3 | 17-Aug | Lad Lane | 1837 | 3 | Welsh flannel & hosier | 1 | Small |
| 23670 | Lancaster | Mary | 3/5/1829 | 15 (14 years 9 months) | 08-May | 33 Cateaton Street | 1829 | 15 | Merchant | 1 | Main |
| 23686 | Lord | John | 15/2/1819 | in his 57th year | 21-Feb | Milk Street | 1819 | 56 | | | Main |
| 23692 | Miller | Charles | 30/3/1825 | 42 | 06-Apr | Rodney Street, Pentonville | 1825 | 42 | | 2 | Small |

