Chapter 4: The church, the parish, and the parishioners

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THE PARISH OF BLOOMSBURY AND ITS PARISH CHURCH

Parish of Bloomsbury in the 18th and 19th centuries

In the early 18th century, the area of Bloomsbury comprised a growing number of residences of the 'middling sort' and a few mansions of the aristocracy. The genteel classes were attracted by its location away from the industrial areas of the City and East End (Fig.4.1).

Much of the land was owned by the Dukes of Bedford, and their association with Bloomsbury is reflected in many street names, such as Bedford Place, Bedford Square, and Little and Great Russell Streets. Other place names, such as Cardington Street, Goldington Street and Goldington Crescent, and Woburn Square, refer to their estates in Bedfordshire, Taviton Street, Tavistock Square, Endsleigh Gardens and Endsleigh Street to their Devon estates, and Thornhaugh Street evokes their Northamptonshire property (Fig. 4.2).

Bloomsbury owes much of its current layout to a systematic housing development undertaken by the Duke of Bedford in the later 18th century. Whilst major urban development of the West End burgeoned in the mid- to late-18th century, the 3rd Duke was slow to build. Locations further to the west had already become more fashionable. The area never received the caché of slightly earlier experiments in town planning, such as Grosvenor Square, and remained resolutely middle class, with a reputation for being somewhat staid (White 2008, 71-3). Nevertheless, successive Dukes were so determined to uphold the tone of the area, that they restricted the number of shops, did not allow taverns, and erected gates at the entrances. (Porter 1994, 112, 220)

Bedford Square and Gower Street began in 1776, becoming desirable quarters for the professional classes. Their proximity to a number of the Courts of Law made them particularly popular among lawyers (White 2008, 71, 73). This is strongly reflected in the population interred within the crypt at St George's (see below). Urban expansion continued northwards towards Euston Road. The Foundling Hospital for the care of abandoned children and babies (Figs. 4.3), founded by Thomas Coram in 1739, was sited in the fields north of Grays Inn, and opened to receive its first children in 1741. Fund raising at the hospital soon established it as a venue where the fashionable world went to enjoy pictures and hear music, such as Handel's Messiah, which was performed there in 1749 (Picard 2000, 257). Another centre for culture, the British Museum in Great Russell Street was created in Bloomsbury in 1753, only a street away from St George's church. A number of librarians and scholars of the Museum were buried within the vaults of St George's church (see below).

Urban development in and around Bloomsbury continued apace in the early 19th century (Figs 4.2-4.3), with Bloomsbury soon enclosed to the north by the parishes of St Pancras and Clerkenwell. The Regents Canal was responsible for industrialisation of St Pancras and the Tottenham Court Road areas, with timber being towed up the canal to supply a thriving building and carpentry trade, and piano and furniture making (Porter 1994, 218). A number of carpenters and cabinet makers were interred in the crypt of St George's church. Associated slums mushroomed. The workhouse of St Giles in the Fields and St George's Bloomsbury was described by philanthropist Jonas Hanway as 'the greatest sink of mortality in these kingdoms, if not on the face of the whole earth' (ibid, 149).

Sandwiched between these less salubrious areas, Bloomsbury represented a genteel oasis of middle class respectability. In the 1820s, anxious to maintain the tone, the Duke of Bedford erected a cordon sanitaire around Bloomsbury by blocking up streets and erecting gates at the entrance onto Euston Road. These remained in place until the 1890s (ibid, 220).

The need for a new church

Although the origins of Bloomsbury can be traced to the 13th century when William Blemund was made Lord of the Manor, it did not attain parochial status until the 18th century (Meller 1975). Until the early part of the 18th century, Bloomsbury lay within the parish of St Giles in the Fields. Originally founded by Queen Matilda as a leper hospital in 1101, the hospital chapel and succeeding churches of St Giles served as the parish church.

This arrangement proved satisfactory until the late 17th century, when Bloomsbury began to expand rapidly. The number of houses increased from 136 in 1623, to 954 in 1739. One reason for this growth is given by Strype who, in 1720, wrote, 'this place by physicians is esteemed the most

'In the vaults beneath'



Fig. 4.1 Map taken from Rocque's Plan of the Cities of London and Westminster and Borough of Southwark (1746). The extract from The A to Z of Georgian London, is reproduced by kind permission of the publishers, Harry Margary at www.harrymargary.com in association with The Guildhall Library, Aldermanbury, London, and at http:collage.cityoflondon.gov.uk.

healthful of any in London'(ibid.), lying as it did on the outskirts of the city, far from the pollution and overcrowding of the City to the east (Fig. 4.2). The parish of St Giles in the Fields included not only the great mansions of the Duke of Monmouth, the Earl of Thanet and the Dukes of Bedford (the primary landowners of vast tracts of land in Bloomsbury) (Meller 1975) and a growing number of respectable middle class dwellings, but the infamous slums known as the Rookery. Located close to today's Tottenham Court Road (Porter 1994, 267) they were a hot bed of crime and vice. The destitution and hopelessness of the poor of the Rookery is immortalised in Hogarth's 1751 engraving of 'Gin Lane' (Plate 4.1), a critique of the evils of gin consumption at the height of the Gin Craze. The spire of St George's church, is depicted in the background of the plate. Respectable residents of the northern part of the parish of St Giles in the Fields increasingly objected to having to pass through this notorious district in order to attend church, and petitions were made to build another church within the parish.

By the 18th century, London was expanding rapidly, but continued to rely on existing parish churches to serve the religious needs of its burgeoning population. In 1711 the Act for the Building of Fifty New Churches was passed in order to address the shortfall in church numbers. Of the 50 new churches proposed, only a dozen were ever constructed. These included six churches designed by Nicholas Hawksmoor: St Alfege in Greenwich,



Plate 4.1 St George's, Bloomsbury in c 2001 – viewed from Bloomsbury Way

St Anne, Limehouse, Christ Church, Spitalfields, St George-in-the-East, Stepney, the City church of St Mary Woolnoth, and St George's, Bloomsbury. A new church designed by Henry Flitcroft was also constructed on the site of the earlier churches of St Giles-in-the-Field as part of this scheme (Porter 1994, 124). Even with these new churches, London's pews could hold only a quarter of the population – a factor implicated in a reduction in religious observance in the Georgian period.

Figures for the population of the parish of St Giles in the Fields gathered by the Commissioners for the Act illustrate the social heterogeneity of the parish. It was found to contain 2999 housekeepers, of whom 269 were gentlemen, 1923 tradesmen and 807 poor housekeepers. The Commissioners assumed that an average of seven people inhabited each house, so that the church had to serve a population of approximately 20,000 people (Meller 1975, 2), and that additional places of worship were sorely needed.

Construction of the new church

The Commissioners chose Nicholas Hawksmoor as the architect of the new church of St George, rejecting designs by such illustrious architects as Vanbrugh and James Gibb (Meller 1975). The site chosen for the church (known as the Plowyard) had been purchased for £1000 from Lady Russell, widow of Sir John Russell, late Duke of Bedford. As it stands today, the plot fronted onto Bloomsbury Way (then Hart Street) to the south, and was hemmed in by existing buildings. The constricted space made design of the traditional east-west orientation of a church difficult, but Hawksmoor was able to overcome these restrictions and place the altar to the east. Work on the church began in June 1716 and continued for 16 years, punctuated by periods of inactivity when funding for the project was temporarily exhausted. The Commissioners had resolved in 1712 that all the churches were 'to be built with stone on the outside and lined with brick on the inside' (ibid.). The vaults, accessible from doors either side of the portico steps, are the only part of the church where this brickwork is clearly to be seen, as stone facing was dispensed with in this area.

Stonework was particularly expensive. The estimated cost of building the church was £9,790 17s. 4d, but by the time it was completed in 1731, the total project (including the Minister's House) had cost approximately £31,000. Almost half this sum had been paid to the stonemasons. In 1730, before work on the interior was complete, the church was consecrated by Edmund Gibson, Bishop of London (ibid.).

Hawksmoor is thought to have based the grandiose Neo-Classical façade of the main portico (Plates 4.1 and 4.2) on the Roman Temple of Baalbek (now in Lebanon) illustrations of which had been published by the explorer Henry Maundrell in 1703.



Fig. 4.2 Map taken from Horwood's Plan of the Cities of London and Westminster (3rd Edition 1813). The extract from the The A to Z of Regency London, is reproduced by kind permission of the publishers, Harry Margary at www.harrymargary.com in association with The Guildhall Library, Aldermanbury, London, and at http:collage.cityoflondon.gov.uk

Fig. 4.3 (opposite) Map taken from Bacon's large-scale Ordnance Atlas of London and Suburbs (1888) The extract from the The A to Z of Victorian London, is reproduced by kind permission of the publishers, Harry Margary at www.harrymargary.com in association with The Guildhall Library, Aldermanbury, London, and at http:collage.cityoflondon.gov.uk





Plate 4.2 St George's, Bloomsbury from Hart Street (*later renamed Bloomsbury Way*)

The extraordinary steeple of the tower on the west of the church was also influenced by classical architecture. Inspired by Pliny's description of the Mausoleum at Halicarnassus (modern Bodrum, Turkey), it is stepped like a pyramid (as can be clearly seen in the background of Hogarth's Gin Lane (Plate 4.3). Hawksmoor decorated the steeple with 'lions, unicorns, festoons and crowns' evidently without the permission of the Commissioners, who were horrified at the expense (Meller 1975). By 1871 the lions and unicorns originally placed at the steeple's base were crumbling away and were removed. A statue of George I in Roman dress, posing as St George on the top of the steeple, was the gift of parishioner William Hucks, brewer, whose brewery was in Duke Street. From 1715 he was brewer to the Royal Household, and was a Member of Parliament. He served as MP for Abingdon (1709-10), and then for Wallingford (1715-40).

The original main entrance to the church was via steps leading up to doors on the north and south sides of the church tower. These steps and doors led a traditional west entrance to the church interior. Only the steps to the north of the tower survived, the southern steps having been removed to make way for a car park. Wall foundations and a sealed staircase were discovered in Test pit 3 and investigated in Area 5 (Fig. 2.6) (see Chapter 2 above). The Vestry Minutes for the 18th and 19th centuries record numerous repairs and modifications to the church. During the reordering of 1781, the north gallery was replaced by an east gallery. A west gallery had already been added in 1731. In 1870, major restoration was carried out by George Edmund Street and further re-ordering of the interior was undertaken, during which the east and west galleries were removed. In 1930 Street's tiles were removed, and in 1972-74 (under Laurence King) the church was redecorated and a glass screen added below the south gallery.

The major programme of works aimed to restore the church to much of its original splendour. This included restoration of the original decorative plaster ceiling, which was pulling away from its support. The exterior was badly weathered, and the roof, windows, railings, floors and furnishings all required refurbishment. The church was on the World Monuments Fund's List of 100 Most Endangered Sites (Amery 2002).

PARISHIONERS

Introduction

The inscriptions on the *depositum* plates found in the crypt of St George's are a very valuable addition to historical records already available for this population. Record of burials in the parish do exist but do not differentiate between individuals buried within the vaults and those buried in the churchyard, which was situated north-east of Brunswick Square in the parish of St Pancras (Meller 1975).

Other sources of information are the mural memorials in the interior of the church. Although they commemorate only a few of the more prominent citizens buried in the parish, many of them were interred within the vaults beneath and the commemorative inscriptions supplement the information found on coffin plates.

The demographic information derived from coffin plates is considered in Chapter 5 below. In this section the historical evidence for the composition of the population is consider. It has not been possible, as part of the Bloomsbury project, to undertake a comprehensive search of the available historical sources for the history of the crypt population. Nonetheless an attempt has been made to identify the individuals buried in the crypt, to establish their social standing and, where applicable, their professions. A number of notable figures were buried in the crypt and brief accounts of some of these are also included. Families of some tradesmen were interred in the crypt and some account of these is published. Amongst the crypt population were some of Huguenot descent and a number of foreigners, or aliens, who were living in Bloomsbury and these are briefly considered. Finally the evidence for abodes of the of the crypt population and the distribution of different occupational groups is discussed briefly

Coffin plate inscriptions

The crypt assemblage comprised 781 coffins and 146 loose coffin plates. The coffins included 644 with plates still attached. The plates on 10 coffins had no legible name and only limited age or date information, and the plates on a further 24 coffins had only partial names which could not be identified. A total of 610 coffins (78.1%) had clearly identifiable names (Appendix 1).

The 146 detached coffin plates were found mainly in Vault 7. Some of the plates could be identified with named coffins, but others provided the names or identities of a further 63 individuals, giving a total of 673 identified individuals. These include two still born babies apparently buried in a single coffin and commemorated on plate 3109.

The inscriptions provide a wealth of valuable historical data about the professional classes of Bloomsbury in the late Georgian/Early Victorian period. All breastplate inscriptions included the title, name, date and age at death of the deceased, and occasionally provided additional data, such as their place of birth or abode, their profession, and details of family connections. Several brass outer breastplates also bore crests. Footplates and headplates were less informative, usually giving only the title, name and year of death of the deceased.

The main limitations of this resource are usually due to poor preservation of the coffin fittings, and human error in transcribing inscriptions. Overall, preservation at St George's church was excellent, and most of the inscriptions were clearly legible. Exceptions were brass outer breastplates, which were often difficult to read, due to the fineness of the inscription and oxidation of the brass. Of the lead breastplates, the worst corroded plates were from the lowest levels of the coffin stacks, especially in Vaults 4 and 5. It is to be expected that a certain unavoidable level of human error did occur in reading the inscriptions, but this is unlikely to have been significant, given the overall excellent condition of the depositum plates. The inscriptions are listed in Appendix 1. An attempt has been made to confirm identify of the individuals interred in the crypt from other sources, and this has revealed some transcription errors, which have been silently corrected.



Plate 4.3 Gin Lane by William Hogarth (1751), the spire of St George's church is clearly visible in the background

Memorial plaques

On the walls of the interior of the church are stone plaques commemorating many of the faithful who died within the parish in the 18th and 19th centuries. Due to inaccessibility and poor lighting six memorials on the north side of the altar, and three to the west of the altar, could not be read. The names and details of the individuals recorded on the memorials are listed in Tables 4.1 and 4.2. The majority of the memorials are contemporary with the period when the crypt was in use for burial, and several explicitly state that the mortal remains of those commemorated were deposited in the vaults below. The plaques vary in detail, but tend to give similar information to the breastplate inscriptions, but in some instances they do give additional details of the relationships between family members, and sometimes link different surnames of families joined by marriage.

Not all the individuals identified from the mural plaques could be matched to *depositum* plate inscriptions from the crypt. There are a number of possible reasons for this. Firstly, it is not always clear from the memorial plaque that the individuals commemorated on the plaque were interred within the vault. The Honourable and Right Reverend Henry Montague Villiers, Bishop of Durham, was commemorated because he had been rector of St George's as his memorial records. He was buried in the chapel of the Bishop's palace at Bishop Auckland, County Durham. Mary Madden (coffin 1035), who died in childbirth, aged 26, was survived by her spouse Frederick Madden by many years. Sir Frederick Madden died in 1873 long after burial in the crypt had ceased. Indeed he had remarried and was buried with his second wife at Kensal Green cemetery. It is also possible that some individuals commemorated within the church were buried in the nearby churchyard rather than within the vaults.

Secondly, it is likely that some coffins were removed when interment in the crypt ceased. The 1856 vestry minutes which include the decision to seal the crypt also state that 'parties whose connections lie in the vaults should take the necessary steps for the removal of the remains of their connections' (Meller 1975, 23). There is no written record of how many followed this directive. One memorial plaque in the church explicitly states that Mrs Sophia . . . (name illegible) was removed to the family vault at Kensal Green in 1853. At a time when burial within crypts and churchyards was being abandoned in favour of burial within the modern, spacious new municipal cemeteries, such as Highgate and Kensal Green (Curl 2003), it is unclear how many others, like Sophia, originally interred in St. George's crypt were relocated to these new burial sites.

Finally, it may simply be that individuals interred in the crypt have not been identified, because their *depositum* plates were illegible.

Other sources

A number of sources have been used to help to identify the crypt population and to attempt to establish relationships between individuals, particularly those sharing the same surname. These sources are listed in the bibliography. It is not proposed here to discuss all the available sources that might be used, but rather to indicate which sources were used, and their strengths and weaknesses.

Parish registers, related records, and civil registration

Burial in the crypt was limited to the first half of the 19th century a period during which there were significant changes in the way that data about the population was collected. Before 1837 and the introduction of civil registration, births, marriages and deaths were recorded in parish registers, and the information recorded could vary in quality and detail. It has not been possible as part of this project to undertake an extensive search of the parish registers to establish the identity of individ-

Table 4.1: Transcripts of selected memorial inscriptions from wall plaques within the interior of the church of St George, Bloomsbury

Mem no.		Forename	Inscriptions on memorial plaques within the church	Coffin No
1	Lowe Lowe	Eliza William	Sacred to the Memory of William Lowe Esqre. of Montague Street, Russell Square, and Tenfold Court, Inner Temple; born 5th April 1770, died 21st December 1849. Also of Eliza , his wife, who died at Medina Villas, Hove, Sussex, and is buried in the churchyard of that parish, born 5th February 1781, died 12th March 1858	n/a 6077
2	Stringfield Stringfield Stringfield	Thomas Mary James	Sacred to the Memory of Mr Thomas Stringfield , more than 50 years an inhabitant of this parish, who died Novr 15th 1827, aged 68. And of Mrs Mary Stringfield , his wife, who died Novr 4th 1833, aged 71. Also of Mr James Stringfield , their son,	6040 6033 6071

Chapter 4

Table 4.1 (continued): Transcripts of selected memorial inscriptions from wall plaques within the interior of the church of St George, Bloomsbury

Mem no.	orial Surname	Forename	Inscriptions on memorial plaques within the church	Coffin No
	Stringfield Stringfield Sanderson Stringfield (née Fricke Stringfield	,	who died May 9th 1821, aged 21. Also of Mr John Stringfield , their son, who died Septr 2nd 1832, aged 37. Also of Mr William Stringfield , their son, who died July 23rd 1837, aged 38. Also of Mr Bisse Phillips Sanderson , their son-in-law, died Feby 12th 1830, aged 42. Also of Mrs Anna Stringfield , wife of the above John Stringfield, who died July 9th 1833, aged 25. Also of Anna , daughter of the above John and Anna Stringfield, who died Decr 6th 1835, aged 7.	6039 n/a 6109 6110 3064
3	Jourdan Jourdan Jourdan	John George Edward	In the vault under this church are deposited the remains of John Jourdan , Esquire, late of Bedford Place, died 6th October 1811, aged 63 years. George Jourdan , late of Gower Street, died 8th December 1823, aged 66 years. Major Edward Jourdan , late of Devonshire Street, who died 26th September 1830, aged 79 years	6021 n/a 6028
4	Hull Hull Hollamby	James Watson Margaret Redman Elizabeth	Sacred to the Memory of James Watson Hull Esqe of the County of Down, Ireland, died April 5th 1831, at Farquhar House, Highgate, aged 72. Also Margaret Redman Hull , third daughter of the above J.W.Hull, died June 4th 1827, aged 33. Also of Elizabeth Hollamby , died April 30th 1829, aged 72	8051 2001 5061
5	Pilcher Pilcher	Jeremiah Mary Rebecca	Sacred to the memory of Jeremiah Pilcher , Esqre. J.P. of Russell Square, London, and Worthing, Sussex; died April 11th 1790, died July18th 1866, aged 76 years. "The Memory of the Just is Blessed." Proverbs x, 7. Mary Rebecca Pilcher widow of Jeremiah Pilcher Esq daughter & Co heiress of Walter Swaine, Esq. of Leverington, Cambs, born 8th Nov. 1803, died 25th July 1885. For a space the tired body lies with feet towards the dawn till there breaks the last and brightest Easter morn on that happy Easter morning all the graves their dead restore father, sister, child and mother meet once more.	n/a n/a
6	Beckwith Sutherland Sutherland		In the chancel vault under this tablet are deposited the remains Mrs Elizabeth Beckwith , late of the City of York, widow, who departed this life the 2d January 1814, aged 76 years. Also of her daughter, Mrs Frances Sutherland wife of A.H. Sutherland Esqr of Gower Street, Bedford Square, who departed this 19th November 1808, aged 47 years.	1514 n/a n/a
7	Debary Debary	Richard Anne Phoebe	In the vault beneath this church are deposited the remains of Richard Debary , Esqre. of Lincolns Inn Fields, who departed this life on the 8th of January, 1826, aged 58. Also of Anne Phoebe , his wife, second daughter of the late Lieutt Colonel Downman, she died on the 15th of February, 1829, aged 51	5035 5043
8	Addison Addison	Ralph Jane	In memory of Ralph Addison , Esqre., Late of Temple Bar, and of Montague Street, Russell Square, who departed this life on the 6th of August 1840, in the 70th year of his age. Also of Jane Addison , wife of the above, who departed this life on the 14th of February 1850, in the 77th year of her age.	1565 1563
9	Mansfield	James	In the vault under this church are deposited the mortal remains of the Rt Honorable SIR JAMES MANSFIELD KNT Late Chief Justice of the Court of Common Pleas. And one of His Majesty's most honourable Privy Council To his memory this tablet is erected by his surviving children in token of their sense as well of his private virtues adorned by a conciliating and lively simplicity of manner, as of his eminent talents, and learning, energy, and integrity successfully displayed in the profession in the Law, by which he attained to that elevated station wherein he was esteemed and honoured as one of it's (sic) most distinguished ornaments. He was born X May MDCCXXXIV, and died XXIII November MDCCCXXI.	3019
10	Day Day	Thomas Mary	Sacred to the memory of Thomas Day , Esqre. who died 12th July 1841, aged 71. Also of Mary , his widow, who died 3rd July 1836, aged 80	n/a n/a
11	Ellis Ellis	Frances Jane Sir Henry	Sacred to the Memory of Frances Jane Lady Ellis , wife of Sir Henry Ellis K.H., Principal Librarian of the British Museum, born Augt 16th 1779, died Octr 12th 1854, 'In daily piety to God: in the desire to do good: in Affection: and in Meekness: None could exceed her.'	n/a n/a

'In the vaults beneath'

Memorial number	Surname	Forename	name Date	
12	Smith	Jane	-	-
13	Nash	Thomas	died 30th May 1814,	60 years
14	Bell	Robert	died 20th March 1844,	86 years
15	Donaldson Donaldson	Hannah Bell William	died 8th September1811 died 28th February 1806	72 years 70 years
16	Martindale	Harriet Catherine	died 6th February 1848.	-
17	Villiers	Henry Montague	died 9th August 1856.,	68 years
18	Abbott	Francis	died 19th November 1842	75 years
19	Meabry Meabry	Elizabeth John	died 5th August 1842 died 7th September 1842	70 years 76 years
20	Thompson	Isabel Barclay	died 14th February1906	67 years
21	Parry	Edward	-	-
22	Smoult	J.T.	died 6th April 1830	33 years
23	Kirkup Kirkup Kirkup	Joseph James Fenwick Ann	1st May 1815 28th June 1820 died14th January1826	53years 26 years 66 years
24	Groom Groom	William Arabella	died 24th April 1839 died 8th March 1848	54 years 64 years
25	Littledale	Edward	died 20th April 1837	58 years
26	Grant	Charles	died 31st October 1823	78 years
27	Planta Planta	Joseph Elizabeth	died 3rd December 11th February 1821	n/a n/a
28	Robertson Robertson	Francis Ebena Dorothea	died 18th April 1814 died 25th April 1815	5 years 10 months
29	Dove Dove	Sarah William	died 20th May 1837 died 8th April 1854	46 years 57 years
30	Edwards	David	died 3rd April 1831	51 years
31	Bankes Lloyd	James Langley Elizabeth	died 8th May 1839 2nd May 1839	42 years 40 years
32	Yenn Yenn Yenn	Elizabeth John Susannah	born 1757, died 1806 born 1754, died 1821 born 1786, died 1845	
33	Sanders Sanders Sanders Sanders Sanders	Francis William Anne Elizabeth Francis William Eleanor	died 1st May 1831 16th February 1831 - died 27th December 1829 died 15th June 1823	62 years 63 years - 16 years 21 years

Table 4.2: Summary memorial inscriptions from wall plaques within the interior of the church of St George, Bloomsbury

Rela	ationships and other details	Coffin No
wid	low of Thomas Smith	n/a
late	e of Guilford Street, London	4014
Gen	neral, Commandant of the HEI Company's Madras Military	6029
	ct of William Donaldson sband of Hannah Bell Donaldson)	3075 3080
	loved wife of Chas Montague Martindale, Esq. Erected by her two children of a former marriage' [Georgiana l Percy Lousada].	1134
'Ho	on. Right Rev. Henry Montague Villiers, D.D., Lord Bishop of Durham, for 15 Years rector of this parish'	n/a
late	e of Brunswick Square, whose remains are deposited in the vault beneath,	6027
of N	Museum Street .'They were married for 48 years, and their mortal remains rest in the vault beneath'.	2014
'ove	er fifty years resident in Bloomsbury'	n/a
	many years the director of the East India Company, in which capacity he laboured chiefly for God and for the ablishment of Christianity in India.'	n/a
	the middle aisle of this church are deposited the remains of J.T. Smoult, Esq., who died in London. Lamented as on, brother and friend'	n/a
Also	the vaults beneath this church are deposited the remains of Joseph Kirkup, Esquire., late of Harpur Street o, James Fenwick Kirkup (son of the above) who drowned whilst bathing Also Ann Kirkup, widow of seph Kirkup, and daughter of the late Seymour Stocker, Esq. of Limehouse '	8043 1051 1029
	e of Russell Square, husband of Arabella Groom e of William Groom	1105 1072
Edw	ward Littledale, Esq	1077
dire who and	the memory of Charles Grant for fifty years employed in the service of the civil government of India or in the recting of its affairs in England, in four successive parliaments the representative of the County of Inverness o in his private life was beloved for every domestic affection and social virtue and revered for integrity, devotion a charity. This memorial is consecrated by the East India Company as a tribute of respect and affection Born dourie in Invernesshire Died in London	3002
	ef librarian, British Museum e of Joseph Planta	1528 1505
	the vault beneath are deposited the remains of Francis, eldest son of Mr Francis Robertson of Lincoln's Inn Fields d Ebena Dorothea, youngest daughter of the above Francis'	n/a 2017
	e of William Richard Dove of this parish erred at the cemetery at Kensal Green	1107 n/a
'In t	the vault beneath are deposited the remains of Mr David Edwards late of King Street of this parish'	2058
	nes Langley Bankes Esq. of Upper Bedford Place his sister-in-law, Elizabeth, daughter of the late Robert Lloyd ., of Ince Hall, Lancashire Their remains were deposited in the vaults of this church May 8th 1839'	1, 6030 6013
chi	the vaults beneath repose the remains of Elizabeth Yenn Also of her husband John Yenn, Esq Their gratef ildren have erected this tablet to their much cherished memories Also of Susannah Mary Yenn, their beloved 1ghter'	ul 1534 1550 1517
isub surv	ncis William of Lincoln's Inn, Esq ' an eminent lawyer and a profound and distinguished writer on legal bjects, and was one of the Commissioners appointed by His Majesty George IV Anne his wife, who he vived but a few weeks' 'Also in the same vault are interred his mother, Elizabeth Sanders , wife of John William iders of the Island of Nevis, Esq., and two of his children, Francis William Sanders and Eleanor Sanders '	n/a n/a 1137 n/a n/a

Memorial number	Surname	Forename	Date	Age at death
34	Alexander	William	Died 18 January 1814	61 years
	Rose	Elizabeth	died 29th February 1824	78 years
	Rose	Charles	-	-
35	Creswell	Mary	10th April 1809	51st year
	Creswell	Richard Cheslyn	died 11th February 182	70th year
	Creswell	Henry Whitfield	died 17th February	36th year
36	Partridge	Elizabeth	[14th] February 1815	-
37	Martyn	Nicholas	17th June 1807	46 years
	Martyn	Hannah	31 May 1810	70 years
	Martyn	Grace	2nd October 1834	64 years
	Martyn	Hannah	3rd December 1856	81 years
	[Martyn]	Nicholas	-	-
38	Briscoe	Carolina Alicia	died 27th December 1822	66th year
39		Sophia	-	-
40	Madden	Mary	26th February 1830	-
	Madden	Frederick Hayton	_	5 days

Table 4.2 (continued): Summary memorial inscriptions from wall plaques within the interior of the church of St George, Bloomsbury

uals, but some information was extracted from parish registers. The quality of recording in St George's parish is very variable over time, and poor preservation of the primary records has rendered parts illegible.

St George's parish records do not distinguish between individuals interred within the crypt, and those buried within the churchyard off Brunswick Square, which was in use between 1713 and 1855 (Meller 1975, 20-23). Someone, evidently with a passion for figures, and possibly one of the rectors, was particularly helpful in neatly summarising the annual numbers of baptisms, marriages and deaths for the years between 1731 and 1840. For the decade of 1831-1840, he also summarised the annual number of burials by age. This information gives fascinating palaeodemographic insights into the inhabitants of St George's parish throughout much of the time that the crypt was in use. This information is discussed in Chapter 5 below.

With the introduction of civil registration in 1837, the information recorded was more standardised and is more complete, but detailed information can only be obtained by ordering individual certificates, which was not practical for a project such as this. The indices of the General Register Office are accessible on-line and can be used to check the date of the registration of births, marriages and deaths to within a particular quarter, and to identify potential spouses. The use of information from post 1837 civil registration has been very limited.

Perhaps the most useful sources available for Bloomsbury are the records of the Bloomsbury searchers, which survive for the period 1771-1834 (LMA P82/GEO1/63). These records contain the information collected by the parish searchers. The Parish Clerk had to be notified of any deaths in a parish. The parish searchers, often elderly female paupers, were employed by parishes to visit the recently deceased to determine whether or not there was any need for further official action. The searchers recorded the date of the visit, the name and age of the deceased, their disease, their abode (usually the street name), where they were to be buried, and, very occasionally, additional notes were added. So far as the crypt population is concerned the data recorded by the searchers is fullest for the 1820s, but there are still some individuals buried in the crypt in that decade, who are not listed by the searchers. Nonetheless the data recorded is amongst most the most useful since it provides information on causes of death, and on abodes, and confirmation of dates of death. The data regarding causes of death is considered in the next chapter.

The International Genealogical Index (IGI) (of the Church of the Latterday Saints) was also consulted on-line. This provides information regarding baptisms and marriages largely derived from parish registers. The IGI is only an index, and does not give the full information available in the parish registers. It gives the dates of marriages, the names of the

Relationships and other details	Coffin No
'In the vaults below this spot are deposited the remains of William Alexander Esq He was many years Provost Marshal General of the Mainland of St. Vincent, the duties of which office he discharged with honour to himself and satisfaction of the public Also of his sister Elizth Rose , relict of Dr Charles Rose LLD and rector of Graffam in Sussex'	1143 6050 n/a
' Mary , the beloved wife of Richard Cheslyn Creswell Esq., Also of the said Richard Cheslyn Creswell , Esquire, o of the Deputy Registrars of the Prerogative Court of Canterbury, late of Queen's Square, Bloomsbury, and of Doctor's Commons Also of Henry Whifield Creswell Esquire, late of Doctor's Commons, their third son Whose bodies repose in the vault beneath.'	5013
' daughter of the late William Partridge of Nottingham, whose remains are deposited in the vault of this church .	' 7086
'Nicholas Martyn, Esq, late of Southampton Row of this parish Hannah, widow of the above Grace Martyn, daughter of the above Their mortal remains are deposited in the vault of this church. Hannah Martyn, daughter of Hannah and Nicholas, Nicholas (illegible)'	1546 6067 n/a n/a
'In the private chancel vault beneath relict of Mr John Briscoe of Wimpole Street and Crofton Hall, Cumberland .	′ 3078
'The remains of Mrs Sophia were removed to the family vault in Kensall Green Cemetery in 1853'	n/a
'Mary, the beloved wife of Frederick Madden, Esq., of the British Museum and daughter of Robert Hayton, Esq. of Sunderland in the county of Durham born June 7th 1803, married 18th April 1829 died 26th February 1830, after giving birth to an infant son Frederick Hayton, who survived only 5 days and lies with his deeply lamented mother in the vaults beneath' Anne his wife, who he survived but a few weeks	n/a n/a

couple and the church. The witnesses are not given. For baptisms, the names of the parents are listed. Unfortunately coverage of London Parishes is far from complete.

Finally Pallot's Marriage and Baptism Indices were consulted, again on-line. Both cover the period 1780 to 1837. The marriage index includes the vast majority of marriages in London, but the baptism index is far from complete. Pallot's Marriage Index gives the names of the couple, the church and the year of the marriage. Very rarely a marriage date is given. But the index often does show whether either party is a widow or widower, indicates if either party was a minor, and notes which parish either party is from if they are not local. The baptism index gives the parents names.

Wills

During Victorian times a surprisingly large proportion of the population, even the poor, made wills. Wills had to be proved in an ecclesiastical court. There was a hierarchy of ecclesiastical courts, and the appropriate court depended upon the wealth of the individual and the location of any property held. Since most of the individuals interred in St George's were wealthy many of the wills were proved in the senior ecclesiastical court, the Prerogative Court of Canterbury. Copies of the wills of many of those interred in St. George's church can be found in the Prerogative Court records, which are held in the National Archives. The indices can be consulted on-line and can provide useful information, such as where individuals lived and their occupation, without the necessity of accessing individuals wills. Only a very small number of individual wills have been consulted.

Census records

In England, censuses were taken on 10 March 1801, 27 May 1811, 28 May 1821 and 30 May 1831, but these usually record only the numbers of people living in each parish, the number of houses and some indication of occupations or professions. Some census returns were retained, but the coverage is patchy.

The first census for which records were retained as a matter of course was that taken in 1841. This records the names, sex and occupations of individuals within households. Ages of adults were rounded up or down to the nearest 5 or 10 years. Relationships between the various household members were not recorded. The census also recorded whether or not the individuals were born in the county in which they were recorded. The 1841 census is useful in identifying the occupations of individuals and where they lived. It has more limited use in establishing family relationships.

The 1851 census included fuller details of individuals, such as name, sex, occupation and age, whether married or single, and relationship to the

head of the household. The census also shows where individuals were born. This census fell right at the end of the period in which burial taking place in the crypt of St George's. Nonetheless the 1851 and later censuses can provide information about the descendants of the crypt population.

Trade directories, Post Office directories, and professional registers or lists

A number of trade and post office directories have been consulted. These are particularly useful in identifying the occupation of individuals. Trade directories and some Post Office directories provide lists of tradesmen, commercial enterprises and professional people, and little more. Other directories including some Post Office directories, have separate trade and professional listings, street directories and alphabetical listings of individuals. The Post Office London Directory for 1841 is one such directory. Other directories that have been consulted extensively are Kent's Directory for the Year 1794. Cities of London and Westminster, & Borough of Southwark; The Post Office Annual Directory for 1808; Holden's Annual London and Country Directory for the year 1811, and The Post Office London Directory for 1829.

There are various published lists and directories for Army and Navy officers, for the Clergy and the Law and Courts. Lists were also published for the Bombay and Madras establishments of the East India Company.

Death notices and obituaries, and other sources

Finally death notices and obituaries of many of those interred in the crypt can be found in *The Gentleman's Magazine* and other periodical publications (see List of Sources in Appendix 1). These give details of abode, sometimes provide information about near relations, and often indicate a profession. *The Times* archive, which is accessible on-line, was also consulted. Finally the *Dictionary of National Biography* provided more detailed biographies of some of the more eminent occupants of the crypt.

The professions and occupations of the crypt population

The majority of the crypt population represented the wealthy professional classes resident in the parish of Bloomsbury. This included numerous lawyers from the nearby Inns of Court, doctors of medicine and surgeons, army and navy officers, imperial administrators, and curators and librarians of the British Museum, and their families. However, a number of tradesmen and their families were also interred, and even one servant, Mary Huster (4007) who was interred in a triple coffin no less lavish than the rest.

Members of various professions are listed in Tables 4.3, 4.5-4.13 below. Because in the first half of the 19th century the professions were almost exclusively a male preserve, the only women listed below

are the wives and daughters of professional men. Those denoted with an asterisk are individuals known from the memorial plaques within the church. More detail about the individuals listed, together with the sources of information can be found in Appendix 1.

The law (Table 4.3)

Practitioners of the law, including solicitors, barristers, proctors and judges, were the most numerous single professional group identified from the population interred in the crypt of St George's. The majority were barristers and solicitors, but there were senior judges, most notably Sir Joseph Littledale, Judge of the Court of Queen's Bench (appointed 1824) and Privy Counsellor (Hamilton 2004), Sir William Elias Taunton, Judge of the Court of King's Bench (appointed 1830) (Carr 2004), and Sir Henry Dampier, Judge of the Court of King's Bench (appointed 1813) (Oldham 2004).

Samuel Heywood, Sergeant at Law and judge of the Carmarthen circuit, was an important figure because he was a dissenter, and one of the few to be appointed a national office before the repeal of the Test Act. He was born in Liverpool, and later attended Cambridge University. He did not take his degree, because to graduate he had to subscribe to the Thirty-Nine Articles of the Church of England, which as a dissenter he refused to do. He studied at the Inner Temple. He wrote pamphlets and campaigned actively for the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts. His friend John Lee, is quoted as saying of him: 'Well, Sam ... thou art, in Truth a Dissenter! dissenting more than anybody I ever knew! - for thou agreest with nobody about anything!' (Lincoln and McEwen, 1960, 112, quoted in Ditchfield 2004). Lee was another Dissenter, like Heywood a Unitarian, and remarkably he became an MP and served briefly as solicitor general under Rockingham in 1782, and as solicitor general and then as attorney general in the Fox-North coalition of 1783. Heywood was a friend of Charles James Fox and contributed to his History of the Early Part of the Reign of James II (1808). He was also an expert on electoral law and published two works: *Digest of the* Law Concerning County Elections (1790) and Digest of the Law Respecting Borough Elections (1797). He died in 1828 at Tenby while on circuit. He was buried in Bristol. His wife and daughter were interred in the crypt of St George's.

Charles Thomson was one of the Masters in Chancery (appointed 1809; Haydn 1851, 241). He died of a 'paralytic stroke' in his house in Portland Place (*Gentleman's Magazine*, July 1821, 93). Henry and Richard Cresswell were both eminent figures in the ecclesiastical courts (Court of Arches). Richard Cheslyn Cresswell was a Deputy Registrar of the Prerogative Court of Canterbury (*The London Magazine*, March 1824, 336). Other notable figures were Francis William Sanders, described on his memorial in St George's church as 'an eminent

Chapter 4

Table 4.3: The Law

Surname, Forename	Notes	Died	Burial no
Addison, Ralph	of Temple Bar	6/8/1840	*1565
Addison, Jane	wife of Ralph Addison	14/2/1850	*1563
Ashmore, Elizabeth Ann	daughter of James Ashmore, barrister	27/7/1844	6057
Atkinson, Thomas	of Lincoln's Inn Fields and Bedford Place	4/8/1836	1574
Barker, Arthur Henry	son of George Barker, attorney, 1 Gray's Inn	1/7/1848	5022
Barker, Edward Fisher	son of George Barker , attorney, 1 Gray's Inn	17/3/1843	3031
Barnes, John	of the Inner Temple	-/4/1833	6104
Barry, Emily Matilda	wife of Charles Upham Barry , solicitor	24/11/1835	1042
Baxendale, Ellen Renica	daughter of Lloyd Salisbury Baxendale, solicitor	30/4/1827	3062
Berkeley, Georgina Emily	2nd daughter of Charles Berkeley , 53 Lincoln's Inn Field	27/3/1839	6132
Bullock, Catharine	wife of Edward Bullock , of the Inner Temple	11/6/1839	1128
Burley, George	solicitor, Messrs Beardsworth, Burley and Moore, Lincoln's Inn	25/12/1823	1053
	-		
Burley, Mary	wife of George Burley , solicitor	14/7/1836	1009
Cresswell, Richard Cheslyn	of Doctor's Commons, one of the Deputy Registrars of the Preroga		*=010
	Court of Canterbury, Registrar of the Court of Arches	11/2/1824	*5013
Cresswell, Henry Whitfield	Supernumerary Proctor excercent in the Ecclesiastical Courts in		
	Doctor's Commons	17/2/1828	*5007
Dampier, Sir Henry	Justice of His Majesty's Court of Kings Bench	3/2/1816	2061
Debary , Richard	of Lincoln's Inn Fields	8/1/1826	*5035
Debary, Ann Phoebe	wife of Richard Debary	15/2/1829	*5043
Dennett, Robert	of 39 Lincoln's Inn	14/5/1837	1086
Donaldson, William	of Temple Bar	23/2/1806	3080
Donaldson, Hannah	?wife of William Donaldson	8/9/1811	3075
Ford, Randle	Barrister, of Wexham, Buckinghamshire	1/1/1811	3502
Ford, Elizabeth	wife of Randle Ford	23/6/1806	3503
Groom, William	solicitor for the Board of Control for the Affairs of India; Richard a	nd	
	William Groom solicitors	25/-/1830	1105
Groom, Arabella	wife of William Groom	, , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , ,	
Heywood, Susanna	wife of Samuel Heywood , Sergeant at Law	19/1/1822	3012
Heywood, Mary Isabella	daughter of Samuel Heywood , Sergeant at Law	16/10/1822	3033
Hobson, Julia	wife of Campbell Wright Hobson , of Gray's Inn	20/9/1840	6113
Hone, Joseph Terry	barrister at law	18/8/1831	6115
	L.L.B	19/11/1813	1031
Hutchinson, Henry Julius			
Lambert, Ellen Augusta	daughter of Richard Lambert , attorney and solicitor	25/2/1844	6135
Lambert, Mary Hannah	daughter of Richard Lambert , attorney and solicitor	13/12/1843	5052
Littledale, Sir Joseph	Kt, Judge of the Court of Queen's Bench and member of the Privy		1511
Littledale, Edward	bibliophile, and founder member of the Roxburghe Club, brother of		
	Sir Joseph Littledale	20/4/1837	1077
Lowe, John	attorney at law and solicitor	21/9/1850	6131
Lowe, Mary Harriet	wife of John Lowe	16/10/1852	6134
Lowe, William	of Tenfold Court, Inner Temple	21/12/1849	*6077
Mansfield, Sir James	Kt, Lord Chief Justice of the Court of Common Pleas	23/111821	*3019
Mansfield, Charlotte	2nd daughter of Sir James Mansfield	3/4/1821	3029
Martyn, Grace	daughter of Nicholas Martyn, of Lincoln's Inn Fields	7/10/1834	6067
Rackham, Willougby	of Lincoln's Inn	-/3/1825	3077
Robertson, Francis	eldest son of Francis Robertson of Lincoln's Inn Fields	18/4/1814	*7056
Robertson, Elinor Dorothea	daughter of Francis Robertson of Lincoln's Inn Fields	28/4/1815	*2017
Rogers, Julia Anne	daughter of Francis James Newman Rogers, Queen's Counsel, juc		
0	author, and Deputy Judge Advocate General to Her Majesty's Ford	-	4037
Sanders, Francis William	of Lincoln's Inn Fields	1/5/1831	*1073
Sanders, Ann	wife of Francis William Sanders	16/2/1831	*1082
Sanders, Eleanor	daughter of Francis William Sanders	15/6/1825	*6044
	-		
Taunton, Sir William Elias	Kt, Judge of the Court of King's Bench	11/1/1835	1099
Thomson, Charles	Master in Chancery	5/7/1821	3090
Thomson , Anne Dalzell Wilde , Charles Robert Claude	wife of Charles Thomson son Thomas Wilde, 1 st Baron Truro, Solicitor general, Attorney ge	9/1/1841	3089
	- con inomac Wildo, Let Karon Imiro, Solicitor conoral, Attornous co		

lawyer and a profound and distinguished writer on legal subjects'. William Groom acted as solicitor for the Board of Control for the Affairs of India (Elmes 1831, 70).

Sir James Mansfield, Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas and Privy Counsellor was undoubtedly the most prominent member of the legal profession interred in the St George's crypt (Davis, MT 2004). Sir James Mansfield is best remembered for his achievements in the reformation of many civil liberties. His memorial in the church records that his 'eminent talents and learning, energy and integrity' in his profession rendered him 'one of its most distinguished ornaments'.

Mansfield's stance on slavery was very different from that of Charles Grant and the Clapham Sect, although his ruling in 1772 in the case of the slave James Somerset considerably stoked the growing moral uneasiness regarding the slave trade. In this case, the highest lawyers in the land debated whether slaves from Africa and the Colonies remained slaves when they were brought to England. Chief Justice Mansfield upheld the judgement that the sale of a slave in England was valid, but that forcible detention of a slave with the view to selling him/her abroad was unacceptable, and that the slave should be discharged (Picard 2000, 114). In this way, James Somerset won his freedom. However, considerable ambivalence existed over the question of slave ownership in England, with Mansfield himself ruling in 1785 that black slaves in Britain were not entitled to be paid for their labours, but free blacks should be paid.

Despite his reputed liberalism, Sir James Mansfield supported the use of press-gangs as a means of recruitment for the Royal Navy. Between 1756 and 1788, he took the view that it was a practice 'founded upon memorial custom allowed for ages' and that it was necessary for the defence of the realm (Picard 2000). It should be remembered, however, that he was merely echoing the pervasive view held by the propertied classes of his time.

The daughter of Francis James Newman Rogers, Queen's Counsel and also Deputy Judge Advocate General to Her Majesty's Forces (Hughes 1845, 222), was interred in the crypt of St George's Church. Newman Rogers was born in Dorset the son of a clergyman. He married Julia Eleanora Yea in June 1822. Rogers had lived in Woburn Place, but when he died on 19 July 1851 his home was in Wimpole Street (Boase 2004).

The young son of Thomas Wilde, 1st Baron Truro, was also buried in the crypt. He served as Solicitor General, Attorney General and finally as Lord Chancellor. Wilde was called to the bar in 1817. He had made his reputation as a defence lawyer for Queen Caroline in her trial of 1820. In gratitude, Queen Caroline made Wilde one of the executors of her will. He married Mary Devayne, daughter of Thomas Wileman and widow of a banker William Devayne in 1813. The couple had a daughter and three sons. Mary died in 1840, and Wilde married his second wife Augusta Emma D'Este, daughter of the 4th earl of Dunmore, in 1845. There were no children from the second marriage. Wilde was MP for Newark on Trent and then Worcester in the Whig interest (Rigg 2004).

The church (Tables 4.4-4.5)

A small number of clergymen were interred in the crypt of the church. Only one rector of the Parish was interred in the crypt (Table 4.4). This was the Rev Thomas Willis (1754-1827), who was the rector of St George's from 1791 to 1828, and also of Rochester and prebendary rector of Wateringbury, Kent. He was born in Lincolnshire in 1754, and was the son of the Rev Francis Willis. Frances Willis began his career as a clergyman, but took up medicine and became a doctor specialising in the treatment of the insane. His most famous patient was George III, whom he treated at Kew in 1788. He worked in partnership with his son Dr John Willis. John Willis and his younger brother Dr Robert Darling Willis treated the King again in 1801. The Rev Thomas Willis met the King through this connection and visited Kew Palace (Cannon 2004).

A second incumbent of St George's was the Hon and Right Rev Henry Montague Villiers, who is commemorated by a mural monument in the church. He was rector at St George's Bloomsbury from 1841 to 1856. His young son Wilbraham Edward, who died aged three and half months, was interred in the crypt. In 1856 Villiers was appointed Bishop of Carlisle, and then in 1860 he was translated to the see of Durham. Unfortunately the following year he became ill and died aged only 48 years old (Munden 2004). A younger brother, the

Table 4.4: Nineteenth-century rectors of St. George's, Bloomsbury (from George Clinch, Bloomsbury and St Giles's: past present; with historical and antiquarian notes of the vicinity, London 1890, 129)

Name	Inducted	Notes
Thomas Willis, LL.D.	March 16th, 1791	died 9 Nov 1827
John Lonsdale, B.D.	February 8th, 1828	Bishop of Lichfield 1843-1867
Thomas Vowler Short, B.D.	February 22nd, 1834	Bishop of St Asaph 1846-1870
Hon. Henry Montagu Villiers, M.A.	July 9th, 1841	Bishop of Carlisle 1856-60; Bishop of Durham 1860-61
Sir John R. L. E. Bayley, M.A.	May 24th, 1856	died 4 Dec 1917

Table	4.5: '	The	Church
Table	4.5: '	The	Church

Surname, Forename	Notes	Died	Burial no.
Bingley, Rev. William	clergyman, naturalist and writer on botany, topography and zoology	-/3/1823	5062
Hume, Rev. John Henry	vicar of Figheldean and Hilmartin, Wiltshire; vicar of Calne; chaplain		
-	to the Earl of Rosslyn	22/1/1848	1141
Martyn, Rev. John Lee	rector of St George the Martyr, Queen Square	19/8/1836	1538
Nares, Rev. Robert	clergyman and philologist	23/3/1829	1568
Poston, Rev. Andrew Philip	clerk	13/5/1822	3051
Rose, Rev. Dr. Charles	rector of Graffham, Sussex		*
Rose, Elizabeth	relict of Rev. Dr. Charles Rose, sister of William Alexander	29/2/1824	*6050
Villiers, The Right Hon.	Lord Bishop of Durham (1860-61), Bishop of Carlisle (1856-60), and		
Rev. Henry Montague	rector of St George's Bloomsbury (1841-56)	9/8/1856	*
Villiers, Wilbraham Edward	son of Henry Montague Villiers	21/11/1845	3038
Williams, Mary	widow of John Williams, vestry clerk of St. Dunstan in the West	9/3/1835	1504
Willis, Rev Thomas	L.L.D., rector of St. George's, Bloomsbury	9/11/1827	2045
, Rev. Francis		23/4/1806	3058

Hon Algernon Villiers, a lieutenant in the Royal Navy, was interred in the crypt of St George's (see 'The army, navy and merchant marine' and Table 4.6 below).

The Rev John Lee Martyn who was interred in the crypt had been the incumbent of St George's Hanover Square (*The Clerical Guide or Ecclesiastical Directory*, 1817, 117). The other clergymen interred in the crypt include the Rev William Bingley, who was minister of Fitzroy Chapel (St Saviour's) in Charlotte Street from 1816 to 1823. He was a naturalist and a writer on botany, topography and zoology. His most popular work was *Animal Biography*, published in 1802, which went into many editions and was translated into a number of European languages (Courtney 2004).

The other notable clergyman interred in St George's was the philologist the Rev Robert Nares (Wroth 2004). He held several of ecclesiastical appointments. In 1787 he was chaplain to the Duke of York, and from 1788-1803 was an assistant preacher for the Honourable Society of Lincoln's Inn. In 1798 he was appointed a cannon residentiary at Lichfield a post he held till his death. He was also a prebendary at St Paul's Cathedral, and Archdeacon of Stafford. He was vicar of St Mary's, Reading, for a time, and then from 1818 to 1829 he was rector of All Hallows, London Wall. In addition he was appointed assistant librarian in the department of manuscripts at the British Museum in 1795, and in 1799 was made to keeper of manuscripts.

He published theological works, including his Lincoln's Inn Sermons (1794), a work on political science comparing the French and British systems of government, Principles of Government (1792), but is best remembered for A Glossary; or a collection of words, phrases, names and allusions to customs, proverbs, &c. which have been thought to require illustration in the works of English authors particularly Shakespeare and his contemporaries (1822) and *Elements of Orthoepy, containing a distinct view of the whole analogy of the English language as far as it relates to pronunciation, accent and quantity* (1784), He died at his house, No. 22 Hart Street, Bloomsbury, London, on 23 March 1829

Some of the clergy interred at St George's were clearly well-connected socially. The rectory itself was wealthy, and the patron of the parish was the monarch (The Clerical Guide or Ecclesiastical Directory, 1817, 117). Three of the Rev Willis's successors as incumbent went on to become bishops (Table 4.4). The Rev Willis had contact directly with George III through his father and brothers who treated the King's madness. Henry Montague Villiers was a member of the aristocracy. His brother was the 4th Earl of Clarendon and foreign secretary. Villiers was an 'evangelical' in doctrine and a very hard working parish priest, who worked well with the non-conformists. As a bishop he was active in promoting clerical piety and attempted to raise the academic standards of clerical appointees .

John Henry Hume was the grandson of the Right Rev John Hume, Bishop of Salisbury and his wife Lady Mary Hay, daughter of George 7th Earl of Kinnoul. His father Thomas Henry Hume was Canon Residentiary and Treasurer of Sarum, and vicar of Stratford sub Castrum, Wiltshire and of Kewstoke, Somerset. John Henry Hume was vicar of Calne and Figheldeane and chaplain to the Earl of Rosslynn. Robert Nares, had slightly less exalted connections than Hume. His father was organist at York Minster, but his uncle Sir George Nares was a judge, and a cousin Edward Nares, was Regius professor of modern history at Oxford University (Wroth 2004). William Bingley seems to be an exception. His father was a clergyman in Doncaster, and he attended Cambridge University. After graduation he was ordained a deacon, and became a curate in North Yorkshire. His prominence depended more upon his writing than on his clerical preferments, which were modest.

The army, navy and merchant marine (Table 4.6)

A number of officers from the army, navy and East India Company service were interred in the crypt of St George's church. Many of them, such as John Percival Beaumont (captain half pay, 30th Regiment of Foot), John Covell (formerly major, 76th Regiment of Foot), William Dunbar (formerly captain, 40th Regiment of Foot) and Joseph MacLean (major, half pay, the late 3rd West India Regiment of Foot) had clearly retired from service. It has not been possible to identify with certainty Major Joseph MacLean, of the 3rd West Indian Regiment of Foot, nor William Dunbar, formerly Captain in the 40th Regiment. Nor can Major Sam Stapleton or Colonel Matthew Wilson be identified.

Thomas Draper, whose wife Elizabeth was interred in the crypt rose to the rank of Inspector

General of Army Hospitals. He began his career as a Hospital Assistant in April 1795, was promoted Assistant Surgeon in April 1799, and Regimental Surgeon on 17th April 1804. He served in Sicily in 1806, in Egypt in 1807 and in the Corunna Campaign with Sir John Moore. He had been surgeon with the 78th Foot when he was promoted to Staff Surgeon on 1 September 1808 (Gazette, Issue 16178, 3 Sept 180, 1196). He served in Portugal in 1811 and was in Holland in 1814. He was awarded the Peninsula Medal, but not the Waterloo medal, although there is evidence that he was in Belgium in 1815. On June 25th he wrote a letter from Ostend to Dr Dick in London giving him news of his son Colonel Robert Dick of the 42nd Regiment. In 1816 Draper was promoted to Deputy Inspector General of Army Hospitals, and in February 1840 he was promoted to

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Table 4.6: Army,	Roual Namu	Fact India	(omnanu	corrinco and	morchant m	111110.
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Surname, Forename	Notes	Died	Burial no.
Army			
Beaumont, John Percival	Captain, half pay, 30th Regiment	25/2/1844	1572
Buchanan, Elizabeth Dundas	4th surviving daughter, of Colonel Buchanan, Royal Engineers	27/6/1836	8054
Covell, John	formerly Major, 76th Regiment of Foot	17/9/1834	7055
Covell, Jane Dennis	widow of Major Covell	9/5/1838	*7045
Draper, Elizabeth	wife of Thomas Draper, Inspector General of Army Hospitals	30/9/1834	3099
Dunbar, William	formerly Captain 40th Regiment	21/3/1842	8086
Dunbar, Mary Anne	wife of William Dunbar	11/4/1829	7068
MacLean, Joseph	Major, half pay, of the late 3rd West India Regiment of Foot	25/2/1832	5029
Stapleton, Samuel	Major	16/8/1806	1135
Wilson, Matthew	Lieutenant Colonel	15/7/1836	2041
Wilson, Ann	widow of Colonel Matthew Wilson	23/8/1836	6072
Royal Navy			
Denton, Samuel	Purser, R.N.	27/3/1806	6091
Duer, John	Commander, R.N.	17/11/1814	4016
Graham, Edward Lloyd	Captain, R.N.	27/5/1820	3070
Share, James	Commander, R.N.	11/2/1831	6115
Villiers, The Hon. Algernon	Lieutenant R.N., Knight of Isabella the Catholic (Spain)	13/7/1843	2009
Young, Ann, Dowager Lady	relict of the late Admiral Sir George Young, K.C.B.	16/10/1830	1533
East India Co.			
Bell, Robert	General, Madras Artillery, in the Hon. East India Co. service	26/3/1844	*6029
Bowles, Robert	Major General, Hon. East India Co. service	6/9/1812	5040
Gasgoyne, Joseph	Lieut. Colonel in the Hon. East India Co. service	21/3/1830	6011
Gascoyne, Arabella	wife of Joseph Gascoyne	8/4/1835	6073
Jourdan, Edward	Major, 2nd Cavalry, Madras Army, in the Hon. East India Co. service	26/9/1830	*6028
Vigors, Elizabeth	relict of Lt. Gen. Urban Vigors, in the Hon East India Co. service	22/7/1817	1143
Jeakes, James	Commodore, Bombay Marine	8/4/1837	1079
Merchant navy			
Fairfax, William	Captain of the Hugh Inglis in the Hon. East India Co. service	19/3/1817	1090
Foulerton, John	Captain, (not R.N); Elder Brother of Trinity House	16/11/1827	6116
Foulerton, Mary	?daughter of John Foulerton	18/9/1820	
Uncertan			
Biscoe, Joseph William Edwin	Captain, uncertain, not RN	24/3/1827	4024
Fraser,	daughter of Capt. Fraser , unknown service	26/5/1832	5025

Inspector General (Hart, 1841, 414, 423 note 4*). He died aged 76 at Instow, near Barnstaple on 28 June 1850 (*Gentleman's Magazine*, August 1850, 225).

General Robert Bell and Major General Robert Bowles, both of the East India Company service had also retired. General Bell served with the Madras artillery (Philippart 1823, 128-30; Dodwell and Miles 1838, 8-9). He fought at Mallavelly and Seringapatam (1799), and had commanded the Indian artillery that served with Sir Ralph Abercrombie in the expedition to Egypt in 1801. In 1809 the then Colonel Bell was in command of the garrison of Seringapatam when the officers of the Madras Army mutinied against Sir George Barlow, the governor of Madras. Barlow had dismissed two officers from army following a dispute with the outgoing commander in chief of the Madras Army. Many officers showed their support for the dismissed men, and Barlow attempted to remove a number of these officers including Lieutenant Colonel Robert Bell (British Library, IOR/H/696, IOR/H/700). This led to mutinies of Hyderabad and Jaulna Brigades and the Seringapatam garrison amongst others. Eventually these units surrendered, and the mutiny ended. Most officers were offered an amnesty but a small number were cashiered and others were dismissed the service. Sir George Barlow was recalled. Bell was promoted to Major General in July 1810, and was reappointed to command the Madras Artillery and to a seat on the military board (British Library IOR/F/4/389/9876). He was made a Lieutenant General in August 1819 and General in 1837. It is uncertain when he left India, but by 1821 he was living at No. 80 Guilford Street.

Major General Bowles served with the Bombay Presidency. In 1798 he was a Major General, Commandant of the Bombay Presidency, a member of its military board, and on Lt General Stuart's staff representing the Company's military establishment (Adjutant General's Office, 1798, unpaginated). He was born in about 1744 and would have been 54 in 1798. Little more is known about him.

Colonel Joseph Gascoyne had entered the East India Company' military service as an ensign in 1778. He served in the 4th Regiment of Bengal Native Infantry, until his promotion to lieutenant colonel in 1803, when he was posted to the 21st Regiment. He retired from the Company's service in 1809 (Welch 1852, 401). He married Arabella Denton, widow of Samuel Denton, in 1808.

Five Royal Navy officers were interred in the crypt of St George's. John Duer, and Edward Lloyd Graham both served during the Napoleonic Wars and both were young enough when they died to be serving officers. Duer, who died in 1814, was commissioned lieutenant in 1802, promoted to commander in 1804 and made post rank in 1806. In 1808 en route for the West Indies in command of the *Aurora* he captured a French privateer *La Vengeance* (*Gazette* 16162, 12 July 1808, 908) and in 1809 he was one of the officers who negotiated the surrender of Santo Domingo to British forces (*Gazette* 16294, 2 Sept 1809, 1418-21). He was also present at the surrender of Guadeloupe on 6 February 1810. His ship the *Aurora* was part of the squadron commanded by Sir Alexander Cochrane (Allen, 1852, 310).

Edward Lloyd Graham who died in 1820 aged only 38, was a lieutenant in 1797, commander in 1802 and promoted to post captain in 1804. He served as Sir Edward Pellew's flag captain in the *Caledonia* in 1814 (James 1837, 255). His father Aaron Graham knew Pellew from his time in Newfoundland (see 'Imperial administrators and civil servants' below)

The third officer Royal Navy officer was the Hon. Algernon Villiers, brother of the Bishop of Durham and of the 4th Earl of Clarendon. He died aged 25 in 1843. He had been commissioned lieutenant in 1838, and had served in the Royal Navy squadron that supported the Spanish government in the First Carlist War in Spain. He was made a Knight of Isabella the Catholic for his part in the war. James Share, R.N. was commissioned as a lieutenant in June 1782 and died aged 79 in 1831. No more is known of his service.

James Share, R.N. was commissioned as a lieutenant in June 1782 and died aged 79 in 1831. No more is known of his service.

Samuel Denton was at one time a purser in the Royal Navy (Naval Chronicle, 20, 493). He served as purser on the 28 gun frigate Aurora (Captain James Cumming) in her service in the West Indies from July 1777 until her return to Britain in December 1779. Captain John Duer (see above) was later to command the Aurora. However Denton was also working as a prize agent (eg. *Gazette*, **12614**, 18 Jan 1785, 42; **12893**, 9 June 1787, 281-82; **13106**, 16 June 1789, 443) in partnership with Isaac Clementson. Prize agents were employed by naval officers to deal with disposal of ships and cargoes taken as prizes of war (Hill 1998, chapter 14). By 1796 the partners were based at No. 14 Clement's Inn *(Gazette, 13875, 15 March 1796, 262)*. In 1800 Denton was purser of the Fortitude a former 3rd rate 74 line of battleship, which had been a prison ship since July 1798 (TNA ADM 36/12803), and also working as a prize agent (Gazette, 15260, 24 May 1800, 525; 15285, 16 Aug 1800, 937). In 1801 the partnership between Denton and Clementson was dissolved and Denton continued the business alone (Gazette, 15356, 18 April 1801, 424).

Denton lived in Russell Square, but was resident at Turnham Green, Middlesex at the time of his death (TNA PROB 11/1446). He was married to Arabella, and the couple had a daughter Arabella Phillis Denton born in 1791 and christened at St Clement Danes (IGI). Denton died in March 1806 aged 47 years, and in 1808 his widow married Lt Col Joseph Gascoyne (*Naval Chronicle*, **20**, 1808, 493; *Gentleman's Magazine*, Dec 1808, 1125).

James Jeakes served with the Bombay Marine, the naval service the East India Company, and retired as commodore. In 1809 he commanded a detachment of the Bombay Marine in the Persian Gulf. A force comprising two Royal Navy Frigates, *Chiffonne* (Capt. Wainwright) and *Caroline* (Capt. Gordon) and a detachment of India Company cruisers, *Mornington* (Capt. Jeakes) and *Aurora, Nautilus, Prince of Wales, Fury* and *Ariel* (Lts Conyers, Watkins, Allen, Davidson and Salter) was sent to deal with pirates at Ras-al-Khyma. On board the cruisers were with troops under Lieutenant Colonel Smith. On 13th November this force took the town of Ras-al-Khyma, which had for a 'some time been a nest for numerous desperate pirates' (Allen, 1852, 302; *The Asiatic Journal and Monthly Miscellany*, July 1826, 88-89). Jeakes returned to England in 1829 (*The Asiatic Journal and Monthly Miscellany*, June 1829, 802). (For the Jeakes family see below)

Amongst the other men were a number of merchant captains. William Fairfax was the master of the India Company ship the *Hugh Inglis*. The ship was launched in 1799 and made its first voyage in 1799-1800 under the command of Fairfax (British Library, IOR/L/MAR/A-B, Ships' Journals, *Hugh Inglis*). His last voyage in the *Hugh Inglis* was made in 1815 -1816 from China to the Downs. Fairfax died in 1817 at home in Southampton Row.

John Foulerton was probably another merchant captain. His *depositum* plate was transcribed as reading 'Captain John Foulerton, RN' but no record of any service in the Royal Navy can be found. He is not listed in 'Commissioned Sea Officers of the Royal Navy, 1660-1815, a manuscript compilation held at the National Maritime Museum and now accessible on-line. In 1797 he was present at a meeting of merchants, ship-owners and insurers organised by the Marine Society under the chairmanship of Hugh Inglis, in response to the Nore mutiny (*The Times*, Monday 12 June 1797).

He was an Elder Brother of Trinity House Deptford (Cotton, 1818, 244). In 1824 he was one of the Central Committee of the 'Royal National Institute for the Preservation of Life from Shipwreck', later known as the 'Royal National Lifeboat Institution'. In the list he is simply named as Captain Foulerton with no RN after his name unlike his fellow committee member Captain Deans Dundas RN (Hillary, 1825, 47). John Foulerton, of Upper Bedford Place, also patented a number of improvements to buoys (Annual Register for 1816, 347; The Repertory of patent inventions and other discoveries and improvements, Vol X, 1830, 63). In 1819 it seems that John Foulerton of Upper Bedford Place, merchant and elder brother of Trinity House was declared bankrupt (The Literary Panorama and National Register, Vol VII, 1819, 315; The Times Friday 10 Sept 1824). He died in November 1827.

Members of Parliament and politicians (Table 4.7)

Two members of Parliament – Charles Grant and the Honourable Christopher Hely-Hutchinson – were interred in St George's crypt. Two of the children of another Member of Parliament – Charles Harrison Batley – were also buried there. Charles Grant (1746-1823) is commemorated by a large and ornate mural memorial in the church. The coffin containing his mortal remains was recovered from Vault 4 of the crypt, but was not opened. Grant, was four times MP for Invernesshire and Director of the Honourable East India Company. He was best known for his tireless campaigning against social injustice in India, England and Scotland (Carson 2004).

Charles Grant was born in Aldourie, Scotland, in 1746, the third of seven children. Grant's father Alexander Grant fought as Jacobite solder, was badly wounded at Culloden and went into hiding. In 1756 he joined a regiment raised for service in America, and died in Havana in 1762. The family's fortunes were impoverished as result of Alexander's Jacobite activities. Fortunately Charles was supported at school and after by his uncle John. His uncle's support was not forgotten.

He was first apprenticed to William Forsyth a Cromarty shipowner and merchant, and then obtained a position through his cousin Captain Alexander Grant, who was partner in London merchant house. He worked his way up to become head clerk. He wished to restore his family's fortune, and felt that India would provide the best opportunity. Through contacts he obtained an appointment as cadet in the Honourable East India Company's Bengal Army. He served for two and half years before his health broke down and he returned to Britain.

On his return to Britain he set up in business but not with any great success. His fortunes took a turn for the better when a merchant friend procured him a place as a writer in the Honourable East India Company (HEIC) in 1772. He married the beautiful seventeen year old Jane Fraser, daughter of Thomas Fraser of Balnain, just before leaving for India. It was to be a long and happy marriage.

He remained with the company for many years rising to become company director. During his time in India, Grant witnessed gross civil injustices practiced upon natives of the country, both by the British but also by their own countrymen. Whilst resident in North India, Grant and his wife were shattered by the loss of their two young daughters Elizabeth and Margaret who both died of smallpox in 1776. Macaulay records that in their extreme affliction the couple turned to God, and remained fervent Christians thereafter. Grant, who had lost heavily at gambling, regarded the deaths as a punishment for his ungodly life. The Grants with their five children left India in 1790.

Grant's Christian faith compelled him to confront the many injustices he had witnessed in India, where corruption was rife and natives were shown little respect or humanity. Together with Brown and Bentinck, Grant pressurised the Company and the British government to right these injustices and was instrumental in the abolition of the traditional Indian practices of suttee and infanticide. In 1813 the British Government published Grant's *Observations of the*

Surname, Forename Notes		Died	Burial no.	
Grant, Charles	M.P. for Invernesshire, director of the Hon. East India Co.	31/10/1823	*3002	
Grant, Jane	wife of Charles Grant	23/1/1827	3003	
Grant, William Thomas	son of Charles Grant	15/5/1848	3024	
Harrison Batley, Mary	daughter. of Charles Harrison Batley, M.P. for Beverley, Yorkshire	13/8/1827	2035	
Harrison Batley, John Charles	son of Charles Harrison Batley M.P. for Beverley, Yorkshire	30/1/1841	1513	
Hely Hutchinson, the Hon. Christopher	M.P. for the City of Cork	26/8/1826	4070	
Wilde, Charles Robert Claude	see Table 4.3	-	-	

Table 4.7: Members of Parliament:

state of society amongst the Asian subjects of Great Britain, in which he criticised the denigration of Britain's Indian subjects. Under his directorship a criminal justice system was introduced in India, and the spread of Christianity encouraged. Circumventing the wishes of the company he encouraged missionaries to spread the Word in India. His philanthropy was remembered by Mangalwadi in his book India: the Grand Experiment (1997) when he wrote: 'Did you know that the first manifesto for India's freedom was published 77 years before Mahatma Gandhi was ever born? And by a Britisher? . . . Charles Grant of the British East India Company? He led the assault on the Company's misrule of India for four decades, articulated a grand vision for India and built a team to implement it'.

Grant did not confine his philanthropy to Indians but also included his native Highland Scots, who had suffered tremendous hardships as a result of the Highland clearances following Bonnie Prince Charlie's disastrous rebellion. As MP for Invernesshire he 'laboured effectively for the improvement of his native country where he was prime mover of these noble works which have changed the face of the Scottish Highlands' (memorial inscription).

It is perhaps for his involvement with the Clapham Circle that Charles Grant is best remembered. The Clapham Sect, which included William Wilberforce, was a group of philanthropists that met between 1790 and 1830 to lobby against the slave trade. After a series of major campaigns, public pressure and the support of the Whigs, they finally brought about a ban on the slave trade in 1803, followed by the Abolition of Slavery and the Emancipation Acts passed in 1833 (Gardiner and Wenborn 1995). Grant's anti-slavery stance also involved him in the founding of a colony for freed slaves in Sierra Leone (Meller 1975).

The achievements of Charles Grant's two sons, Charles and Robert, were by no means contemptible. Born in India, they returned to England where they studied at Magdalene College, Cambridge. Charles junior entered politics and rose to become Lord Palmerston's Colonial Secretary, and was made Lord Glenelg. He died in 1866, and hence, was not interred in St George's crypt with his father.

Robert was admitted to the bar in 1807. He then entered politics, winning a seat in parliament, aged 29 years. Like his father, he was deeply concerned with social issues. It was through his persistence that a bill was passed which emancipated England's Jews. He also returned to India where he became Governor of Bombay. A deeply religious man, Robert also spent time writing hymns, twelve of which were posthumously published by his brother Charles. His hymn 'Oh worship the King' was written in 1838 and remains one of the most beautiful and popular hymns today. He died in India.

Christopher Hely-Hutchinson was the fifth son of John Hely Hutchinson and Christiana Nikson, and a younger brother of Richard Hely-Hutchinson, 1st earl of Donoughmore, and John Hely-Hutchinson, 2nd earl of Donoughmore. He was called to the Irish Bar in 1792, entered the Irish Parliament in 1795. He opposed the Union with England. He fought in The Helder expedition and was wounded at Alkmaar. In 1801 he was promoted Lieutenant Colonel and served with his brother Richard under Sir Ralph Abercrombie in Egypt. In 1802 he became MP for Cork, and continued to represent the city until his death, except for the period 1812-18. Christopher Hutchinson was never wealthy and was fiercely independent. He died in Hampstead in 1826 after a long lingering illness (Dunlop 2004).

Richard Hely-Hutchinson, 1st earl of Donoughmore was also interred in St George's crypt. He is remembered best as an advocate of Catholic emancipation. He sided with George IV in the trial of Queen Caroline, when the King tried to divorce his wife on the grounds of adultery with Pergami. The divorce was an attempt by the King to prevent Caroline claiming her rights as Queen Consort, after he was crowned. The King rewarded him with a British peerage as Viscount Hutchinson. He died on 22 August 1825 at 4 Bulstrode Street, Manchester Square, Marylebone, Middlesex. The Catholic Association hailed him as their hereditary patron (Thorne 2004).

John Charles Harrison Batley, who was interred in the crypt of St George's Bloomsbury, was the son and heir of Charles Harrison Batley who was MP for Beverley, and his wife Anna (*Gentleman's Magazine*, Vol 97 Part 1, 1827, Supplement, 640). Charles Harrison Batley himself died in 1835 at St Omer in France aged only 49 (*Gentleman's Magazine*, Dec 1835, 667).

Imperial administrators and civil servants (Table 4.8)

A small number of civil servants and imperial administrators were buried in the crypt. William Alexander and Charles Thesiger both had connections with the Island of St Vincent in the West Indies. Alexander had been Provost Marshall General (Table 4.2, memorial 34), and Thesiger the collector of customs. According to *Burke's Peerage*, Thesiger's estate on the island was destroyed by a volcanic eruption in 1812.

Aaron Graham had been Secretary to the Governors of the Island of Newfoundland from 1779–1791, and in that capacity had known Captain Edward Pellew (Privy Council 1927, vol IV, 1919-23).

Edward Dew was 'late Examiner of the King's Duties, and Collector of the City Dues, at the Custom House' (*Gentleman's Magazine*, June 1834, 666). Charles Montague Martindale, whose daughter Harriet Edith was interred in the crypt, lived at No. 4 Montague Street and worked in the Paymaster General's office (Census 1841 and 1851).

Merchants, bankers, stockbrokers, etc (Table 4.9)

Significant numbers of merchants, bankers and stockbrokers are represented in the crypt population. Amongst them was Mathias Aspden, who left the United States because of the War of Independence.

Mathias (or Matthias) Aspden, was born in Philadelphia on 21 November 1746. He was the only child son of Matthias Aspden, senior (b. Padiham, Lancashire 4 May 1693 or 1695; d. 23 August 1765, Philadelphia) and his second wife Rebecca Packer (b. 1705, Burlington, New Jersey; d. 10 Oct 1773, Philadelphia) who was a widow. Matthias Aspden senior was a Quaker and a merchant. The younger Aspden was educated in England, and at the outbreak of the War of Independence he left America for England.

Aspden along with a number of other men was declared a traitor to the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania by a proclamation of 27th July 1778, and was strictly charged and required to present himself to a magistrate to be tried for treason (*Pennsylvania Archives*, Series 3, **X**, 537-9). He was attainted a traitor on the 27th July 1780 (*Pennsylvania Archives*, Series 4, **III**, 774-777) and subsequently his property was confiscated (eg. *Pennsylvania Archives*, Series 6, XII, 193-95, 496, 582-82; *Pennsylvania Archives*, Colonial Records, XIII, 209).

Aspden settled in London and was a successful merchant. He was a shareholder in the East India Company and one eligible to be a director (*List of Members 1815; The Times,* 1 Dec 1823). In the 1815 list his address was given as Richmond, Surrey. Although Aspden appears to have settled in Britain and died in England in 1824, he did return to the United States on at least two occasions. The first time was immediately after the War of Independence. In 1786 the State of Pennsylvania proposed to lift the attainder on Aspden (*Pennsylvania Archives*, Colonial Records, **XIV**, 621, 625). That he was pardoned is confirmed by his old school friend Charles Biddle, who wrote that

At this time there was an application from my old friend and schoolmate, Mr Mathias Aspden. . . for a pardon. It gave me great pleasure to have an opportunity of serving this worthy man. I sent him a pardon, January 19, 1786, and he soon came to Philadelphia. After he had been here a short time, he called on a gentleman of the law to know if, by the treaty of peace, he was secure from arrest. The gentleman not knowing, and Mr Aspden not telling him, that he had a pardon from the Executive Council, told him that he did not think so. As soon as he got this opinion, without seeing any of his friends he immediately set off for New York, and embarked on board a packet, then ready to sail for England, where he now is, 1804.... He lives very retired in London. (Biddle 1883, 211).

According to Henry Graham Ashmead (1884, 637-38) Aspden had returned to America in 1785. He made his will while in America. The will was dated 1791 in Philadelphia, which would suggest that he had stayed for some time before sailing for England.

His second visit was in about 1816 or 1817. Samuel Mickle, clerk to the Quaker Meeting in Woodbury, New Jersey, made the following entry in his diary for the 18 May 1817:

[1817] 5/18. Mathias Aspden at meeting says he was taken away from ye country to England at ye time of Revolutionary war and kept as a prisoner at large and returned to America

Table 4.8: Diplomats, imperial administrators and civil servants:

Surname, Forename	Notes	Died	Burial no.
Alexander, William	Provost Marshall General of the Mainland of St. Vincent	18/1/1814	*
Dew, Edward	late Examiner of the King's Dues and Collector of City Dues	22/1/1834	3067
Martindale, Harriet Edith	wife of Charles Montague Martindale of the Paymaster General's C	Office -/2/1843	1098
Palyart, Ignatius	Portuguese Consul General and merchant	22/12/1818	5008
Thesiger, Charles	collector of His Majesty's Customs of the Island of St Vincent	18/2/1831	2029

about 18 mo[nth]s. ago after an absence of 40 years. Enquired of me after many persons many years in their graves (Stewart 1917, 205).

Aspden died in August 1824. He had never married and had no children, and his enormous fortune was left to his 'heir-at-law'. This brief phrase was the cause of a legal dispute which lasted for nearly 30 years. Aspden had numerous cousins, both in England and America. It has been suggested that the number of claimants was as high as 200 (Ashmead, 1884, 637-38). By the time the dispute was finally settled in 1853 many of the original protagonists had died. Judgement was in favour of his American cousins. One of the English claimants was John Aspden. Prior to the final decision of the court the American cousins had offered him an out of court settlement of \$250,000, which he had refused. Following the judgement, John Aspden

fell dead, at a tavern in Carter's alley, of disease of the heart, supposed to have been induced by disappointment and mortification. At the time of his death, his pockets contained a solitary cent, his entire fortune. To-day, the man that might have been the possessor of a quarter of a million of dollars, will be borne to his grave from an obscure part of the district of Southwark. (*The New York Times*, Wednesday, March 25, 1853).

Matthias Aspden left a fortune estimated to be about \$500,000.

Alexander Auldjo, who was born in Aberdeen, made his fortune in Canada, where he arrived in about 1778. Initially he invested in the fur trade. He formed a partnership with William Maitland in 1785, and the company became Auldjo, Maitland and Co. by 1800. His brother John Auldjo was a merchant in London and seems to have supplied some of the goods in which Auldjo and Maitland traded. Auldjo was a leader of the Montreal business community, a militia officer, J.P. and an active member of the Scottish Presbyterian Church in Montreal. He briefly served in the House of Assembly. In 1804, he married Eweretta Jane Richardson, probably sister of John Richardson, who was leading Canadian businessman and politician. The couple had two sons and a daughter. Unfortunately Jane died shortly after giving birth to the daughter who also died.

In 1813 Auldjo returned to Britain and its seems that shortly afterwards he retired from his business, his nephew George Auldjo becoming a partner in Auldjo, Maitland and Company in his place. The company changed its name to Maitland, Garden and Auldjo in 1815 (Tuchinsky 1966).

Jeremiah Pilcher who served as Sherriff of London and Middlesex was the director of a number of company, including the New Zealand Company (*Colonial Gazette*, 28th August, 1839) and the Argus Life Assurance Company (*The Scotsman*, Saturday, 20th May 1843). Another insurance company director was John Slegg, who served on the board of the Royal Exchange Assurance Office.

Surname, Forename Notes Aspden, Matthias merchant, of Philadelphia, USA		Died	Burial no.	
		9/8/1824	5053	
Auldjo, Alexander	merchant and banker,	21/5/1821	1512	
Balmanno, Alexander	son of Alexander Balmanno, of Alexander Balmanno & Co.,			
	Merchants, 78 Queen St, Cheapside	11/3/1818	6014	
Bankes, James Langley	silk merchant	4/5/1839	6030	
Brown, James	merchant	26/11/1829	6012	
Cundale, John	merchant, Hart Street	8/7/1819	1019	
Cundale, Jane	wife of John Cundale	30/4/1840	1118	
de la Chaumette, Lewis Andrew stockbroker		1/1/1836	Vlt 2,11	
Hirtzel, John James	Hirtzel, John James merchant		6006	
Keysall, John banker		2/5/1813	6008	
Murdoch, William merchant		11/4/1825	4017	
Parry, Edward of Gower Street, director of the Hon. East India Co		-	*	
Pilcher, Jeremiah			*	
Pilcher, Mary Rebecca	wife of Jeremiah Pilcher	25/7/1885	*	
Remington, David Robert	stockbroker	26/10/1854	6139	
Remington, Martha	wife of David Robert Remington	23/11/1854	6141	
Rougemont, Forbes	son of Francis Frederick Rougemont, merchant	17/11/1838	5024	
Rougemont, Amy	dau. of Francis Frederick Rougemont, merchant	19/8/1842	1093	
Shuttleworth, Frances Haselrigg	wife of John Bradley Shuttleworth, merchant	12/8/1845	1078	
Slegg, John	director, Royal Exchange Assurance Office	15/7/1830	1581	
Wood, Benjamin	stockbroker	16/11/1838	4032	

Table 4.9: Merchants, bankers, stockbrokers, etc

Artisans, tradesmen and business men (Table 4.10)

In addition to the wealthy of independent means, the lawyers, merchants and others, who formed the majority of those interred in St George's crypt, there were also a number of people who provided services to the wealthy inhabitants of Bloomsbury. Most notable amongst these were the Jeakes (carpenters, builders and ironmongers), the Meabry (grocer), the Stringfield (butchers) and the Keysell (cheesemongers) families. Several members of each of these families were interred in the crypt of St Georges Church, and the Stringfields are remembered by a mural memorial within the church.

Other tradesmen included Joseph England, builder of Wilmot Street, and Nicholas Winsland, builder, Robert Stuart, stone mason of Hyde Street, and Thomas Churm, plumber of 4 Hyde Street. Two young sons of the Pfeil family, who were ironmongers in Broad Street, were interred in the crypt. David Bateson, an upholder and cabinet maker of Holborn, James Thompson cabinet maker of King Street, David Edwards dressing case manufacturer of King Street, and Richard Harrison upholsterer.

Suppliers of food and drink included Joseph Circuitt, a butcher at No. 5 Bloomsbury Market. The Circuitt family seems to have had connections with Woburn and with the Dukes of Bedford. Richard Reid baker of Little Russell Street, Thomas Guillod wine and brandy merchant, Isaac Tooke and William Moss, both wine merchants, and John Harrison victualler. Thomas Guillod was probably a wine and brandy retail merchant, rather than a wholesale merchant. In 1808 his business was located at No. 3 Cockspur Street, and this street was clearly given over to retail premises. In 1810 his premises were at No. 27 Craven Street, which street provided a comparable range of services. In Holden's Directory for 1811 he is listed at No. 7 Hart Street which was almost certainly his residential address.

In addition there was William Davis a bookseller, and Laura Hansard the daughter of the printer Luke Graves Hansard. Joseph Kirkup, auctioneer and diamond dealer and his members of his family were interred in the crypt. His son James Fenwick Kirkup 'drowned while bathing'. Oliver Oxley of 16 Russell Court seems to have traded in various items. In 1809, he was a dealer in ready-made linen (SUN MS 11936/448/825859, 20 January 1809), in 1817 he was described as a dress maker (SUN MS 11936/476/ 931307, 3 June 1817), and finally in 1828 he described himself as a picture dealer (*Old Bailey Proceedings* 21 Feb 1828, Ref No. t18280221-18).

Four families however dominate the record from the crypt: the Stringfield family of Duke Street, the Meabry family of No. 1 Broad Street, the Keysells of No. 7 Broad Street, and the Jeakes family of Little Museum Street and Great Russell Street.

The Stringfields were butchers, and had premises in Duke Street, Bloomsbury. Thomas Stringfield (b. c 1759, d. 1827) had his premises at 27 Duke Street in 1820 (SUN MS 11936/483/970381, 10 August 1820), but by 1823 the business had moved 32 Duke Street (SUN MS 11936/498/1005041, 14 May 1823). The property which was leased comprised a house, shop and slaughterhouse. Thomas and his wife Mary had at least four sons – John (b. 1795), William (b. 1799), James (b. 1800) and George (1805) – and one daughter, Mary, who married Bisse Phillip Sanderson in 1814. James (d. 1821) predeceased his father. John the eldest married, but neither James nor William appear to have married before their early deaths, and George the youngest and only surviving son did not marry.

The father, Thomas, died in Hart Street in 1827 (LMA P82/GEO1/63), and left all his money, stocks and securities, 'household furniture and also all other my Estate and effects whatsoever . . . unto my dear wife Mary Stringfield' (TNA PROB 11/1734). Mary herself died in 1833. The butcher's business had been taken over by John and William on Thomas's death. Unfortunately John died in Duke Street aged 37 in 1832. It is clear from John's will, that he and his brother had had equal shares in the business and the leasehold of the premises, and that they had purchased jointly the lease on an adjoining yard and buildings (TNA PROB 11/1806). Under the terms of John's will, it seems that it was his wish that William should pass his share of the butcher's business and lease on the butcher's premises to John's widow Anna, and in return William would receive John's share of the lease on the adjoining premises. It seems that this is what happened, because John's wife, Mrs Anna Stringfield, clearly took over the butchery side (SUN MS. 11936/539/ 1157324, 24 July 1833) since in her will she leaves the business and its goodwill to William provided he sells the same to his younger brother George for a price to be agreed between them (TNA PROB 11/1819). William meanwhile traded from the adjoining yard as a skin and hide salesman (SUN MŚ 11936/539/1157325, 24 July 1833; TNA PROB 11/1883). Anna Stringfield died of consumption in 1833 aged only 25. William Stringfield died in 1837 aged 38. George Stringfield (b. 1805, d. 1881) the voungest brother took over the butchery business on Anna's death in 1833 and continued to operate out of 32 Duke Street until at least 1851. By 1861 he had given up the business and was living at Billingshurst, Sussex with his nephew John William Stringfield and his family. John William was the son of John and Anna Stringfield. He was a 'Lime, Slate & Cement merchant, and George was described as a 'House proprietor' in the 1861 census. The butchery business had been given up by 1861.

It is clear from William Stringfield's will (TNA PROB 11/1883) that the family had accumulated considerable capital to invest in stocks, funds and securities. They do not seem to have invested in freehold property, until George gave up the butcher's business and became a 'house proprietor'. In addition to the premises in Duke Street, members of the family had occupied a property in Hart Street Thomas insured a property at No. 43 Hart Street in 1827 (SUN MS 11936/516/1065593, 18 October 1827). It is where he died (LMA P82/GEO1/63). Mary Sanderson (née Stringfield) occupied this property between 1832 and 1834 (SUN MS 11936/ 538/1143963, 11 October 1832; MS 11936/544/ 1184264, 22 October 1834). It is probable that the family lived at No. 43 Hart Street in the late 1820s and 1830s. The 1841 census records show that Mary Sanderson was living with her brother George in Museum Street, although the business was still operating out of Duke Street.

The only mention of property in the wills of the Thomas, John, William or Anna Stringfield, is the reference to leases on the Duke Street premises in the wills of John Stringfield and Anna Stringfield. The Stringfields were a family of some wealth and standing; seven members of the family were interred in the crypt of St George's church, and a mural memorial was erected to the memory of eight family members. John Meabry (coffin 2032, b. 1766, d. 1841) was a tea dealer and grocer with premises at No 1 Broad Street, Bloomsbury, and Francis Keysell (b. 1789, d. 1849) was a wholesale cheesemonger at No 7 Broad Street. Both businesses are listed in *Kent's Directory* 1794, the 1808 Post Office London Directory. Next door to Keysells in 1841, at Nos 5 and 6 Broad Street, were the premises of the ironmonger Adolph Pfeil. Adolph Leonard Pfeil (coffin 1101) and Adolph Henry Pfeil (coffin 3091) were the young sons of this family.

John Meabry and his wife Elizabeth (or Eliza) Rishforth married in 1793 (Pallot's Marriage Index). They had a number of children, including Mary Eliza (b. *c*. 1797) who married George Maber in 1820 (*The Times*, May 17 1820) and Jane Meabry, who married John Oakley, of St Paul's Covent Garden, in 1827 (*The Times*, June 4 1827). Both couples married at St George's Bloomsbury. George Maber was a grocer in partnership with James Charles Farr. In 1816 to 1819 their premises were 110 Fleet Street

Table 4.10: Tradesmen and artisans:

Surname, Forename	Notes	Died	Burial no.	
Bateson, David	upholder and cabinet maker	19/3/1821	4001	
Churm, Thomas	plumber, 4 Hyde Street	8/7/1831	2033	
Circuit, Joseph	butcher, Bloomsbury Market	11/3/1825	5004	
Davis, William	bookseller	23/6/1827	8117	
Edwards, David	dressing case manufacturer	3/4/1831	2058	
England, Joseph	carpenter and builder	14/10/1831	4073	
Guillod, Thomas	wine and brandy merchant	10/3/1815	6097	
Hansard, Laura Teresa	4th daughter of Luke Graves Hansard, printer	4/5/1826	3018	
Harrison, John	victualler	21/9/1841	5065	
Harrison, Richard	upholsterer	28/1/1812	8079	
Jeakes, John	builder and carpenter – see text			
Jeakes, Thomas	builder and carpenter – see text	20/12/1839	1057	
Keysell, Francis	cheesemonger – see text			
Kirkup, Joseph	auctioneer and diamond merchant	1/5/1815	8043	
Kirkup, Ann	wife of Joseph Kirkup	14/1/1826	1029	
Kirkup, James Fenwick	son of Joseph Kirkup	28/6/1820	1051	
Kirkup, Georgiana			6015	
Meabry, John	Grocer – see text			
Meux, Richard	brewer, owner of the Griffin Brewery	2/7/1809 2/7/1813	4058	
Meux, Mary	?wife Richard Meux	8/12/1812	4053	
Moss, William	wine merchant	24/7/1815	4048	
Oxley, Oliver	dealer in ready-made linen (1809), dress maker (1817) and picture- dealer (1828)	10/2/1837	1039	
Pfeil, Adolph Leonard	son of Adolph Leonard Pfeil, ironmonger	16/3/1814	1101	
Reid, Richard	baker	1/7/1824	4060	
Stringfield, Thomas	butcher – see text	15/11/1827	*6040	
Stringfield, John	butcher – see text	2/9/1832	*6039	
Stuart, Robert	stonemason	31/10/1810	5076	
Thompson, James	cabinet maker	3/2/1814	2064	
Thompson, Hannah	wife of James Thompson King's Street Hollow	29/1/1813	5041	
Winsland, Nicholas	builder	27/1/1846	6136	
Winsland, Emma Margaret	daughter of Nicholas Winsland	31/3/1848	6133	
Winsland, Lucy Anne	daughter of Nicholas Winsland	15/8/1833	6079	
Winsland, Nicholas Charles	son of Nicholas Winsland	30/5/1824	6140	

(SUN MS 11936/467/919290 15 May 1816; *The Times*, Oct 15, 1819), but by 1824 they were at 32 Chiswell Street (SUN MS 11936/503/1019959 15 September 1824). In 1829 George Maber was trading on his one behalf at 10 Aldgate High Street (*1829 PO London*). By 1841 George and Mary Eliza Maber were farming in Havant, Hampshire (1841 census). In 1851 they were at Hambleton, Hampshire farming 561 acres and employing 14 labourers (1851 Census) and by 1861 they were at Great Park Farm, Titchfield, Hampshire, farming 791 acres and employing 23 labourers and 8 boys (1861 census).

John Oakley was a tea and wine merchant. In 1841 and 1851 John and Jane Oakley were living at 182-183 Piccadilly, which formed part of Fortnum and Mason's premises. In 1834 the buildings in Piccadilly occupied by Fortnum and Mason had been rebuilt, and in 1838 and 1840 the business was reconstituted and John Oakley and his neighbour at 181 Piccadilly, George Scorer, were both given oneeighth share of the profits. The controlling interest was retained by Richard Fortnum who was unmarried. When Fortnum died he bequeath his share of the business to his nephew, but Scorer and Oakley were both given the opportunity to buy a further eighth share if they agreed to renew the partnership until 1869 (*Survey of London*, 1960).

Sarah and Martha both married into the Keysell family in 1822, and that both weddings took place in St George's Bloomsbury (The Times, Sep 3, 1822, & May 17, 1822 respectively). Other children were William (coffin 2007, b. c 1807, d. 1852), Charles (b. c 1808, d. 1872), Louisa (coffin 2022, b. c 1812, d. 1820), and Ellen (b. c 1814, d. 1889). Neither William nor Charles followed their father into the grocery business. William never married, and in the 1851 census is described as having 'no business'. He died aged 45 the following year. Charles married in 1843, and in 1851 was living with his wife Ann and children in Mitcham, Surrey and was described as a 'Fund holder'. He died in 1872. The youngest sister Ellen married Thomas Oakley, almost certainly the younger brother of her brother-in-law John Oakley, in 1843 (The Times, May 22, 1843). Both men were born in Shrewsbury (IGI). Thomas Oakley was a master currier with premises in St Martin's Lane, St Martin in the Fields (1851 Census). By 1851 the former Meabry premises were occupied by another grocer William Palmer. Four members of the Meabry family were identified in the crypt.

At least seven, and probably eight, members of the Keysell family were interred in the crypt of St George's church. John Keysall (coffin 6008) was a banker who lived in Queen Square and is probably not a relation.

In 1794 the premises at No. 7 Broad Street were occupied by the firm of Keysell and Rice, cheese-mongers (*Kent's 1794 Directory*). Francis Keysell (d. 1804; LMA P82/GEO1/63) was then the head of the family. Mrs Frances Keysell (coffin 6119, b. *c* 1755, d. 1819) was probably his wife. His daughter Catherine Eleanor died in 1816 aged 21 (*The Times*,

6th Aug 1816) and was interred at St George's (coffin 6085, b. *c* 1795). She appears to have had at least one sister, Mary Ann, who married Henry Robert Wylie, at St George's church in 1819 (Pallot's Marriage Index). Thomas Keysell (coffin 6020, b. *c* 1788, d. 1825) and Richard Keysell (coffin 6019, b. *c* 1793, d. 1830) were her siblings, and Henry Keysell (coffin 6069, d. 1833) was probably another. Richard and Henry both married into the Meabry family. Richard married Martha Meabry and Henry married Sarah Meabry. Both marriages took place at St George's church in 1822. Thomas, Richard and Henry all died at a comparatively young age, and it is recorded that Richard and Henry died of consumption (LMA P82/GEO1/63).

By 1808 Francis's remaining son, also Francis Keysell, was trading in his sole name at No. 7 Broad Street (PO London 1810). This second Francis married twice, first, in 1814, to Eliza Olney Price (coffin 6007) who died in 1829 aged 34 (The Times, 3rd July 1829), and then to Margaret (d. 1856). Francis and Eliza had at least five children: Mary Ann (b. c 1817, d. 1895, aged 78), Eliza (b. c. 1819, d. 1900, aged 80), Sarah Olney (b. *c* 1821, d. 1879, aged 58), Francis Price (b. *c* 1824, d. 1898, aged 74) and Ann Bye (b. c 1826). Richard Keysell (coffin 1092) who died aged 10 months in 1827 may have been another child of the marriage. Ellen Keysell (coffin 6138) who died aged 4 months 19 days in November 1830 was born too late to be a child of the marriage of Francis and Eliza. It is uncertain who her parents were.

By 1829 the business was trading as F and R Keysell, and seems to have expanded to occupy both Nos 7 and 8 Broad Street (*The Times*, Thursday 8th Oct, 1829, 1). This suggests that Francis had been joined in the business by his brother Richard. Unfortunately Richard Keysell died in 1830 leaving Francis to run the business alone until he died in September 1849.

Francis Price Keysell then took over the business and traded as F. P. Keysell. At the time of the 1851 census F. P. Keysell and his sisters, all unmarried, appear still to have been living in Broad Street, but in the PO London Directory 1852, their home was listed as Sycamore Villa, Carlton Hill, St John's Wood. Francis and his sisters were still in Sycamore Villa at the time of the 1861 census, but in 1866, Francis Price married Hannah A. Sandford (b. c 1830, d. 1913, aged 83), and in 1881 he and his new family were living in Grove House, College Road, Cheshunt, Hertfordshire. The couple had three children - Francis, Folliot and Amy - and a household comprising a governess and four servants. In 1871, Francis's sisters - Mary Ann, Eliza, Sarah Olney and Ann Bye - were living together in Hampstead, and were described as living on 'English funds'. In the 1881 and 1891 census Francis still described himself as a provision merchant. His sisters continued to live together in Hampstead.

The Jeakes family, at least 6 of whose members were interred in the crypt of St George's church, has a fascinating history. The first known member of the family was John Jeakes (coffin 1013), who was a carpenter and builder operating from No. 3 Little Museum Street (Holden's 1811; PO London 1808). His wife was Martha Crochet, whom he had married in February 1768 (IGI). Martha died in 1813 and was interred in St George's (coffin 1024). John died of 'apoplexy' in 1818. Martha and John had at least eight children, four boys and four girls. The coffins of four of the children were identified in the crypt. The eldest known child was James Jeakes (coffin 1079, b. 1773, d. 1837), followed by Elizabeth (coffin 1075, b. 1775, d. 1832), then Joseph (coffin 1015, b. Nov 1778, d. 1818) and Thomas (coffin 1057, b. 1782, d. 1839). The next three children were Mary (b. c 1788), Martha (b. c. 1789) and Ann (b. c 1792). None of these three was interred in the crypt. The youngest child was William (b. before 1798).

James the eldest son became an officer in the Bombay Marine, the naval force of the East India Company (see above). He ended his career as a commodore. He returned from India in 1829, and retired to Lower Halliford, Middlesex. The next child, Elizabeth, never married and died in Little Russell Street of 'apoplexy'. Joseph the third child was an engraver of some note, but unfortunately died of a fever in 1818 at the age of 39. Joseph Jeakes specialised in topographical and naval aquatints. He produced prints of the 'Chesapeake and Shannon' (published 1815) and 'After the battle between his Majesty's frigate Endymion and the U.S. frigate President' (published 1815). He also provided the aquatint plates for William Thorn's Memoir of the conquest of Java, published in London in 1815.

The next three children were Mary, Martha and Ann. Mary married Thomas Allerson, described as a 'Freeholder and Leaseholder' in the 1851 census. Neither Martha nor Ann married.

The seventh child William set up as an ironmonger at 51 Great Russell Street (PO London 1829). He married Sarah Pool from Suffolk in 1816 (Pallot's Index of Marriages) and in 1817 their son John William was born (Pallot's Index of Baptisms). William is absent from 51 Great Russell Street in the 1841 census, although his son John William is listed, as William junior. William developed and expanded his ironmongery business, and specialised in the manufacture and supply of cooking equipment; the company proudly advertised its patent 'Metastatic Fire grates' which were 'a perfect remedy for that worst of all nuisances the smokey chimney' (The Times, Saturday, Jul 28, 1810, 1, Thursday, Jul 20, 1815, 2) and the 'newly invented Patent Retentive Plate, for all purposes of Cooking . . . with this great advantage ... much less consumption of fuel, at the same time keeping the kitchen perfectly cool' (The Times, Monday, July 29, 1822, 2). The business supplied ranges and cooking equipment to country houses (Sambrook 2006, 185), but also heating systems, gas fittings and hot water systems. Jeakes supplied fittings to a number houses in Grosvenor Square, for example the gas fittings and hot water system for No.20, and a hot water system, galvanised iron

cistern, bell pulls and a speaking tube for No.21 (Survey of London, 1980). The company also supplied fixtures for and fitted out the kitchen and scullery of the House of Lords refreshment rooms and supplied heating and ventilation systems for the new Houses of Parliament (TNA WORK 11/16/3). They also built a drying cabinet for Florence Nightingale, for use in the military hospital at Scutari (Sambrook 2006, 185). William Jeakes had a number of patents to his name, and in the Catalogue of the Great Exhibition of 1851, he was described as an inventor (loc. cit.). William died in 1850 and his son John William took over the business. John William soon retired from the business and in the 1861 Census he described himself as a 'retired engineer'. He bought Winchester Hall at the corner of Highgate Hill and Hornsey Lane. He served as a magistrate and was colonel of 37th Middlesex Rifle Volunteer Corps until 1863 when he resigned (Colburn's United Services Magazine, Sept 1863, 143). Indeed he was frequently referred to as Colonel Jeakes in the press. John William died suddenly in 1874. His son was not interested in the business which was sold William Clements and continued to trade until the 1927 as Clement Jeakes.

Thomas Jeakes the youngest son had joined his father John in the building business in Little Russell Street by 1816 (SUN MS 11936/471/915263, 12 February 1816). Thomas continued in the business after his father's death, until his own death in 1839, when the business seems to have ceased to operate. It is clear from Thomas's will that he had not married (TNA PROB 11/1921). He divided his estate, which included three houses, Nos 11-13, in Charles Street, between his surviving siblings Martha, Ann, Mary, James and William.

The Jeakes family are almost a microcosm of late Georgian and early Victorian society, with James Jeakes the naval officer and imperial administrator, Joseph the artist, who died young, William the entrepreneur and engineer, and Thomas the builder. The surviving brothers – William and James – both prospered and moved out of Bloomsbury.

This section is perhaps the place to consider three men who represent larger businesses. They are Thomas Bland, Richard Meux and Nicholas Winsland. Thomas Bland (coffin 1506) who died of smallpox in 1825 aged 22, was a member of the brewing family of the same name. The firm of Bland and Martineau had their brewery in Chiswell Street and it was there that Thomas Bland is reported to have died (*Gentleman's Magazine*, August 1825, 187). Apparently he contracted the disease from his friend Richard Martineau (*Gentleman's Magazine*, November 1826, 438). In 1812 Bland and Martineau set up a partnership with Samuel Whitbread, eventually leading to a merger of the two concerns.

Richard Meux (coffin 4058) with his original partner Mungo Murray built the Griffin Brewery in Liquorpond Street now part of Clerkenwell Road. In 1793 Andrew Reid a wealthy City merchant invested in the company and a few years later Sir Robert Wigram an East India merchant provided further investment in the company. The brewery became one of the largest in London.

Richard Meux married Mary Brougham in 1767 and couple had a daughter and three sons. Mary died in 1812 and Richard in 1813. He had ceased to be active in the business for some time before he died. Reid and Wigram were not in a position to oversee the day to day running of the brewery, which fell to Meux's three sons, who fell out over business. Eventually, as a result of disagreements between the partners, the business was sold in 1809 and Reid became the senior partner. The brewery continued to operate until 1899 when the company merged with Watney and Combe (Wilson 2007).

The final tradesman who can briefly be discussed is Nicholas Winsland. In 1818 in a case heard at the Old Bailey, William Rice was accused of stealing 2lbs of white lead from Winsland (Old Bailey Proceedings, 28 Oct 1818, Ref No. f18181028-1). In his testimony Nicholas Winsland described himself as a painter and glazier. He lived at No. 18 Queen Street (Holden's 1811 Directory). By 1829 Winsland is living at No. 44 Great Russell Street, and by 1841 he had moved to No. 84 Great Russell Street. Winsland was listed in The Times as one of the builders tendering to build the New Royal Exchange and described as one the 'principal builders of London'. Winsland's tender was for £134,219 for building in Portland stone, or £136,620 for building in Magnesium limestone. He did not win the job which went to Thomas Jackson, who tendered £115,900 and £124,700 respectively (The Times, 2nd September 1841).

Principal librarians and staff of the British Museum (Table 4.11)

Given that St George's Bloomsbury is the nearest church to the British Museum it is not surprising that a number of prominent, and not so prominent, members of the Museum's staff were buried at St George's. Joseph Planta, Principal Librarian of the British Museum 1799-1827 and his wife were both interred in the church. There is also a memorial plaque in Latin to the couple. Planta was originally from the Grisons in Switzerland. His father brought the family to England when he became minister of the German Reformed church in London. Planta senior also worked as an assistant librarian at the British Museum. Joseph also became an assistant librarian at the British Museum then underlibrarian in the department of manuscripts. He married Margaret Atwood in 1778. In 1799 he became Principal Library. Under his guidance the Museum grew and its collections expanded. Amongst other publications Planta produced his *An Account of the Romansh Language* (1776). Romanish was the language of the natives of the Grisons (Harris 2004).

Joseph Planta's successor Sir Henry Ellis was not interred in the crypt, but his wife was and again there is a commemorative mural plaque (see Table 4.2). Ellis was born in the parish of St Botolph without Bishopsgate, London. He worked at the Bodleian library for a short time after University. He then moved the British Museum, eventually becoming secretary to the trustees of the Museum. When Planta died Ellis successfully lobbied to succeed him. He was not a particularly successful appointment as Principal Librarian. He eventually retired in 1856, and died 1869 at his home at No. 24 Bedford Square in 1869 (Borrie 2004a).

Mary, the first wife of Frederick Madden, who died in childbirth, was buried in the crypt and is remembered with a mural plaque. Madden was an extremely fine scholar, and much of his work set new standards for subsequent scholarship. He became keeper in the department of manuscripts. Amongst his many achievements was the discovery and publication of *Sir Gawayne and the Grene Knight* (1839). He courted Mary Hayton, who eventually became his wife, for 10 years. Her family did not approve of the match. They married in March 1829. She died giving birth to a son less than a year later. Frederic Hayton Madden died shortly after his mother. Madden eventually remarried (Borrie 2004b)

Another eminent member of the Museum's staff was John Children, Assistant Librarian and Keeper of Zoology. He and his third wife Eliza were both interred in the crypt. Children was a chemist. He was appointed to the post of assistant librarian in

Table 4.11: Librarians and staff of the British Museum:

Surname, Forename	Forename Notes		Burial no.	
Bygrave, John	attendant, British Museum	19/4/1847	6049	
Children, John George	Assistant Librarian and Keeper of Zoology, the British Museum,			
	Fellow and Secretary of the Royal Society	10/1/1852	1037	
Children, Elizabeth	2nd wife of John Children	1/9/1839	1507	
Ellis, Sir Henry	Principal Librarian of the British Museum,1827-1856; Kt of Hanover		*	
Ellis, Frances Jane, Lady relict of Sir Henry Ellis, Kt,		12/10/1854	*	
Madden, Frederick	en, Frederick Keeper of Manuscripts of the British Museum		*	
Madden, Mary wife of Frederick Madden		26/2/1830	*1035	
Planta, Joseph	Principal Librarian of the British Museum 1799-1827	9/12/1827	1528	
Planta, Elizabeth	wife of Joseph Planta	2/2/1821	1505	

the department of antiquities, but then transferred to the department of natural history (Forgon 2004).

Less exalted is John Bygrave, who was an attendant in the Museum (1841 Census). He died aged 94.

Doctors of medicine and surgeons (Table 4.12)

There is a small number of doctors amongst those buried in St George's crypt, although little is known of most of them. Thomas Draper, whose wife was interred in St George's crypt, and who was Inspector General of Army Hospitals has already been mentioned above (see 'The army, navy and merchant marine' above). The most famous name amongst the doctors is James Lind. This is not the James Lind (1716-1794) who was a naval surgeon and is famous for his work on scurvy, but rather his nephew. Early in his career Lind had sailed as a ship's surgeon to India, the East Indies and China. In 1772 he went on an expedition to Iceland with Sir Joseph Banks. He was interested in science, and particularly astronomy and meteorology. He was a close friend of James Watt. Lind became physicianin-ordinary to the Royal Household. Fanny Burney wrote that 'with his taste for tricks, conundrums, and queer things' people were 'fearful of his trying experiments with their constitutions, and think him a better conjuror than physician'. At Windsor he took under his wing the young Shelley, who was then a schoolboy at Eton. Lind died in the house of his son-in-law William Burnie, in Russell Square, London, on 17 October 1812 (Cooper 2004). Burnie's young son, William Moffat Burnie (coffin 4048), who died aged only 3 days, was interred in the crypt in 1815.

Another doctor interred in the crypt is Ely Stott, who was an 'electrical practitioner'. He died in Upper Islington in 1821. He was described as formerly of Hart Street. He died of 'apoplexy' according the records of the Bloomsbury searchers (LMA P82/GEO1/63). He became notorious because of his treatment of his only daughter Charlotte Dew (née Stott). Stott's left 'real and personal property to the value of 40,000*l*. and upwards.' His widow, who was his second wife, was left £400 per annum for her lifetime, and his daughter was to receive about £100 per annum. The residue of the estate after some small legacies was left to his nephews Thomas and Valentine Clark. Charlotte Dew challenged the will in the Prerogative Court. It seems that Stott had taken against his daughter almost from her birth and made allegations about her behaviour which were clearly false. The case was reported in the Annual Register of the Year 1826 ('Law cases and narratives', 6*-12*). In February 1821 Stott's wife 'applied for a commission of lunacy against him; the inquisition was executed accordingly, and the deceased was found to be of unsound mind from the preceding January'. Unfortunately the will in dispute was dated May 1818. The case hinged on whether or not the deceased was of unsound mind when he made the will. The judgement was given in favour of his daughter Charlotte Dew. Dr George Man Burrows, who had seen the patient wrote that Stott's constitution was 'singularly robust' and that his 'passions at all times appear to have been extremely violent' so as to 'have induced a suspicion of his sanity' (1828, 271-72). Stott had had a slight 'stroke of paralysis from which he had perfectly recovered, except that his temper appeared more irritable than before'. 'When about seventy years old he experienced an attack of hemiplegia', and although he largely recovered his muscular powers 'his intellects were evidently now deranged' (loc.cit.). He died about a year later.

The arts (Table 4.13)

Amongst those interred in the crypt of St George's were a number of people eminent in the art world. Thomas Brown of High Holborn was an artists' colourman. He took over the business of William Legg in 1805 or 1806. In *Holden's 1811* and the *PO London 1829 directories*, Thomas Brown is listed as 'Colourman to Artists, 163 High Holborn'. He was known sometimes as Old Brown to distinguish him from his son also called Thomas, who was known as

Surname, Forename	Notes		Burial no.	
Armstrong, John	M.D.	12/12/1829	1085	
Draper, Elizabeth	wife of Thomas Draper, Inspector General of Army Hospitals –			
-	see Table 4.7 above)	30/9/1834	3099	
Halham, Robert	M.D.	24/11/1845	1004	
James, Robert	surgeon	17/2/1841	4011	
Lind, James	M.D. F.R.S.	17/10/1812	6084	
Scott, John	M.D.	30/7/1849	8010	
Stott, Ely	surgeon, and practitioner in Medical Electricity	18/11/1821	vlt 2, 10	
Turner, Henry	surgeon, King St, brother of John Turner, surgeon	9/2/1846	7083	
Turner, John	surgeon, King St, brother of Henry Turner, surgeon	1/3/1846	7073	
Werner, Phillip	late of Gibraltar	2/5/1819	5063	
Williams, Robert	M.D.	24/11/1845	3107	

<i>Table</i> 4.13: <i>T</i>	he Arts
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Surname, Forename	Notes	Died	Burial no.	
Brown, Thomas	artist, colourman, High Holborn	25/9/1840	1121	
Coxe, Peter	poet and auctioneer	22/1/1844	1109	
Fuseli, Sophia	wife of Henry Fuseli, artist and keeper of the Royal Academy	1832	1500	
Jeakes, Joseph	engraver	16/7/1818	1015	
Munden, Joseph Shepherd	comic actor	6/2/1832	5032	
Munden, Frances	wife of Joseph Shepherd Munden	20/9/1837	5006	
Reeves, William John	colourman, Holborn Bridge	-/9/1827	6122	
Reeves, Ann	nn wife of William John Reeves		6095	
Yenn, John	architect		1550	
Yenn, Elizabeth	wife of John Yenn	-/3/1806	1534	
Yenn, Susannah Mary	daughter of John Yenn	19/1/1845	1517	

Young Brown. Old Brown died in 1840 and left the business to his son. The firm supplied many famous artists ((NPG British Artists' suppliers, 1650-1950, 'Thomas Brown, 163 Holborn, London'). Thomas Brown).

Another artists' colourman was William John Reeves, whose name is still known today for artists' materials. William John was the son of the founder of the firm Thomas Reeves. From 1784 the business traded as Thomas Reeves & Son. Thomas died in 1799, and William soon after went into partnership with William Woodyer trading as Reeves & Woodyer. In the Holden's 1811 Directory the firm is listed as 'Reeves & Woodyer, superfine colour manufacturer to her Majesty and the Prince Regent, 80, Holborn Bridge'. In 1818 the partnership with Woodyer was dissolved, and so after the business was trading as W J Reeves & Son. In the PO London 1829 directory the company was listed as 'Reeves W. J. & Son, superfine Colour Preparers, Fancy Stationers and Manufacts. of Drawing-materials, 80 Holborn bridge'. Later its name was changed to W J Reeves & Sons, under which name it traded until 1890. Thereafter it was known as Reeves & Sons. William John Reeves died in 1827 (NPG British Artists' Suppliers, 'Thomas Reeves, Fetter Lane, London').

Sophia Fuseli, the widow of the Swiss born artist Henry Fuseli was also interred in the crypt. Sophia Fuseli (née Rawlins) (coffin 1500) married Fuseli in 1788; she was more than twenty years younger than her husband. Fuseli was elected as a Royal Academician in 1790, and professor of painting in 1799. He became keeper of the Royal Academy in 1804. He died in 1825, and Sophia died in 1832 (Weinglass 2004).

Joseph Jeakes the engraver (coffin 1015) was a member of the Jeakes family, who were builders, carpenters and ironmongers and are discussed above (see 'Artisans, tradesmen and business men' above). Born in November 1778 he died of a fever in Little Russell Street in July 1818.

Perhaps the most notable people were the architect John Yenn, and the comic actor Joseph Sheppard Munden. John Yenn was clerk of the works at Somerset House from 1776, designed the Temple of Health (1789) at Blenheim Palace, and with Henry Hake Seward rebuilt the west façade of the King Charles Block at Greenwich Hospital. He also served as Surveyor of the Hospital. Munden was a celebrated comic actor. The essayist Charles Lamb composed a short essay 'On the acting of Munden' in which he wrote that 'he is not one, but legion, not so much a comedian, as a company'. He was also described as 'by far the greatest comedian we ever saw', and as 'one of the best comic actors that ever trod the stage' (quoted in Davis, J, 2004).

Abodes and social stratification

The assumption has been that the individuals and families interred in the crypt were largely drawn from the upper echelons of Bloomsbury society. The presence of peers, senior judges and members of parliament together with members of their families tends to provide support for the assumption.

It might be possible to provide more concrete support for the idea if consideration is given to identifying where families and individuals lived within the Parish and adjacent districts. One problem has been removing from consideration work or professional addresses. Many lawyers for example are known to be 'of Lincoln's In Fields', or 'of Gray's Inn', but often they have separate home addresses. Another problem is that individuals did move within the district. General Robert Bell is known to have lived at No. 80 Guilford Street (1821-22), at No. 1 Doughty Street (1823), and in his will his address is given as Russell Square.

The sample of individuals of known abodes forms a quite small proportion of the crypt population. Rather than attempt to look at all known abodes, it was decided to sample by taking a selection of the professional or occupational groups. The groups chosen were the legal profession (Table 4.3), military and naval officers (Table 4.6), and artisans and tradesmen (Table 4.10). These three were the largest occupational groups. In addition the 'Arts' group (Table 4.13) was also included although it was only small in number. Only one member of each household was counted for each professional group. The Jeakes family for example feature in three occupational groups, army and naval officers, trade and arts, but the Meabry, Keysell and Stringfield families feature only once each in the trade category.

The distribution of occupations and addresses is remarkable. The addresses of tradesmen, lawyers and those involved in the arts appear to be largely mutually exclusive (Table 4.14). The distribution of Army and Navy officers is only slightly less distinct. Two points need to be made. Firstly, it must be stressed that the numbers used are small and therefore these figures may not be truly representative of the distribution of the occupational groups of the crypt population. Nonetheless the patterns are suggestive. The second point is more serious. If, as has been assumed, the crypt population is a selfselecting elite from within the overall population of the parish and district, then the distribution pattern will reflect the distribution of that elite. It does not give the complete picture for the social composition of the parish. Nevertheless the distribution in Table 4.14 shows that smaller tradesmen and retailers were largely concentrated in the streets to the south of Great Russell Street in the older part of the parish, whereas by contrast the lawyers were largely concentrated in the newer streets and squares built by the Duke of Bedford to the north.

An alternative approach to understanding the social make-up of Bloomsbury, which permits a look at that large portion of the population not represented in the crypt of St George's is to look at Census records and Street listings in Post Office directories. The problem is that the earliest available census records are for 1841, near to the end of the phase of interment in the crypt. Fortunately there is the *Post Office London Directory for 1841*, which includes a street directory, and this can be used for comparison.

Three samples were selected from the streets around St George's Church. The first sample is drawn from Hart Street, on which St George's fronts, and which is now called Bloomsbury Way. The sample comprises properties numbered Nos 1-11, 11a and 12-13 in the Post Office London Directory for 1841. In the 1841 Census records there is an additional property (John Edwards, coal merchant) inserted between house No.8 (Thomas Bagg, engraver) and house No. 9 (Timothy Francis Power, merchant). This gives a total of 16 properties in the sample. The second sample comprises Nos 1-16, Broad Street, where the Meabry and Keysell families had their businesses. The third sample comprises 12 properties - Nos 1-12 - in Duke Street, near Lincoln's Inn Field.

In Hart Street the 16 properties housed 21 households with a total of 107 individuals, of who 30 were servants. The average number of households per property was 1.31, and the average household comprised 5.09 individuals including servants. The average number of individuals per property was Table 4.14: Distribution of known abodes of selected professions. (Street names in bold are located to the south of the British Museum and Great Russell Street)

Street	Trade		Arts		Total
		Law	Ar	my/Navı	1
Broad Street	4				4
Little Russell St	3		1		4
King St	3				3
'St George Bloomsbury'	2	1		1	4
Southampton Row	2	1		1	4
Hart St	2				2
Hyde St	2				2
Montague Place	1	4	1		6
Bloomsbury Square	1	2			3
High Holborn	1		1		2
Bedford Square	1				1
Bloomsbury Market	1				1
Browns Lane, Spitalfields	1				1
Duke Street	1				1
Great Russell Street	1			1	2
Harpur Street	1				1
Holborn	1				1
John Street, Oxford Street	1				1
Oxford Street	1				1
Russell Court	1				1
Wilmot Street	1				1
Russell Square		4		1	5
Bedford Place		3			3
Montague Street		3		1	4
Bloomsbury Place		2			2
Guilford St		1			1
Portland Place		1			1
Torrington Square		1			1
Torrington Street		1			1
Woburn Place		1			1
Bernard Street			1	1	2
Charlotte Street			1		1
Holborn Bridge			1		1
Kensington Palace Green			1		1
'St Marylebone'				1	1
'St Pancras'				1	1
Cheltenham, Glos				1	1
Devonshire Street				1	1
Kent House, Knightsbridge				1	1
Kenton Street				1	1
Liverpool Street, Middlesex	c;			1	1
Manchester Street	,			1	1
Queen Square				1	1
Somers Town				1	1
Tavistock Square				1	1
Upper Bedford Place				1	1
Upper Fitzroy Street				1	1
	32	25	6	20	83

6.69, with a minimum of two people and a maximum of 13. The ratio of servants to others was 1:2.56. The occupations of the household included five lawyers, five surgeons, a merchant, a clergyman, an architect, an auctioneer and a diamond merchant. A number of people who lived in Hart Street were interred in the crypt of St George's.

In the 16 properties in Broad Street there were 144 individuals, including 19 servants, living in 35 households. The average number of households per property was 1.84, and the average size of households was 4.11. The average number of individuals per property was exactly nine. The minimum number in any house was two, and the maximum was 13. The ratio of servants to other inhabitants was 1:6.58. The occupations included a grocer, a cheesemonger, clockmakers, provision merchants, a chemist and druggist, a tailor, a boot maker, a coach trimmer, a carver and gilder and a professor of music. The occupations, household size and number of servants all show that the inhabitants of this part of Broad Street was less well-off than the occupants of Hart Street, but were still essentially middle class and prosperous. They were largely retailers and craftsmen providing services for the inhabitants of the district. The retailers included the Meabry, Keysell and Pfeil families, members of which families were interred in the crypt.

The final sample is drawn from Duke Street. Twelve properties were studied. The occupants of these properties number 197 and formed 64 apparently separate households. The number of households per property averaged 5.33, and the households comprised on average 3.07 individuals. There were 16.42 people per property on average. The minimum number in any property was 9, and the maximum was 26. There were only 6 female servants and it is possible that none was working as a servant in the street, but rather were servants working elsewhere. Many of the households clearly comprised single individuals lodging together. The occupations included builder and bricklayer, coachman, dairyman, shoe maker, tailor, pianoforte maker, musician, straw bonnet maker, tallow chandler, police constable, smith, whitesmith, nurse, carpenter, needlewoman and stay maker. An attendant and an assistant working at the British Museum also lived in the street.

The only individuals interred in the crypt who had a connection with Duke Street were the Stringfield family (see 'Artisans, tradesmen and business men' above). They operated their butchers business initially from 27 Duke Street, then from about 1823 from 32 Duke Street, but seem to have lived for a period in the late 1820s and 1830s in Hart Street where the father of the family Thomas died in 1827. In 1841 the remaining son George was living in Museum Street with his sister Mary although the business was still in Duke Street. The butchers business included a slaughter house and in 1834 John Stringfield was operating as a skin and hide salesman from the adjacent premises. It is clear that Hart Street had the smallest number of households per property but the largest average household size. By contrast Duke Street had the smallest household size and the largest average number of households per property. Duke Street also had the densest occupancy per property.

What the samples show is that there was marked social stratification within the parish, and that was reflected in the occupations and households found in different streets. This is no more than would be expected. It tends to confirm that the streets around St George's church were occupied by trades people and artisans. It also shows that a good number of lawyers were to be found in areas other than those shown in Table 4.14. Clearly within the legal profession there were social distinctions.

Church and charity: joining and giving

What linked the people who were interred in St George's crypt was status, perhaps a confidence in their own status, and a desire to be accepted as being of the certain standing in the community. It is interesting to note that in addition to the obvious occupants of the crypt – the judges, wealthy merchants and bankers, members of the aristocracy – there was a substantial group of solid trades people, in particular the Meabry, Keysell, String-field and Jeakes families which are discussed in some detail above (see 'Artisans, tradesmen and business men'). Nicholas Winsland can be included to this group.

What marks out this group is that they strove to improve their status. The oldest surviving son of the Meabrys, Charles was never involved in the family business, but instead invested in funds and moved eventually to Mitcham in Surrey and lived off his investments. Frances Price Keysell after running the family business for a number of years, eventually moved away from Bloomsbury and latterly lived on his investments. George, the youngest Stringfield son, and the only one to survive into old age, eventually sold the family business, invested in property and retired to Sussex where he lived with his nephew and his family. The Jeakes family were more remarkable. One son – William – was an engineer and entrepreneur, who created a substantial and thriving business. His son sold the business and retired to the life of a gentleman, becoming a JP and colonel of Rifle Volunteers. Another son made his way in the Navy of the East India Company before retiring to a riverside property in Lower Halliford, Middlesex. Joseph was a gifted engraver, but unfortunately died young. Thomas joined the family carpentry business and ran it until his death in 1839.

The desire to improve their status was not simply manifested through business success. This group were active in local charities and in their church. In 1829 John Meabry, Frances Keysell and Nicholas Winsland were all members of the joint Vestry of the Parishes of St Giles in the Fields and St George Bloomsbury. Other members included John Jortin (coffin 1525), Henry Ellis of the British Museum, William Groom (coffin 1105) and Luke Graves Hansard the printer. One of the church wardens was Thomas Brown (coffin 1121) colourman of High Holborn (Dobie 1829, 416-19).

In 1822 and again in 1823, Frances Keysell was one of the stewards at the Anniversary Dinner of the Middlesex Hospital presided over the Duke of Northumberland (*The Annual Subscription Charities and Public Societies in London*, London, 1823, 29; *The Times*, Friday, 3rd May, 1822, 4). Another steward was a fellow Bloomsbury resident, the builder, Nicholas Winsland. Winsland was also a steward at the dinner held at the London Tavern following the Anniversary Meeting of the Charity Schools within the cities of London and Westminster (*The Annual Subscription Charities and Public Societies in London*, London, 1823, 54).

Winsland clearly had social pretensions. In a bond relating to the construction of a chapel of ease at Hersham Surrey, he is described as 'builder to Sir Richard Frederick of Burwood Park, Walton upon Thames, Bart, and Sir Henry Fletcher of Ashley Park, Bart' (Surrey Heritage, Ref 2843/4/20). He would no doubt have been delighted to have witnessed the marriage of his second daughter Mary Elizabeth, to James Hannen of the Middle temple and to have known that his son-in-law would become Baron Hannen (Polden 2004). As a result his grandchildren would be known as the Hon. Mary Lucy Hannen, the Hon. Margaret Ellen Hannen, the Hon. James Chitty Hannen and the Hon. Henry Arthur Hannen.

Bloomsbury a cosmopolitan parish

The inhabitants of Bloomsbury were cosmopolitan, drawn from across Britain and Ireland and including a sizeable group of foreign extraction. Many of the wealthier members of the community had come to the Parish from outside London and retained houses out of town. Many of the lawyers and judges had been drawn in by the presence of the Inns of Court and law courts; Sir James Mansfield was born in Hampshire, and Sir Joseph Littledale, and his brother Edward, in Lancashire of a Cumberland family; another brother, John, was collector of Customs at Whitehaven. Sergeant at Law Samuel Heywood was from Liverpool. These people were clearly drawn to London, by the opportunities available in the capital and Bloomsbury was the parish in which they chose to settle amongst similarly successful professional and commercial classes.

There were a number of foreign merchants and members of the families of foreign descent interred in the crypt of St George's. Mathias Aspden, from Philadelphia has already been noted. Ignatius Palyart (coffin 5008), was a merchant, with premises at 9 London Street, Fenchurch Street, as well as being the Portuguese Consul General. Both he and his wife (coffin 5003) were interred in the crypt of St George's. The family resided at 10 Bedford Place and at Strand on the Green near Kew (*Holden's 1811 Directory*).

Theodore Gavaron, 52 Woburn Place, was another foreigner living in London. What his profession was is not known. His wife Maria Magdalen, and at least two daughters were born in Gibraltar. The eldest daughter Maria married Francisco Rebellio, 'provisional Portuguese consulgeneral' at St George's Bloomsbury in September 1820 (The Annual Register for the year 1820, 561; Pallot's Index of Marriages). Her sister Catherine married William Weishaupt, who is described in the 1851 census as the 'manager of a foreign merchants house'. Weishaupt was born in Trieste, then within the Austrian Empire. The youngest daughter of the family, Augusta was born in Middlesex in 1818. Louisa, who died aged 13 years and 9 months and was interred in the crypt (coffin 4033), may have been born in Middlesex too.

Charles de Constant (plate 8070) was a native of Geneva. His full name was Charles de Constant de Rebecque. He was known as 'Le Chinois' because of his travels in the Far East between 1779 and 1789 (Dermigny 1964). His cousin was Benjamin de Constant, a French-Swiss novelist and political writer, who had a twelve year relationship with Madame de Staël. In August 1798 Charles de Constant married Anne Louise Renée Achard, the daughter of the banker Jacques Achard, who was also from Geneva (IGI).

Of course there were also families of Huguenot descent. One such family was the Jourdans. Three members of the family - John, Edward and George are recorded on a mural tablet in the church (Table 4.1) and the coffins of two of these men – John (coffin 6120) and Edward (coffin 6028) - were identified in the crypt. The three brothers were the sons of Antoine and Rachel Jourdan. This couple had at least eight children, seven boys and one girl. The first five children - born between 1747 and 1753 - were christened in a Huguenot church in Westminster, and their parents' names were recorded as Antoine and Rachel Jourdan (IGI). John and Edward were christened Jean and Edouard respectively. The final three children, including George, were born between 1754 and 1757 and were christened in the Anglican church of St Martin's in the Fields, and their parent's names were recorded as Anthony and Rachel Jourdan (IGI). It may be that the family had moved home, and that it was convenient to use the church of St Martin in the Field. But possibly Antoine and Rachel had made a conscious decision to become more integrated into English or British society.

Nevertheless, John and Edward Jourdan both married women of foreign descent. They married respectively Susannah and Elizabeth Zornlin, who were Swiss, and whose father was John Jacob Zornlin, a partner in the firm of Battier, Zornlin and Co., merchants, 10 Devonshire Square (*Kent's Directory* 1794). Their mother was Susannah Maria Battier, the daughter of John Rudolph Battier of Basle, who was Zornlin's partner. Battier, Zornlin and Co. went bankrupt in late 1799. It was one of a number of London firms that failed in 1799 as part of wider crisis which began in Hamburg where 152 houses went bankrupt (Schulte Beerbühl, 2008, 75).

George Jourdan married into the Huguenot Mesman family. His wife Mary Jourdan (née Mesman) died on 31 October 1793 aged just 23 and was interred in Christchurch Spitalfields, together with their baby son Charles Daniel who survived his mother by just 2 weeks and died on 12 November 1793 aged 3 weeks (Molleson and Cox 1993, fig. 8.2, fiche 6.1, p.3; Cox 1996, 121). John and George were both silk weavers, and worked out of 14 Spital Square (*PO London 1808*; *Holden's 1811*).

Although it would appear that integration of John and George into English society was limited, it should be noted that by the time of their deaths they had moved away from Spitalfields. John was living in Bedford Place, and George, according to his will, was living in Wanstead, Essex. The third brother, Major Edward Jourdan would appear to have become more integrated into English society. He was as an officer in the service of the East India Company's Madras Army. He fought in the 2nd Mysore War against Hyder Ali and by 1786 was commanding the 2nd Cavalry. He retired from the service in 1788 (Philippart 1828, 261; Dodwell and Miles 1838, 92-3) and returned to England. By 1808 he was living at 43, Devonshire Street, Portland Place (*Holden's 1811*) and he died there in 1830. He was a shareholder in the East India Company (*List* of names 1815) and he was a member of the wealthy upper middle class with notices of his death in the *Gentleman's Magazine* (Oct 1830, 380) and *La Belle Assemblée* (Nov 1830, 231). It is clear that all three brothers had become well integrated into upper middle class society in Bloomsbury. All three are commemorated on their mural monument in St George's.

Conclusion

The crypt population represents part of the elite of Bloomsbury society. Lawyers, civil servants, army and navy officers, MPs, wealthy merchants and bankers, but also up and coming tradesmen intent on improving their position in society, were interred in the crypt of St George's in the first half of the 19th century. The data recovered from the *depositum* plates on their coffins provides a window into their shared history. The potential for historical research into the population interred within the crypt is considerable. The notes presented here have by no measure tapped the full historical potential of the data on the crypt population.