

**THE RISE OF CEMETERY COMPANIES IN
BRITAIN, 1820-53**

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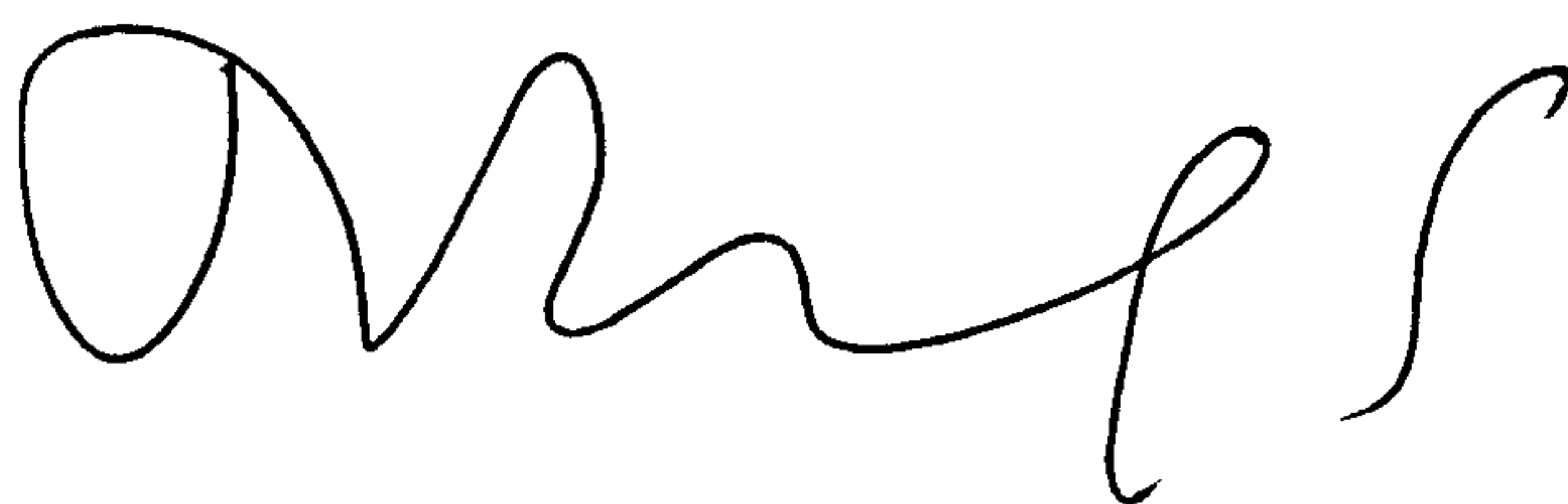
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DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this thesis has been composed by myself,
and that the work which it embodies has been done by myself and
has not been included in another thesis.

Signed

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Julie Rugg', written in a cursive style.

Julie Rugg, September 1992.

ABSTRACT

The Emergence of Cemetery Companies in Britain, 1820-53.

Cemetery companies were the principal agency of the transition from a traditional reliance on graveyards to the use of modern extra-mural cemeteries. The thesis comprises a study of the 113 cemetery companies established from 1820 to 1853, a period which saw the origin of this type of enterprise and its spreading throughout Britain. The companies are not analysed as economic entities, but rather as representations of a range of attitudes towards the problems associated with intramural interment. To facilitate discerning different trends relating to the public perceptions of the burial problem, the companies have been classified according to type. This is an exercise which relies on textual analysis of company documents to understand the principal motivation of each group of directors. Three different types of company are examined in the thesis. Directors of enterprises within the first group to emerge saw the burial problem as a religious-political issue, and used cemetery companies as a means of providing extended space for burial which was independent of the Established Church. The new cemeteries had unconsecrated ground, and offered the freedom for Dissenters to

adopt any burial service they wished. The increased enthusiasm for all joint-stock enterprise in the mid-1830s saw the advent of the speculative cemetery company, which saw in the burial issue the potential to make profits in one of three ways: by tapping a specific territorial market, a particular class market, or by buying and selling the scrip of grand and impractical necropolitan schemes. A third type of company dominated the 1840s, and its main concern was the provision of extra-mural cemeteries as a sanitary measure. In addition to studies of these three groups of companies, the thesis presents analysis of two additional themes essential to the progress of burial reform: fears concerning the integrity of the corpse; and the cultural significance thought to attach to cemetery foundation. The thesis demonstrates, by studying these companies, that the reasons for taking action to found cemetery companies could vary considerably, and that perception of the burial issue altered a number of times.

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- 2:1 Cemetery companies established in Britain 1820-53.

Introduction: 'crowded mortuaries'.

Our own feeling is averse to consider cemeteries with any strong reference to their magnificence or picturesque beauty; and we shall consider that most entitled to our praise which best accomplishes, not its incidental, but its proper objects [1].

Penny Magazine (1834).

A critical change in the way burial was undertaken in Britain occurred in the first half of the nineteenth century. The traditional dependence on churchyards and burial grounds attached to chapels and meeting houses gave way to the use of cemeteries. These were extensive and often beautifully landscaped, located outside the town, and not connected with the Church, either administratively or financially. The principal agency of this change was not the government; it did not take any legislative action on the question of burials until it was pressed into passing the Interment Acts of the early 1850s [2]. Instead in many areas the transition from burial ground to cemetery was facilitated by a joint-stock company. These commercial organisations financed the laying out of cemeteries through the sale of shares, and paid out dividends on the profits made from burial fees.

Historians' interest in the joint-stock cemetery company has been somewhat desultory. In the early 1970s, James Stevens Curl and John Morley established Victorian death as a subject worthy

of historical attention [3]. Both writers touched on the emergence of the joint-stock cemetery, taken in the context of the 'Victorian Celebration of Death'. This was a phenomenon notable for its excessive observance of mourning ritual expressed in all forms - through dress and funerary display. Because they have usually been seen against the background of the nineteenth-century obsession with grief, joint-stock cemeteries are almost always studied in terms of the elaborate memorialisation they assisted. As a consequence, cemeteries have often been assessed only in terms of their aesthetic and architectural value. The most recent work on cemetery history, for instance, constitutes a fraction of a book which is essentially a gazetteer of Victorian and Edwardian cemeteries still worth visiting [4].

Whilst cemetery history as a whole has not been particularly well served by the historian, studies of individual cemeteries have been enlightening. Paul Joyce's study of Abney Park Cemetery in London presents a good account of the Nonconformist tradition which underpinned the establishment of the cemetery [5]. David James's book on Undercliffe Cemetery in Bradford similarly places changes in burial conditions in the town in a social-historical context [6]. For Scotland, the work of Colin Maclean on the foundation of cemeteries in Edinburgh gives a useful account which covers many issues, albeit rather cursorily [7]. Although these studies constitute valuable secondary sources for the cemeteries in question, however, they do not draw together conclusions about general cemetery development.

This thesis has been undertaken because a social-historical analysis of cemetery company foundation is sorely needed. Until

now there has been only limited attention to the chronology of such enterprises: no-one has asked why they should have arisen in the 1820s, for example, and not a decade earlier or later. There has been no attempt to trace the popularity of the cemetery company over the years in question, and explain periods of increased interest. Almost no reference has been made to cemetery company records; and material relating to cemeteries - in contemporary newspapers, periodicals and pamphlets - has been largely untouched. Most importantly, there has been only minimal attempt to ally the development of burial provision with other nineteenth-century social trends: the progress of the campaign against Dissenting grievances, for example, which included the desire for burial ground independent of the Established Church, or the interest in public health, which flourished in the 1840s. It is reasonable to comment that the study of cemeteries has so far been seriously under-researched.

The conclusions in the thesis are based on material relating to virtually all cemetery companies founded between 1820 and 1853. This particular period of time was chosen because it extends from the date of the first company to be established - Manchester's Rusholme Road Proprietary Cemetery Company in 1820 - to the advent of the first effective national legislation on provision for interment - the Burial Act of 1853 [8]. This Act allowed the setting up of cemeteries by burial boards, which laid out grounds with money raised on the poor rate. Some cemetery companies were established after 1853, but their importance - both in terms of provision for interment, and as signifiers of

attitudes towards burial - was much diluted by the existence of burial board cemeteries. Companies founded after 1853, therefore, are not included in this study.

The questions asked by the thesis are aimed at assessing the social and cultural significance of the early nineteenth-century cemetery company. Extensive detail of how the companies functioned - the practical problems associated with the purchase and preparation of large tracts of land for burial, for example - will not be reproduced directly in the thesis. In addition, companies have not been analysed as business entities, and so their use of capital, performance on the utilities market, and profitability over the whole of the nineteenth century will not be addressed. The bias away from economic enquiry is dictated by the material itself: company records are rarely complete, and detailed financial information cannot be gleaned from alternative sources. More importantly, in the majority of cases the company's status as a business enterprise was of much lesser importance than its function as a provider of cemetery land.

One further set of questions has also been excluded from the thesis. It is common for historians of the nineteenth century to analyse social matters in terms of their ability to illuminate class issues. This thesis tends not to be dominated by such concerns, although the question of class is tackled indirectly in some places. Chapter seven, for example, presents an analysis of cemeteries and public health, and in doing so addresses the notion that cemeteries were essentially for the middle classes, and that use of the new grounds excluded the less well-off because the fees were too high. Chapter five explores the amenity

value thought to be attached to cemeteries, and also asks whether their use as a place for rational recreation was aimed at a specific class market. The questions surrounding class have been made peripheral to the main study. The intention was rather to chart reasons for the foundation of companies, and in doing so to grasp an understanding of attitudes towards the problems associated with intramural burials and the significance attached to cemetery foundation. Such a study has importance, since the company was a crucial element in the progression from the reliance on the churchyard to the use of cemeteries.

Detailed exposition of the methodology employed for analysis of the cemetery companies will be deferred until the next chapter. The introduction will be used to answer basic questions on the nature of the cemetery company and give an indication of the way in which the thesis will be structured. Before this, however, a discussion will take place of the source material used. The thesis draws on all the records which could be located relating to cemetery companies which were set up in Britain in this period. An attempt was made to examine every organisation in detail, since the thesis relies heavily on cemetery company records, and because the extent of existing information on any one company could never be anticipated. There is no single place where information can be obtained on cemetery companies for the whole of the period and for all of Britain. The most comprehensive source is the Board of Trade's register of companies, but the listing began only in the mid-1840s, and did not cover Scotland [9]. Contact was therefore made with most of

the record offices in Britain, and a great number of local history libraries, to discover when and how the first major extra-mural cemetery in the area was established and, if by a cemetery company, what records were available. The appendix illustrates the variety of documents used to locate companies, and cites a source for each enterprise.

Extant records were variable in quantity and in quality. Of the 113 companies included in the thesis, 63% had some species of documentation still available. This figure would be higher if burial registers were to be included, but the decision was taken not to use these as a source. As a means of answering questions about cemetery companies, the registers could have been analysed to assess the percentages of burial of persons of different occupation, an exercise which would help to ascertain how far the private cemetery constituted a middle-class domain. Undertaking such research would have been a time-consuming process, however, since study of the registers of all burial grounds in a particular town would necessarily have had to be made to enable comparison. Figures would perforce have to be measured against general mortality rates in the area, to gauge the proportions of a particular class being interred in a specific place. A single study would not have been sufficient to discern a trend: a number of towns would have had to be treated in this same way, a process which would have been too protracted. The use of burial registers for this thesis was avoided, therefore, since such a study would have absorbed time which would probably have been disproportionate to possible findings.

The lack of reference to data taken from registers is not a

serious deficiency, however. The main objective of the thesis - discerning the reasons for company foundation - can be completed satisfactorily without reference to that source. Alternative company records - supplemented by other primary texts - reveal sufficient information to justify analysis. Four particular types of documentation were available: company prospectuses, legal papers, minute books and annual reports. There were no enterprises for which all four sorts of document were extant; it was most common for one or two to exist for any single organisation.

Of these sources, the prospectuses were most important, since their rhetoric constitutes the most telling representation of opinion on the burial issue. Prospectuses were also most commonly available - extant for 43% of companies. The published announcement of companies' foundation did not by any means produce a uniform document. Some prospectuses were extensive and elaborate, incorporating maps of the proposed cemetery. Of this type, that of the Portsea Island General Cemetery Company is a good example. Issued in 1830, the document sets out in detail the reasons why the directors chose to establish the company and the 'Advantages of the Institution' in terms of increased security and freedom of forms of funeral service. Also included is a footnote giving a table which defines the profitability of the Liverpool Necropolis [10]. Similarly extensive and informative prospectuses - all appending lists of directors - were available for such companies as the London General [11], the Newcastle General [12], the Gravesend and Milton [13], and the Brighton

Extra-mural [14].

Other announcements, no longer extant as handbills, were published in the local newspaper. These prospectuses could still be fairly extensive, taking up maybe half a column, usually on the first or second page. The prospectus of the Leicester General Cemetery Company extended to a full column of the Leicester Chronicle in 1845, and included the twelve resolutions of the meeting held to establish the enterprise, and the names of the ninety-one members of the provisional committee [15]. Other announcements could be much shorter, and contain little more than the title of the company, its proposed capital, the cost of shares, a sentence or two defining the purpose of the enterprise, and a contact address. The South London Cemetery Company published its prospectus in the Morning Chronicle in 1836, with no more information than that the capital was to be £60,000, the shares £20 each, and the name of a solicitor [16]. The usefulness of such a source would appear limited, but chapter one demonstrates that differences in prospectuses - in terms of their wording or indeed their lack of content - are essential to the process of categorising enterprises according to their various types.

Legal papers were the next most usual extant source, with 14% of companies having acts of parliament, deeds of settlement or lists of shareholders accessible. The documents were useful for two reasons. Sometimes acts of parliament or deeds of settlement contained some phraseology which provided a clue about why the company was being formed. The 1840 act of parliament establishing the Bristol General Cemetery Company contains the

preamble

Whereas the Burial Grounds within the City of Bristol and County of the same City are some of them very limited in Extent, and situated in the midst of closely-built Neighbourhoods [17].

The deed of settlement of the Public Cemetery Company at Newport, founded in 1842, cited as the object of the company, the provision of land 'for the interment of all classes of persons of what religious persuasion soever they may be' - indicating that the organisation was a Dissenting concern [18]. As well as providing such direct evidence of motivation, legal documents were also useful because they always contained a list of directors, often with occupations, which made prosopographical research on the company possible.

MS minute books were perhaps a more valuable source than the legal documents, although less common: only fourteen books could be located, representing 12% of companies. Even within so small a collection, quality and usefulness was variable. In some places - Halifax, Winchester and Wisbech, for example - entries are minimal, with record kept only of the directors attending meetings and a note of the annual dividend [19]. The paucity of information in these books is more than compensated for by the better records. The Edinburgh Cemetery Company minutes were compiled with great diligence. The prospectus, addresses and annual reports of the company were copied into the book, alongside detailed exposition of the decisions taken by the directors [20]. The minute book of Glasgow's City Burial Ground

Institute and Père Lachaise of Sighthill was similarly useful, since it also contained the company's prospectus, and copies of annual reports [21]. Sheffield's General Cemetery Company minutes were essential to an understanding of the decision taken, ten years after foundation, to apply for an act of parliament and consecrate part of the cemetery - a move which has led some to believe, mistakenly, that Sheffield had in fact two companies [22]. Access to the minute book of the Bristol General Cemetery - currently in private hands - was denied.

Annual reports were perhaps the least satisfactory source referred to, since they proved to be patchy. Aside from Edinburgh's Cemetery and Glasgow's Sighthill Company, no enterprise has an adequate run of annual reports, and indeed in only eight cases - 7% of businesses - were sporadic editions of such documents available at all. The short series of reports held by the local history library at Newcastle is a good example of a case where the reports are particularly fruitful, since there is some continuation of commentary on the issue of burials [23]. The existence of a single report can be valuable as a 'snapshot' of a company at any one time. The Church Cemetery at Nottingham issued a Report of Directors in 1853, which attempted to explain the failure of the cemetery either to pay out a dividend or to complete the laying out of the cemetery. The Report makes clear the evident ambition of the cemetery's architect to produce a burial ground of striking design, no matter what the cost [24].

Prospectuses, legal documents, minute books and annual reports were supplemented by other miscellaneous material relating to companies. Almost all the information on Brighton's

1849 Extra-mural Cemetery Company is contained in a scrapbook held at the cemetery lodge. Prospectuses and reports are included in the book, alongside relevant newspaper clippings [25]. A similar source exists in Norwich where John Greene Crosse, a doctor, pasted into a book cuttings and letters on burial alongside prospectuses from companies in Norwich and further afield [26]. Both Halifax and Leeds have collections originating with the cemetery company of ephemera which includes handbills from other towns [27]. At Northampton, the papers of one director - Thomas Grundy - include annual reports in manuscript form, and notes taken during a tour of cemeteries including those at Nottingham, Derby, York, Leeds and Sheffield, and the principal private grounds in London [28].

It has been seen, then, that records relating directly to cemetery companies are less than complete. In some places an amalgam of sources can produce a reasonable picture of events surrounding the establishment of the cemetery. Newcastle's Westgate Hill Cemetery Company is perhaps the best example. Here, an address given at the first meeting of the company was reproduced in a local pamphlet which included invaluable appendices covering numbers of burials in the town's existing graveyards and information on existing cemetery companies. This pamphlet, together with annual reports and minister's opening address, all supplemented by prosopographical study, produces a detailed impression of motivations for company foundation [29].

In the majority of cases, information from company records was considerably enhanced by reference to the local newspapers

and town guides. Newspapers were used for two purposes. Aside from publishing company prospectuses, newspapers could also contain coverage of company events - essential in those cases where actual records were thin. In some places - York, for example - the paper reported what was said at many of the annual general meetings of the company [30]. Some of the early meetings of the General Cemetery Company in London were covered by the Morning Chronicle [31], and the Bristol Mirror was similarly generous in the space allotted to the Bristol General Cemetery Company [32]. In Ipswich both the town and regional newspapers reproduced particularly detailed reports of its local enterprise [33].

In some instances there was no verbatim recording of meetings, but editorial comment proved equally helpful in gauging the type of company being founded. Thus in Wakefield, no prospectus for the company can be found, but a short favourable comment from the editor appeared in the 'local news' section [34]. Both the Eastern Counties Herald and the Hull Advertiser had editors who were interested in the interment issue, and charted the progress of companies in Gainsborough and Hull [35]. The development of the company in Winchester was recorded in the Hampshire Chronicle [36]. The editor of the Renfrewshire Advertiser was more enthusiastic, publishing no fewer than five extended pieces on the subject of the local company and interment in 1845 and 1846 [37]. Further information on cemetery companies can also be gleaned from the correspondence columns. Letters to the newspaper about the cemetery company are invaluable in obtaining an understanding of local reactions to burial reform,

constituting, for example, complaints about the setting up of spurious speculative cemetery companies [38], or condemnation of burial conditions with praise for company directors taking action [39].

In some areas, the local newspapers make no reference at all to the cemetery company, but can still provide good background information. In Liverpool, the opening of new grounds by the St James Cemetery Company and the Proprietors of the Low Hill General Cemetery Company, in 1825 and 1829 respectively, receives no comment at all in the local press. The Kaleidoscope however, a 'literary supplement' to the Liverpool Mercury, gave extensive coverage during the 1820s to the problem of body-snatching in the area, [40] which, together with comments made in company documents, leads to the reasonable assumption that security was a priority in the new cemeteries. Similarly, the Newcastle Chronicle offers only very limited information on the Westgate Hill Cemetery Company, but again supplies a measure of useful background [41]. Local newspapers, therefore, provided essential supplementary material, and adequately compensated for deficiencies in business records.

Another local source was also employed: town guides. Although these were less important for discovering why a particular company was founded, the guides were indispensable for appreciating the cultural values associated with cemetery foundation. In many towns the opening of a cemetery was cause for festivity, and the cemetery's varied delights were celebrated in guides and directories. In some places, description of the new

burial ground could extend to two or three paragraphs - such was the case with William White's 1837 gazetteer of the West Riding, which included reviews of the new cemeteries at Sheffield and Leeds [42]. Guides also provided useful prosopographical material, since they often listed the directors of the town's main institutions.

Moving away from the local level, two national sources gave invaluable assistance in discerning motivations and trends for cemetery companies. Although letters, reports or editorials in The Times rarely made direct comment on individual companies, or the foundation of such enterprises in general [43], it was an informative source about the context in terms of educated public opinion. Three separate trawls of the newspaper were completed for information on the themes in the thesis relating to body-snatching, Dissenting grievances and public health debate. In each case, The Times was important in tracing changes in opinion on the issue over the period in question, and so assisted an understanding of the chronology of company foundation.

Government documents were also studied, and these in some cases illuminated the process of change in specific localities. The Board of Health commissioned reports on the sanitary conditions in towns in the late 1840s, which produced work including that by William Ranger on Leicester, William Lee on Norwich and Reading and John Smith on York and Hull [44]. Each of those reports contains extended analysis on burial conditions in the locality in question, including assessment of company cemeteries. Wider comment on burial in the provinces was produced in the Report on a General Scheme of Extra-mural Sepulture for

County Towns of 1851 [45], a document which is perhaps more important to an understanding of cemetery history than the frequently-used 1843 Interment Report [46].

In summary, therefore, the primary documents used for the thesis were wide-ranging, incorporating company prospectuses, minute books, annual reports, legal documents, local and national newspapers, town guides and government sources. Naturally, recourse was also made to pamphlets and books on cemeteries produced in the period. Four books in particular were essential: George Collison's Cemetery Interment (1840); John Claudius Loudon's On the Laying Out, Planting and Managing of Cemeteries and...Churchyards (1843); John Strang's Necropolis Glasguensis (1831); and George Alfred Walker's Gatherings from Graveyards (1839) [47]. However, no single source can be cited as being most essential to an understanding of cemetery company history in this period, or even of the more general field of cemetery development - possibly one of the more significant reasons why such research has never been undertaken before.

Analysis of primary source material has revealed that historians have tended to misjudge the cemetery company. A common view is that such enterprises were founded by entrepreneurs eager to make a profit by meeting the demand for new burial ground. Morley, for example, intimates that they represented a particularly tasteless example of commercialism preying on grief, as was much of the paraphernalia of mourning which was touted in the nineteenth century [48]. Curl presents hints of a battle for 'respectability' waged by the companies, which was won only as a

consequence of the popularity of the General Cemetery Company with London's high-society families [49]. The assumption has been made that because they paid out dividends, the companies were primarily profit-motivated.

This thesis will demonstrate that it is a mistake to view the cemetery company as an institution uniform in its objectives. Each company - and each director, no doubt - had a unique mixture of motivation for taking action, in which elements so diverse as religious politics, aesthetic preferences and scientific considerations could hold sway. There is an infinite degree of shading between two extremes - from the highest religious principles, for example, to basic commercial exploitation - and all companies can be located somewhere along that axis. For the purposes of analysis, however, it is possible to assign each company to one of three groups: those in which public health matters had priority; companies founded by entrepreneurs wanting to exploit particular markets for burials; and those enterprises set up to serve specific religious denominations. Classifying companies in this fashion allows for the definition of specific trends - when burial was first perceived as a public health issue, for example - which reveal much about attitudes towards interment. Chapter one details the process of categorisation and demonstrates the use made of company records in this procedure.

The belief that all cemetery companies were profit-motivated is often matched by a further misconception: that such enterprises arose to meet demand for improved burial facilities. Conditions in the old graveyards and burial grounds demanded change - the causal link seems to be obvious. Curl, for example,

states that following increases in population at the beginning of the nineteenth century, there had to be a change of policy:

The overloading of parish graveyards can be imagined, and it was clear that a radical approach to the burial of the dead would have to be devised [50].

New cemeteries, it is assumed, were laid out because the existing churchyards were not sufficient to deal with increases in population. The remainder of the introduction will assess the significance of the correlation between places of high population and cemetery reform. It will be shown that the majority of towns showing rapid rates of increase did make moves towards the establishment of new burial grounds. Assuming a direct causal connection, however, is too simplistic. The source material demonstrates that the poor quality of burial conditions alone was rarely sufficient to warrant changes taking place. In Kidderminster, for example, a cemetery company was founded in 1842, not as a direct consequence of inadequacies of the existing burial places, but because the local Anglican clergyman had refused burial to a Dissenting minister. The Nonconformist congregations of the town therefore laid out a new cemetery - financed on the joint-stock principle - to create facilities for interment independent of the Established Church [51].

The example of Kidderminster demonstrates that attitudes towards the problem of burials were usually far more complex than the simple expression of revulsion against existing conditions and the desire to institute an improvement. Few company prospectuses stressed that the priority was the extension of

burial provision, merely because existing facilities were inadequate. It was more common for company rhetoric to show concern expressed on emotional, moral, religious-political, social and sanitary fronts; and over the thirty-three year period, the issue of burials came to acquire multi-faceted significance.

The introduction will illustrate the fact that although burial conditions were consistently appalling, burial reformers could express dissatisfaction for many different reasons, and that the 'popularity' of those reasons varied throughout the period in question. Source material will be taken principally from Hull, since material relating to burials in the town is relatively abundant, both in terms of outlining conditions, and in representing opinion about the issue. Further material drawn from other towns will show that Hull was not atypical both in the scale of its problem, and in the type of response.

Poor conditions in intramural burial places in towns and cities throughout Britain were, without a doubt, caused by the rapid increases of the urban population in the first half of the nineteenth century. In 1801, the population of Hull stood at 30,000, a figure which swelled to 52,000 within the space of only thirty years. If anything, Hull's expansion was slightly below the urban average. Table 1:1 gives an indication of the rates of growth of a selection of towns and cities in the 1801-1830 period.

Table 1:1 - Increases in urban population.

	1801	1831	% increase		1801	1831	% increase
	(000s)				(000s)		
London	959	1,656	73	Portsmouth	33	50	52
Manchester	89	223	150	Hull	30	52	73
Edinburgh	83	162	95	Nottingham	29	50	72
Liverpool	82	202	146	Dundee	26	45	73
Glasgow	77	202	162	Paisley	25	46	84
Birmingham	71	144	103	Leicester	17	41	141
Bristol	61	104	71	Greenock	17	27	59
Leeds	53	123	132	York	17	26	53
Sheffield	46	92	100	Yarmouth	17	25	47
Plymouth	40	66	65	Chester	15	21	40
Norwich	36	61	69	Shrewsbury	15	21	40
Newcastle	33	54	64	Wolverhampton	13	25	93

[52].

A significant proportion of this increased population was inadequately housed, crushed into insanitary courts and cellars. The 1840 Select Committee on Towns had discovered 20% of the population of Liverpool and 12% of that of Manchester living in cellars [53]. In London, of the 1,465 labouring families living the parish of St George's, 929 were able to rent only a single room and 408 only two rooms. Conditions were even more acute in Marylebone. Here, 382 families inhabited single rooms and 196 single people had only the share of a room [54].

This degree of overcrowding had serious consequences for public health. The national death rate had shown consistent decline from around 1780 but from the 1810s onwards had begun to increase, a trend noticed by the statistician William Farr in 1849 [55]. In York, for example, the death rate for 1820-22 was 19.4 per thousand, a figure which had grown to 24.9 per thousand

in 1841-51 [56]. Rapid urbanisation - excluding all possibility of providing even the most basic sanitary facilities - was a significant cause of rising mortality, with death rates in the more overcrowded areas of the big towns being far in advance of totals in the more salubrious neighbourhoods. By the 1840s, Farr was recording that life expectancies were up to twenty years higher in rural districts compared with the worst urban areas [57]. Urbanisation was increasing the death rate, creating greater numbers of dead to be interred.

It was clear, however, that existing burial provision - in private grounds, parish churchyards, family vaults and Nonconformist graveyards - was entirely insufficient to accommodate the newly massing dead, a fact which was recognised in most large towns. Evidence of the inadequacies of British burial grounds is legion. The example of London illustrates this point. It was commented in 1843 that Paris had some 400 acres of burial ground for its population of less than one million; London perhaps half the amount for twice the number of people. Taken over a length of time, the accumulation of crammed-in coffins reached horrifying proportions: from the late eighteenth century until 1832, for example, the pauper burial ground at Bethnal Green had accommodated in its 2.5 acres 56,000 dead, and in a period of 160 years the four-acre Dissenting burial ground at Bunhill Fields had taken 107,416 interments [58]. Detailed study on the churchyards and burial grounds of the capital was undertaken by the sanitary reformer Edwin Chadwick in the early 1840s. His report specified just how limited was the land

available for burials, as table 1:2 demonstrates. The figures citing the highest number of burials per year in any ground show that particular examples of overcrowding could be startling.

Table 1:2 - Burial grounds in London.

Burial grounds	acres	burials per year	no. of burials per year per acre	highest no. of burials per year per acre in any ground.
Parochial	176.3	33,747	191	3,073
Prot. Dissent	8.7	1,715	197	1,210
Private	12.6	5,112	405	2,323
Others*	20.5	3,781	289	-

* includes Roman Catholic, Jews, Swedish Church and Undescribed.

[59]

At the time when Chadwick was compiling his report, reformers were recommending that only 136 interments should take place per acre in a year [60].

The insufficiency of burial provision in the provinces was as extreme as that in London. A report sent by James Smith to the General Board of Health in 1850 detailing the sanitary condition of Hull contained an appendix showing what effect the pressure of population had exerted on the town's graveyards [61]. Hull was largely reliant on the Holy Trinity Burial Ground at Dock Green, situated in the heart of the town. The three-acre ground had been opened relatively recently - in 1783 - and still had space for burial. The interment of cholera victims in the ground and its proximity to the most heavily populated areas of the town were felt to be cause for alarm, however, because of the supposedly

detrimental effects of graveyard 'miasmas'. The parish of St Mary's also had a burial ground of half an acre, located on Trippet Street, again, a densely-housed neighbourhood.

More troubling still were conditions in the churchyards in the town. The Holy Trinity Church, at the Market Place, also had a burial ground attached, of nearly one and a half acres. This ground had been in use since about 1300, and was so full that its surface was well above the level of the street. The St Mary's churchyard was in a similar condition - its half acre or so had also been in use for the past five hundred years, and it too was so full that it projected out into the street, above the level of the pavement. The St James Church on Mytongate had only a limited graveyard around it, but burial vaults beneath the church had accommodation for over five thousand coffins. Vaults were also available at the Wesleyan Chapel on Humber Street, and the Independent Chapel on Fish Street, again in the centre of town [62]. These burial places took the majority of burials in the town, which between 1838 and 1845 averaged 1,136 a year; interments in the whole eight-year period totalled 9,113 [63]. Hull was not distinctive in having unsatisfactory burial places; the situation was true of the majority of towns in Britain.

In terms of general nuisance value there were three distinct elements relating to existing burial provision which provoked comment: the extended use over long periods of time of limited ground; overcrowding, which had become a chronic feature of city interment; and the fact that the majority of burial grounds were located in populous areas. In 1851 Board of Health

directors compiled a Report on the burial conditions in 200 country towns. The Report concluded that many towns continued to rely on traditional places of burial which had been in use for centuries [64]. This observation seems to have been true of almost all populous areas. The five acres comprising the burial grounds of Canterbury were typical. There, 'thousands upon thousands of bodies have been interred for a period extending far beyond two centuries' [65]. In York, the graveyards 'have been places of sepulture for ages past, and the soil almost humanised with interment' [66]. The Board of Health directors also noted that many towns continued burial in such grounds 'long after they had been declared by competent authorities to be not only full but overcrowded' [67]. In all places, two or three decades of chronic overuse supplemented the centuries of interment, and cases such as the parish churchyard in Great Yarmouth were common. Here, by the early 1850s, one half of the ground had been in use for over 700 years, and in the other half, 9,235 bodies had been interred in the last twenty years [68]. In Huddersfield, a clergyman named Bateman recalled that the churchyard had been full when he took up his incumbency some years before, but even so, since then, 2,500 burials had taken place [69].

The continued use of the same land over long periods of time was aggravated by the fact that the ground was often very limited in its extent. William Mackinnon, heading the House of Commons Select Committee of 1842 looking into intramural interment, received information on burial from all over Britain. Correspondence included a letter from George Fisher, the mayor of

Cambridge. His detailing of burial facilities in the town shows that continued use was made of burial ground well beyond its maximum capacity, as demonstrated in Table 1:3.

Table 1:3 - Cambridge burials, 1842.

Parish	churtyard (yds. square)	unoccupied space (yds. square)	possible interments	average no. of burials.
All Saints	638	none	none	23
St Andrew the Great	790	none	none	45
St Andrew the Less	1,872	297	128	132
St Benedict	670	none	none	19
St Botolph	1,660	230	100	22
St Clement	1,200	none	none	34
St Edward	600	none	none	18
St Giles	1,360	none	none	58
St Mary the Less	2,662	ample space		23
St Mary the Great	1,040	a few yards	24	24
St Michael	968	244	105	8
St Peter	1,150	none	none	18
Holy Sepulchre	1,534	none	none	15
Holy Trinity	1,000	none	none	52

[70].

The fourteen churchyards noted in the table contain some 3.5 acres of land, in which 491 burials took place in the year specified. In only four of the fourteen churchyards did burials take place within the capacity of the ground. In seven of the remaining ten, there were burials at an average annual rate of 186 per acre, well above the 'acceptable' figure of 136 interments per acre. The situation in Cambridge was poor, but conditions in the larger cities could be much worse. In

Birmingham, for example, six churchyards and one burial ground located in the city centre took, in 1848, over 3,500 interments in only twelve acres of land [71]. In Bristol, an average of 2,400 bodies were accommodated in ten acres of ground [72]. In Brighton, there were 1,469 deaths in the city in 1849, and accommodation for burial had to be found in one churchyard, two small burial grounds attached to chapels and an inadequate general burial ground [73].

Increases in urban populations and mortality, the extended use of the same burial ground, and its limited size, together caused acute overcrowding, which meant that interment was often only partial. In some grounds the coffins were by necessity stacked rather than interred, since there was no longer sufficient fresh earth for burial. One ground, owned by the Parish of St Martin's in London, reached the level of first-floor windows [74]. In Barnstaple, the yard attached to the church of St Peter and St Paul was raised eight feet from the level of the street, and

the inmates of the adjoining houses in the High-Street sometimes see interments taking place above the level of the parlours, where they take their meals, and within five or six feet of their windows [75].

Insufficient earth for burial also meant that corpses were frequently exposed to view, and passers-by were subject to 'the revolting sight of half-decayed human limbs and ghastly countenances that show the work of death but half complete' [76]. In many places the soil itself consisted of 'pulverised bones and coffins' [77], and was 'sodden with human flesh and gore' [78].

A persistent reminder of the horrors attending intramural burial grounds was the pervasive noxious odour which was inextricably allied with putrefying remains inadequately interred. It was possible to turn away from the horrors, but the smells could not be avoided. A vicar in Huddersfield complained of his churchyard:

In summer the effluvium is terrible, and that, not especially in consequence of the opening of some grave, but as a general condition of ground and air. The whole of the windows on one side of the church have been fastened up to keep out the stench [79].

St Stephen's, on Coleman Street in London, had overfilled vaults, the stench from which hung in the adjoining street which was too narrow to admit of any fresh air. One man complained to The Times about the ground:

I have offices overlooking this yard, and have been frequently compelled to leave them for a time in consequence of the noisome smell and impure air with which the house is filled [80].

This gentleman was at least fortunate in being able to leave his offices. For those whose houses overlooked graveyards there could be no escape. The smell, it was claimed, impregnated food and water, and keeping windows closed was a poor remedy.

Conditions in graveyards and burial grounds in towns and cities were deemed doubly offensive because of their location. The traditional places of burial were often central, surrounded by houses and offices. One square mile in the centre of

Birmingham contained the churchyards of St Philip's, St Paul's, St Mary's, St Bartholomew's, St Martin's and the Park Street burial ground [81]. It was rare for such graveyards to be hidden from view. John Glyde's commentary on Ipswich noted that 'several of our graveyards are situated in the midst of thoroughfares' [82]. Charles Dickens, expert at describing the fabric of London streets, depicted a graveyard separated from the road 'by a low parapet wall and an iron railing'. Here the dead

lay cheek by jowl with life; no deeper down than the feet of the throng that passed there every day, and piled high as their throats [83].

Worst still were the grounds situated in the heart of the most densely populated neighbourhoods, looked in at from all sides by houses. 'Can a few inches from the doors of the living', asked one commentator, 'be a proper place for the putrefaction of the dead?' [84]. This could certainly not be the case whilst the sepulchral chaos characteristic of inner-city grounds was evident to anyone choosing to glance out of the window. The most casual passer-by could observe the desperate attempts of the gravedigger and sexton to inter where there was no room. William Chamberlain, a gravedigger, complained to the Select Committee on the Health of Towns in 1842:

We could not throw a piece of wood or body up without being seen; the people actually cried "shame" out of the windows at the backs of the houses on account of it [85].

Thus the crisis of city burials - the chronic overuse of existing ground, and the pressing need for extra space - was exacerbated by the proximity of the living to the dead, which rendered the

problem inescapable.

In the majority of the places where examples have been cited about burial conditions - London, Hull, York, Canterbury, Great Yarmouth, Cambridge, Birmingham, Bristol, Brighton, and Ipswich - a cemetery company was founded to provide additional burial ground. These towns and cities demonstrate that there was indeed a connection between inadequate provision and the foundation of companies. It remains to be asked, however, how significant that connection was. Two facts in particular lead to the conclusion that the link was of only indirect importance: there were places showing great need, but where no cemeteries were provided; and in areas where cemeteries were provided, the extension of space for interment was not always the primary reason for taking action.

Notwithstanding the appalling conditions in their churchyards, it was possible for communities to be apathetic about burials. The Gentleman's Magazine noted in 1805 that burials in the churchyard in St Paul's in Covent Garden were

so frequent, that the place is not capacious enough decently to contain the crowds of dead there interred; so that some of them are not laid above a foot under the loose earth [86].

Thirty-five years later, the ground was still taking an equivalent to 129 interments per acre each year, and it was reported that 'on recent occasions, the gravedigger had to make several trials before he could find room for a new tenant' [87]. As late as 1839, Dr George Walker was commending that the interment of the dead among the living was deemed 'so natural'

that 'the most perfect indifference prevails upon the subject' [88].

Again this situation was also reflected in the provinces. In 1847 the Pilot and Rochdale Reporter published an editorial pressing the need for a new cemetery in the town. Rochdale had fourteen burial grounds, only one of which was deemed sanitary. The rest were 'either loathsome, as far as the nature of the soil is concerned, or nearly filled with graves' [89]. The writer concluded that 'to provide a Public Cemetery in a suitable situation...is rapidly becoming an absolute necessity' [90]. It was recommended that the foundation of a joint-stock company would constitute the best remedy. Further thoughts on the subject, were promised 'if we find a favourable expression of opinion sufficiently general' [91]. In the next issue of the Pilot, however, the editor sadly noted that there was no interest shown at all in the question of interments, commenting:

we could not with a fair hope of success take the steps we had proposed to ourselves to secure Public Cemeteries for Rochdale [92].

Despite the evident need, new cemetery land was not laid out until the burial board took action in 1855 [93].

Rochdale was not alone in providing evidence of a place in which poor conditions were no guarantee of action. Heavy population growth was experienced in - among other places - Macclesfield, Wigan, Stoke-on-Trent, Bolton and Bury, with evidence that the burial grounds were insufficient [94]. Yet in none of these places were moves forthcoming to provide additional land for interment until burial boards took action in

the 1850s or 1860s. Too much reliance, therefore, should not be placed on the connection between inadequate burial provision and cemetery foundation.

Even in those towns where companies were set up, there was often a perceptible delay in action. Given the scale of the burial problem and its sheer offensiveness, it is a little surprising that the extra-mural cemetery did not emerge in some places at an earlier date. The press of population was perhaps not making itself felt until the 1820s, but in many towns - including the majority of towns where conditions have been cited, Canterbury, Cambridge, Brighton, Ipswich, and Hull - moves to establish an extra-mural cemetery did not arise until the 1840s. An attempt to explain the laxity in this instance was made by George Milner, a local merchant and director of the Hull General Cemetery Company. He wrote:

Burial is a subject rarely considered; and consequently the evils that may arise from the process, if imperfectly performed, but seldom thought of: habit has made us familiar with the present state of things, and, to all appearance, blunted the sensibilities of our nature;...rarely do we try to obviate the evil [95].

A similar observation was made by Dr John Green Crosse, a Norwich doctor, in a letter to his local newspaper. He commented that the 'regular and more fixed population' of Norwich was 'disregardful' of the 'obnoxious and deleterious sights daily presented to its view' [96]. Tolerance for appalling burial conditions could be very high. The study of cemetery company literature makes clear

that normally it was only when the issue of interments was allied with another cause, or exacerbated by some particular crisis, that action was taken.

The fact that inadequacy of burial provision usually played only a peripheral role as a catalyst for cemetery foundation is demonstrated by the example of Newcastle. Figures are available for interments in six of the main burial grounds in the town in the years 1820-25. Table 1:4 summarises the information.

Table 1:4 - Burials in the principal burial grounds of Newcastle, 1820-25.

Burial Ground	Size in approx. acres	1820	1821	1822	1823	1824	1825
Ballast Hills	1.5	542	527	556	523	805	624
All Saints	0.8	100	106	103	135	149	111
St John's	0.8	143	144	177	149	193	168
St Nicholas	0.5	59	65	56	68	72	82
St Andrew's	--	139	223	140	135	235	189
Friends	--	3	2	1	6	4	5

[97].

The Ballast Hill Burial Ground, which took a significant proportion of interments in Newcastle, was owned by the Dissenting community. The trustees who managed the ground also took the initiative in setting up a cemetery company in the town. Such a move does not seem to be particularly surprising. The one and a half acres of Ballast Hills accommodated over 3,500 burials in the six-year period outlined in the table above, averaging at 596 burials a year. By any index this degree of use would seem to

be excessive.

The promoters of the new cemetery, however, did not seem to think so. There is no mention of the overcrowding in the Ballast Hill Burial Ground in the minute books kept by the Trustees [98]. Speakers at the meeting to establish the company and the minister giving the cemetery's opening address did refer to conditions in the Ballast Hill grounds, but it is clear that the demand for change arose from a series of very specific incidents. Action followed the discovery of resurrectionist activity in the area, coupled with the belief that the Ballast Hills ground was not secure from violation. Indeed, moves to establish a new cemetery sprang from fund-raising efforts to rebuild the fencing; and the new burial ground was 'a place...defended by walls and other methods of security' [99]. Thus it may be claimed that the new cemetery was not built because Ballast Hills was felt to be too small. In Newcastle, the overuse of existing facilities for interment was of lesser importance than the desire for well-protected burial ground.

Newcastle was not exceptional in its priorities. It was common for the issue of intramural interments to be seen in terms beyond the basic nuisance factor. Again, reference back to those towns where overcrowding was very much a problem, and where cemetery companies were founded, shows that factors other than the poverty of existing provision was most influential in the decision to take action. In Great Yarmouth, for example, it was the discovery of body-snatching in the town that led to action [100]. Birmingham saw two separate companies being founded in

1832 and 1845, both enterprises having religious-political reasons for foundation [101]. The problems associated with intramural interment had much greater significance than the need to extend burial ground.

Literature throughout the period demonstrates the fact that rhetoric attached to the issue could be varied in its appeal. One good example is a short book published in 1846 by George Milner, a Hull merchant: On Cemetery Burial. The aim of the work was stated in the preface: to call the attention of the 'philanthropic and benevolent' to the poor condition of the graveyards and burial grounds of the town [102]. Milner spends the first three quarters of the book delineating the burial practices of the 'Ancients'. For the last quarter he addresses the subject of 'modern Sepulture', where his approach is very typical of the time. He does not dwell on the inadequate space in the existing graveyards of the town, which in itself would be thought cause enough to create a demand for reform. Rather, Milner stresses the fact that burials in the town had deleterious consequences both in terms of public health and morality. The rhetoric he uses is wide-ranging and covers many of the favoured Victorian hobby-horses: philanthropy - 'it becomes the bounden duty of every good citizen to lend a hand' [103]; sensibility - current burial practices 'blunt and deaden those finer feelings' [104]; rational recreation - cemeteries offer 'shrubs, flowers and variegated walks' [105]; and civic pride - 'this wealthy port' deserves a 'suitable cemetery' [106]. Milner was not exceptional in seeing cemetery reform as a multi-faceted question. The issue of burials, therefore, was not so simple as

might first be thought: no clear-cut 'cause-and-effect' pattern operated between apparent need and provision made.

The thesis will delineate the various controversies attached to interment, and the associated changing purpose of the cemetery company. Certainly, throughout the whole period, there existed a basic discontent with the nature of intramural interment. In many places, however, reform took place only once this dissatisfaction had been heightened by the play of a range of forces. The thesis examines these elements, approaching them in roughly chronological order. The period can be split into three near-decades, representing the dominance of particular themes: 1820-32, 1833-8 and 1839-53. There was a great deal of overlapping, however, and some trends carried on through all three stages.

The desire to protect the corpse from disturbance - inevitable in overcrowded churchyards - was one of the underlying themes for the whole period. In the years before 1832, however, this need was intensified by the increased activity of body-snatchers, serving an expanding medical community with cadavers for dissection. Resurrectionist activity granted the issue of burials a degree of hysterical emotiveness which made action imperative. The possibility that corpses of friends or relatives might be parcelled up by resurrection men - a notoriously barbaric crew - and exposed to the knife of the anatomist held both a spiritual and a sexual threat even aside from the emotional anguish caused by interference with the corpse. The extent of popular feeling which was expressed against body-snatching has been explored in detail in Ruth Richardson's Death.

Dissection and the Destitute, which traces the course of events leading up to the passage in 1832 of Warburton's Anatomy Act, which ended the criminal trade in cadavers [107].

Richardson's work describes the means by which communities sought to protect their dead from resurrectionist activity, analysis which is extended by this thesis to include cemetery foundation. Chapter two shows that the strength of revulsion against body-snatching can be cited as a catalyst for the emergence of the cemetery company in the 1820s. There were eight companies established before 1832, and all of these enterprises employed conspicuous security measures in their cemeteries. Even after this time, the image of desecration created by body-snatching and dissection lived on, with horror transferred to the sexton and his searching rod, destroying coffins and mangling corpses in an attempt to find space for further burial. Companies continued to give the impression of security, repose and permanence in their grounds, selling graves in perpetuity and building high walls and railings.

Contemporaneous with the regard for security common to all the earlier companies was the desire to alleviate the long-standing burial grievance suffered by Dissenters. Of the eight companies established in the 1820s, six were founded by Nonconformists, who opened unconsecrated cemeteries. The growth of Dissenting communities pressurised the already inadequate Nonconformist burial provision. The connection between Dissent and company formation remained strong. Indeed, during the 1830s the cemetery company was often considered an exclusively Dissenting institution. Agitation for the alleviation of all

Dissenting grievances, which gathered pace from the mid-1830s, soured relations between Nonconformity and the Church of England making attempt at co-operation on the vexed issue of interments unlikely. The attempts of William McKinnon, M.P., to implement burial reform favourable to the Church showed how radically the threat to its near-monopoly of burial could affect the clergy. It is certain that for some directors, using the cemetery company as a weapon against the Church was not out of the question. In some areas, Anglicans responded by also backing companies, which were designed to protect the financial interests of the clergy.

It is only in the mid-1830s that the purely speculative cemetery emerged, exactly at the point that Curl claims cemetery companies became 'respectable' [108]. The new type of enterprise which appeared in 1835 was founded in the confident expectation of profit, since earlier companies had proved to be financially successful - some spectacularly so. Despite the long-standing assumptions which assign the profit motive to all cemetery companies, speculation in burials was a limited phenomenon, which affected London, Manchester and Scotland only. Speculation in cemetery companies in these areas generally followed the periodic investment booms which occurred in the mid-1830s and mid-1840s, and only rarely succeeded in founding an institution with any degree of permanence. Local inhabitants were quick to note the predominance of profit motive in these concerns, and often withheld support, preferring to back companies which had the interests of the community as a priority.

The fact that the majority of companies laid out beautiful

cemeteries might lead some to assume that the purpose would be to attract custom and so increase profits. This was not the case, however. The provision of an impressive extra-mural cemetery had become a matter of civic pride, and this theme subtly underlies much of the improvement in burial provision in the period. The notion of urban improvement, currently being recognised in the work of Borsay and others as being a key feature of the eighteenth century [109], was still perceptible in the first half of the nineteenth century. The cemetery company became part of a general attempt to design cities and towns worthy of the industrial energy which so characterised the nation. A beautiful cemetery was one of the civilised and civilising elements considered essential to the mid-nineteenth-century landscape, and also constituted a valuable amenity for rational recreation. Towns vied with each other to present the most impressive example. Indeed, it was considered to be shameful to be lacking in this regard, and the acquisition of a company cemetery by a rival town was often strong motivation for similar action.

The question of public health did not strongly affect burials until the 1840s, although companies founded with the aim of improving burial conditions had been formed on a sporadic basis before that time. The key text which influenced public opinion on the matter was not Edwin Chadwick's 1843 Interment Report, as many have believed, but Dr George Walker's Gatherings from Graveyards. This work, published in 1839, was read throughout Britain, and incontrovertibly allied 'miasmatic' gases from graveyards with ill health in a community. The melodramatic relish with which the connection was described, and the purple

prose used to recount conditions in the worst burial places in London, helped to focus dissatisfaction regarding poor burial conditions. Those seeking improved quality of interment could use the often emotional language of the book to help convince others of the seriousness of the issue. The 1840s were dominated by public health cemetery companies which had as their priority the provision of hygienic burial facilities, often with special rates for the poor. It is the establishment of this type of company especially which leads to the conclusion that the provinces have been castigated unfairly by historians such as Anthony Wohl for lack of action on sanitary issues in this period [110], and that greater attention should be paid to the opportunities for civic improvement presented by joint-stock financing.

This introduction must be concluded by reiterating surprise that the varied energies which were directed towards the formation of cemetery companies have been so long ignored by historians. There has been considerable neglect in overlooking what one commentator, writing to The Times, placed among the major issues of the day:

It is now time that every Englishman should see that the abolition of the Corn Law is not all that he requires; that free trade is not the only thing that will make him cheerful, and happy; that the Metropolitan Buildings Act is not all that can be enacted to supply him with purer air; that the erection of longer sewers will not take away all the unpleasant smells. It is true that they are all

productive of some good, but are comparatively trifling compared with the subject of intramural interment [111].

This thesis hopes to rescue burial reform and the cemetery company from obscurity, granting it the degree of social, religious, economic and cultural significance it deserves.

FOOTNOTES

In all the footnotes in the thesis, sources are printed in London unless otherwise stated.

Epigraph: Halifax Guardian, 21 May 1836.

1. Penny Magazine, 3 (1834), 389.
2. An Act to Make Better Provision for the Interment of the Dead in and near the Metropolis, 13&14 Vict. c.52 (1850); An Act to amend the Laws concerning the Burial of the Dead in the Metropolis, 15&16 Vict. c.85 (1852).
3. J.S.Curl, A Victorian Celebration of Death (1972); J.Morley, Death, Heaven and the Victorians (1971).
4. C.Brooks, Mortal Remains (Exeter, 1989).
5. P.Joyce, A Guide to Abney Park Cemetery (1984).
6. D.James, Undercliffe: Bradford's Historic Victorian Cemetery (Halifax, 1991).
7. C Maclean, 'Nineteenth-century cemeteries', in A.Boyle et al., Ruins and Remains: Edinburgh's Neglected Heritage.
8. An Act to amend the Laws concerning the Burial of the Dead in England beyond the limits of the Metropolis and to amend the Act concerning the Burial of the Dead in the Metropolis, 16&17 Vict. c.134 (1853).
9. Reports by the Registrar of Joint-Stock Companies to the Committee of the Privy Council for Trade (1846-1853).
10. Prospectus of the Portsea Island Cemetery Company (1830). Sanderson Collection, Local History Library, Portsmouth

Central Library.

11. Prospectus of the General Cemetery Company, for providing places of interment, secure from violation, inoffensive to public health and decency, and ornamental to the metropolis (1830). British Museum, London.
12. Prospectus of the Newcastle upon Tyne General Cemetery Company (1834). Tyne and Wear Archive Office, Newcastle.
13. Gravesend and Milton Cemetery Company, to be Incorporated by Act of Parliament (1838). Local History Library, Gravesend Central Library.
14. Prospectus of the Extra-mural Cemetery Company (1850). Woodvale Cemetery and Crematorium, Lewes Road, Brighton.
15. Leicester Chronicle, 27 Sept. 1845. Note that page numbers will not be given for newspapers other than The Times.
16. Morning Chronicle, 30 May 1836.
17. An Act of Parliament for Establishing a General Cemetery for the Interment of the Dead in or near the City of Bristol, 1 Vict. c.131 (1837).
18. Copy of the Deed of Settlement of the Public Cemetery Company established at Newport, Monmouthshire (1842), 5. Newport Central Library.
19. MS Minute Book of the Halifax General Cemetery, Calderdale District Archives, Halifax; MS Minute Book of the Winchester Cemetery Company, Hampshire Record Office, Winchester; MS Minutes of the Wisbech Cemetery Company, Wisbech and Fenland Museum.
20. MS Minute Book of the Edinburgh Cemetery Company, vol 1.

Scottish Record Office, Edinburgh.

21. MS Minute Book of the City Burial Grounds Institute and Père Lachaise of Sighthill, Glasgow Archive Office. Hereafter, the Institute will be referred to as Sighthill.
22. Brooks, Mortal Remains, 41.
23. Annual Reports of the Westgate Hill Cemetery Company. Local History Library, Newcastle Central Library.
24. Nottingham Church Cemetery: Report of Directors (1855). Local History Library, Nottingham Central Library.
25. Woodvale Cemetery and Crematorium, Lewes Road, Brighton.
26. Scrapbook of John Greene Crosse (1829-46). Norfolk Record Office, Norwich.
27. Halifax Cemetery, Lister Lane, miscellaneous documents including accounts, tenders and contracts (1836-45), Calderdale District Archives, Halifax; Leeds General Cemetery Company: miscellaneous correspondence, Brotherton Library, University of Leeds.
28. Northampton General Cemetery Company: miscellaneous correspondence 1830s-1880s, collected by Thomas Grundy.
29. J.Fenwick, Substance of the Speech given at a General Meeting of the Various Denominations of Protestant Dissenters, of Newcastle upon Tyne, on the 14th June 1825, to take into Consideration the Propriety of Obtaining a New Place of Sepulture (1825); Annual Reports of the Westgate Hill Cemetery Company; R.Pengilly, Address delivered at the first interment in the Westgate Hill General Cemetery, Newcastle upon Tyne (1829), all Local History Library, Newcastle

Central Library.

30. Yorkshire Gazette, 7 Jun. 1834; 9 Jul. 1836; 16 Oct. 1837; 28 Jul. 1838; 29 Jul. 1848.
31. Morning Chronicle, 30 Apr. 1830; 10 Jun. 1830; 6 Jul. 1830.
32. Bristol Mirror, 14 May 1836; 18 Feb. 1837.
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1. The cemetery company in Britain: 'a subject of serious importance'.

George Eliot's perception of the dynamics of Victorian provincial life has never been rivalled, and Middlemarch more than any other novel displays her depth of understanding. The book is set in the years between the passage of the Catholic Emancipation Bill in 1829 and the Reform Bill of 1832. In Chapter 71 the threat of a cholera epidemic leads to a public meeting, attended by all the local worthies, in Eliot's fictional town. The Tories and the Whigs had agreed on the need for action, but

The question now was whether a piece of ground outside the town should be secured as a burial ground by means of assessment or by private subscription [1].

The chairman of the meeting began by

point[ing] out the advantages of purchasing by subscription a piece of ground large enough to be ultimately used as a general cemetery [2].

The gathering is disturbed by the denunciation of Bulstrode the banker, and it learned only later, in passing comment, that the townspeople had decided to fund a new cemetery through public subscription - essentially the foundation of a cemetery company. The inclusion of such an incident, if only as background, is significant. Having researched the period with great diligence, Eliot would have been well aware that this sort of local initiative was very much a hallmark of the time in question, especially among the men of 'action and influence in public

affairs' [3] whom she sought to depict. New cemeteries were part of the world of Reform.

Eliot's subtle indicator of the character of the cemetery company has been lost on historians altogether too eager to follow the well-worn pathway to Dickens' Bleak House burial ground [4]. Few historians have recognised that the formation of cemetery companies was a widespread occurrence. This chapter will show, through the use of a map and tables, that the establishment of these enterprises was common practice throughout Britain, and has been much underestimated both in terms of number and geographical extent.

The main purpose of the chapter, however, is to explain in detail the means by which it is intended to study the cemetery company. It was necessary to define a systematic approach to the 113 enterprises which have been discovered. The methodology employed in the thesis has been dictated by the material itself. It is possible to categorise companies - in a very broad fashion - into one of three types according to the main motivation of each directorate. The principal means by which classification has been undertaken is through textual analysis of company documents: the primary concerns of each company are to a large extent made clear in its extant literature, or in material relating to the company. The classification is reinforced by prosopographical research and by the response of the local community to the enterprise. In addition, judgment on company types has been assisted by the recognition of certain features common to that particular grouping so that, for example, Dissenting companies tended to have a lower than average nominal capital, and a higher

than average success rate in terms of actually laying out a cemetery.

The structure of the thesis rests on the methodology used to evaluate companies. Assigning the enterprises into one of three types has clarified the progress of particular themes in cemetery development, and helped to pinpoint the essential catalysts which sparked reform. The thesis therefore consists of chapters dedicated to each company type. Also included are studies of two themes which pervaded the whole period: fears related to the integrity of the corpse in existing burial grounds; and the analysis of the cultural values which were commonly attached to cemetery foundation. These two elements interacted with the three main motivations behind company foundation, but alone never constituted sufficient reason for action.

Although the cemetery company is often briefly mentioned by historians of architecture and public health, no attempt has been made to draw together any broad conclusions on the patterns of company establishment. Perhaps the best-known work which refers specifically to cemetery companies is J.S.Curl's The Celebration of Death, which notes only two places in which cemeteries were funded by the sale of shares - London and Liverpool [5]. In addition there have been articles on specific cemeteries or places: Rawnsley and Reynolds' paper on the Undercliffe Cemetery at Bradford, for example [6], and Colin MacLean's work on the profusion of companies in Edinburgh [7]. Further Scottish companies are noted by Michie in his work on investment in

Scotland in the nineteenth century [8].

The most significant steps forward in expanding an awareness of the cemetery company have been achieved as a by-product of the current interest in Victorian cemetery conservation. This has produced such papers as Macken's 'Victorian Valhalla, a study of the nineteenth century cemetery and its conservation' [9]. Most importantly, a degree of comprehensiveness has been achieved only recently, with Mortal Remains by Chris Brooks [10], which gives a gazetteer of the major Victorian and Edwardian cemeteries, included by virtue of their conservation merit. Some thirty-eight companies are mentioned by Brooks, although no attempt is made to propose any general theories on company foundation.

The thesis introduction has demonstrated that extensive information on cemetery companies can only be gained by pooling a wide variety of sources. Once such an exercise has been undertaken, it becomes clear that the importance of the cemetery company has not been fully appreciated. Statistics reveal that joint-stock enterprise accounted for the majority of cemeteries founded in the main towns and cities in Britain in the 1820-53 period. A list of places with populations of over 30,000, compiled from the Census of 1851, includes sixty-eight towns [11]. Information on burials is available for sixty-one places; in fifty-three (86.9%), an attempt was made to provide additional land for interment. Table 2:1 summarises the principal agency of the change in each case.

Table 2:1 - Agencies increasing land for burial in a selection of towns, 1820-53.

Means of increase	Number of towns	Percentage
Cemetery company	42	79.2
Church of England	6	11.3
Town council	2	3.8
Improvement Commissioners	1	1.9
Entrepreneur	1	1.9
Charitable trust	1	1.9
	Total 53	100.0

[12].

It is beyond question that the joint-stock company was the most significant supplier of cemetery land in the larger towns and cities in Britain. Indeed, it can be justifiably claimed that alternative courses of action were unusual as well as being, in some cases, ineffective.

Discussion of the eleven instances of non-company improvement will underline the point being made. Addition was made by the Church to its existing provision in six places included on the list: Sunderland, Bath, Macclesfield, Dudley, Cheltenham, and Bury. Only two of these places - the spa towns of Bath and Cheltenham - saw the foundation of extensive extra-mural cemeteries, of five and ten acres respectively. In Bath, land had been donated by the Rector of Bath Abbey in 1834, and in Cheltenham - a Church of England stronghold - the vestry was able to finance improvement through the church rate in 1829 [13]. The remaining four places - Sunderland, Macclesfield, Dudley and Bury - had to be content with extensions to existing churchyards, perhaps amounting to an acre or less in each case and still, it must be presumed, at the centre of the town [14].

In both Southampton (1846) and Coventry (1847), the town council founded a new cemetery. In Southampton, this action was taken because cemetery company formation backed by the council looked too risky a venture for the uncertain financial climate of the early 1840s [15] - perhaps this was also the case for Coventry. In Exeter, Improvement Commissioners took action, laying out the Bartholomew Street Cemetery in 1836-37, possibly in belated response to the cholera epidemic in the town, and certainly in an attempt to provide more secure burial ground [16]. The situation was similar in Aberdeen, where the merchant William Woods established in 1834 a small, private and well-protected cemetery [17]. The final case of non-company improvement was the setting up of the Glasgow Necropolis in 1832, funded by the Merchant's House - a charitable organisation - spurred to action by members of the town council, and in particular the author, John Strang [18]. None of these examples reflects a trend remotely resembling the strength of reliance placed on joint-stock financing, which remained the preferred course of action for communities seeking to add to their stock of land for burial.

The cemetery company was both popular and widespread, the 113 concerns extending from Perth to Truro. All companies are listed in table 2:2. This cannot be guaranteed to be a comprehensive catalogue, but it probably includes all companies which operated long enough to open cemeteries. It is possible that some of the more ephemeral speculative companies have been missed, since their intention was not so much the establishment

of a cemetery as the production of profitable scrip, and they would have disappeared soon after the production of their prospectus [19].

Table 2:2 - All known cemetery companies established between 1820 and 1853.

Date of establishment	Town	Title of company
1820	Manchester	Rusholme Road Proprietary Cem.
1823	Liverpool	Proprietors of the Low Hill General Cem.
1824	Norwich	Rosary Burial Ground Trust.
1825	London	General Burial Ground Assoc.
1825	Newcastle	Westgate Hill Cem. Co.
1825	Liverpool	St James Cem. Co.
1829	Great Yarmouth	General Cem. Co.
1830	Portsmouth	Portsea Island Cem. Co.
1830	London	General Cem. Co.
1832	Birmingham	General Cem. Co.
1833	Leeds	Proprietors of the Leeds General Cem. Co.
1834	Sheffield	General Cem. Co.
1834	York	Cem. Co.
1834	Newcastle	General Cem. Co.
1835	London	Woolwich and Greenwich Cem. C o.
1835	London	General Burial Ground and Cem. Assoc. Co.
1835	London	Stroud, Rochester and Brompton Cem. Co.
1835	London	Necropolis and National Mausoleum Co.
1836	Manchester	Salford and Hulme Cem. Co.
1836	Manchester	Salford, Pendleton and Broughton Royal C.C.
1836	Manchester	Hulme Cem. Co.
1836	Manchester	Necropolis.
1836	Manchester	Stockport Cem. Co.
1836	Manchester	General Cem. Co.
1836	Manchester	Ardwick Cem. Assoc.
1836	Liverpool	St Mary's Cem. Co.
1836	Nottingham	General Cem. Co.
1836	London	South Metropolitan Cem. Co.
1836	London	Cem. Co.
1836	London	South London Cem. Co.
1836	London	West London and Westminster Cem. Co.
1836	Halifax	General Cem.
1836	Brighton	Cem. Co.
1836	Bristol	General Cem. Co.
1836	York	General Cem. Co.
1836	York	Public Cem. Co.
1837	London	Necropolis and National Cem. Co.
1837	London	Portland Cem. Co.
1838	Gravesend	Gravesend and Milton Cem. Co.
1839	London	Abney Park Cem. Co.
1839	Winchester	Cem. Co.

Table 2:2 - continued.

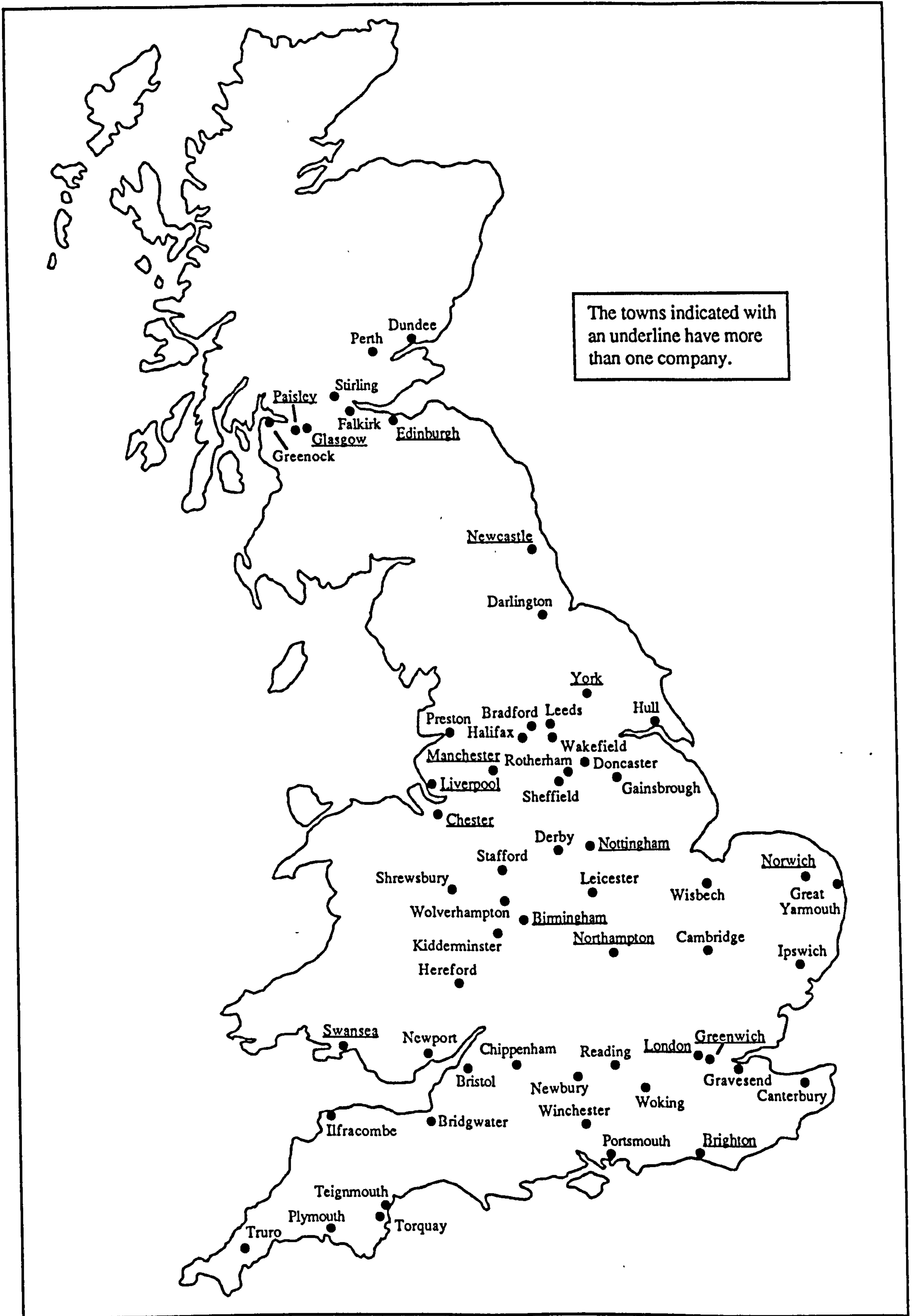
Date of establishment	Town	Title of company
1840	Shrewsbury	Abbey Cem. Co.
1840	Chippenham	Cem. Co.
1840	Glasgow	Sighthill.
1840	Brighton	Cem. Co.
1840	Glasgow	Western Necropolis.
1840	Edinburgh	Cemetery Company.
1840	Darlington	Cem. Society.
1840	Truro	Cem. Co.
1841	London	City of London and Tower Hamlets Cem. Co.
1841	Rotherham	Cem. Co.
1842	Wisbech	Cem. Co.
1842	Newport	Cem. Co.
1842	Reading	Cem. Co.
1842	Derby	Cem. Co.
1842	Cambridge	Cem. Co.
1842	Kidderminster	General Cem. Co.
1844	Dundee	Cem. Co.
1844	Edinburgh	Metropolitan Cem. Assoc.
1845	Edinburgh	Western Cemetery Co.
1845	Edinburgh	Southern Cem Co.
1845	Edinburgh	Edinburgh and Leith Cem. Co.
1845	Edinburgh	Leith Cem. Co.
1845	Glasgow	Eastern Necropolis.
1845	Glasgow	Western Cem. Co.
1845	Glasgow	Cem. Co.
1845	Stirling	Cem. Co.
1845	Greenock	Cem. Co.
1845	Paisley	Joint Stock Cem. Co.
1845	Paisley	Cem. Co.
1845	Perth	Cem. Co.
1845	London	Victoria Park Cem Co.
1845	Hull	General Cem. Co.
1845	Birmingham	Church of England Cem. Co.
1845	Gainsborough	Cem. Co.
1845	Canterbury	City of Canterbury Cem. Co.
1845	Leicester	General Cem. Co.
1845	London	Metropolitan Necropolis.
1845	Northampton	Cem. Co.
1845	Wakefield	General Cem. Co.
1845	Northampton	General Cem. Co.
1845	Greenwich	Metropolis Necropoli.
1845	Wolverhampton	Cem. Co.
1845	Norwich	Church of England Burial Ground Co.
1845	Norwich	Cem. Co.
1845	London	Woolwich and Plumstead Cem. Co.
1845	London	Great Eastern and Western Metrop. Cem. Ass.
1845	Bridgwater	Cem. Co.
1845	Greenwich	Greewich, Blackheath, Woolwich and Deptford Cem. Co.

Table 2:2 - continued.

Date of establishment	Town	Title of company
1845	Greenwich	* see note below.
1846	Plymouth	Plymouth, Devonport and Stonehouse Cem. Co.
1846	London	Provincial and General Cemeteries Co.
1847	Chester	Cem. Co.
1847	London	Metropolitan Suburban Cem. Society.
1847	Doncaster	Cem. Co.
1848	Newbury	Cem. Co.
1849	Hereford	Cem. Co.
1849	Swansea	General Cem. Co.
1849	Swansea	Nonconformist Cem. Co. or Necropolis.
1849	Ipswich	Cem. Co.
1849	Bradford	Cem. Co.
1849	Preston	Cem. Co.
1849	Brighton	Extra-mural Cem. Co.
1849	Chester	Cem. Co.
1849	Falkirk	Cem. Co.
1850	London	Shooter's Hill Cem. and Mausolea Co.
1850	--	Diocesan Cem. Co.
1850	Stafford	Gen. Cem. Co.
1851	Woking	London Necropolis and National Maus. C.C.
1851	Nottingham	Church Cem. Co.
1851	Torquay	Extra-mural Cem. Co.
1851	Teignmouth	Extra-mural Cem. Co.
1853	Ilfracombe	Cem. Co.

Note: The company marked with an asterisk is the Greenwich, Blackheath, Woolwich, Deptford, Lewisham and Charleton Cemetery Company. The Diocesan Cemetery Company of 1850 was registered among the annual returns to the Board of Trade, but no location can be discovered for the company. The Appendix gives a source for each company.

It is clear from even a fairly swift perusal of this list that the cemetery company was unquestionably an extensive phenomenon. A map locating those towns and cities in which a company was founded reiterates this point (see map 2:1). Some places had more than one company, and such instances are indicated by underlining. The first comment to be made concerning the map is that company formation is spread between a range of



The towns indicated with an underline have more than one company.

Map 2:1 - Cemetery Companies established in Britain 1820 - 1853

different types of settlement, including ports and dockyards (Bristol, Newcastle and Hull), old market and manufacturing towns (Leeds, Halifax and Sheffield), newer industrial centres (Birmingham, Darlington and Bradford) and spas and resorts (Brighton, Torquay and Ilfracombe).

The map also shows that larger towns and cities dominate as locations for cemetery companies - a correlation which was discussed in the introduction. However, the principal point made at that juncture - that the connection between town size and cemetery establishment is common, but not necessarily significant - is further demonstrated by the number of smaller towns which appear on the map. Of the fifty-six places where companies were formed, 50% were towns having populations less than 30,000. Examples include Bridgwater (Somerset), Hereford, Wisbech, Teignmouth, Newport, Newbury, Torquay, Ilfracombe and Chippenham. It is possible that burial conditions were still inadequate in such places - albeit on a smaller scale. These towns do show, however, that the cemetery company was a widespread institution; it is important to resist associating burial reform exclusively with urban sprawl.

The introduction has indicated that it is unwise to make generalisations about company formation. Each enterprise was to some extent unique in its preoccupations, with trustees and directors being motivated to act in response to different aspects of the burial issue. A categorisation exercise needed to take place, however. The remainder of this chapter will explore the means by which cemetery companies were classified, and introduce the trends which are revealed by such categorisation. Because the

extant material relating to company foundation is variable in quality, there are some enterprises for which no firm assessment of motivation can be made. Fortunately, this was the case in only 22.2% of all known companies. Once these companies have been removed from the original list, it is possible to claim that some indication of directors' motivations may be discerned in eighty-eight cases.

Reference to a range of sources has enabled the classification of companies under three broad categories: public health, speculative and denominational [20]. Public health companies expressed a commitment to improvements in burial provision. This could extend from a statement of revulsion against current conditions to an awareness of the full sanitary and moral implications thought to be attached to overcrowded burial conditions. Speculative companies were much as the name suggests - most interested in the making of profits, perhaps quickly through the sale of scrip during times of investment booms, or over the long term by the provision of an expensive luxury burial service. Companies categorised by the denominational conviction of their directors showed an evident desire either to protect or extend existing religious rights. Thus, Dissenting companies used the joint stock cemetery as a means of providing burial facilities outside the authority of the Established Church. Similarly, Anglican companies funded the provision of new burial grounds through the sale of shares as a means of avoiding a burdensome call on the church rate, a local tax becoming increasingly controversial throughout the period.

Naturally there was some degree of shading between company types, but the following discussion will demonstrate that the majority of organisations can be classified unambiguously.

Table 2:3 gives a summary of the numbers and percentages of companies classified under these headings:

Table 2:3 - Principal reason for company foundation.

Company	number	percentage
Public Health	37	41.6
Financial Speculation	30	33.7
Religious Conviction	22	24.7
Total	88	100.0

[21]

Presenting the numbers of companies in this fashion is somewhat misleading, since such figures do not adequately reflect the significance of each type of concern. Although there were only twenty-two companies established with a background of religious politics, for example, their particular chronology and success rate renders them more influential than the speculative enterprises, as will be seen in chapters three and four.

The remainder of this chapter will comprise a definition of the prerequisites for including companies under each category, and a discussion of the characteristics of each sort of

enterprise. The most straightforward method is to describe and illustrate the three criteria used, since they operated in broadly the same way for each company type. All enterprises were therefore judged according to the stated concerns and objectives of the directorate, as expressed through the literature they issued; prosopographical research on the men who established the companies; and the community response to the organisation. All three criteria could not be brought to bear to judge every company, since primary resources were variable, but the classifications can be supplemented by analysis of company characteristics. Attention to elements such as the date of establishment, location, success rate, capital, and size of the cemetery all reveal trends particular to each type of enterprise.

Dependence on the stated intention of trustees and directors would at first appear an unreliable procedure for judging any organisation. Reservations are particularly applicable in the case of the joint-stock company, where it might be assumed that the desire to make a profit would naturally supersede all other considerations - a conjecture supported by the literature produced by the companies themselves. Companies in each type, not just the speculative, stressed that their concern would pay reasonable, even handsome dividends. Enterprises often pressed their main objective - be it provision of unconsecrated burial ground, or more secure cemeteries - and followed this by expressing the belief that the cemetery would be 'a profitable investment' [22]. The claim was frequently substantiated with such comments as: 'in other parts of the country, where cemeteries have been constituted, pecuniary advantages have

resulted' [23] and indeed the dividends paid by other organisations were often cited. The prospectus of the Halifax General Cemetery is typical in this regard:

the example of other towns shows that a properly conducted cemetery may become a remunerating object for the investment of capital. In proof of this, it is only necessary to mention that the £10 shares in the Rusholme Road Burial Ground at Manchester are now worth £37 each [24].

Some prospectuses went into greater detail. An announcement from the Portsea Island Cemetery Company listed the annual income of the Liverpool Necropolis over the previous five years [25].

Historians are fond of finding within declarations of philanthropic intent some nugget of financial self-interest, and a similar approach could be taken with the cemetery company. Digging for the avaricious reality behind the rhetoric is not an approach favoured in this thesis, however, for two reasons. For the majority of investors and directors of cemetery companies, the provision of additional burial ground for whatever reason - religious-political, emotional or sanitary - was much more important than the desire to receive a fat dividend every year. Research undertaken in other joint-stock companies reveals that in many cases the provision of a service was considered to be of greater significance than the financial return expected. Broadbridge has shown that railway capital frequently originated in the areas through which the proposed line would run, making travel easier for investors [26]. Wilson's work on the gas industry demonstrates that the purchasers of shares were more

concerned with acquiring an adequate supply of gas - investing 'strategically' - than seeing a good return on their investment [27]. The assumption that pecuniary advantage was always the first consideration of joint-stock investors should therefore be dismissed.

A second fact to be considered when faced with directors stressing the financial benefits of their organisations is perhaps more obvious: no-one would invest in an institution which did not appear viable. The prospectus of the Newcastle General Cemetery, issued in 1834, expressed this point fairly blatantly:

In the formation of establishments of this sort, though the urgent necessity of the case, and the public spirit of individuals, will induce a considerable subscription, yet in order to fill up a list of shareholders satisfactorily, there must be a fair prospect of an adequate return of the capital invested. In this case a very confident expectation is entertained that the sums to arise...will be sufficient for that purpose [28].

Financial stability - as evinced by the promise of profits enough to pay dividends - was especially sought in an institution providing a service as emotive as burial, where permanency of function for the ground was one of the key requirements. Thus attention paid to prospective profitability in company literature should not be accepted as evidence of profit motivation.

Reliance on the language used by directors in prospectuses and reports is also deemed satisfactory because in many cases the statement of intention was backed up by action which demonstrated the character of the company. The way in which this criterion

operated is clearest when applied to the denominational and public health categories. Religious-political companies - which constituted just over one fifth of all enterprises - could express affiliation to either Nonconformist or Church of England causes. The Dissenting companies were judged to be those which stressed the 'liberality' of the institution with regard to forms of burial service allowable in the cemetery - an important consideration, given that many Dissenters resented the fact that in some churchyards, funerals could only take place with a Church of England liturgy. Thus, in Leeds, people could use the cemetery 'according to the rites of their own religious faith' [29]; Abney Park was open to 'all denominations of Christians without restraint in forms' [30]; in Wisbech, the 'gates are open to all' [31]; and Portsmouth offered the 'privilege of adopting any form of service deemed most suitable' [32].

It was important to note whether the commitment to toleration was backed with action. In the case of Dissenting companies, a factor deemed reasonable as a criterion was whether the cemetery was consecrated. Many Nonconformists objected to the setting apart of burial land by bishops, deeming such an action unnecessary. In almost all cases, Dissenting companies laid out grounds which were wholly unconsecrated. Fortunately, it is clear which companies eschewed this particular ritual, since the legal foundation of companies differed according to whether they laid out consecrated grounds. Bishops would consider consecrating cemeteries only where there was some degree of permanency, the best evidence of which was an act of parliament; companies not

wishing to consecrate the grounds could be set up under a much less complex deed of settlement. There are some companies for which limited information is available, but the fact of their being founded by deeds of settlement remains. Examples include the Great Yarmouth General, the Kidderminster General, the Proprietors of the Low Hill General Cemetery at Liverpool, the Birmingham General and the Rosary Burial Ground Trust at Norwich [33]. It is reasonable to assign these companies - all laying out unconsecrated ground - to the category of Dissenting concerns.

It is possible to doubt that a company can be classified a Dissenting concern simply on the strength of its having an unconsecrated cemetery. The act of parliament constituting a consecrated burial ground was an expensive requisite, and it is feasible that some companies avoided the ritual simply to save money. This view is not tenable, however. Excluding a whole market - those seeking burial in consecrated ground - would hardly make sound economic sense. The projectors of the Sheffield General Cemetery Company realised as much ten years after their foundation. They applied for an act of parliament to facilitate consecration of part of their land. This was a move taken because 'wealthy and opulent' Church of England congregations would not otherwise use the cemetery, and the company was in need of the additional income [34]. It is possible to state, therefore, that not consecrating the cemetery did, to some extent, sacrifice possible profits to religious ideals.

The four Church of England companies included in the denominational category were also judged to be so on the criteria

of expressed intent backed by action. The Liverpool St James Cemetery, for example, declared in its minute book a promise that the company would act in accordance with the 'principles of the Established Church' [35]. The Nottingham Church Cemetery - conveniently titled - declared that it would lay out a burial ground 'honourable to the Church' [36]. All four companies founded cemeteries which were entirely consecrated.

The majority of public health companies were also so categorised because of statements made in the literature they issued. The General Burial Ground Association declared that its most important function was 'the preservation of the public health' [37]. Enterprises were not usually so direct, but still presented their cemeteries as a sanitary measure. The cemetery at Bradford was 'for the sake of the public health' [38], London's General Cemetery was to be 'inoffensive to public health' [39], and Manchester's Ardwick Cemetery Association recognised that it would 'conduce to the health of the inhabitants to remove all interments to some open space outside the town' [40].

It might be possible to dismiss such rhetoric as clever posturing undertaken by devious entrepreneurs, but for many sanitary companies further evidence of intent is available through the way in which the cemetery was actually run. The most significant indicator of serious intent was some sort of concession made for burial of the poor. It had been recognised by government reports that interment in the choked city churchyards could only be halted if the poor could be persuaded to bury elsewhere. Some cemetery companies, therefore, charged

deliberately lower fees than in town churchyards or took no profit from pauper burials. Hull General, Edinburgh Cemetery, York Public Cemetery, Ipswich Cemetery and Glasgow Sighthill Cemetery Companies all made concessions with regard to burial of the poor [41].

Using the criterion of stated intent with respect to the speculative companies works rather less well than with the other two categories. Since all company types commented that their enterprises were set to produce regular dividends, the expressed expectation of profits is not a satisfactory indicator of the speculative concerns. Attention to the particular appeal of a speculative cemetery company reveals other patterns, however. Three types of this sort of company can be discerned: those appealing to a class market; those hoping to capture trade in a specific location; and those launching huge and impractical national or metropolitan burial schemes, perhaps hoping to make profits through the sale of scrip.

In all these cases, the appeal contained in the prospectus was fairly distinctive. In the course of the 1830s and 1840s London, for example, was parcelled up by speculators in burial, eager to alight on any neighbourhood that appeared unserved. The Times printed the prospectus of the West of London and Westminster Cemetery Company in 1837, an organisation which admirably represents the grubbing for fresh territory characteristic of some sorts of speculative enterprise:

The inconvenience sustained by the large population of Westminster, Chelsea, Hammersmith, Kensington, Brompton, Knightsbridge, Fulham and Suburbs from the crowded state of

Churchyards shows an imperative necessity of establishing a cemetery for those populous districts. The distance between the cemeteries already established under sanction of legislature leaves an intervening thickly populated space of nine miles, which the cemetery will accommodate, and there can be no doubt of this undertaking surpassing all others both in profit and convenience [42].

Similar phraseology can be found in the speculative companies which sprang up in the larger provincial towns: Edinburgh's Southern Cemetery, Leith Cemetery, and the Edinburgh and Leith Cemetery Companies all promised 'the establishment of a new cemetery in a convenient locality' [43].

Those enterprises which planned to make profits by proposing more unusual ideas for burials also - naturally - produced prospectuses which were distinctive. The Metropolitan Necropolis intended to lay out a cemetery which would have access from the river, and the Metropolitan and Suburban Cemetery Company promised to institute burials on a single charge which would, supposedly, bring in a dividend of 12% a year [44]. None of these schemes was ever explained in detail, and indeed, the prose of this type of company tends to be rather spare. It was rare for any of the speculative prospectuses to extend to explanation of the supposedly detrimental effects of intramural interments, or to dwell on the cultural delights afforded by new cemeteries.

Direct evidence supporting the criterion of statements made by cemetery projectors is difficult to find for all speculative companies. For those concerns merely promising to set up a

cemetery in a particular locality, the fact that this was undertaken successfully hardly constitutes proof of intent. Further information is need - whether these companies felt under greater pressure to pay dividends, for example, and provided perhaps a less sanitary service as a consequence. Unfortunately no such details are available for any of the speculative companies. For those enterprises planning to sell 'luxury' interment, evidence of this objective can be found in the type of cemetery which was laid out. Attention to lavish architecture and to elaborate landscaping was a distinctive mark of such enterprises - London Cemetery Company's ground at Highgate being the prime example [45]. Care must be taken, however, since many towns felt under pressure to produce beautiful cemeteries in the race to prove civic worth [46]. As a gauge, therefore, heavy expenditure on the cemetery layout needs to be judged in conjunction with other characteristics.

The second test for judging companies involved prosopographical research on the directorate. This method for the most part tended to confirm decisions already taken on companies because of the tenor of their literature. Thus it was small surprise to discovery that the founder of the first Dissenting company - Manchester's Rusholme Road Cemetery - was George Hadfield, who was a leading Congregationalist. Hadfield was backed on the directorate by members of the more influential Nonconformist congregations in the city. Prosopography was more important in the case of the Nottingham General Cemetery, for example, which laid out a partially consecrated burial ground in 1836. Research on the thirty men named as directors revealed that

all those for whom information can be found were Dissenters. Indeed, many of the men named were involved in the agitation for the alleviation of Nonconformist grievances [47]. For these men, toleration of different burial services actually extended to providing consecrated ground within their cemetery. Prosopography was also used with the Church of England companies. In the case of the Birmingham Church of England Cemetery Company, founded in 1845, this sort of research revealed a directorate distinguished by its dedication to Anglican institutions [48].

Prosopographical work on the public health companies revealed some interesting connections. The directorate usually included members of the town's elite, often dominated by the council. The City of Canterbury Cemetery Company, as its name suggests, was closely aligned with the council, having as members of its original committee the mayor, an alderman and five councillors [49]. The pattern was repeated in Winchester, York, Plymouth, Hull and Hereford [50]. Although councillors were not exempt from the desire to garner pecuniary benefit from such schemes, it is more probable that they were acting to institute a civic improvement without recourse to the rates. In Ipswich, prosopographical research makes clear the fact that the company was actually set up by the town council itself. In October, the council appointed five men - George Josslyn, John Footman, G.G.Sampson, and J.A.Ransome, headed by the mayor, T.B.Ross - to act as a burial committee and look into means of financing new burial land for the town. The council decided that founding a joint-stock enterprise was the most appropriate action, and all

five men appear as directors of the Ipswich General Cemetery Company [51]. Thus, looking into the background of company directors makes clear the fact that these enterprises were local concerns intended to benefit the community.

For speculative companies prosopographical research was not, for the most part, a viable option. The sometimes dubious nature of such organisations meant that lists of directors were rarely stated on prospectuses. In any case, it was known for entrepreneurs to 'co-opt' trustees and promoters onto their committees,

showing great generalship by their enlisting for directors men of every rank and profession; and in the same list of directors are to be found Whigs, Tories, Radicals and Saints [52].

Schemers behind a spurious Greenock Cemetery Company, founded in 1845, had failed in an attempt to inveigle local worthies to serve on an interim committee, to lend authority to their undertaking [53]. Reliance was not placed, therefore, on prosopographical research as a means of classifying speculative companies.

One final measure was used to assess companies: the response of the local community to the enterprise. Reaction to the companies was conveyed through a variety of sources including letters or reports in the newspapers, or in documents held by other cemetery companies. For Dissenting companies, the response of evidently Church of England commentators was a good source. In 1844 John Frere, a Cambridgeshire clergyman refusing burial to a Baptist woman, told her to go to the joint-stock cemetery which

had 'just been lately established by some Dissenters just out of Cambridge' [54]. In 1847, Birmingham's Church of England Lay Association referred to the local General Cemetery Company: 'Birmingham Dissenting Cemetery would perhaps have been a more appropriate title' [55]. This sort of snide remark represents well the atmosphere in which Dissenting companies were set up; the evident defensiveness underlying the Church of England comment makes clear that the Dissenters had unequivocally stated their case in laying out independent burial ground.

Contemporary reaction to the public health cemeteries, by contrast, was far from condemnatory. It was evident that the sanitary companies were felt to be of public benefit. The Reading Mercury referred to its local company as 'praiseworthy', and commented that the town was 'deeply indebted to the spirited exertions of the few gentlemen by whom it was originated' [56]. The directors of Wolverhampton's Cemetery Company were 'actuated by the desire of improving the town', according to the mayor as reported in the Wolverhampton Chronicle [57]. Falkirk's Cemetery Company was designated 'a public-spirited movement' by the Falkirk Herald [58]. The Hampshire Chronicle reported that the Winchester Cemetery Company 'deserv[ed] public approbation and support' [59]. It is clear that in all these cases, the purpose of the company - in laying out new burial ground for sanitary reasons - was understood and appreciated by the local community.

Responses to speculative companies are more difficult to ascertain, and again need to be used in conjunction with other methods to make a definite classification possible. One letter

exists, however, which seems to indicate that investors were able to distinguish between speculative companies and other types. A cemetery company was announced in the Glasgow Courier on 9 January 1840. The enterprise intended to lay out a cemetery on the grounds of the old botanical gardens. The scheme was evidently proposed by entrepreneurs intending to cash in on the flurry of interest in burial which occurred in Glasgow in that year. Response to the scheme was less than complementary. A letter to the newspaper commented:

"The Western Necropolis" - this fine title has been lately sounded in the ears of the multitude, who are eager to seize upon any plausible speculation [60].

The whole affair was thought to be 'perfectly ruinous', and it was commented that 'an inconceivable loss will be sustained by everyone who may be led to invest their capital in so foolish a venture' [61]. The investing population of Glasgow was not, in 1840, averse to the purchase of shares in cemetery ventures, as the success of the Sighthill Company - a public health enterprise also floated in that year, would indicate. Communities could distinguish between different types of company, and show a preference for supporting concerns which displayed a concern for the best interests of the locality.

To summarise, therefore, it has been seen that three criteria operated in deciding the allocation of cemetery companies to one of the three categories. Although companies were for the most part fairly easy to rank according to these requisites, there were examples of companies which maintained some degree of ambiguity. One such example is the Gainsborough

Cemetery Company, which was set up in 1845. The only sources available for the enterprise are reports in the local newspaper. It appears that the company originated from a public meeting to consider the financing of additional burial ground [62]. So far, therefore, it would seem like a public health company. At the gathering, however, there could be no agreement on whether the proposed cemetery should be consecrated. As a consequence a cemetery company was founded by Dissenters wanting to ensure that the new burial ground would remain unconsecrated [63]. So, even though the directors of the company were originally interested in the issue of burials for sanitary reasons, the company which finally emerged must be designated a Dissenting concern because of the stress placed on non-consecration.

Norwich's Church of England Burial Ground Company is a further example. The very name of this company would seem to suggest denominational partisanship. Founded in 1845, the company was rival to a similar, undenominational, enterprise in Norwich. Certainly the desire to protect the interests of the Established Church existed in the company: its handbill announced that compensation payments would be made to the clergy for burials in the cemetery [64]. Denominational interest was not the only concern expressed by the handbill, however. The document also displayed a deeper commitment to improving the public health of the city. The handbill revealed a broad understanding of the evils of intramural interment and expressed the intention to offer reasonable rates for burial of the poor [65]. Because in the company literature this concern took precedent over the

rights of the clergy, the enterprise has been placed in the public health category.

Further complication about categorisation occurs when two further motivating factors are brought into play. General fears concerning the integrity of the corpse and the appreciation of the cultural benefits of cemetery foundation were both factors which influenced decisions taken to establish cemetery companies. These elements usually worked in conjunction with other forces to create a demand for change, and they cannot be regarded as the principal motivation for setting up companies. Some enterprises, however, are somewhat ambiguously placed. One such example is the Great Yarmouth Cemetery Company. Ostensibly, this seems to be an organisation which was set up as a direct consequence of body-snatching scares - it was founded months after the removal of corpses from the local churchyard had been discovered [66]. Such a background would seem to indicate that a separate category of 'security' companies should be created. It turns out, however that the company was essentially a Dissenting concern, since it laid out an unconsecrated cemetery. Evidently it was the Nonconformist community, not the general community, which felt most at threat. Had the cemetery company opened even a partially consecrated cemetery, then it could have been designated a community rather than a Nonconformist concern.

A second enterprise which remained ambiguously placed was the Sheffield General Cemetery Company. Although this enterprise has been designated a Dissenting concern, it was remarkably self-conscious in respect to the image the grounds presented to the public. It was clear that the aim was to create grounds which

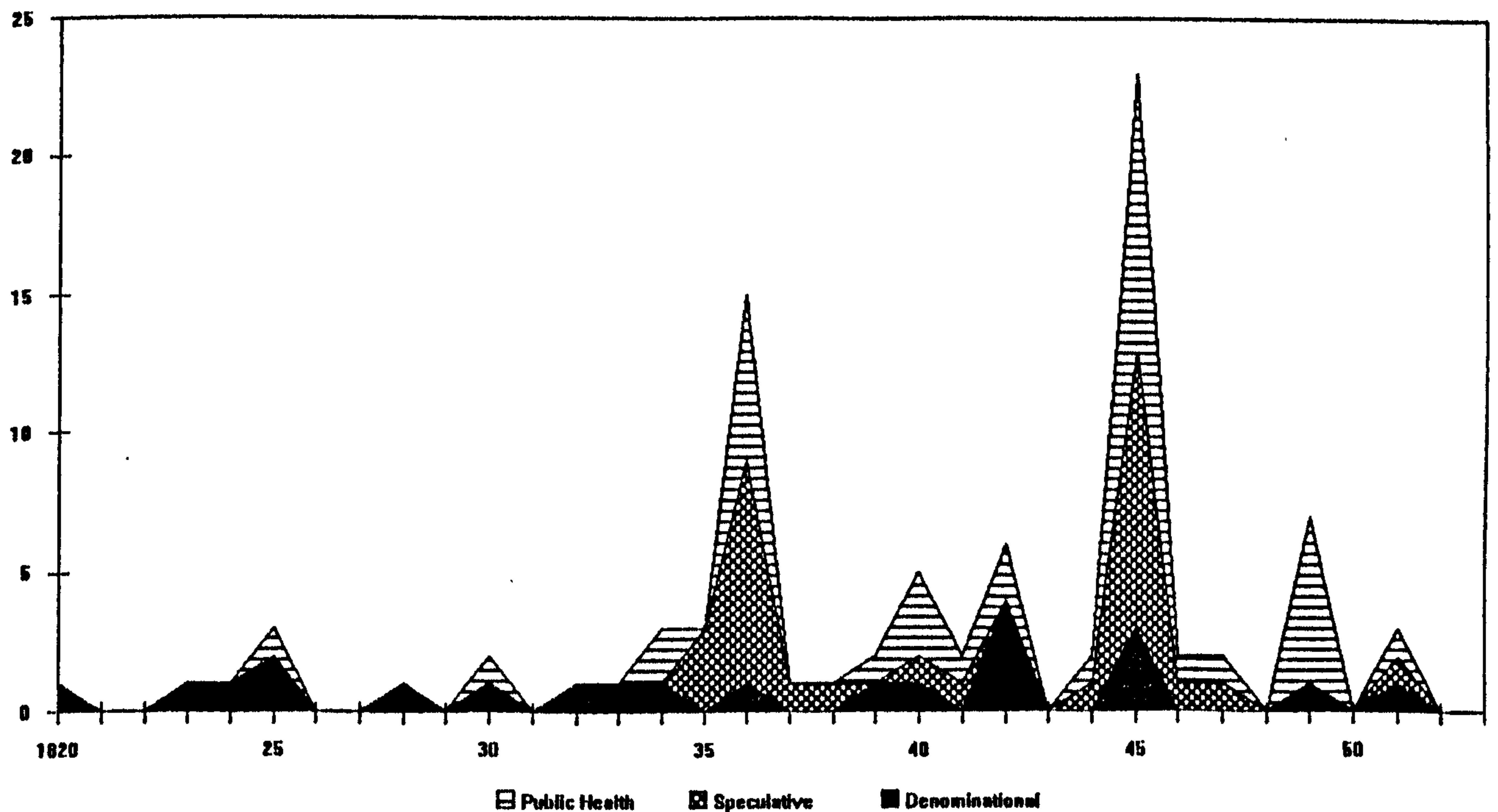
were aesthetically remarkable, and attest to the good taste of the directors and those erecting monuments. The cemetery was to be 'a place of healthful recreation', to be opened on Sundays for promenades [67]. It is certain that the cemetery was founded by men who were concerned that there should be facilities for burial which allowed 'liberality' with regard to services, but it is evident that the commitment to this initial principle declined over time, to the extent that a portion of the cemetery was eventually consecrated [68].

Despite the existence of some ambivalent companies, the process of classification was, on the whole, reasonably straightforward. This exercise was also assisted by the fact that enterprises shared certain characteristics within the three types relating to date of establishment, success in laying out a cemetery, geographic location, nominal capital, share price and acreage of cemetery. The remainder of the chapter will assess each company type according to some or all these elements, as appropriate, highlighting the differences between the groupings. Companies will be discussed in order of the chronological period which they tended to dominate: denominational concerns, followed by speculative enterprises, and finally public health organisations.

Details of denominational companies are summarised in table 2:4.

since it eased the process of laying out burial grounds outside the control of the Anglican Church. Initial Nonconformist patronage of the cemetery company as a means of providing additional burial ground ensured that the format would flourish.

Graph 2: 1 Cemetery company chronology



On the whole, this type of company showed steady popularity throughout the period. A peak in the early 1840s - four companies founded in 1842 - was not particularly significant. It is tempting to conjecture that Dissenting-Church relations - increasingly unsteady throughout the 1830s - had reached crisis point by the early 1840s, so resulting in the sudden upsurge of interest. But four companies hardly represents an explosion of tension. This is especially the case when one of the companies - the Wisbech Cemetery Company - actually laid out its cemetery in

1836, but was only constituted as a company six years later [69].

Perhaps the most remarkable feature of the religious-political companies is their high success rate - judged strictly in terms of succeeding in opening a cemetery. Only two companies in this grouping failed in this respect, both to some extent burdened by exceptional circumstances. The Leicester Cemetery Company - formed principally by members of the town council, and showing evident devotion to the cause of Dissenting rights - had caused something of a scandal. The men, acting as a company, had bought land from themselves, acting as a town council, paying much less than the commercial value for the transaction. The resultant furore had resulted in the company having to back down, and, acting as a town council, proceed to lay out partially consecrated burial ground [70]. Events in Swansea were much less complex. Two companies had been founded in the town in 1849, largely a consequence of the inability to come to a compromise about whether new burial ground for the town should be consecrated. The town was unable come to a decision as to which company to support, and both enterprises failed [71].

The ability of the denominational company to lay out a cemetery with more consistent success was perhaps reflected in the fact that the setting up of a Dissenting organisation was, on the whole, a simpler procedure than for any other type of company. For thirteen of the eighteen cemetery companies about which capital information is available, the sum of £10,000 or less is given. In two cases, the cemetery was set up with funds of less than £1,000 - a feature which does not figure in any other category. The reason why these enterprises could be put

together so cheaply has already been mentioned: unconsecrated cemeteries could be opened by companies constituted under deeds of settlement, and there was no need to apply for costly acts of parliament.

The capital list contains four figures of £20,000 or over which merit some degree of explanation. In two cases - the Liverpool St James and the Birmingham Church of England Cemetery Companies - relatively high capital was needed for application for acts of parliament, and to fund the laying out of burial grounds which would be 'honourable' to the Church. Nottingham's Church Cemetery Company was seriously undercapitalised with £5,000, especially considering the high ambitions of the cemetery architect Edward Patchett [72].

The two remaining examples with high capitalisation - Sheffield's' General and the Abney Park Cemetery Company of Stoke Newington in London - were cemeteries founded by Dissenters, but which were very clearly influenced by an appreciation of the 'amenity' aspects of the grounds they laid out. The ambiguity of the Sheffield Cemetery has already been discussed (above, p.85): the construction of vaults, catacombs and elaborate cemetery buildings obviously needed a large amount of capital. The Abney Park Cemetery was set up as a combination burial ground and arboretum [73]. In both these cases, therefore, the desire to lay out unconsecrated ground was combined with a recognition that the site could serve more than one function.

The sizes of cemeteries opened by denominational companies reinforce the impression that such enterprises were, in general,

fairly modest affairs. With the exception of Abney Park, which laid out its cemetery on an existing estate, all companies founded cemeteries of twelve acres or less. Shrewsbury's Abbey Cemetery Company purchased only 1.5 acres, but this was clearly exceptional, and was intended to serve as an extension to the existing burial ground around the abbey. On the whole, the denominational companies can be distinguished by being less heavily capitalised and more modest in their objectives.

Thus, denominational companies can be characterised by their being established with regularity throughout the whole period, although they did dominate the earlier years. They were, with some exceptions, generally small-scale in operation, and could function on capitals of £10,000 or less. The grounds they laid out tended to be limited, and perhaps not architecturally distinguished.

The next type of cemetery company to emerge was the speculative cemetery, which of all of the company types is perhaps the most distinctive. Table 2:5 on the following page summarises the details of this sort of enterprise. The fact that the first such company emerged in 1835 is significant. This was a year of heavy investment mania, with entrepreneurs casting about for projects to soak up readily available capital. The example of successfully operating cemeteries at Manchester and Liverpool provided the impetus for speculators to adopt burial schemes. The connection between investment manias and speculative cemetery foundation continued to be close; indeed, over 70% of speculative companies were founded during the two investment booms of the mid-1830s and mid-1840s.

Table 2:5 - Speculative companies: details

Date estab- -lished	Date cemetery opened	Town	Company	Capital (£s)	Share price (£s)	Size of cemetery (acres)
1. Companies intending to capture a particular territorial market within a large town:						
1835	**	London	Strood, Rochester, Chatham	20,000	10	**
1836	**	Manchester	Necropolis	30,000	10	**
1836	**	Manchester	Salford and Hulme Cem. Co.	20,000	--	**
1836	**	Manchester	Salford, Pendleton	40,000	10	**
1836	**	Manchester	Hulme Cem. Co.	30,000	--	**
1836	**	Manchester	Stockport Cem. Co.	25,000	--	**
1840	**	Glasgow	Western Necropolis	20,000	25	**
1844	1845	Edinburgh	Metropolitan Cem. Ass	15,000	1	--
1845	**	Glasgow	Western Cem. Co.	40,000	2	**
1845	1846	Edinburgh	Western Cem. Co.	10,000	1	--
1845	**	Glasgow	Cem. Co.	20,000	2	**
1845	**	Stirling	Cem. Co.	5,000	5	**
1845	**	Edinburgh	Edinburgh and Leith Cem. Co.	20,000	1	**
1845	1847	Edinburgh	Southern Cem. Co.	20,000	1	--
1845	1846	Edinburgh	Leith Cem. Co.	10,000	1	--
1845	**	Greenock	Cem. Co.	10,000	1	**
2. Companies proposing more elaborate burial schemes:						
1835	**	London	General Burial Ground and Cem.	50,000	10	**
1835	**	London	Necropolis and National	150,000	25	**
1837	**	London	London Necropolis	150,000	25	**
1837	**	London	Portland Cem. Co.	100,000	25	
1845	**	London	Great Eastern and Western	1,600,000	25	**
1847	**	London	Provincial and General	250,000	20	**
1847	**	London	Metropolitan Suburban	100,000	20	**
1851	--	Woking	London Necropolis	250,000	--	400
3. Companies intending to tap a particular class market:						
1836	1839	London	Cem. Co.	80,000	20	20
1836	1837	London	South Metropolitan	75,000	25	39
1836	1840	London	West London and Westminster	50,000	25	--
1838	1840	Gravesend	Gravesend and Milton	10,000	5	6
1841	1841	London	City of London	20,000	10	33
1845	--	London	Victoria Park Cem. Co	20,000	10	11

It would be a mistake, however, to assume that all companies set up during times of investment mania were profit-oriented - many public health companies were also set up at those times, as graph 2:1 illustrates. A more exact indicator of speculative intent comes through combining chronology and location. Table 2:5 shows that such companies dominated three areas: London, Manchester and lowland Scotland. All these places saw cemetery investment booms. In Manchester, for example, five speculative companies were set up within days of each other during April 1836, attempting to cash in on the success of two public health companies which had been established earlier in the year. A similar pattern operated in London, Glasgow, and Edinburgh. Indeed in Scotland the search for a market in burials spilled over into Greenock and Stirling.

Further discussion of the speculative cemetery necessitates the grouping being split into subsections, according to the way in which the company directors intended to make profits. The most substantial section contains those enterprises which proposed to serve a particular territorial market, usually within a large town already served by an existing company - either denominational or public health - and so containing a population at ease with joint-stock investment in cemeteries, and acquainted with the benefits of such institutions. On the whole, companies in this subsection tended not to get past the share-selling stage. Edinburgh was particularly adept at supporting this kind of enterprise, and it is uncertain why this should be the case.

It is possible that the success of the four companies which set up in the Scottish capital was due to their 'leanness' in terms of having relatively limited capital - of £20,000 or less. The preponderance of share prices as low as £1 in this sub-group was due to the influence of the Edinburgh Cemetery Company. The £1 share was an attempt to make the organisation as democratic as possible. The success of the company ensured imitation, which almost always included setting the share price low.

The next subsection of speculative companies was almost entirely restricted to London. These schemes usually intended the creation of a grand national cemetery, usually impracticable, often located on Primrose Hill, and most certainly never intended to get past the point at which the scrip was selling the fastest. The apogee of these schemes was the Necropolis and National Mausoleum Company at Woking. This company ran a fraud of massive proportions. Some 2,600 acres of land - situated on the outskirts of London - was purchased by the company, a move sanctioned by Parliament on the expectation that a grand cemetery for the capital, as envisaged by the quickly defunct Board of Health, would be laid out. The company sold all but 400 acres of the land for commercial speculation, making a neat profit for the directors and depriving the local people of access to what had been common land [74]. Only the Woking scheme was successful in the this whole subgroup of companies, failure explained by either the impracticality of the schemes proposed, or because profits were sought through scrip sales only.

The remaining speculative companies are distinguished by their success. Almost all restricted to London, these concerns

intended to tap into a particular class market in burials, proposing either to sell a luxury burial service, or to provide burials in the poorer areas of London: the City of London and Tower Hamlets Cemetery and the Victoria Park Cemetery Companies both set up grounds in the East End of London, with appropriately minimal capital. The three companies having £50,000 or over were fortunate in being launched by men who were particularly ambitious, and who evidently understood the psychology of the luxury market. The Gravesend and Milton Company, apparently incongruous in this group, was set up as a sideline by the projector of the London Cemetery Company [75].

Because of the existence of the distinctive subgroupings, it is not advisable to generalise about the speculative company. It is possible to state, however, that they tended to appear at times of speculative mania. In addition these enterprises were, on the whole, more heavily capitalised, and with the exception of the lowland Scottish companies, sold shares at a higher unit cost. Most companies in this section failed to set up cemeteries, although a significant proportion of those which did succeed deliberately aimed at specific class markets.

The last group to be discussed is those cemeteries in the public health category. Table 2:6 gives detail of this type of enterprise. These were the last type of company to be set up with any degree of regularity, remaining uncommon until the mid-1830s, and generally dominating the 1840s. Two aspects of public health chronology need explanation: their proliferation in 1836 and 1845, and renewed interest in their foundation in 1849. The

first two dates in particular sound a note of caution, since it might be thought possible to claim that the public health companies established at those times were in fact speculative concerns. This claim can be dismissed, since all the companies founded during these years adhere to the criteria for being assigned to the public health category. The peaks in activity still need to be explained, however. It is probable that companies were founded at those times to take advantage of the ready availability of capital at times of speculation. The year 1845 was particularly fortuitous, in seeing increased interest in the burial issue, coupled with a public more than usually willing to invest in joint-stock enterprise.

The fillip of company formation in 1849 cannot be explained with reference to economic trends. It is possible to conjecture that these companies were founded as a consequence of the cholera epidemic of 1848-49, but the connection cannot be substantiated from the evidence of company literature. Certainly the epidemic had had a galvanising effect on the government, which passed the first legislation on the issue of burials largely as a consequence of the ravages of the disease and its supposed association with intramural interment. None of the six companies founded in 1849 mentions the cholera, but the increased attention afforded burial in the newspapers - and most especially The Times - must have been influential in spreading information on damage to community health thought to be a consequence of intramural interment.

Table 2:6 - Public health companies: details

Date Estab- -lished	Date cenetery opened	Town	Company	Capital (£s)	Share price (£s)	Size of cenetery (acres)
1825	**	London	Gen. Burial Ground	300,000	50	**
1830	1833	London	Gen. Cem. Co.	45,000	25	54
1834	**	York	Cem. Co.	3,000	25	**
1834	1835	Newcastle	Gen. Cem. Co.	8,000	20	11
1836	1837	Manchester	Gen. Cem. Co.	20,000	10	11
1836	1838	Manchester	Ardwick Cem. Assoc.	30,000	10	8
1836	1840	Bristol	Gen. Cem. Co.	15,000	20	45
1836	**	York	Gen. Cem. Co.	10,000	10	**
1836	1837	York	Public Cem. Co.	6,000	10	8
1836	1842	Halifax	Gen. Cem.	5,000	5	--
1839	1840	Winchester	Cem. Co.	5,000	10	7
1840	1840	Glasgow	Sighthill	6,000	5	40
1840	**	Darlington	Cem. Soc.	25,000	10	**
1840	1843	Edinburgh	Cem. Co.	150,000	1	--
1841	1841	Rotherhan	Cem. Co.	2,000	10	3
1842	1843	Reading	Cem. Co.	--	--	--
1842	1843	Derby	Cem. Co.	--	--	5
1844	1845	Dundee	Cem. Co.	10,000	1	--
1845	**	Perth	Cem. Co.	10,000	1	**
1845	1845	Paisley	Joint Stock Cem. Co.	20,000	1	21
1845	**	Paisley	Cem. Co.	10,000	1	**
1845	1847	Hull	Gen. Cem. Co.	10,000	10	5
1845	--	Canterbury	City of Canterbury	15,000	5	--
1845	**	Greenwich	Greenwich, etc.	30,000	10	**
1845	--	Norwich	Church of England	10,000	10	--
1845	**	Norwich	Cem. Co.	12,000	20	**
1845	1848	Northampton	Gen. Cem. Co.	10,000	10	10
1845	1850	Wolverhampton	Cem. Co.	--	--	9
1846	1848	Plymouth	Plymouth, etc.	15,000	25	18
1847	--	Doncaster	Cem. Co.	3,000	5	--
1849	**	Falkirk	Cem. Co.	--	--	**
1849	**	Swansea	Gen. Cem. Co.	--	--	**
1849	1854	Bradford	Cem. Co.	7,000	5	25
1849	1851	Brighton	Extra-mural Cem. Co.	20,000	10	--
1849	**	Ipswich	Cem. Co.	5,000	10	**
1849	**	Hereford	Cem. Co.	4,000	10	**
1851	1852	Torquay	Extra-mural Cem. Co.	8,000	10	16

For the remaining characteristics of the public health cemetery company, it is difficult to pin down distinguishing features which do more than simply place the company between the two extremes of elaborate speculative and small-scale Dissenting enterprise. The public health companies suffered a 31.5% failure rate, displaying a variety of reasons for folding. In some cases, the proposed scheme was not practical - the London General Burial Ground Association, set up by the necropolitan visionary, George Carden, was a doomed enterprise from the start, the concern having far too much in common with the 'fripperies' of the Parisian cemetery at Père Lachaise to be palatable to British taste [76]. The 1845 Greenwich company was similarly over-ambitious, its plan to include private chapels in the cemetery perhaps too elaborate given a capital of only £30,000 [77].

For other companies, failure was a consequence of perhaps too much interest in the burial issue. In York, Norwich, Swansea, and Paisley, multiple companies had been set up once it had become imperative for improvement to take place, and the fact that the town was unable to support more than one such enterprise led to mergers and companies folding, perhaps in preference to their rivals. In Hereford, clerical opposition to the company led to its collapse, since the bishop refused to undertake the consecration of cemetery land [78]. In Ipswich, the company founded in 1849 was wound up because of the prospect of government legislation on the issue [79].

Distinct patterns of success or failure are therefore difficult to discern in the case of public health companies.

Attention to nominal capital can allow generalisations about this type of enterprise, however. The companies tended to be more heavily capitalised than the denominational concerns, with just over 60% being floated on £10,000 or over. The relatively large amount of capital needed can be accounted for by the need to apply for acts of parliament, but one further pressure worked on the public health company which perhaps did not operate to such an acute extent with the denominational enterprises. For the majority of sanitary companies, founded by the civic elite, and operating for the public benefit, the cemetery was also thought to represent the civic standing of the town: the cemetery was evidence of civilisation and sensibility, and as such was required to have a classical lodge and chapel, and to be elaborately landscaped [80]. The fact that the first public health companies set up in London and Edinburgh were floated on sums in excess of £100,000 shows how far the pressure to compete was amplified in the capital cities.

In summary, therefore, public health companies can be distinguished by their predominance in the 1840s. As a grouping they were moderately successful in laying out cemeteries, but the inability of some enterprises to succeed in this respect was usually a consequence of more complex factors than the play of economic circumstances. The sanitary companies tended to be floated with capital of £10,000 or more, and to lay out cemeteries which were intended to serve aesthetic and recreational functions as well as public health purposes. Their cemeteries were usually larger, therefore, and displayed a greater attention to architecture and landscape.

In summary, the process of categorisation - ranking cemetery companies according to type - took place according to the operation of three criteria, all reliant on analysis of primary literature. Because extant records are inconsistent, judgment of companies relied on different sources in each case. Despite this problem, however, the classification procedure still presents a grouping of companies which is justified on three counts: the stated intentions of directors; prosopographical research; and the reaction of the local community to the enterprise. Each class can be further distinguished by the recognition of certain key characteristics, which reinforce the grouping which has already taken place.

This chapter has demonstrated the means used to distinguish company types. It must be stressed, however, that such an exercise is essentially artificial, and has been completed to ease the process of describing trends in cemetery establishment. To some degree all companies displayed a unique combination of motivations, since in each locality separate facets of the burial issue elicited different degrees of concern. The process of categorisation, therefore, although taking place according to the operation of fairly rigid criteria, is not intended to be a process which imposes a strict definition on each company.

The thesis will be based on analysis of each category of company as it represents particular preoccupations with the burial issue. The rhetoric common to each type will be explored in greater detail, and the patterns which emerge will be examined. Presenting material in this fashion allows the

compilation of a study which goes beyond the analysis of company history, and presents the way in which attitudes towards intramural interment changed over time.

This chapter has attempted to divorce conclusively the cemetery company from its usual representation as an institution of minor significance, only worthy of passing mention by architectural historians seeking Victorian grotesquery. It has been shown that the cemetery company was a widespread phenomenon, and was flexible enough to serve, in many cases simultaneously, a variety of different social purposes. Its most common form was not the London company making vast profits by burying the elite. The cemetery established by the inhabitants of Eliot's Middlemarch was closer to a typical representation of the cemetery company - a small provincial concern, acting on a capital of perhaps £10,000, laying out a cemetery of probably no more than ten acres, and motivated by an awareness of the dangers of intramural interment.

Footnotes

Epigraph: Penny Magazine, 3 (1834), 173.

1. G. Eliot, Middlemarch (1871, reprinted 1907), 451.
2. ibid., 452.
3. ibid., 451.
4. See T. Blount, 'Bleak House and churchyard satire in the context of 1850', Review of English Studies, 14 (1963).
5. J. Curl, The Celebration of Death (1980), 208 and 212.
6. S. Rawsley and J. Reynolds, 'Undercliffe Cemetery, Bradford', History Workshop Journal, 4 (1977).
7. C. MacLean, 'Nineteenth century cemeteries', in A. Boyle et al., Ruins and Remains: Edinburgh's Neglected Heritage (Edinburgh, 1985).
8. R. Michie, Money, Mania and Markets' (Edinburgh, 1988).
9. N. Macken, 'Victorian Valhalla: a study of the nineteenth century cemetery and its conservation', M.A. dissertation, University of York (1985).
10. C. Brooks, Mortal Remains (Exeter, 1989).
11. Return of the Numbers and Population and Houses according to the Census of 1851, in the Counties and Divisions of Counties, and in the Cities, Boroughs and Towns returning Members of Parliament (1852).
12. For cemetery company sources, see Appendix.
13. Brooks, Mortal Remains, 120; S. Hart, A History of Cheltenham (1981), 254-55.
14. R. Rawlinson, Report to the General Board of Health on a

Preliminary Inquiry into the Sewerage, Drainage, Supply of Water and the Sanitary Condition of the Borough of Sunderland in the County of Durham (1851), 77; J. Smith, Report on a Preliminary Inquiry into the Sewerage, Drainage, and Supply of Water and Sanitary Condition of the Inhabitants of the Borough of Macclesfield (1850), 31-32; W. Lee, Report to the General Board of Health on a Preliminary Inquiry into the Sewerage, Drainage, and Supply of Water, and the Sanitary Condition of the Inhabitants of the Parish of Dudley in the County of Worcester (1852), 62.; J. Bannister, From Parish to Metro (Bury, 1974), 17.

15. A. Temple Patterson, ed., A selection from the Southampton Corporation Journals and Borough Council Minutes 1815-47 (Southampton, 1965), 112.
16. Express and Echo, 4 Dec. 1959. This edition of the Exeter newspaper gives a history of the cemetery.
17. Aberdeen Journal, 6 May 1834.
18. See e.g. Curl, The Celebration of Death (1980), 209.
19. See chapter 4.
20. Although 'denominational' is not an ideal term to define this category - to nineteenth-century Dissenters the word had pejorative connotations - it is used in this thesis to designate companies which were attached to either Church of England or Dissenting congregations.
21. For further detail as to which companies are assigned to each category see tables 2:3, 2:4, 2:5.

22. Kentish Gazette, 9 Sep. 1845.
23. Prospectus of the Plymouth, Devonport and Stonehouse Cemetery Company (1846). Ford Cemetery Lodge, Ford Park Road, Plymouth.
24. Halifax Guardian, 21 May 1836.
25. Prospectus of the Portsea Island Cemetery Company (1830). Sanderson Collection, Local History Library, Portsmouth Central Library.
26. S.A.Broadbridge, 'The sources of railway share capital', in M.C.Reed, Railways in the Victorian Economy (1969), 196-97.
27. J.Wilson, Lighting the Town: a Study of Management in the North West Gas Industry (1991), 91.
28. Prospectus of the Newcastle upon Tyne General Cemetery Company (1834). Tyne and Wear Archive Office, Newcastle.
29. First Report of the Leeds General Cemetery Company (1836). Brotherton Collection, University of Leeds.
30. Deed of covenant, quoted by P.Joyce, A Guide to Abney Park Cemetery (1984), 37.
31. Unidentified newspaper clipping, dated 18 Dec. 1844, pasted into the MS Minute Book of the Wisbech Cemetery Company. Wisbech and Fenland Museum.
32. Prospectus of the Porstea Island Cemetery Company.
33. Yarmouth General Cemetery Trust Deed (1828), Norfolk Record Office, Norwich; G.Hammond Whalley, Supplementary Report on the Kingston-upon-Hull Cemetery Bill, together with General Remarks on Cemeteries as a Means of Correcting the Evils of Intramural Interment (1847), Chadwick Papers, University of

- London, appendix; ibid.; ibid.; Declaration of Trust and of Regulation (Norwich 1841, reprinted 1883).
34. MS Minute Book of the Sheffield General Cemetery Company, Sheffield Archive Office, 15 Aug. 1845; 18 Aug. 1847.
 35. MS Minute Book of the Trustees of the St James Cemetery, Liverpool Archive Office, 10 Aug. 1825.
 36. Nottingham Church Cemetery: Report of Directors (1855), Local History Library, Nottingham Central Library, appendix, 14.
 37. Prospectus of the General Burial Ground Association, appended to the Prospectus of the General Cemetery Company, for providing places of interment, secure from violation, inoffensive to public health and decency, and ornamental to the Metropolis (1830), British Library, London, 21.
 38. Handbook of the Bradford Cemetery, Undercliffe (n.d.) Bradford Archive Office, 1.
 39. Prospectus of the General Cemetery Company, 1.
 40. Manchester Guardian, 2 Apr. 1836.
 41. For detail on this point see chapter 6.
 42. The Times, 21 Mar. 1837, 2b.
 43. Scotsman, 8 Feb. 1845.
 44. ibid., 28 Jan. 1845.
 45. For detail on Highgate Cemetery see chapter 4.
 46. Further examination of this point is included in chapter 5.
 47. More detailed examination of this company is given in chapter 3.
 48. See chapter 3.

49. Kentish Gazette, 9 Sep. 1845.
50. Prospectus of the Winchester Cemetery Company (c1840), Hampshire Record Office, Winchester; MS Deed of Settlement of the York Public Cemetery (1838), York Archive Office; Prospectus of the Plymouth, Devonport and Stonehouse Cemetery Company; MS Minute Book of the Hull General Cemetery Company, Hull Record Office; W.Collins, Modern Hereford (Hereford, 1911), 41.
51. Ipswich Journal, 10 Nov. 1849; 15 Dec. 1849; Suffolk Chronicle, 20 Oct. 1849; 10 Nov. 1849.
52. The Times, 20 Apr. 1826, 3c.
53. Glasgow Herald, 17 Feb. 1845.
54. MS Letterbook of John Frere, Cottenham, Cambridgeshire, Cambridgeshire Record Office, Cambridge, 4 Mar. 1844.
55. Seventh Annual Report of the Church of England Lay Association (1845), 7. Local History Library, Birmingham Central Library.
56. Reading Mercury, quoted by P.Smart, 'Reading Cemetery: a private enterprise', Berkshire Old and New, 5 (1988), 5.
57. Wolverhampton Chronicle, 11 Nov. 1846.
58. Falkirk Herald, 12 Apr. 1849.
59. Hampshire Chronicle, 2 Sep. 1839.
60. Glasgow Courier, 28 Jan. 1840.
61. ibid.
62. Hull Advertiser, 1 Aug. 1845.
63. Eastern Counties Herald, 4 Sep. 1845.
64. Norwich Church of England Burial Ground Company, in scrapbook

of John Greene Crosse (1829-46), unpaginated. Norfolk Record Office, Norwich.

65. ibid.

66. Yarmouth Mercury, 15 Mar. 1957. This edition gives a history of the cemetery.

67. MS Minute Book of the Sheffield General Cemetery Company, 30 Sep. 1836; 12 July 1839.

68. ibid., 15 Aug. 1845.

69. MS Minute Book of the Wisbech Cemetery Company. This course of events had also taken place with the Norwich Rosary Burial Ground Trust.

70. Leicester Chronicle, 23 Jan. 1847.

71. Cambrian, 4 May 1849.

72. Nottingham Church Cemetery: Report of Directors, appendix, 1.

73. Joyce, Abney Park Cemetery, 49.

74. A.Crosby, A History of Woking (1982), chapter 4 of which comprises a history of this company.

75. For further detail on these companies see chapter 4.

76. For the British response to Père Lachaise see chapters 2 and 5.

77. Kentish Mercury, 18 Oct. 1845.

78. W.Collins, Modern Hereford: with Special Reference to the Development of its Municipality (Hereford 1911), 41.

79. J.Glyde, The Moral, Social and Religious Condition of Ipswich (Ipswich, 1850), 40.

80. See chapter 5 for further discussion of this point.

2. The origins of cemetery company establishment: 'so defended by walls'.

Although much of the history of the cemetery company can be encompassed by examination of the three different types of enterprise, there are two themes in the study which range over the whole period and inform decisions taken by directors in all categories of company. The significance of the cemetery as a cultural institution will be discussed in detail in chapter five. This chapter, however, will address the influence of fears concerning the integrity of the corpse on the progress of cemetery establishment. Solicitude for the remains of the dead is a deeply-rooted feature of British culture. All post-mortem rituals show a degree of care for the corpse - through washing, dressing, or waiting with the body until the time of burial. These actions are based in both pagan and Christian belief, integrating a reverence for the dead, concern for the destination of the departing spirit and a superstitious fear that incorrect treatment of the corpse would result in some sort of evil [1].

There has been extensive study of this particular aspect of mortuary behaviour, most recently in the work of Ruth Richardson. Death, Dissection and the Destitute offers analysis of the corpse and popular culture in the nineteenth century, at which time the ability of the bereaved to complete the necessary post-mortem rituals was under threat. The desire to ensure that the remains of a friend or relative were not disturbed was a wish

increasingly impossible to fulfil in the first half of the nineteenth century. During the 1820s and early 1830s the activities of resurrection men gained increased publicity in both local and national newspapers. It is uncertain how far the trade in disinterred cadavers had mushroomed during this period, but it is clear that many communities felt themselves under threat. The theft of the body from the grave and its dissection by anatomists created stress beyond the knowledge that the corpse had been violated, since dissection held punitive overtones.

In 1832 Warburton's Anatomy Act destroyed the trade in corpses at a single stroke, apparently removing the need for relatives to concern themselves with the security of their dead. Although the terror which the visitation of the resurrection man had inspired had abated, new fears arose to replace it. Overcrowding in burial grounds in cities and towns throughout Britain had resulted in a mode of interment equally insecure. The tenancy of the grave was not guaranteed: the pressures to bury in ground already saturated with human remains was such that the disinterment of only partially decomposed corpses was inevitable. The sexton with a boring rod, fruitlessly searching for space in which to bury, replaced the body-snatcher in the popular imagination as a character to be feared.

Although Richardson has offered some conclusions as to the connection between the anxieties connected with the violation of the corpse and the expansion of the undertaking business, there has been no extensive survey of the way in which these fears influenced cemetery development. Research connecting these two

themes has revealed the need for a fresh interpretation of the origins of the modern extra-mural cemetery in Britain. This chapter will demonstrate that fears concerning the integrity of the corpse - most especially in relation to body-snatching activity - were crucial to the emergence of the extra-mural cemetery in the 1820s. This proposition challenges the contentions made by such historians as James Stevens Curl, who tend to see the opening of new burial grounds in Britain as part of a nascent 'cemetery movement', largely inspired by the example of cemeteries on the continent and in particular the magnificent Parisian cemetery at Père Lachaise [2], the beauty of which sparked a dissatisfaction with interment practice in Britain.

In addition, it will be shown that anxieties relating to corpse security were revived from the late 1830s, as a consequence of the work of Dr George Walker and the Select Committee Reports of the early 1840s [3]. The rhetoric used to express discontent with burial in overcrowded graveyards reflected the language employed in the earlier period, directed at resurrectionism. The distress occasioned by the disturbance of human remains in these circumstances underpinned much of the popularity of the cemetery company in the 1840s, a claim substantiated by the number of prospectuses which still promised burial ground security where the dead would be guaranteed undisturbed 'repose'.

The principal importance of anxieties regarding the correct treatment of the corpse lies in the fact that such fears - in a form heightened by the incidence of body-snatching scares -

constituted the catalyst for the emergence of the cemetery company. Discussion of this point will focus on the first ten cemetery companies established in Britain, all founded between 1820 and 1832. These companies were spread around the country, with two in both London and Liverpool and one each in Newcastle, Manchester, Norwich, Great Yarmouth, Birmingham and Portsmouth. Although centres of high population tend to dominate in this group, as do industrial areas, the correlation between these facets and burial reform was not a significant one, as has been demonstrated in both the introduction and in chapter one. The majority of these companies were denominational concerns, a fact which will be addressed at length in the next chapter. For the purpose of this chapter, however, the aspect of greatest importance is that all companies in this group were founded against a background of resurrection scares, and laid out cemeteries in which security was stressed.

The desire to offer increased protection for the corpse which was evident in all the early cemeteries has been omitted from the usual interpretation of the origins of the cemetery in Britain. This explanation places great emphasis on the importance of the cemetery of Père Lachaise. The cemetery provided 'the critical lead' and inspired a 'cemetery movement' which flourished in Britain in the 1820s [4]. Parisians were well in advance of Britain in burial matters. Concern had been building in the French capital throughout the second half of the eighteenth century. As early as 1763 there had been an investigation into the state of the churchyards in Paris. Anti-intramural interment feeling culminated in 1780 with the scandal

surrounding the Cimitière des Innocents, which was closed and its bodies cleared after the collapse of a cellar wall evinced its intolerably overcrowded state [5].

The Père Lachaise cemetery was commissioned by Napoleon and laid out in 1804. It was artfully landscaped and its location on Mont Louis afforded spectacular views of Paris. Its architects built in the currently fashionable neoclassical mode. Père Lachaise was quickly acknowledged as the epitome of cemetery design and by the 1820s was being visited and admired by tourists from other European countries and from America [6]. Such was the enthusiasm for the cemetery, its reproduction was inevitable.

The first cemetery in Britain in which imitation of the French model was immediately evident was the Liverpool's St James Cemetery, which was open for interment in 1829. The directors expressed a desire that their cemetery should be 'upon a plan similar to those on the Continent of Europe' [7]. Although the architectural style of the St James Cemetery was very different from that of Père Lachaise, the commitment to necropolitan grandeur is identical. The St James Cemetery was located in a quarry, where even now 'the picturesque vies with the sublime in a setting that is both beguiling and heroic' [8]. Another cemetery scheme evidently influenced by the Parisian example was that proposed by John Strang, who had travelled extensively in Italy and France, and had made his name as an author, translating French and German poetry and fairy tales [9]. Strang's 1831 Necropolis Glasguensis, an extended plea for improved burial provision in the Scottish city, is a key text for those

advocating the vital importance of the Parisian cemetery to the progress of burial reform in Britain. In this book, Strang proposes a new burial scheme for Glasgow. Although he does take note of the horrors of existing practice in Scotland, it is clear that Strang's passion for Père Lachaise is his strongest motivating factor. Strang's praise for the cemetery is wholehearted and unconditional:

Everything there is tasteful, classical, poetical and eloquent. In that asylum of the dead there is nothing found save that which should touch the heart, or soothe the afflicted soul, nothing save that which should awaken tender recollections or excite religious feelings [10].

Indeed, the merchant wanted to see the building of a Scottish 'Père Lachaise' in Glasgow:

Who for example, that has ever visited the romantic cemetery of Père Lachaise, would not wish that there were, in this our native land, some more attractive spot dedicated to the reception of the dead? [11].

This enthusiasm bore fruit, and Necropolis Glasguensis was instrumental in persuading the members of the Merchant's House in Glasgow to sponsor the formation of the Necropolis in the city, situated with great dramatic impact on the hill at Fir Park.

Equally influential in bringing the Père Lachaise ideal to Britain was, according to Curl, George Carden, a barrister whose enthusiasms preceded Strang's by some seven years [12]. The view of Carden's importance seems derived from an article written in the Penny Magazine in 1834, which simply noted that the barrister 'was the first to draw attention to the necessity for extra-mural

cemeteries' [13]. Certainly Carden's determination was unquestionable, and Père Lachaise observed to be 'a hobby he is determined to ride come what may' [14]. Carden launched the General Burial Ground Association in 1825, which would lay out a burial ground

similar to the celebrated cemetery of Père Lachaise, near Paris (which) would ... be highly honourable to our capital and country [15].

Although this particular enterprise failed, Carden did succeed, in 1830, in arousing the interest of some of the most prestigious Londoners - bankers, politicians and the nobility - in a scheme to found the General Cemetery Company. The Gentleman's Magazine greatly admired the company's Kensal Green cemetery, noting that

a serious and reflecting individual may indulge a train of thought far from disagreeable, whilst he paces the verdant alleys of the enclosure [16].

H.E.Kendall's designs for the cemetery obviously echoed the rural delights of Père Lachaise.

To summarise, the essential elements of the existing interpretation tracing the origins of the extra-mural cemetery are that a 'cemetery movement' was flourishing before the mid-1830s; that its leading exponents were Strang and Carden [17]; and that inspiration came largely from the continent, and in particular, the cemetery at Père Lachaise [18]. This is an interpretation which should be approached with caution, since it contains several questionable suppositions. Of greatest importance is the assumption that the attention to the history of

cemetery design explains the history of cemetery development, when in reality there is only a slight connection. The design of cemeteries in the nineteenth century was a natural adjunct to the traditionally English attachment to landscape design in which, by the late 18th century, the picturesque was gaining ascendancy [19]. Early cemetery foundation, however, stemmed from a far more basic need to respond to conditions in existing burial grounds which offended all sensibilities, not just the aesthetic. This distinction having been made, it is possible to state that the influence of the continental cemeteries was almost entirely confined to the design of British cemeteries and did not affect their initial conception.

Analysis of the 'cemetery movement' before the mid-1830s supports this view. Certainly it cannot be denied that interest in cemetery matters flourished in this period, and that the increased attention was largely a response to the 'discovery' of the French cemetery, which had been delayed for the British by the protracted French wars. It would be a mistake to suppose that this interest constituted anything so substantial as a 'movement'. Doubt is expressed for two reasons. The initial general reception of Père Lachaise was fairly ambiguous. Even Carden was aware of the possibility of a poor response to cemetery plans based on Père Lachaise, and stressed in the General Burial Ground prospectus that the cemetery was 'not the result of revolutionary movements' [20]. The style of the cemetery met with a great deal of criticism. An article in the Quarterly Review on the cemeteries and catacombs of Paris, written in 1819, barely mentions Père Lachaise, aside from a

remark denigrating the supposed beneficial effects such places were claimed to have on the bereaved: 'burial grounds à la pittoresque, laid out for a promenade, are not more consonant to good feeling'. The writer concluded that

it would hardly happen in the neighbourhood of London that we should have a guide to the burial grounds, as a fashionable promenade; that parties should be made to visit them [21].

It is significant that animosity between the Britain and France was still strong. The essayist William Hazlitt thought the French cemetery, like the French, 'frivolous and trifling' [22]. In reviewing Goodwin's plans for a national cemetery, the Morning Chronicle somewhat testily commented:

Nor do we think that the sentimentality of the French, in visiting Père Lachaise, is communicable by means of tombs or temples or gardens to the English, who prefer to indulge their sorrows in domestic privacy [23].

Enthusiasm for the cemetery became general only after the mid-1830s, by which time the establishment of extra-mural cemeteries was well underway.

The lack of a general consensus on the appeal of the cemetery in the 1820s and early 1830s does not deny the fact that Père Lachaise was welcomed by an artistic elite with almost delirious excitement. It seemed suddenly fashionable to propose schemes in imitation of the French burial ground, but this did not necessarily mean that there was a concern for reform of existing interment practice. In Strang's case, for example, the

appearance of the proposed Glasgow Necropolis was paramount, and its contribution to improved burial conditions in the city secondary. The plan of turning Fir Park into a cemetery, he wrote, was 'particularly dedicated to those who can afford to purchase a grave and rear a monument' [24]. The insularity of this particular view is highlighted by the fact that Strang's attitude towards the burial issue altered, a point made clear in the prospectus he wrote for Glasgow's Sighthill Cemetery Company. The document, published in 1840, shows an increased awareness of the public health aspect of the burial issue, and the need for improved burial provision for the poor:

What is at present needed for Glasgow is not a mere competitor with the Merchant House or eastern necropolis, or an ornamental cemetery for the rich, who can afford high prices and to hew their sepultures from the rock, but a general establishment, with prices suited to the means of our fellow citizens [25].

Understanding of the sanitary problems posed by intramural interment was almost entirely absent in the designs and writings of the 1820s. Indeed, the enthusiasm for new cemetery design was characterised by the proposal of sometimes startling burial schemes which were hampered by the weight of their impracticality.

A brief discussion of three such schemes will illustrate their remoteness from the more basic concern of improved burial provision. In 1830 the Gentleman's Magazine reviewed the plans of Francis Goodwin for a National Cemetery, which was declared 'a very magnificent display of architecture' [26]. The scheme

featured a double cloister, 'with open arches at the sides commanding views of the inner and outer spaces of the cemetery' [27]. The inner space would be planted as a garden, in which were to be erected

temples and mausolea, which will present fac similes of some of the most celebrated remains of Greek and Roman architecture [28].

The outer space would resemble Père Lachaise, and be used for the more common monuments. The whole was to be located on Primrose Hill. A similarly impressive plan was proposed in 1832 by J.C.Loudon for a cemetery to be built on Arthur's Seat in Edinburgh. The hill was to be 'sprinkled over with trees and shrubs, not to speak of tombs, monuments and chapels'. On the summit there was to be constructed

as a crowning ornament to the whole, an open circular temple, the basement story of which might be occupied with tea-rooms, reading rooms etc [29].

Loudon's discussion of his scheme did not include references to the nature of existing burial conditions and the need for change. This presents a contrast to his cemetery designs in the early 1840s. In the later plans, aesthetics are made subservient to utilitarian purpose: decisions as to which trees should be planted, for example, rested on the possibility of their hampering the dissemination of 'noxious effluvia' [30]. Again, the emphasis on spectacular design in the earlier plans shows that the supposed cemetery movement was little concerned with

public health.

The scheme most typically representing the particular fad for necropolitan design in the 1820s was the famed Pyramid project of Thomas Willson. The Pyramid was to stand on eighteen acres of ground, its ninety-four stages of catacombs holding five million bodies. Willson himself described the scheme in an article sent to The Lancet in 1830:

The pyramid has the exclusive property of creating hundreds of acres out of void space, and that no other plan can be invented with the like advantages, that it is also the most complete and comprehensive for the purpose required, and that no other plan can compete with it for its numerous and original qualities...[31].

As with Loudon's early plans, aesthetics were clearly triumphing over utility. Concern for the escape into the atmosphere of noxious gases from decomposing corpses meant that catacombs of any description were viewed with increasing consternation by burial reformers. This had clearly not been considered by Thomas Willson, who was far more interested in constructing 'a permanent monument of metropolitan wealth and magnificence' [32]. It would seem then, that the so-called cemetery movement of the 1820s and early 1830s was little more than a fad for spectacular necropolitan design. The notion that Carden led agitation favouring the establishment of cemetery companies in Britain is a curious one, since Carden was rarely mentioned at the time, and then only in sources which are entirely restricted to London. He did not gain the reputation of, for example, George Walker who was instrumental in leading the most significant revulsion

against intramural interment which did not take place until after 1839 [33]. Before this date there was no extended discussion of burial conditions and certainly no clearly expressed consensus on the need to establish extra-mural cemeteries.

The fact that Père Lachaise and its enthusiastic admirers were of small importance to the progress of burial reform is confirmed by a brief survey of the earliest cemetery companies. Ten companies were established in or before 1832, the names of which are given in Table 3:1.

Table 3:1 - Companies established in or before 1832.

1820 Manchester	Rusholme Road Proprietary Cem.
1824 Norwich	Rosary Burial Ground Trust.
1823 Liverpool	Proprietors of the Low Hill General Cem.
1825 London	General Burial Ground Assoc.
1825 Newcastle	Westgate Hill Cem. Co.
1826 Liverpool	St James Cem.
1829 Great Yarmouth	General Cem. Co.
1830 Portsmouth	Portsea Island Cem Co.
1832 London	General Cem. Co.
1832 Birmingham	General Cem. Co.

It has been seen that the advocates of the strength of continental influences in the establishment of company cemeteries most often stress the importance of the elaborate landscaping and architecture of Liverpool's St James Cemetery, and the London General Cemetery Company's All Saint's Cemetery at Kensal Green. These two cemeteries, so often chosen as the embodiment of a 'cemetery movement', were clearly exceptional in terms of design. The companies establishing both of these cemeteries were particularly self-conscious, however, and sought to invest their burial grounds with significance beyond basic utility. Thus, the

Liverpool St James Cemetery, which presented a conspicuous attachment to the Church of England, was determined to outface its local Nonconformist rival - the Liverpool Necropolis. The General Cemetery Company's Kensal Green Cemetery was the first such institution in London, and it was felt that the ground symbolised the wealth of the capital city and even of the nation. In both cases, therefore, the attention paid to design of the cemetery was atypical.

Most cemeteries laid out by early companies, however, were rather less ambitious. This is with the exception of the Birmingham Key Hill Cemetery: its location in a sand quarry encouraged a more imaginative approach to the landscaping [34]. The cemeteries at Manchester, Norwich, Great Yarmouth, and Portsmouth, however, were not architecturally remarkable. Liverpool's Low Hill Cemetery was laid out on a utilitarian grid system. Even though the directors of Newcastle's Westgate Hill Cemetery had expressed admiration of Père Lachaise, it was still specified that their grounds would be 'drained...and laid out in such a manner as scientific persons recommend' [35]. The aesthetics of the Parisian cemetery were less important than other more pressing considerations.

It must be concluded that the origins of the extra-mural cemetery in Britain were not located in the 'cemetery movement' as defined by Curl. Deeper examination of cemetery foundation - beyond the aesthetic - needs to be made. To some extent, therefore, the origin of the extra-mural cemetery should be located in the individual histories of each of these cemeteries,

which together set a precedent for more widespread action on cemetery establishment after the mid-1830s. There remains one important factor which constitutes a common denominator for all these companies, however: the fear of body-snatchers. The theft and sale of cadavers from burial grounds to anatomy schools flourished in the period before 1832, in which year Warburton's Anatomy Act created an alternative supply of corpses from paupers dying 'unclaimed' in workhouses and hospitals. In all the cemeteries founded before 1832, a commitment to security was very much in evidence. In some cases, the fear of resurrection activity was so strong as to prove instrumental in the founding of new, less vulnerable burial places.

Before going on to illustrate in detail the connection between resurrectionism and the emergence of the extra-mural cemetery, some discussion of chronology needs to take place. The theft of bodies from burial grounds for sale to anatomists had been taking place for centuries, and was certainly common practice in the eighteenth century [36]. Why, therefore, should the concept of the disturbance of the body for dissection only prove to be disturbing enough in the 1820s to merit protective action taking place?

It is impossible to cite exact statistics which relate to the growth in demand for corpses and the incidence of such activity in the first decades of the nineteenth century. It cannot be doubted, however, there was an increase. One factor which points to this being the case is the nature of medical education in the eighteenth and early nineteenth century. The work of Susan Lawrence has been especially important in revealing

the range of opportunities for training in medicine available in London in the years before the passage of the Apothecaries Act of 1815. From the 1730s, the teaching of medicine had been conducted largely through the agency of private schools and tutors. By the beginning of the nineteenth century, the profitability of such instruction was becoming evident [37]. Joshua Brooks, an anatomy teacher, advertised the facilities at his school in The Times. In 1807 he was making available private dissection rooms and promising weekly 'anatomical conversatziones' [38]. The number of courses offered by such entrepreneurs tripled between 1780 and 1814 [39]. The corresponding multiplication of those being taught in London was also marked, with registered students at hospitals increasing from 91 in 1780 to 250 in 1814 and 310 in 1820 [40]. Such figures represent only a fraction of the total of all students: by 1828, the leading surgeon Astley Cooper estimated that some 700 pupils were attending schools of anatomy in the capital [41].

London was becoming an established centre for some medical courses, and these included anatomy and practical dissection. Unfortunately statistics do not exist for translating this development into figures demonstrating the increased demand for corpses. In 1828, Astley Cooper reckoned that students used upwards of 450 cadavers per teaching season, although there is small indication of how far this total had increased over the preceding decades [42]. There can be no doubt, however, that the public perceived an increased threat from resurrectionists, and that knowledge of such activities was being more widely

disseminated. The frequency of body-snatching incidents reported in The Times in 1815-30 was nearly triple that of the preceding period of fifteen years [43]. The fact that communities felt more threatened by resurrection men is confirmed by increased attention to the security of the corpse. Richardson has highlighted the fact that the first half of the nineteenth century was a time in which the undertaking trade made its most significant advances, built on the sale of stout double and triple coffins [44]. No attention has been given, however, to the way in which demand for security led to the development of the extra-mural cemetery.

Two reports from The Times illustrate the connection. At the end of January 1827 The Times reproduced an item from the Nottingham Journal. Three London resurrection men had been discovered stealing bodies from a local graveyard and transporting them to the capital using Pickford's vans, 'until their number, at length, invited suspicion' [45]. Once news of the thefts had been made known, crowds gathered and mass exhumations at the graveyard undertaken. It was discovered that thirty-four bodies had been removed. The reporter was eloquent in his comments on the response of the bereaved:

No description can adequately represent the wild and moving expressions of anguish shown on this occasion; and never did sorrow bring with it deeper sympathy and commiseration from those who beheld it [46].

One man set off to London, determined to search the anatomy schools and recover his son's body. The scene was repeated in Great Yarmouth almost exactly a year later. The Times reported

the people in an

extraordinary state of excitation, occasioned by the discovery of the exhumation of several bodies from St Nicholas' churchyard, by a regular set of resurrection men [47].

A George Beck had discovered the removal of his wife's body. For three or four days the churchyard was full of relatives disinterring coffins, twelve of which were found empty. In Nottingham, news of the resurrectionist activities resulted in new locks for the burial grounds. The inhabitants of Great Yarmouth were more determined. Less than six months after the body-snatchers had been discovered, a cemetery company was formed and a new cemetery established in which greater security could be guaranteed [48].

The incident in Great Yarmouth would indicate that body-snatching was an immediate precipitant of the forming of a company. Nor was this case exceptional. All the remaining nine earliest companies made some mention of burial ground security. In 1830 the London General Cemetery Company prospectus, for example, promised that its grounds would be 'secure from violation' [49], and also in 1830 Portsmouth's Portsea Island Cemetery Company was to build around its cemetery 'walls not less than thirteen feet high' [50]. It is probable that the profound fear of the dissection of the body after death was the decisive element in rendering already poor burial conditions intolerable, thus explaining the timing of the emergence of extra-mural cemeteries in the 1820s and early 1830s when resurrection

activity was at its height. During this period, strength of feeling against the act of body-snatching was so profound that attempts to make the grave secure entailed the use of a range of devices - watchmen, mortsafes and patent coffins included. The founding of private cemeteries, where the protection of the corpse was guaranteed, constituted an extension of anti-resurrectionist tactics.

Before showing that this was the case, it is necessary to understand the nature of the threat that resurrection activity posed to the community. Richardson has given a definitive analysis of the place of the corpse in popular culture, and the violation of social mores which was implicit in post-mortem examination [51], so it is therefore unnecessary for this thesis to enter into extensive discussion of the consternation surrounding disinterment and dissection. It is sufficient to note that anxiety was expressed on three counts. First, the dissection of the corpse was held to have serious consequences for the spiritual fate of the dissected. Christian belief in the physical resurrection of the whole body after death was commonplace, and the dismemberment of the corpse was thought to be detrimental to this process. Such belief was supplemented, even overwhelmed by a more indefinable, almost pagan, solicitude for the corpse. It was this feeling which, in part, motivated the crowds protecting the Tyburn corpses from the anatomists [52].

A second objection to dissection was its association with criminal punishment: dissection was a traditional part of execution following conviction for the worst crimes. This situation remained unchanged through to the nineteenth century.

The Times commented in 1827:

the only subjects now available by law to anatomists are the corpses of executed felons - a circumstance which of course must aggravate the repugnance of the general mass to see the remains of those who were dear to them exposed to such violation [53].

The use of 'unclaimed' pauper bodies for anatomical examination as proposed by Warburton's Anatomy Act was greeted with outrage. Dissection, even of the 'unclaimed' destitute, was regarded as being a punishment for poverty. No attempt was made to destigmatise dissection, and even the doctors who so heartily condemned public feeling against it did not take up a common suggestion and leave their own bodies to science to set an example [54].

A third source of anxiety about disinterment and dissection was occasioned by its sexual connotations. A spoof poem circulated in Norwich in the 1820s had the ghost of a lover visiting her fiancé, and telling him not to bother grieving at the grave, since her body had long been stolen for the anatomists:

I vowed that you should have my hand,
But fate gives us denial;
You'll find it there at Dr Wright's
In spirits and a phial [55].

The writer of the parody was perhaps unique in his ability to find humour in what was a deeply distressing situation. The notion of the body of a mother, sister, daughter or wife 'torn

from the grave', 'exposed to the...indecent jest of unfeeling men', 'subjected to the gaze of lads learning to use the incision knife', and finally 'dismembered in the presence of hundreds of spectators' [56], was deeply harrowing. One suggestion that resurrectionism might be averted by the voluntary donation of bodies held this condition:

To the more refined of the female sex, however, this should be unpalatable doctrine - for a woman must have little modesty who could bear the idea of such an exposure, even after her decease [57].

The dissection of women was thought akin to sexual assault, and as such was deemed doubly offensive.

Objections to post-mortem examination on spiritual, cultural and sexual grounds was supplemented by a knowledge of the more general disrespect to the dead represented by disinterment and dissection. Extensive detail of the modus operandi of body-snatchers was reported in The Times and virtually all provincial newspapers. Resurrection scares were covered with almost morbid comprehensiveness; no-one could be unaware of the events consequent to the disinterment of a body.

Body-snatchers were remorselessly efficient. Usually disinterment of the corpse did not necessitate the uncovering of the whole coffin. Only the earth covering the top third of the coffin would be removed, the lid levered open and the body dragged out, often using a rope around the neck of the corpse. Once the body was taken out of the grave, it would be stripped of its funeral garments, since their theft was of more serious consequence than the taking of the cadaver, which was, in law,

the property of no-one. The body was tied into a foetal position, and placed in a sack, and thrown over the wall of the churchyard into a waiting cart. The corpse was then transported to whichever area showed the greatest demand. The resurrectionists were careful to disguise their burdens. The corpses were

invariably transmitted to the metropolis in such cases or packages, as the staple manufactures or commodities of the place they were usually conveyed in; thus, occasionally, they arrived in hat-crates, in the casks in which hardwares were sent, etc [58].

It was evident that the resurrection men had no respect for the commodity in which they dealt.

Once out of the hands of the resurrectionists - notoriously drunk, uncouth men, 'the lowest dregs of degradation' [59] - the corpse would receive no better treatment from the anatomist. Dissectors were held in equally low esteem as body-snatchers. Once in the dissecting room, cadavers were 'roughly handled' [60]. Anatomists' work was considered 'butcher-like', bodies were 'hacked to pieces' and anatomists themselves were deemed 'cannibals...as if they delighted in the mangling of dead bodies for the pleasure of carving' [61]. Small wonder that William Cobbett commented that dissection of his wife or child 'would be a thousand times more painful than any death that could be inflicted on me' [62].

The horrors of resurrectionist activity were heightened by the fact that there was no legislative protection for the community from such depredations. Resurrectionism constituted

only a misdemeanour in English law, and so body-snatchers could be fairly sanguine in the case of arrest. They frequently returned to the crime after short prison sentences or fines. Thomas Light, for example, was a well-known resurrection man who was arrested three times in as many years for the offence [63]. Body-snatchers were not only protected from punishment by the inadequacies of the judicial system. Much is explained by the comment from Thomas Wakley: 'There is hardly any crime, which supported or covered by wealth, may not practically cease to be criminal' [64]. The more professional body-snatchers were 'sponsored' by affluent anatomist-patrons, and indeed often made this a condition of employment. Thus Thomas Spencer was in 1812 acquitted from a charge of resurrectionism on the grounds of a letter testifying to his good character written by 'a respectable surgeon' [65]. Such support, though, was more often pecuniary. Sir Astley Cooper, 'supposed to be in receipt of a large income from his profession than any professional man of any description in Europe' [66] spent hundreds of pounds in bail money and fines to keep his suppliers of 'subjects' out of jail. His biographer reproduces an account noting payment of bail for Vaughan, one of the more well-known resurrection men, arrested for his part in the theft of bodies from Great Yarmouth. Furthermore, Cooper was obliged to pay six shillings to Vaughan's wife in the event of his imprisonment, along with a weekly sum of ten shillings a week whilst Vaughan was confined [67].

At the same time that anatomists made sure that body-snatchers were well remunerated for their work, body-snatchers bribed gravediggers and sextons to obtain information on the most

recently used graves. The character of the gravedigger could inspire little confidence. Many were habitual drunkards, and so were easily waylaid by the body-snatcher. The trial of Harris and Wallis in 1822, 'apprehended in the act of disturbing graves' revealed that they had made a deal with the gravedigger the night before, 'at the Roebuck public house over six pots of half and half'. The gravedigger told Harris 'the exact spot where [a] child was to be got at', and was rewarded five shillings 'for his kindness' [68].

Supplementing this general dissolution was a more insidious venality. Sir Astley Cooper assumed that parish employees overseeing graveyards 'were always in pay as far as I have heard' [69]. The sexton of the Hollywell Church Burial Ground in London, Wackett, had a long-standing arrangement with Murphey and 'Patrick', two professional body-snatchers, wherein he not only supplied them with the key to the ground, he also left

certain signs...to point out the situation of the particular bodies which he considered might be removed with the least fear of detection [70].

Thus the illegal supply of cadavers from graveyards was facilitated by an almost unbreachable system of lax legislation and downright corruption, against which traditional law enforcement could not effectively operate.

Attempts to reinforce burial ground security, which Richardson terms 'the sanctity of the grave asserted' [71], took a number of different forms. Communities were more than willing to mete out their own justice. The capture of resurrection men

usually occasioned the gathering of a crowd. The Times in 1818 reported one crowd of a thousand, which accompanied the police and the criminals 'literally covering them with mud and filth of every description' [72]. The extensive robberies from the Hollywell Church Burial Ground were finally discovered, and this led to a mob attack on the gravedigger. Wackett was thrown into an empty grave, 'and would have been buried alive had not the police arrived and protected him'. Deprived of their prey, the mob

went to Wackett's house, where they destroyed every article of his furniture, seized his wife and children, whom they dragged through a stagnant pool...and then proceeded to break the windows of the two old women who were the owners of the property, though they were perfectly innocent [73].

Such ferocity amply illustrates both the deep distress and anger occasioned by the crime of body-snatching and frustration about the shortcomings of the law in dealing with the perpetrators.

The ineffectual nature of the legislation in this matter meant that the bereaved were compelled to rely on their own resources for protection of the dead. For the poor, the means of protecting the body were limited. It was common for there to be placed on the grave 'a bit of stick, an oyster shell, a stone or a planted flower' [74], the removal of which evinced disturbance of the coffin. Professional body-snatchers were very much aware of these ploys, and were always careful to replace the earth and the tokens after the body was removed. This device, so evidently fallible, could be supplemented only by the watching of the grave itself. This action, after a day of perhaps arduous labour, was

in itself no guarantee of success. Only

half an hour's absence or slumber on the part of the perhaps worn out mourner was often sufficient for the defeat of his object [75].

Entire vigilance was needed because of the speed at which the resurrection men could work.

The rich were comparatively well served with devices to afford protection for their dead, not least of which was the use of stout wooden coffins - costing up to £50 - and even caskets made from lead. By the early 1830s, 'patent coffins' were coming into use, fashioned from iron, and with special spring catches to prevent their being levered open [76]. These coffins could be laid, at great expense, in the church or in vaults or in graves dug so many shillings deeper per foot than usual. Such precautions were ineffectual against the determined body-snatcher. The Times reported a case in 1828 of a vault that had been opened, two lead coffins broken into and the heads of the deceased removed [77]. Wakley was adamant that resurrection men were 'no respecters of class' [78]. Sir Astley Cooper agreed, claiming to the Select Committee, with an arrogance befitting his income, that 'there is no person, let his situation in life be what it may, whom if I were disposed to dissect, I could not obtain' [79]. Although in general the resurrection men preferred to steal from the flimsy coffins of the very poor, no opportunity was wasted. When Murphey the London body-snatcher by chance happened on an open burial vault, he violated every coffin in search of teeth to sell [80]. It would seem, therefore, that all

were at risk from the depredations of the resurrectionist.

Despite making brief comment on the establishment of extra-mural cemeteries, Richardson does not note the clear connection between their development and the incidence of body-snatching scares. Although the public outrage which followed the discovery of exhumations in Great Yarmouth is examined in detail, the desire to improve security by founding a cemetery company is not referred to [81]. In fact, a close correlation can be described between communities feeling most threatened by resurrectionist activity - because of the proximity of a medical school, or the fact of the town being a port - and areas in which attention to burial ground security resulted in the formation of either new burial grounds or cemeteries.

Evidence of the connection between early cemetery establishment and body-snatching scares is multitudinous, and extends beyond the ten examples of company cemeteries founded in 1820-32. In Edinburgh the popularity of the medical school meant that body-snatching was particularly rife. In 1820 the St Cuthbert's Kirk Session took the step of establishing a new burial ground on East Preston Street, the watchtower of which still survives. The Kirk Session took out an advertisement in the local newspaper to publicise the attractions of the ground. It was

well enclosed with high walls...sober and steady men upon whose fidelity entire reliance might be placed will attend every night from the evening to the morning twilight, properly armed for the protection of the ground [82].

In addition to these precautions, metal cages were erected over

the tombs to prevent access, even from above. In Aberdeen, the community evidently felt similarly threatened by the existence of an anatomy school in the area. The discovery of only partially buried human remains in the yard of the premises in 1832 led to a riot which resulted in the school's being completely rased [83]. The apprehension of resurrectionist activity in the city must have remained, however, since in 1834 the merchant William Wood laid out a new burial ground which was 'inclosed by a wall ten feet high'. Subscribers were to have the right of 'inclosing their ground by a metal railing, without any additional charge' [84]. Dublin also saw the establishment of new grounds in the late 1820s: the nine acres of Prospect Cemetery at Glasnevin were surrounded by high walls with a watchtower at each corner [85].

All the early company cemeteries were founded with an evident apprehension of the fear of resurrection men and showed some degree of commitment to security. An anatomy school had been set up in Manchester in 1814. The reliance of the school's founder, Joseph Jordan, on the services of resurrection men was discovered, and the windows of the anatomy school smashed by an angry crowd [86]. Jordan was afraid to leave his home for several days. Although the reasons for the foundation of Manchester's Rusholme Road Cemetery were undoubtedly rooted primarily in Church/Dissenting relations in the city, the security of the ground was deemed important enough to merit the erection of a building for watchmen on the grounds [87]. A similar pattern is discernible in Birmingham - also the location of a medical school. Records relating to the General Cemetery Company in the

town are sparse, but it is certain that protection for the corpse was considered a priority. At the initial meeting of the directors, the intention was expressed that the cemetery should 'preserve and secure the repose of the dead' [88], and be 'capable of being defended against violators' [89].

In the case of the other cemetery companies, slightly more detail is available. The inhabitants of Liverpool, where two cemeteries were founded in the 1820s, were faced with a double risk from the resurrectionist. The city housed two medical schools, each teaching upwards of forty students [90]. In addition, the docks at Liverpool became 'the centre of a most extensive traffic in subjects' [91], supplying London, Dublin and Scotland with cadavers. In one incident of 1826, barrels were found containing bodies on the dockside at Liverpool. These were awaiting loading on the ship *Latona*, bound for Leith. The source of the casks was quickly located - hired premises - and in the cellar, eleven further barrels were discovered,

all of which, on being broken open, were found to contain human bodies, in a state too painful to describe; some were perfect, others dissected and some, we shudder at the recital, were put into pickle! [92]

Several sacks of corpses were also found, containing thirty-six bodies in all.

The 'extreme excitement' created by the discovery of this trade formed the background to the establishment of the Liverpool Necropolis, completed in 1825. It was clear that the inhabitants of the city felt that their churchyards and burial grounds were particularly insecure; no doubt attention paid by the press to

the question exaggerated the dangers. Articles and correspondence printed in the Kaleidoscope, a 'literary supplement' to the local newspaper, noted that the walls of the churchyards were 'of easy access to resurrection men' and that the

remorseless nightly robber of the grave selects any within the grasp of his power for the purposes of mutilation and exposure, disregarding age, sex or person [92].

The Liverpool Necropolis promised 'entire security against trespassers of any kind' [93] and the St James Cemetery, opened four years later also guaranteed 'perfect security' [94]. Indeed, the cemeteries must have been particularly secure since in 1827

Mr Huskisson...presented a petition from the Philosophical Society [of Liverpool] complaining of the difficulty in obtaining dead bodies for the use the anatomy school [95].

It is to be imagined that the response of the resurrection men would have been to reverse their former practice, and instead supply bodies from London to Liverpool.

At similar risk from its status as a port and its proximity to Edinburgh was Newcastle, where a cemetery company was founded in 1825. Fear of resurrectionist activity was clearly a significant consideration in the formation of the company. In the months previous to the company's flotation, the local newspaper carried a number of reports which underlined the vulnerability of the community's dead. In December 1823 bodies were discovered en route to Edinburgh [96]; the next month two men were convicted of 'body-stealing', having been caught carrying the corpse of a ten-year old, and being in possession of the 'tools of the trade'

- a tooth drawer and a spade [97]. A report published in the following month noted that the churchyards in Durham were being watched nightly. The slight hysteria which was beginning to attach itself to the question was demonstrated by the rumour in the area that resurrection men tempted people away and bled them to death, a belief that had 'the great effect of clearing the streets after dark' [98].

Newcastle's Westgate Hill Cemetery Company was founded against the background of these scares. Although the company was principally concerned with the extension of independent burial provision for the town, protection of the dead was the most immediate priority. The Dissenters in Newcastle had long been in possession of ample facilities for burial in the Ballast Hills Burial Ground. It was clear, though, that the Burial Ground was not considered particularly secure:

the nightly depredations reported to be committed in this extremely unprotected place was truly horrifying to those who had there deposited the remains of their friends [99].

Moves had been taken to strengthen the fencing of the site in 1825 [100]. When in the same year the founding of a new cemetery was proposed, it was unsurprising that the intention was to 'procure a place of rest and security' [101]. John Fenwick, one of the directors of the company laying out the new cemetery, was very much aware of the resurrectionist scares. In a speech given at the meeting to propose the flotation of the company he noted that

Some subjects have lately been detected, in one of the coach houses in Newcastle, under direction to a person in

Edinburgh. And there is reason to fear that they were supplied *from one of our own crowded and insecure cemeteries* [102].

Fenwick mentioned, incidentally, the infamous salted and pickled bodies discovered on the Liverpool docks, also destined for Edinburgh.

Fenwick's concern was shared by other directors, including a Richard Pengilly, Dissenting minister. His address, delivered on the occasion of the first interment in the cemetery, also intimated that protection of the remains of the deceased was an important function of the cemetery:

we wanted a place so defended by walls and other methods of security, that it should be next to impossible for the robbers of the grave to accomplish their inhuman purposes [103].

The directors of the company were zealous in the fulfilment of their aims, and the Westgate Hill Cemetery was surrounded by walls fourteen feet high. Nor were the directors lax in implementing additional measures. In 1832, the company's annual report noted 'a very considerable sensation prevailing in the town respecting the disinterment of the dead', and

proposed to counter any alarm *respecting this cemetery* by placing three gas pillars on the ground, so as to shed such a measure of light over the whole surface that every part of it may be visible from the windows adjacent [104].

These gas pillars were, incidentally, sold back to the gas company six years later, by which time there was a 'cessation of

anxiety with regard to the disinterment of bodies' [105].

The stress on security in the foundation of new burial grounds was similarly evident in the establishment of the Mile End Cemetery in Portsmouth. Although the local newspapers do not abound with detail of resurrectionist activity in the area, the whole community evidently felt itself at risk, perhaps because of a combination of reports in the London papers, and the status of the town as a port. The Times had noted, in a report of the theft of a body from the village of Little Leigh in Cheshire, that

the vigilance which is observed in and around the metropolis for the protection of burial grounds, has driven the dealer in human flesh to the country for subjects [106].

Certainly fear of resurrection activity is reiterated throughout the literature issued by the Portsea Island Cemetery Company, founded in 1830. Prior to the creation of their cemetery the managing directors issued a statement in which the anxiety regarding disinterment is most eloquently expressed as:

the agonising apprehension of...being purloined from [the] silent abode for sordid gain, [and] exposed to the dissecting knife of a medical practitioner [107].

The company's prospectus promised the laying out of a cemetery where 'the remains of our departed friends may be deposited, without dread of being taken up again for anatomical purposes'. To achieve this aim it was planned to 'erect walls, not less than thirteen feet high, to be surmounted by iron spiked rollers' [108]. For the first few weeks after its opening in September 1831 the cemetery was guarded by watchmen, 'until the ironwork was secure' and thereafter two dogs were kept at the ground

[109]. It would seem, then, that directors were determined to uphold their promise of 'superior security' [110].

The foundation of London's General Cemetery was attended with similar concern. Preliminary discussion surrounding the establishment of the company mentioned the fact that, in London, 'the repose of the dead is not secure' [111]. One director, Colonel J.K. Money, expressed a common feeling:

With respect to himself, if he was to be informed that his body would be dissected as soon as the vital spark had flown, he should not have the least care about it, but from the idea of a mother, a wife, a daughter or some valued feminine friend being dragged from the tomb and exposed before young students, his nature recoiled (hear hear) [112].

As with all the cemeteries founded in the period before 1832, the prospectus of the company noted the intention to lay out a cemetery which would be 'secure from violation' [113].

It is possible to conjecture that the sentiment expressed by Colonel Money was that which principally motivated Thomas Drummond, a Unitarian minister, to lay out the Rosary Cemetery in Norwich in 1819 - an institution which was converted to joint stock ownership in 1824. Drummond originally founded the Rosary for the burial of his wife. Certainly the desire to establish an unconsecrated burial site was probably very much a consideration. But again, security was a priority. Evidence that this was the case comes from a comic poem circulated in Norwich:

I wish you'd speak to Mr D.
Who owns the patent ground;
And tell him that his patent graves,
Are neither safe nor sound.

I vow that his new land of tombs,
Made so genteel and pretty;
Is not a bit more safer than
Old Tombland in the city [114].

The jibe inherent in the poem was probably directed at Drummond's rather naive belief that the measure of planting a thick holly hedge along one side of the cemetery would be sufficient defence against resurrectionists [115].

All cemetery companies founded before 1832 had burial ground security as a priority. The extent to which body-snatching scares directly precipitated the establishment of more easily protected burial grounds varied: in Great Yarmouth it is clear that there was a close connection between the discovery of the work of Murphey and his colleague and the laying out of the General Cemetery. The vulnerability felt by the populations of Liverpool, Newcastle, and Portsmouth was undoubtedly influential in the decision taken to lay out the extra-mural grounds, as was the case perhaps to a lesser degree in London, Norwich and Birmingham.

Even long after the need to rely on the provision of cadavers for burial grounds had disappeared, anxieties endured. In 1838, the Gravesend and Milton Cemetery Company handbook

declared that in its cemetery 'all fear of exhumation is set at rest by high walls, and by a watchman constantly on the ground' [116]. Two years later, the minute book of the Winchester Cemetery Company was echoing the same concern, noting that the duties of the sexton were to include taking charge of 'a large dog...to be placed near graves, where bodies have been recently interred, at night' [117]. It is possible that neither Gravesend or Winchester had suffered unduly from the attentions of resurrectionists, but the fact that promises of security was made in their literature indicates that some communities still needed reassurance.

It has been demonstrated that anxieties relating to the security of the corpse precipitated the development of the extra-mural cemetery. The passage of Warburton's Anatomy Act in 1832 removed the reliance of anatomists on the illegal trade in cadavers, and so - at least for the well informed - ended the need for security in fresh burial places. New fears arose to replace the old concerns, however. The 1840s are remarkable for the resurgence of the imagery of the physical violation of corpses which had been a common feature of the pre-1832 period. In the later period, the object of horror was not the body-snatcher, but the sexton, whose thankless occupation involved finding space for burial in already saturated burial grounds.

Given the overcrowding common in city graveyards, the disturbance of bodies was unavoidable. William Lee, a Board of Health Inspector who had visited dozens of town burial grounds, commented to the General Board that

in most of the instances quoted, the interment of the dead

is only temporary, and the repose usually attributed to the grave a fiction [118].

The mutilation of corpses was commonplace, open to the gaze of distressed onlookers, as numerous letter-writers to The Times noted. At St Anne's in Blackfriar's in London, mourners at a funeral in 1849 witnessed a gravedigger who threw part of a mangled corpse into a grave, dismembered the limbs with a spade, and placed them beside the coffin, over which he sprinkled a small quantity of earth [119]. In 1843 two friends of a bereaved family inspected the St Martin's burial ground, also in London, before the funeral. On hearing the protest that the grave was insufficiently deep at just over two feet, the gravediggers declared

"Here is a coffin", pointing to one under their feet, "which we must remove", and suiting action to the word they sent the pick-axe into the coffin, exposing the mortal remains of its pale tenant [120].

The coffin was overturned and its contents mixed with clay. The onlookers were horrified to find that the plate on the coffin was dated only 1838, and left the graveyard 'crying and screaming'. Conditions were such in this Drury Lane 'dead pit' that a writer to Blackwood's Magazine described it as an 'admirable specimen in the art of packing', drawing a splendid analogy between a gravedigger and a traveller jumping up and down on a trunk to get it closed [121]. London was not exceptional. In 1852, the report on burial in provincial towns offered the testimony of a Selby man, who was seeking a grave for his sister. He was taken into

the churchyard by the sexton.

The ground appeared completely full. He pointed with his searcher to the spot and said - We can go down here, your father is buried here and we can go through him. He has been dead for so long it will not matter. He was going to put his searcher down, but I would not let him, and I said he talked more like a savage than a man [122].

To a large extent, the treatment of the corpse at the hands of the sexton offended the same social mores as the resurrection man, and caused equal distress.

Again, however, it remains to ask why this sort of complaint became common only in the 1840s. In the few years between the passage of Warburton's Act and the onset of this decade, conditions in most burial grounds must have presented a threat to the integrity of the corpse, and yet this aspect of the burial problem was rarely mentioned in those years. Reports surrounding the Bristol Cemetery Company, for example, were extensively reproduced in the local papers in 1836-37 [123], but they contained no reference to corpse integrity, which was to be a common element of writing on the subject in the 1840s.

One possible explanation may be offered. Richardson has described the way in which working-class communities have repressed fears concerning the 'pauper funeral' - which in historic terms could include handing the body over for medical dissection [124]. It could be claimed that nineteenth century society, so appalled at the treatment meted out to its dead in churchyards and burial grounds, chose to ignore the fact, since to dwell on its occurrence was too painful. It is certain,

however, that the publication of such works as George Walker's Gatherings from Graveyards in 1839, and the Select Committee Reports of the early 1840s were too graphic to allow the repression of the problem to continue.

Extensive analysis of the place of the book and the reports as catalysts for sanitary reform and the foundation of public health companies is offered in chapter six. What is important in the context of this chapter, however, is noting how far such reports must have rekindled memories of the worst resurrectionist atrocities. It has already been noted that newspapers such as The Times were instrumental in publicising the exact modus operandi of the body snatcher. In the Select Committee Report of 1842 in particular, the public was favoured with excruciating detail of the way in which sextons were obliged to work. One Thomas Miller was particularly eloquent. He had worked at the Globe Fields in the Mile End, where overcrowding frequently necessitated the moving of bodies. The method used was described:

We used to get a rope and put it round the bodies' necks, having first taken off the lid of the coffin, and then we dragged them by the rope, and sometimes the head would come off, and the trunk would fall down again, and we used to go down and fix it round the body and haul it up that way [125].

Extracts from the Report were reproduced in The Times, and in the more influential periodicals [126]. No-one could be unaware of the way in which the gravedigger was obliged to work.

As a consequence of the extended publicity afforded sextons'

practices, cemetery companies founded in the 1840s also offered promises of security in their grounds. In 1845, the City of Canterbury Cemetery Company declared that its ground would be 'faithfully preserved as a place of burial without desecration' [127], and the Hull General Cemetery, in the same year, guaranteed 'decent and undisturbed sepulture' [128]. In 1848 the chapels and lodges at Northampton's General Cemetery were completed, and the company commented: 'all classes of the community, may at length secure to themselves the privilege of inviolable interment' [129]. To some extent, the attempts to instil the new cemeteries with some degree of aesthetic charm - explored in detail in chapter five - were in part a response to the need to create an impression of order, laying out

a peaceful and beautiful cemetery where the remains of themselves and their fellow citizens may repose undisturbed until the morning of resurrection [130].

Cemeteries clearly constituted a means of securing burial with a guarantee of permanency.

This chapter has attempted to chart the ways in which apprehension for the fate of the body influenced the progress of cemetery company foundation. It has been demonstrated that body-snatching scares were crucial to the emergence of the extra-mural cemetery, and that the stress on the importance of the continental cemeteries is mistaken, since initial responses to the chief French cemetery were ambiguous, and enthusiasm was most often confined to the introduction of over-elaborate, rarely executed cemetery designs. Rather more prosaic concerns were of

greater importance: the origins of the extra-mural cemetery may, to a considerable degree, be located in the resurrectionist scares which in particular marked the 1810s and 1820s. Such was the anxiety attached to the disinterment and dissection of the corpse, one judge commented

that parties were fully justified in finding some means of preventing that violation of sepulture, which must at all times be so revolting to our natural feelings [131].

Extra-mural cemeteries were founded, where 'Every precaution [was] be taken...to preserve the sanctity of the tomb inviolate' [132]. The establishment of such places, where additional securities could be guaranteed, can be seen as one of a number of anti-resurrectionist devices which were introduced in the period.

After 1832, when resurrectionist activity ceased, anxieties regarding the integrity of the corpse did not disappear, since overcrowding in burial grounds brought a threat of disturbance as distressing as that afforded by the body-snatcher. These fears underpinned the appeal of the new cemeteries:

who that holds dear the memory of departed relatives or friends, would object to pay an additional sum for the purchase of a commodious burying place, rather than have their remains huddled together in a crowded churchyard, and placed in contact with the half-decomposed bodies of others [133].

Cemeteries were advertised as places in which the dead could be guaranteed permanent repose.

As the following chapters demonstrate, however, the desire to gain security for the corpse usually worked as an additional

motivation alongside other factors activating directors of cemetery companies. In the 1840s, as will be seen in chapter six, the rhetoric relating to the disturbance of the corpse was subsumed into the general debate on the insanitary nature of intramural interments. In the earliest companies the fear of dissection was important as a short-term catalyst. In the long term, the most significant fact about the early cemeteries was the predominance of Dissenting companies, as the next chapter will demonstrate.

FOOTNOTES.

Epigraph: R.Pengilly, Address delivered at the first interment in the Westgate Hill General Cemetery, Newcastle upon Tyne (1829), 5. Local History Library, Newcastle Central Library.

1. R.Richardson, Death, Dissection and the Destitute (1987), chapter one: 'The Corpse and Popular Culture'.
2. James Stevens Curl, The Victorian Celebration of Death (1972), 157.
3. G.Walker, Gatherings from Graveyards (1839); Report from the Select Committee on the Health of Towns; Report from the Select Committee on the Health of Towns: Effect of Interment of Bodies in Towns.
4. Curl, Celebration, 157.
5. Richard Etlin, The Architecture of Death (Massachusetts, 1984), 33-34.
6. ibid., 340.
7. MS Minute Book of the Trustees of the St James Cemetery, 10 Aug. 1825. Liverpool Archive Office.
8. This according to C.Brooks, Mortal Remains (Exeter, 1989), 9.
9. T.W.Bayne, 'John Strang', Dictionary of National Biography (Oxford, 1917), 20.
10. J. Strang, Necropolis Glasguensis, with Observations on Ancient and Modern Tombs and Sepulture (Glasgow, 1831) 32.
11. ibid., 28.

12. Curl, Celebration, 207.
13. Penny Magazine, 3 (1834), 299.
14. Thomas Willson, 'On the Pyramid and Père Lachaise', Lancet, 1 (1830), 235.
15. Prospectus of the General Burial Ground Association, appended to the Prospectus of the General Cemetery Company (1830), British Library, London, 22
16. Gentleman's Magazine, 102, pt 2 (1832), 246.
17. Curl, Celebration, 207.
18. ibid., 157.
19. C.Thacker, The History of Gardens (1985), ch.15.
20. Prospectus of the General Burial Ground Association, 13.
- 21 Quarterly Review, 21 (1819), 394.
22. Kaleidoscope, 19 Dec. 1827.
23. Morning Chronicle, 12 Apr. 1830.
24. Strang, Necropolis, 37.
25. Prospectus of the City Burial Grounds Institute and Père Lachaise of Sighthill, reproduced in the MS Minute Book of the Company, 25 Feb. 1840. Glasgow Archive Office.
26. Gentleman's Magazine, 100, pt 2 (1830), 351.
27. ibid., 351.
28. ibid, 351.
29. Gardener's Magazine, vol 8 (1832), 362.
30. J.C.Loudon, On the Laying Out, Planting and Managing of Cemeteries and on the Improvement of Churchyards (1842), 20.
31. Willson, 'Pyramid', 234.

32. ibid., 236.
33. See chapter six.
34. Brooks, Mortal Remains, 16.
35. J. Fenwick, Substance of a Speech given at a General Meeting of the Various Denominations of the Protestant Dissenters, of Newcastle upon Tyne, on the 14th June 1825, to take into Consideration the Propriety of Obtaining a New Place of Sepulture (1825), Local History Library, Newcastle Central Library, 45.
36. Richardson, Death, 54.
37. S. Lawrence, 'Entrepreneurs and private enterprise: the development of medical lecturing in London, 1775-1820', Bulletin of the History of Medicine, 62 (1988), 171-72.
38. The Times, 18 Sep. 1807, 1a.
39. Lawrence, 'Entrepreneurs and private enterprise', 178.
40. ibid., 178.
41. Report and Evidence of the Select Committee on Anatomy (1828), 16.
42. ibid., 17.
43. Statistics based on reference to Palmer's Index to the Times Newspaper (Shepperton-on-Thames, 1905, reprint 1965).
44. Richardson, Death, 273.
45. The Times, 29 Jan. 1827, 4a.
46. ibid.
47. The Times, 2 Jan, 1828, 2d.
48. Yarmouth Mercury, 15 Mar. 1957. This edition contains a history of the cemetery.
49. Prospectus of the General Cemetery Company, for providing

places of interment, secure from violation, inoffensive to public health and decency, and ornamental to the metropolis (1830).

50. Prospectus of the Portsea Island General Cemetery (Portsmouth, 1830). Sanderson Collection, Local History Library, Portsmouth Central Library.
51. Richardson, Death.
52. Peter Linebaugh, 'The Tyburn Riot Against the Surgeons' in D.Hay et al., Albion's Fatal Tree (1977), 106.
53. The Times, 22 Jun. 1827, 3a.
54. As suggested in ibid.
55. A Parody on "Mary's Ghost"; or the Doctors and the Bodysnatchers. A Pathetic Tale With Numerous Additions (Norwich, n.d.). Norwich Local Studies Library.
56. The Times, 9 Dec. 1822. Also A. Millard, An Account of the Circumstances Attending the Imprisonment and Death of the late William Millard (1825), 14.
57. C.K.Sharpe, MS Collection relating to the trial of Burke and Hare (Edinburgh, 1828-29), viii.
58. B.B.Cooper, The Life of Sir Astley Cooper (1843), 356.
59. Opinion of Sir Astley Cooper, giving evidence in Report and Evidence of the Select Committee on Anatomy, 18.
60. Nineteenth-century letter reprinted in the British Medical Journal, 16 Jan. 1943.
61. Sharpe, MS Collection, 3.
62. Cobbett's Weekly Political Register, 7 Jun. 1832.
63. See, eg The Times, 15 Oct. 1812, 3e; 2 Nov. 1813, 5d; 17 Feb.

- 1814, 3e.
64. Lancet, 1 (1828), 786.
 65. The Times, 4 Nov. 1812, 3e.
 66. The Times, 4 Oct. 1822, 2d.
 67. Cooper, Life, 365. Punishment for graverobbing offenses also tended to be lenient because medical students and surgeons themselves were often directly involved in thefts. See e.g. R.E. Leader, Reminiscences of Old Sheffield (Sheffield, 1876), 349.
 68. The Times, 22 Nov. 1822, 3d.
 69. Astley Cooper, Report and Evidence, 17.
 70. Cooper, Life, 373.
 71. Richardson, Death, 75.
 72. The Times, 17 Dec. 1818, 3e.
 73. The Times, 5 Apr. 1823, 2d. Also Cooper, Life, 376.
 74. Cooper, Life, 352.
 75. ibid, 347.
 76. Richardson, Death, 80.
 77. The Times, 17 Sep. 1828, 3b. See also Annual Register, 70 (1828), 159.
 78. Lancet (1828-9), 787.
 79. Astley Cooper, Report and Evidence, 18.
 80. Cooper, Life, 399-400.
 81. Richardson, Death, 83-85.
 82. Edinburgh Evening Courant, 27 Dec. 1820.
 83. Cobbett's Weekly Political Register, 14 Jan. 1832.
 84. Aberdeen Journal, 6 May 1834.

85. Thom's Irish Almanac and Official Directory, with the Post Office Dublin City and County Directory for the Year 1847 (Dublin, 1847), 24.
86. F.N.L.Poynter, The Evolution of Medical Education in Britain (1966), 125.
87. MS Articles of Agreement of the Rusholme Road Cemetery Company (1820). Manchester Archive Office.
88. Speech from initial Company meeting quoted in E.H. Manning, Guide to the Birmingham General Cemetery (Birmingham, 1905), 8.
89. Aris's Birmingham Gazette, 18 Oct. 1832.
90. T.H.Bickerton, A Medical History of Liverpool from the Earliest Days to the Year 1920 (1936), 77.
91. Cooper, Life, 396.
91. Gentleman's Magazine, 94, pt 2 (1826), 296.
92. Kaleidoscope, 7 (1827), 38. It is probable that this story has been subject to some degree of exaggeration. The report was also reprinted in Gentleman's Magazine, 96, pt 2 (1826), 363.
93. Liverpool Mercury, 19 Sep. 1823.
94. MS Minute Book of the Trustees of the St James Cemetery, 10 Aug. 1825.
95. Kaleidoscope, 7 (1827), 38.
96. Newcastle Chronicle, 20 Dec. 1823.
97. Newcastle Chronicle, 3 Jan. 1824.
98. Newcastle Chronicle, 7 Feb. 1824.

99. R.Pengilly, Address (1829), 5.
100. MS The Committee's Transaction Book for Ballast Hills Burial Ground (1825). Tyne and Wear Archive Office, Newcastle.
101. Fenwick, Substance of a Speech, 12.
102. ibid., 13.
103. Pengilly, Address, 5.
104. First Report of the Committee of the Westgate Hill Cemetery Company, (1830). Local History Library, Newcastle Central Library.
105. Seventh Report of the Committee of the Westgate Hill Cemetery Company (1838).
106. The Times, 5 Jan. 1824.
107. Statement issued by the Company, quoted by W.G.Gates, Portsmouth through the Centuries (Portsmouth, 1931), 62-63.
108. Prospectus of the Portsea Island General Cemetery.
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110. Prospectus of the Portsea Island General Cemetery Company.
111. Morning Chronicle, 10 Jun. 1830.
112. Morning Chronicle, 6 Jul. 1830.
113. Prospectus of the General Cemetery Company.
114. A Parody on "Mary's Ghost".
115. See B.Nierop-Reading, 'The Rosary Cemetery', in Landscape Design, 184 (1989), 48-50.
116. Gravesend and Milton Cemetery Company: to be Incorporated by

- Act of Parliament (1838), Local History Library, Gravesend Central Library.
117. MS Minute Book of the Winchester Cemetery Company, Hampshire Record Office, Winchester, 27 Jul. 1840.
118. Report on a General Scheme of Extra-mural Sepulture for County Towns, appendix, 17.
119. The Times, 4 Sep. 1849, 5b.
120. The Times, 7 Nov. 1843, 3f.
121. Blackwood's Magazine, 68 (1840), 829.
122. Report on a Scheme of Extra-mural Sepulture, 11.
123. Bristol Mirror, 14 May 1836; 18 Feb. 1837.
124. Richardson, Death, 280-81.
125. Report to the Select Committee...on Interment, 86.
126. e.g. Westminster Review, 40 (1843), 149.
127. Kentish Gazette, 9 Sep. 1845.
128. Hull General Cemetery Company, Registered Provisionally (1845), Hull Record Office.
129. Second Annual Report of the Northampton General Cemetery Company (1848), Local Studies Collection, Northampton Central Library.
130. Annual Report of the York Public Cemetery Company (1850).
131. Gentleman's Magazine, 90, pt 2, (1820), 420.
132. Prospectus of the Portsea Island Cemetery Company.
133. Hemingway's History of Chester (Chester, 1831), 129.

3. The cemetery company: 'without distinction of sect'.

The first cemetery company in Britain - the Rusholme Road Proprietary Cemetery - was founded in Manchester in 1820, and was established by Dissenters as a response to burial grievances. It seems entirely apt that this company should be founded in the Lancashire city by George Hadfield, the doyen of Dissenting agitators, since cemetery companies were, at least until the mid-1830s, essentially an expression of the power of provincial Nonconformity. In the context of religious politics, beginning with Manchester is useful, since it introduces themes which will dominate the rest of the chapter. The cemetery in Manchester was evidently founded because of the problems associated with interment. Hadfield commented in his 'Personal Narrative' that,

it had long been wanted and was resorted to by many; but to us it was a particular advantage, to get our own ministers enabled to preside at our funerals [1].

It remains to be asked, however, why Hadfield should have chosen to act in 1820. The time was propitious for a number of reasons. It was clear that Dissent in Manchester in 1820 was particularly strong. The 1810s had seen the growth of Dissenting congregations in the city. Indeed, Hadfield himself was involved in the building of two new chapels - at Salford in 1818 and on Rusholme Road in 1825 [2]. Existing burial grounds were insufficient for the needs of the rising congregations, as the company's Articles

of Agreement intimated: it was

considered that a public place of burial for the use of all persons dissenting from the Established Church in or near the town of Manchester is highly necessary [3].

In addition, as has been demonstrated in the last chapter, existing grounds were also insufficiently secure from the increasing attentions of body-snatchers.

Another significant factor must have galvanised Hadfield's resolve. Manchester in 1820 also saw one of the earliest large-scale church rate battles. Grants of £1.5m had been given to the city for the building of three new churches, and Dissenters refused payment of an increased church rate. Hadfield was successful in leading the agitation, and the rate was rejected in the vestry by a vote of 720-418 [4]. Conflict over the church rate possibly encouraged the formation of the cemetery company in two ways. Antagonism between Church and Dissent meant that there was a decrease in the possibility of a legislated resolution of the issue of the burial grievance, which made the situation more acute; and attention fixed on the church rate increased both the determination and the confidence of Dissenters to attack all Anglican monopolies, including the near-monopoly of burial provision.

Hadfield noted that 'Many towns followed our example' with regard to the cemetery [5], and he was right: the Rusholme Road Cemetery set an influential precedent. Undoubtedly Hadfield's polemical style, together with the centrality of Manchester to the general progress of Dissenting affairs, meant that news of

the foundation of the Rusholme Road Cemetery travelled to many Nonconformist congregations. Reference to Manchester is common among early cemetery company documents, being noted in the minute books of the Portsea Island Cemetery Company [6], the appendix of an address given at the formation of the Westgate Hill Cemetery in Newcastle [7], and the Halifax General Cemetery prospectus [8], and having one of its handbills included among the papers of the Leeds General Cemetery [9]. Indeed, Miss Martha Hope, who was the first to be buried at Liverpool's Necropolis, was related to the lady who was first interred in the Manchester Cemetery [10].

Religious-political cemetery companies dominated the 1820-32 period, and experienced steady popularity in the following years. This chapter will address the issue of why Dissenting communities in particular made such frequent use of the joint-stock cemetery. The example of Manchester indicates that reasons for this being so are varied. At the most basic level, it will be seen that in the majority of cases, Nonconformist congregations were increasing to the extent that extension to existing burial provision was necessary - this was especially true for the years before 1832, when Dissenters' burial grounds were considered both overcrowded and insecure.

The desire to obtain burial provision independent of the Established Church was heightened by the refusal of some of the clergy to inter certain types of Dissenter - especially Unitarians and the children of Baptists - and the objections of Dissenters themselves to burial in consecrated ground. All Dissenting cemetery companies worked to alleviate long-standing burial grievances, by opening unconsecrated cemeteries in which

the burial service might follow any form desired by the bereaved.

The provision of independent burial grounds was not the only reason why Dissenting companies were formed, however. Cemetery companies were often embroiled in the Dissenting campaign to obtain relief from all grievances and were, in places, transformed into institutions with a distinguishing political edge. This was a role for which the cemetery company was ideally suited, since it expressed both the voluntaryism at the heart of the Dissenters' campaign, and deprived the Church of one of its traditional monopolies, undermining the financial security of the clergy. The significance of the cemetery company was not lost on the Church of England, and the degree to which the Church felt itself under attack was reflected in criticism of the companies, attempts to have clerical compensation written into the acts of parliament founding companies, and sometimes successful attempts to block company formation.

At the heart of Dissenting use of the joint-stock cemetery format was the desire to provide additional burial space. Although the majority of Dissenters were interred in parish graveyards, there was a strong tradition of provision - albeit limited - outwith the Church. The most famous example of a Nonconformist burial ground is probably London's Bunhill Fields, which had been established as a general place for interment in the seventeenth century. Its use was dominated by the Dissenting community, however, a trend galvanised by the interment in the grounds of such luminaries as John Bunyan and Susanna Wesley, the

mother of John and Charles [11]. London was perhaps exceptional in having a Dissenters' ground of such eminence. In most towns, Dissenting graveyards were only small, comprising the ground attached to chapels or meeting houses.

Increases in the Dissenting population meant that already limited resources were heavily taxed. Currie, Gilbert and Horsley have estimated that the numbers of Nonconformists in Britain more than doubled in the years between 1800-20, from 211,000 to 437,000, and more than doubled again in the next two decades [12]. Most of the Dissenting cemetery companies were established in towns with a thriving Nonconformist population. Information on congregations is made available by the 1851 religious census. B.I.Coleman's work on the social geography of the Church of England contains statistics which includes figures from fourteen of the seventeen towns which had Dissenting cemetery companies [13]. Of the fourteen towns, eleven were dominated by Nonconformist denominations - having more than 50% of the town's worshippers attending non-Church of England services. Given the predominance of the Nonconformist community in these towns, it is not surprising that the companies formed there stressed that existing independent burial provision in particular was limited. In Halifax in 1836 for example, chapels had 'either no burial ground at all, or the small place attached to them is completely full' [14]. Birmingham's General Cemetery Company of 1832 was advertised 'in consequence of the general want of burial ground amongst the various religious denominations in the town' [15].

Both Liverpool and Portsmouth provide further examples of

places where cemetery companies followed the expansion of the Nonconformist community. The Liverpool Necropolis, opened in 1825, was primarily a Congregational concern. The Registrar of the cemetery was John Bruce, who had been co-pastor of the Newington Chapel - of that denomination - since the early years of the century. The congregation of the Newington Chapel had enjoyed spectacular growth in the 1810s under the care of Thomas Raffles, whose charisma improved the status of the denomination in the city. Attendance at Newington swelled to over 2000, and included some of the most influential families in the area [16]. Such increases necessitated greater and secure burial provision, and the foundation of the Necropolis was an expedient solution.

A similar pattern of events preceded the establishment of the Mile End Cemetery in Portsmouth in 1831, where the Dissenting community was also undergoing considerable expansion. A significant facet of this development was the co-operation between Nonconformist congregations. Undenominational chapels were opened in the town and surrounding area in 1800, 1807, 1808 and 1814. By the 1830s the Meeting House Chapel - a Baptist concern - had emerged as the most influential congregation. Thomas Ellyet, a deacon, led a Sunday school of over seven hundred children. Money must have been plentiful, since the chapel was repaired and gas lighting installed. A new organ was bought in 1833 [17]. The expansion in the size of the Baptist community naturally increased pressure on available burial grounds - that attached to the Meeting House itself had closed in 1827, probably because full [18]. It was necessary, therefore, to purchase further ground. Baptists were the protagonists of the

scheme to found the Portsmouth and Portsea General Cemetery Company in 1830: the address delivered at the opening of the cemetery was undertaken by C.E.Birt, of the Kent Street Chapel, and the Secretary of the company was George Arnott, also a Baptist minister [19]. Again, the foundation of a new extra-mural cemetery was a necessary concomitant of the growth of the Dissenting community.

A slightly different situation prevailed at Newcastle, with the Westgate Hill Cemetery Company established in 1825. Unlike Liverpool or Portsmouth, Newcastle had a long tradition of independent burial provision which was considered to be more than adequate. Appended to a speech given by one of the directors, John Fenwick, was a table recording the capacities of, and interments in, the graveyards and burial grounds of Newcastle. For a typical year - say 1822 - burials in the four Anglican churchyards amounted to 476. In addition there was one burial in Quaker ground, although three or four was a more usual figure. In Ballast Hills, the Dissenting burial ground, 556 interments took place. In every year given in the appendix, burials in Ballast Hills exceeded the totals of all other interments in the town [20].

By the mid-1820s the adequacy of this provision was being questioned. As was shown in the previous chapter, Newcastle, being a port with convenient proximity to Edinburgh, suffered from understandable apprehension about resurrectionist activity, and Ballast Hills was deemed too insecure. At the same time that moves were underway to raise subscriptions for a new fence for

the burial ground, the Trustees of Ballast Hills appointed a committee of six men to look into the feasibility of raising money for an entirely new cemetery. The decision was taken to finance the purchase of new land through the sale of shares valued at £10 each, a move inspired by the success of the Rusholme Road Cemetery and the Liverpool Necropolis, both of which were mentioned in the Newcastle company literature [21]. Included in the list of directors for the company were John Bell, Thomas Grey, William Greaves and Archibald Strachan, four members of the Ballast Hills committee [22]. The cemetery company therefore constituted an easy way in which addition to Dissenting burial provision could be financed.

Although in all these cases the desire to increase burial space was evidently a priority, other factors were commonly of equal importance to Dissenting communities. In August 1845 a public meeting was held in Gainsborough's town hall to discuss the possibility of enlarging the churchyard, but

so great was the difference of opinion with respect to consecration that no satisfactory conclusion was arrived at [23].

Within a week the Dissenters of the town had arranged the foundation of their own public cemetery, financed through the sale of shares, the first interment in which took place a year later. From the point of view of Dissenting communities it was critical that such cemeteries as were to be provided should be independent of the control of the Established Church, remain unconsecrated and allow any or no burial service to take place. These stipulations were included to mitigate Dissenting

objections to the Anglican domination of existing burial provision. Grievances were two-fold, and included the prejudice of the clergy with regard to the burial of certain types of Dissenter, and the consecration of parish burial grounds.

Clergymen could refuse burial to Nonconformists. In 1839 T.S. Escott, vicar of Gedney, Lincolnshire, achieved no small notoriety by refusing to bury a child baptised by a Wesleyan Methodist minister, and whose parents were Dissenters. By his action Escott became a byword for clerical intolerance. Not content with doubting the validity of the baptism of the child, Escott had descended to rather petty insult, referring to the Wesleyan minister as 'mountebank' and a 'minister from hell' [24]. Only the intervention of the bishop, and a court case protracted over more than two years, finally settled the issue; although it favoured the Methodists, the case no doubt occasioned deep distress due to the long delay in the interment of the child. Escott was undeniably a stubborn man, and something of an exception, but many clergymen did feel unease at being compelled to inter Dissenters. Such people had, after all received only 'doubtful' baptisms. The troublesome nature of the issue is demonstrated by the fact that the Protestant Dissenting Deputies addressed the question of burial with more frequency than any other [25].

It is possible to maintain some sympathy for the clergy who had, on the whole, been forced into a difficult position merely through the passage of time and a change of circumstances. The 68th Canon, dating from 1603, forbade ministers to refuse burial

to any, except in those cases where the deceased had been denounced excommunicated *majori excommunicatione* for some grievous and notorious crime, and no man able to testify his repentance [26].

In principle therefore the clergy were compelled to bury virtually all. This rule was supplemented by two exceptions - that burial should be denied to those dying unbaptised, and to those who have 'laid violent hands on themselves' [27]. At that time the likelihood of these exceptions coming into play was minimal - indubitable suicide was relatively rare, and the Church was united against the scourge of Popery, with schism almost unthinkable.

The emergence of religious Dissent on a large scale in the eighteenth century was to prove problematic. It was difficult for the clergy to ascertain whether baptism had been afforded the deceased, and questionable whether baptism by a lay or Dissenting minister was valid. Despite this, the clergy were losing the right to judge whether those presented for Christian burial were worthy, a deficiency which was severely compromising their ministerial duty. Thus Walter Blunt, an Anglican priest, could indignantly claim in 1847 that

persons of every description, and of all denominations, put in their claim to burial in the Church's Cemeteries and by the Church's Minister and with the Church's Service; and are supported in their claim by courts of law [28].

Blunt's resentment in this instance stemmed from the fact that refusal to bury by the clergy had resulted in a number of test cases, all of which were decided in favour of the bereaved. As

far back as 1809 the issue of baptism and burial had - theoretically - been clarified by the Kemp vs Wilkes case. This concluded that a child baptised by a Dissenting minister, invoking the Trinity and using water, was considered a 'proper' candidate for Christian burial [29].

This decision constituted for many clergymen a violation of the spirit of Canon 68. A letter to the British Magazine in 1834 described the burial of Dissenters according to Anglican rites as a 'painful duty', since blessing of those who had reviled 'the forms...ministers...and doctrines' of the Church was an insult to those buried with the same rites, but who had been loyal communicants [30]. Burying Dissenters compelled the clergy to partake in a 'horrid mockery of solemn falsehood addressed by His Own Priests in a prayer to the GOD of truth' [31]. Compared with this, some clergymen decided, the burial grievance of Nonconformists was minimal. One writer declared in 1834:

Bestow not, then, my Lords and Gentlemen, all your compassion on the Dissenters, who, for the want of a greater cause of complaint are straining at a gnat; but have some for the Ministers of the Church, who are compelled to swallow a camel [32].

Admiration must therefore be reserved for those

whose consciences forbid it, and who have sufficient nerve to refuse it...at the risk of suspension by the Ecclesiastical Courts, and costs which are sufficient to ruin most of them for life [33].

Their only crime was, after all, 'steadfastly performing what is

morally and religiously their duty' [34].

The high morality claimed by the clergy as motivating their actions did not in any degree lessen the fact that their refusals to bury bore the appearance of acts of petty tyranny, especially in the 1830s when the Church of England was, for the most part, under siege and tempers running high. Such tyranny was made, for some, doubly outrageous because of its insensitivity. In most instances, 'clerical intolerance' was directed against the young. 'To deny Christian burial to anyone', exclaimed a correspondent to The Times,

still more to an uncomplaining infant, violates every principle of benevolence, piety and religion, and is alike revolting to the common feelings of humanity and the spirit of the Holy Scriptures [35].

Even though the denial of Christian burial evinced 'an intolerance worthy of the dark ages' [36], the Patriot - a leading Dissenting journal - recorded a number of cases. It was noted:

scarcely a year elapses in which there do not occur refusals on the part of the clergy of the Established Church, to bury the children of Dissenters [37].

In Leicester in 1834 a man who had not been baptised was denied interment in the churchyard

even though he had brothers lying in the same ground who had been interred by the curate's predecessors with the usual ceremonies and in similar circumstances, there being no Dissenting ground in the parish [38].

Such action, taking place when Dissenting agitations were

gathering force, looked not so much tyrannical as vindictive. A similar occurrence was recorded earlier in the year at Taunton, where after a particularly bitter church rate battle H.P.Gale, a minister, refused burial to the child of Baptist parents [39].

This 'clerical intolerance' was naturally distressing for the bereaved. Generally two lines of action were open to those involved. The first and most obvious course was to attempt to obtain the right to bury elsewhere. This was not always easy - as in the case of Leicester (above, p.169) - in areas where no alternative burial grounds were available. A Mr Gregory, speaking at a Nonconformist meeting in Nottingham in 1834, related how he had been 'compelled to carry his child under his arm a distance of two miles for interment' [40]. The more usual response was for the bereaved to contact the bishop of the respective locality. The bishop almost always decided in favour of a burial, although in some cases - as with Henry Phillpotts, the bishop of Exeter - he had reservations [41]. Still, even if the bishop was favourable, harm had been done. As one correspondent to the Patriot commented:

Christian burial and all its solemnities...ought not, for an hour, to be suspended on the sole will of the clergyman of the parish [42].

This was especially so when the delay was unlikely to be for anything so short as an hour. The exchange of letters between the bereaved, the bishop and the vicar could take up to a week, and in the more notorious cases delays could last for years. In 1843 William Herbert of Bassingborne, Cambridgeshire, declined to act

on the advice of his bishop and bury Esther Fisher, the child of Independent parents. The vagaries of legal proceedings on the issue - hampered by Herbert's involvement in a similar, earlier case - meant that the coffin was not interred for two years. Even so once the question had been resolved and Herbert compelled to inter the child, he was absent from the funeral and a neighbouring clergyman read the service [43].

One possible solution to this particular aspect of the burial grievance was commonly voiced, and also proposed by the Dissenting Deputies in the Herbert case - allowing Nonconformist ministers to lead funeral services in Anglican churchyards. By this means the clergy would no longer be compelled to violate their consciences, and Dissenters would not be refused burial. Furthermore, granting Dissenting ministers the right to officiate in churchyards would answer the wider grievance concerning interment. Generally speaking, the 'intolerance' of the clergy only related to a minority of Nonconformists. Refusals to bury were more especially exercised against Baptists, whose convictions regarding believer's baptism meant that their children were regularly subject to the whims of intransigent clergy, and Unitarians, whose baptism perforce did not invoke the Trinity.

Many more Dissenters, however, were compelled to hear a funeral service - the tenets of which they consciously objected to - being read over the grave of a loved one. It was known for Dissenters to evade the hypocrisy attendant on such a practice by adopting a species of modified burial service. A letter reprinted in The Times noted a common custom - in this case performed by a

Baptist congregation in Burton, Northamptonshire, which did not have its own burial ground and was therefore obliged to use the churchyard. The Baptist minister walked before the coffin to the churchyard, gave out a hymn at the grave and then retired beyond the limits of the graveyard to give a short address and lead a prayer [44].

Even the right of the Dissenting minister to go this far was questioned, alongside the allied issue of the ownership of the churchyard itself - did it belong to the incumbent or the community? Here there was basic uncompromising disagreement. The Protestant Dissenting Deputies attempted to clarify the issue and applied to Lord John Russell for advice. He replied that he understood that the churchyards were 'by law considered as the freehold of the incumbent' [45]. One writer in 1834 expressed agreement, stating with much determination:

The churchyard belongs to the Episcopal sect, and for any minister of another communion to pronounce a prayer over a grave in that consecrated spot would be a daring infringement on the rights of the clergy; nay..., it would be a glaring violation of the liberty of conscience! [46].

Edward Baines, a Dissenter and MP for Leeds, voiced the Nonconformists' opinion with less hysteria and more reason:

The cemeteries, belonging to the respective parishes of the country, are public property, and have been provided by rates levied on the inhabitants generally, to which Protestant Dissenters have contributed their full portion; we ask, therefore, that these, which in many cases are the

burial places of our fathers, may be open to us to bury our dead, in our way, without being compelled to submit to the ritual of the Church of England [47].

Again it must be stressed that the 1830s were no fit context in which the clergy could be expected to be reasonable. Granting the Dissenting ministry the right to officiate in Anglican graveyards smacked of battle taking place dangerously close to home - 'are we thus to be bearded in our own sacred precincts?' [48]. It was evidently felt, as The Times had predicted, that

if a service not that of the Church is read in the churchyard, the next step will be to perform it in the church itself [49].

It has been seen, then, that the Dissenters' burial grievance contained two distinct elements - the possibility that burial might be refused by the more 'scrupulous' clergy, and the fact that it was often impossible for Dissenters to avoid burial according to Anglican rites. Even if it was possible for the clergy to be flexible on those points - and it is probable that many were - the issue of consecration of the churchyard was cause for contention. It was even claimed that enforced burial in consecrated ground constituted 'a form of persecution' [50]. The majority of Nonconformists concurred with John Wesley:

I am clearly persuaded that the thing [ie consecration] is wrong in itself, not being authorised either by any law of God, or by any law of the land [51].

Consecration was considered a 'mere relic of romish superstition' [52], more so since some clergy believed interment in such ground was essential to the repose of the soul [53]. In addition,

Nonconformists resented the implication that the rituals of a bishop could make burial in the graveyard 'the exclusive road to heaven by his breath' [54]. In Falmouth, the whole issue was resolved by the vestry taking a vote and thus deciding to purchase an extra burial ground which would remain unconsecrated [55]. Such action, however, required a degree of co-operation between the Church and Dissent which in the second quarter of the nineteenth century became increasingly uncommon. It would seem that the resolution of burial grievances would necessitate extraordinary measures.

In 1842 Richard Fry, pastor of the Unitarian church at Kidderminster, died. His last wish was to be interred in the Old Churchyard, where members of his family had been buried. Fry was noted for his attention to 'spiritual and religious freedom', though how far this led him into Church\Dissent controversy is uncertain. It would seem that some rancour had been provoked, since the response of the incumbent, a Mr Waller - sent by letter to the undertaker conducting Fry's funeral - was unmistakably hostile:

If the corpse is brought to the church, I shall not refuse to bury it; but if it is brought I am thus required to perform the service, I shall take the fact of the funeral coming to the church as a tacit acknowledgement that the deceased did not wish to be regarded in death as a dissenter from our communion [56].

The bereaved, thus refused burial, were forced to inter Fry in the graveyard attached to the chapel, and the funeral attracted

great attention. Such was the disgust aroused by the action of the clergyman, a cemetery company was established, 'where ecclesiastical bigotry and High Church despotism shall have no control' [57].

Although the Kidderminster Cemetery Company was exceptional in being founded as a direct consequence of a single example of clerical intolerance, all Dissenting cemetery companies strove to resolve burial grievances by stressing that burial would be open to all, with no restrictions on the type of service, or on the minister who served, and that the ground would remain unconsecrated. Thus in Newport, the object of the company was stated to be the laying out of a cemetery for 'all classes of persons of what religious persuasion soever they may be' [58], Birmingham's General Cemetery was open to 'all shades of religious opinion' [59], and the cemetery at Wisbech was 'established on the broad principle of religious freedom' [60]. The liberality of Newcastle's Westgate Hill Cemetery was similarly stressed: each of its annual reports was printed with the rubric, redolent of mild Dickensian satire, 'Westgate Hill Cemetery: open alike to the Whole Human Family without difference or distinction' [61].

There was, in addition, no regulation imposed on the type of burial service used. Abney Park Cemetery in London was 'open to all denominations of Christians without restraint in forms' [62], Nottingham's General Cemetery offered 'free burial form' [63], and Sheffield's General Cemetery promised mourners 'sepulture according to the rite of their own religious faith' [64]. Leeds General Cemetery offered the services of a Christian minister,

'or permits the substitution of one selected by the parties' [65], as did the Portsea Island General Cemetery:

A minister will be appointed, to officiate as chaplain and registrar, whose services will be at the command of such who wish to avail themselves of him, without charge or fee. On those occasions, it will be left to him to conduct the service as he shall think most for the edification of the parties present. Those who bring their own minister with them, will be at liberty to use what form they please; while others, who prefer it, may inter their dead without any service whatever [66].

In addition almost all the Dissenting cemetery companies did not consecrate the land which was laid out. The directors of Newcastle's Westgate Hill Cemetery Company denied the need for such a ritual, noting its lack of a biblical precedent, and roundly declaring: 'We want no mitred dignity and state, to declare our spot of ground to be hallowed for the dead' [67].

The one exception was Nottingham, where it was agreed on principle that if the ground was to be truly open to all, then part of the cemetery should be consecrated and so available to Anglicans. A similar sentiment was expressed in Swansea, where plans to open a completely unconsecrated cemetery were met with this objection from a local Nonconformist minister:

as far as he was concerned, he considered that to adopt such an exclusive course, was a step totally opposed to the great principle of Nonconformity. He thought it would be exceedingly illiberal on their part, as Nonconformists, who

had for a long time been complaining about the exclusive conduct of the Church party [68].

For all companies, whether or not taking the generous step of consecrating part of their grounds so as to admit members of the Church of England, joint-stock cemeteries constituted a means by which the sectarian prejudices inherent in old burial practices might be removed. Thus, Dissenting cemetery companies all answered long-standing burial grievances.

The example of Manchester's Rusholme Road Cemetery intimates that there were other reasons for the Dissenters' embracing the joint-stock cemetery format with such enthusiasm. The cemetery company was also attractive in political terms, since it provided a means of extending effective action in the battle for the abolition of all grievances: burial grounds independent of the Church constituted a very real threat to the financial stability of the clergy.

Because the development of the politicised cemetery company was so deeply embedded in the progress of Nonconformist agitations in the 1830s, an outline of the campaign will be useful. In the early 1830s there were indications that some legislative enactment might eliminate all Dissenting grievances. These included, along with the interment issues, the registration of marriages in Church, admission to universities, and the payment of the church rate, a universal tax intended to finance the upkeep of the fabric of the parish church. Agitation for the removal of these imposts had gathered pace, especially through late 1833 and early 1834, largely due to the reforming *zeitgeist* of the early 1830s. In February 1834 the particular excitement

which was abroad was expressed by an announcement appearing in some provincial newspapers - an 'Appeal...to the Dissenters of England...':

You cannot resist the popular spirit...if you think you can, look at the great questions on which it has been exerting itself for the past twenty years - the slave trade - the Test and Corporations Acts - Catholic Emancipation - Negro Slavery - and the Reform Bill - it is one magnificent series of popular victories over bad government, incorporated selfishness and aristocratic pride [69].

Reforming zeal was rampant, and Nonconformists felt assured that if such megaliths as the institution of slavery and corrupt electoral practices could be shifted, then surely Anglican hegemony and religious disability must sway under pressure. Indeed, the timing of any assault on the Church was doubly propitious: not only was the Dissenting community fully energised, the Church itself was at a low ebb, suffering under a series of critical attacks on its privileges. The opposition of bishops in the House of Lords to the passage of the Reform Bill led to a loss of sympathy for the Church which hardened attitudes to its many inconsistencies. Ecclesiastical revenues and pluralities were subjected to scrutiny, and the Church was seen to be in need of radical reform [70].

Legislation to amend the anomalies looked likely, since the Dissenters' agitation for the relief of grievances was met, initially, with sympathy. The Times for example had, since the late 1820s, supported moves for Dissenters to adopt their own

marriage services [71]. Furthermore the paper censured those clergymen refusing burial to the unbaptised [72]. It would seem, however, that the Dissenting agitations were to some extent a victim of their own energy. Rather than wait to convene a national campaign, Dissenters chose to act at a local level, and concentrate in particular on refusing to pay the church rate [73].

Action was not restricted to the intransigence of solitary individuals on the issue. Whole communities took a stance against the impost. Because the level of the rate was decided in the vestry on the vote of all rate payers, it became possible, if numbers against the rate were sufficient, to vote to avoid it altogether. The pattern was repeated in vestries throughout the country. In Nottingham in October 1833, a rate of 9d was proposed and seconded. Samuel Fox, a leading Quaker in the town, offered a counter-proposal that the meeting should be adjourned until August 1834, 'in the hopes that the legislature would, in the meantime, take measures to abolish the impost' [74]. Fox's proposal was accepted with a majority of fifty-five and the original proposer of the rate demanded a poll. Again the anti-rate lobby was successful, achieving a majority of seventy-three in favour of the adjournment of the vestry for one year, essentially a refusal of the rate.

The Patriot had misgivings over thus resisting the rate, but was quickly swamped by reports of communities which had no such qualms. In one single edition of the paper, in August 1833, it was recorded that the rate was refused in forty-seven places, and by mid-October of the same year, the paper was obliged to run

a regular church rate column. Between 1831 and 1851, 632 church rate contests took place, only 148 of which were unsuccessful [75]. In the face of the apparent success of church rate battles at this time, the notion of establishing cemetery companies was extremely attractive. Once the church rate issue had been tackled, further moves against church monopolies were inevitable. Here were 'armed men...sprung up, all glowing with the strength and stimulus of new life, all prompt for action of some kind' [76].

That the foundation of cemetery companies may be viewed as an extension of church rate battles is shown through attention to the directorships of companies. The Leeds General Cemetery Company is a fine example. There is no doubt that this company was a Dissenting concern. The First Annual Report intimated as much, with great delight:

the Proprietors...derive a higher and purer satisfaction from the consciousness that they have been instrumental in providing, for every class of the community, the means of decent and undisturbed sepulture, according to the rites of their own religious faith [77].

The company had a deeper concern than the alleviation of burial grievances. It was established in 1833, at a time when the question of the church rate was very much at issue in Leeds. Indeed, the announcement of the meeting to found the company appeared in the Leeds Mercury in the same column as the declaration that the rate had been refused [78]. The vestry was in any case dominated by liberals favourable to the cause of

abolishing the rate, and 'economies' were in progress to reduce the impost to nothing [79]. One of the protagonists of the cemetery company - quite possibly its instigator - was Edward Baines jnr who was later, like his father, to become M.P. for Leeds. Baines jnr was more than a little interested in the problem of urban burial, and had used his editorship of the Leeds Mercury to bring attention to the subject, which he had alluded to as early as 1830 [80]. Baines was evidently considering some sort of action to make changes to the provision for interment in Leeds, and the agitations of 1833 constituted an irresistible impulse. The establishment of a cemetery company would not only solve the problem over which he had been mulling for some time; it would also constitute a coup for the Dissenters, implying as it did a critique of the universalist claims of the Church.

Baines was supported by a directorate comprising men who had also been involved in agitations against Dissenting grievances. Details of thirteen of the twenty-four directors can be traced. Eight of the thirteen were leading Dissenters in the town, associated with the influential chapels at Mill Hill (Unitarian), South Parade (Baptist) or East Parade (Congregational) [81]. In addition, there was J.A. Buttrey, a liberal Anglican who had been voted to the post of senior churchwarden in the vestry. Buttrey was responsible for the 'economies' in the administration of the church rate, economies which led to its virtual abolition from 1835. Also noted as director was Darnton Lupton, wool merchant and member of the influential Unitarian congregation at Mill Hill, like his colleagues John Luccock and James Marshall, also directors. Lupton was, if anything, more militant than Buttrey on

the issue of the rate. They had clashed over the imposition of a half-pence rate, with Lupton against and Buttrey in favour, seeing its virtue as a compromise rate, which would save the liberal churchwardens from bearing the whole cost of church expenses personally [82]. In December 1836, more general agitation against the rate was led by both Baines and another company director George Goodman, a Baptist who, like Baines, would go on to become an M.P. for Leeds [83].

The Leeds General Cemetery was not exceptional in respect to the connection between its inception and local church rate disturbances. Baines' particular circumstances were mirrored by Samuel Fox, the Nottingham Quaker, who was instrumental in founding the General Cemetery Company in that town in 1836. Like Baines, Fox had an enduring interest in the problems of urban sepulture. During the cholera epidemic of 1832 he had donated ground to be used as a burial site for those succumbing to the disease. Fox had been outraged by the fact that his donated ground was absorbed by the Church and wholly consecrated, which provoked a determination to provide a cemetery in which all might be interred without discrimination. Like Baines, Fox received additional impetus to his resolve from the local church rate agitation, which he steered to victory in 1833.

Fox gathered within the cemetery company those of like mind about taking action against Church monopolies. Of the thirty named directors [84], details of approximately one third cannot be traced. Of the remaining twenty-one, however, it can be established that all were Protestant Nonconformists, except for

Robert Willson, later Roman Catholic bishop, who had collaborated with Fox in the foundation of the cholera burial ground in 1832. All the town's leading congregations were represented, including the High Pavement Unitarian Chapel, whose members were 'amongst the foremost to prove their attachment to the cause of liberty, civil and religious' [85]. Aside from Fox, others on the company directorate were actively involved in the abolition of the church rate. George Gill, Quaker merchant, was the co-author of the stirring 'Appeal' of 1834 which had exhorted the Dissenters of England to unite. Joseph Gilbert, Congregational minister, was delegate to the United Committee on Dissenting grievances in London [86]. Hugh Hunter, General Baptist minister, was one of a party representing the anti-rate views of the Nottingham Dissenters to Earl Grey in 1834 [87], and Thomas Herbert chaired meetings to discuss the rate's abolition. For such men, the foundation of a cemetery company surely had meaning beyond the provision of additional burial ground, and signified the determination of Dissenters to wrest complete independence from the Established Church.

This was certainly the case in Leicester in 1845. Possibly the most extreme example of militancy in terms of company formation, the Leicester directors were fired by the determination not only to alleviate burial grievances, but also to aim for the complete separation of Church and State. The company was no doubt energised by the notion of voluntarism - removing all state support for the Established Church - as envisaged by Edward Miall, one-time Independent minister in Leicester, and leading agitator for the division of Church and

State. He wrote in 1845:

throw but the religion of the land upon its resources, and the spirit of active enterprise it evokes for its own support prompts, enters into and informs, all other undertakings [89].

'Other undertakings' might reasonably include the provision of independent burial grounds. In Leicester the need for such was generally recognised, and the Dissenters on the Town Council - two closely interlinking groups - were the first to take action. A joint-stock cemetery was proposed, but not without the principles underlying such a decision being explained:

they [ie the directorate] have been induced, or rather compelled to adopt this course, in consequence of the apparently great and insuperable difficulties, in the way of reconciling the various and conflicting views of Churchmen and Dissenters. They find it impossible for Dissenters to act in concert with Churchmen in this matter, without making such extensive concessions for the purpose of obtaining their concurrence, as would compromise their own religious principles and feelings of independence. This being the case the establishment of a cemetery jointly by Churchmen and Dissenters would be positively objectionable [90].

Indeed, the proprietors were most anxious that their voluntaryist principles be known, declaring that a number of those involved in the scheme 'hold very decided views on the impropriety of the connection of Church and State' [91]. This, though admittedly an extreme example, indicates the degree to which voluntaryism could

underlie company formation.

The Church was by no means unaware of the critique of both burial grievance and the Church Establishment per se implied by Dissenting companies, and certainly could not ignore the threat to clerical incomes presented by the foundation of new cemeteries. The example of the living in Spitalfields, London, shows how far clerical dependence on burial fees could extend.

Table 4:1 - Clerical Income, Spitalfield, London 1838-40.

Year	Gross income	Burial fees	Percentage
1838	£410 6s 7d	£199 8s	48.5
1839	£429 17s	£179 5s 6d	41.7
1840	£389 5s 10d	£174 2s 6d	44.7

[92].

In London, the threat presented to clerical incomes by the new extra-mural cemeteries had been contained, in some degree, by the bishop of London, C.J.Blomfield, who had enforced exacting compensation clauses on the companies which opened consecrated grounds. The clauses specified that payment should be made by the company to the vicar of the parish where the interred had resided. The payment varied according to the expense of the burial, with the more costly interments having higher compensation fees attached. The following table demonstrates the range of fees charged to some of the leading London cemetery companies:

Table 4:2 - Clerical compensation fees charged to London cemetery companies.

Company (date)	Vault	Open Ground
General Cemetery (1830)	5s	1s 6d
South Metropolitan (1836)	£1 0s	7s 7d
London Cemetery (1836)	5s	1s 6d
W.London and Westminster (1836)	10s	10s

[93].

The West London and Westminster also had to pay compensation of 1s per burial to the parish clerk. Enforcing the payment of compensation charges was not a wholly satisfactory solution, however. There was still felt to be some degree of financial loss: the customary presentation by the bereaved to the clergyman officiating at the funeral of mourning gloves and hatband constituted a considerable perquisite which would be missed if the burial took place outside the parish.

The imposition of clerical compensation was clearly not an adequate solution, especially since it could not be imposed on the Dissenting companies. The Church normally attacked cemetery companies when their establishing acts were passing through parliament. Because Dissenting companies could be founded through deeds of settlement, no such opportunity for inserting compensation clauses existed. Entirely new legislation was needed. The Church found a determined champion in the Liberal M.P. William McKinnon who was the first to introduce to the Commons legislation to deal with the complex issue of burials. McKinnon's interest in sepulchral matters may have arisen from a general concern for public health, since the MP was also a member

of the Metropolitan Sanitary Association, and had campaigned for the removal of Smithfield market and the abatement of the smoke nuisance [94]. It is more likely, however, that on the subject of interments at any rate, McKinnon had larger fish to fry. According to the Patriot, McKinnon's regard for public health in sepulchral matters was only so much 'drapery', concealing a determined attempt to protect the interests of the Established Church [95].

That the financial stability of the clergy was the issue weighing most heavily with McKinnon is shown through the progress of the Select Committee on burials which he conducted in 1842. Clergymen were questioned about losses in income suffered through the opening of private burial grounds and cemeteries. The evidence of the Bishop of London was almost exclusively taken up with references to the clergy's reliance on burial fees and funeral perquisites. McKinnon's concern for such matters seemed to confirm that he was indeed 'a cat's paw to the clergy' [96], and this is further evinced by his projected scheme, set out in the 1842 Report. His stated intention had been to implement reforms without harm to existing interests, and the Report's resolutions underlined this. McKinnon intended that extra-mural cemeteries should be managed by parochial authorities, financed through the levying of a special rate.

This last requirement alone was enough to convince Dissenters that McKinnon's scheme was 'of selfish origin and sectarian character' [97]. McKinnon's legislation looked much like a retaliation on the part of the Church against the Dissenters' use of the cemetery company: the legislation was

'designed to injure Dissenting interests' [98]. Sheffield's General Cemetery Company expressed opposition to McKinnon's plan, 'as his views are narrow and exclusive and would if carried into effect be injurious to institutions like ours' [99]. The following year the Company reported 'with satisfaction' the failure of McKinnon's proposed bill - 'an unjust, illiberal and partial enactment' [100]. McKinnon had only succeeded in highlighting the strength of the Church's vested interest in burials.

At a local level, the opposition of clergy and bishop could seriously hamper any chance a cemetery company might have to succeed. This was the case in Reading, where battles with the clergy cost the cemetery company over £130 in legal fees [101]. The General Cemetery at York faced similar problems. There the Anglican sextons and clerks had done 'all they can to injure the cemetery' [102]. In other cases the clergy succeeded in blocking the foundation of a company altogether. In Hereford in 1847 the intervention of the bishop put an end to plans to form a cemetery, even though it was backed by the town's leading citizens, including the mayor and M.P.s [103]. Again, in Oxford, clerical opposition prevented the formation of a new company in 1847, even though the existing churchyards were seriously overcrowded [104].

Again, though, the ability of the Church to act in these cases was very much reliant on the intention of the company to consecrate at least part of its grounds. In perhaps only one case was the Church indirectly successful in blocking a

proposition made for a company 'embracing all Christian parties'. This was to be established in Shrewsbury in 1844 and was the plan of a Mr D. Watts. It would seem that the influence of the Church in Shrewsbury was particularly strong. In a letter to George Rawson, director of the Leeds General Cemetery, Watts described how his project was rejected by the local newspapers - 'not one of them dare insert it'. Any attempt 'to break in on the old restricted uses is cheated' [105]. It is clear then, that the Church was well aware of the threat inherent in company formation.

The attitude of the Church towards the joint-stock format was not entirely condemnatory, however. Given the right directorate, the purchase of burial ground through the sale of shares could just as easily advance the cause of the Established Church. Shrewsbury itself had an Anglican cemetery company, established in 1840, and intended to finance an extension to the churchyard surrounding the abbey. Three other Anglican companies were founded during the period in question. These were at Liverpool, Birmingham and Nottingham in 1826, 1846 and 1851 respectively. All these companies are distinguishable by a denominational consciousness which is essentially defensive in tone. The Liverpool St James Cemetery illustrates this point. The foundation of the Liverpool Necropolis in 1823 was met with disdain by the Anglican community. The St James trustees stressed, by contrast, their connection with the Church. The cemetery would 'provide for the members of the Established Church and for others who prefer burial in consecrated ground' [106]. Furthermore the company, far from constituting even an indirect

threat to Church monopolies, would be

a...project which will tend materially to give additional strength and stability to the Ecclesiastical Establishment of the country [107].

All the profits from the company were to be directed towards some unspecified Church purpose. The directors of the Church Cemetery at Nottingham were vaguer in their intentions and expressed no more than a determination to build a cemetery 'worthy of the town and honourable to the Church' [108].

That Anglican militancy could easily match the intensity of Dissenters' passions is shown by the Church of England Cemetery Company of Birmingham, established in 1846. Of the twenty-five directors, details of some twenty men can be traced, and of these, fifteen were connected with Anglican institutions - governorship of either King Edward's Grammar School or the Queen's College being typical examples [109]. More indicative of the strength of feeling behind the cemetery was the fact that eight directors were members of the Church of England Lay Association (C.E.L.A.), some on its committee: Richard Spooner M.P. was its vice-president and the treasurer was Edward Armfield. Members of the C.E.L.A. undertook a spirited defence of the Church Establishment: its stance is well defined in the Association's preliminary address -

The Dissenters have their Standing Committee of dissenting ministers at the Redcross Street Library - their Society for the Protection of Civil and Religious Liberty - their Anti-Church Rate Society - and their Religious Equality Society -

all actively at work in bitter and violent attacks upon the Established Church; besides which almost every Dissenting Congregation may be considered as forming part of the general confederacy, and more or less aiding and abetting in the simultaneous and unprovoked attack upon the Church [110].

Spooner played his part in Parliament, supporting 'with unflagging zeal every measure which operated to mount restrictions imposed upon Roman Catholics, Dissenters and Jews' [111]. The Church Cemetery Company was evidently part of the more general effort to support the Church. The connection between the company and the C.E.L.A. was unmistakable. In the Seventh Annual Report of the Association, a notice declared

Your committee have much pleasure in announcing the expected formation at an early day, of a Church of England Cemetery...It is repugnant to every Religious feeling for Churchmen to bury their dead in unconsecrated ground, and to this must ere long have been driven, but for this patriotic gesture [112].

The cemetery company could therefore be a political instrument for Dissenter and Anglican alike.

This chapter has shown that differing degrees of Dissenting militancy were instrumental in the foundation of cemetery companies all over England. For all these companies, discontent over burial grievances was a vital factor which ensured that in the cemeteries which were founded by Dissenters, the land remained unconsecrated and liberality was expressed with regard to the funeral service. The onset of reforming zeal which roused

Dissenters in 1833-34 gave the cemetery company a degree of political significance, since it was clear that private cemetery provision constituted a powerful weapon in the battle to relieve the Church of England of one of its ancient monopolies - the Church was losing ground in the 'Empire of Death' [113]. Clerical incomes were being threatened and the Church's hold on parishioners undermined. It was obvious that the Church felt itself under pressure from the cemetery company. The clergy of Oxford, faced with the possibility of a general cemetery in the city declared:

It has always been the practice of the Church to make provision for the interment of her dead as the last act of Christian fellowship...This is the ancient practice, from which we do not feel at liberty to depart [114].

The dignity of the statement was undercut by a simultaneous statement issued from the clergy which addressed 'Englishmen throughout the country', in somewhat panicky tones, to 'defend the walls of the Church of England, and set up her bulwarks' [115]. Although the clergy of Oxford were successful in blocking the establishment of a general cemetery, on a nationwide scale, the battle was lost. The Church's universalist claims - at least with regard to burial - had been irrevocably undermined.

FOOTNOTES

Epigraph: Halifax Guardian, 21 May 1836.

1. Dissenting ministers could not lead services in parish churchyards until 1880. MS 'The Personal Narrative of George Hadfield' (1882), 81. Manchester Archive Office.
2. ibid., 60.
3. MS Articles of Agreement of the Rusholme Road Cemetery Company (1820). Manchester Archive Office.
4. Hadfield, 'Narrative', 67.
5. ibid., 81.
6. MS Minute Book of the Portsea Island General Cemetery Company, 24 Nov. 1830. Portsmouth Record Office.
7. J. Fenwick, Substance of the Speech given at the General Meeting of the Various Denominations of Protestant Dissenters, of Newcastle upon Tyne, to take into Consideration the Propriety of Obtaining a New Place of Sepulture (1825), appendix d. Local History Library, Newcastle Central Library.
8. Halifax Guardian, 21 May 1836.
9. Leeds General Cemetery Company : miscellaneous correspondence. Brotherton Library, University of Leeds.
10. Liverpool Daily Post, 8 Nov. 1905.
11. Corporation of London, The Official Guide to Bunhill Fields (1991).
12. R.Currie, A.Gilbert and L.Horsley, Churches and Churchgoers (Oxford, 1977), 23.
13. B.I.Coleman, The Church of England in the Mid-nineteenth

Century (1980), 40-41. The towns with Dissenting companies mentioned on Coleman's list are Manchester, Liverpool, Norwich, Newcastle, Great Yarmouth, Birmingham, Leeds, Sheffield, Halifax, Nottingham, Newport, Cambridge, Kidderminster and Leicester. Omitted by virtue of their relatively small size were Portsmouth, Shrewsbury and Wisbech.

14. Halifax Guardian, 21 May 1836.
15. Aris's Birmingham Gazette, 22 Oct. 1832.
16. Ian Sellers, 'Liverpool Nonconformity', PhD thesis, University of Keele (1969), chapter 4.
17. F. Ridoutt, Early Baptist History in Portsmouth (Portsmouth, 1888), 100.
18. R. Phillips, 'Burial Administration in Portsmouth and Portsea, 1820-1900' Diploma for English Local History dissertation, Portsmouth Polytechnic (1979), 51.
19. C.E. Birt, An Address given at the Opening of the Portsea Island General Cemetery (1831). Portsmouth Record Office.
20. Fenwick, Substance of the Speech, appendix c. The figures presented in the appendix are reproduced in table 1:4.
21. ibid., appendix d.
22. MS The Committee's Transaction Book for Ballast Hills Burial Ground. Tyne and Wear Archive Office, Newcastle.
23. Eastern Counties Herald, 28 Aug. 1845.
24. Hull Advertiser, 31 Jan. 1840.
25. B. Manning, The Protestant Dissenting Deputies (Cambridge, 1952), 286.
26. P. Maitland, The Burial Service, its Legitimate use Dependent

- on Church Discipline (1842), 13.
27. Manning, Dissenting Deputies, 269.
28. W. Blunt, Ecclesiastical Restoration and Reforms (1847), 20.
29. Manning, Dissenting Deputies, 298.
30. British Magazine, 5 (1834), 449.
31. Blunt, Ecclesiastical Restoration, 22.
32. Eclectic Review, 2 (1834), 194-95. The quotation is an extract from a reviewed book: A Letter to the Members of Both Houses of Parliament, on the Dissenters' Petitions, and on Church Grievances. By a Late Fellow of All Soul's College, Oxford (1834).
33. Blunt, Ecclesiastical Restoration, 22.
34. ibid., 22.
35. The Times, 21 Feb. 1834, 3c.
36. ibid.
37. Patriot, 26 Feb. 1834. See The Times, 30 Dec. 1833, 4c; 14 Nov. 1839, 5d.
38. Patriot, 7 May 1834.
39. Patriot, 12 Mar. 1834.
40. Patriot, 15 Jan. 1834.
41. The Times, 13 Feb. 1834, 5b.
42. Patriot, 26 Feb. 1834.
43. Manning, Dissenting Deputies, 300-01.
44. The Times, 14 Nov. 1834.
45. MS Minute Books of the Protestant Dissenting Deputies (1827-36), 310. Dr Williams's Library, London.

46. Eclectic Review, 2 (1834), 194.
47. Patriot, 11 Dec. 1833.
48. The Times, 20 Jun. 1838, 5d.
49. The Times, 14 Jan. 1834, 4b.
50. Fenwick, Substance of a Speech, 15.
51. J. Wesley, quoted by G. Collison, Cemetery Interment (1840), 192.
52. ibid.
53. Collison, Cemetery Interment, 182.
54. The Times, 21 Feb. 1834, 3c.
55. Patriot, 18 Dec. 1833.
56. Quoted by E. Evans, A History of the New Meeting House, Kidderminster 1782 - 1900 (Kidderminster, 1900), 104.
57. ibid., 105.
58. Copy of the Deed of Settlement of the Public Cemetery Company established at Newport, Monmouthshire (1842), 5. Newport Central Library.
59. Quoted in E. Manning, Guide to the Birmingham General Cemetery (Birmingham, 1905), 7.
60. Unidentified newspaper clipping dated 18 Dec. 1844, pasted into the MS Minute Book of the Wisbech Cemetery Company. Wisbech and Fenland Museum.
61. Annual Reports of the Westgate Hill Cemetery Company. Local History Library, Newcastle Central Library.
62. Deed of Covenant of the Abney Park Cemetery Company, quoted in P. Joyce, A Guide to Abney Park Cemetery Company (1984), 37.
63. Nottingham General Cemetery Company: Handbill (1841). Local

- History Library, Nottingham Central Library.
64. MS Minute Book of the Sheffield General Cemetery Company, 30th September, 1836. Sheffield Archive Office.
 65. First Report of the Leeds General Cemetery Company (1836). Brotherton Library, University of Leeds.
 66. Prospectus of the Portsea Island Cemetery Company (1830). Sanderson Collection, Local History Library, Portsmouth Central Library.
 67. Fenwick, Substance of a Speech, 15.
 68. Cambrian, 4 May, 1849.
 69. Hull Advertiser, 28 Feb. 1834.
 70. See e.g. G.I.T.Machin, Politics and the Churches in Great Britain 1832-68 (Oxford 1977); G.Parsons, Religion in Victorian Britain, 2 vols (Manchester, 1988).
 71. The Times, 2 Feb. 1827, 2d; 4 Jan. 1834, 2c.
 72. The Times, 21 Feb. 1834, 3c.
 73. For detail of the purposes of the church rate see Quarterly Review, 53 (1835), 202.
 74. The Times, 10 Oct. 1833, 3f.
 75. O.Chadwick, The Victorian Church 1 (1966), 152.
 76. Hull Advertiser, 28 Feb. 1834.
 77. First Annual Report of the Leeds General Cemetery Company.
 78. Leeds Mercury, 10 Aug. 1833.
 79. D.Fraser, 'The Leeds Churchwardens 1828-1850', Publications of the Thoresby Society, 53 (1970), 4-5.
 80. Leeds Mercury, 20 Nov. 1830.

81. List of directors compiled from First Report of the Leeds General Cemetery Company.

Directors of the Leeds General Cemetery Company.

Edward BAINES jr.	Unitarian (Mill Hill Chapel), RTS
William BECKETT	Church of England
J.A.BUTTREY	Church of England
Edwin EDDISON	Quaker
George GOODMAN	Baptist (South Parade Chapel)
John HORSFALL	RTS
John KENDALL	RTS
John Darnton LUCCOCK	Unitarian (Mill Hill Chapel)
Darnton LUPTON	Unitarian (Mill Hill Chapel)
James G.MARSHALL	Unitarian (Mill Hill Chapel)
Thomas B.PEASE	Quaker
George RAWSON	Congregational (East Parade), RTS
John WILKINSON	RTS

Where known, chapel attended indicated in brackets.

Notes: RTS = Membership of the Religious Tract Society. Although the Society might include Anglicans it was, by the 1830s, dominated by the Queen Street and Salem Congregational Chapels.

Men for whom no information on denominational affiliation could be found:

William BRUCE, William CADMAN, John CAWOOD, Robert DERHAM, William HARGREAVE, James HUBBARD, T.T. LUCCOCK, James OGLE, Richard REYNOLDS, Joseph SMITH, Edward TATHAM.

Sources include: Memoirs of Eminent Men of Leeds (Leeds, c.1868); R.W.Taylor, Biographia Leodiensis (Leeds 1865); W.L.Shroeder, Mill Hill Chapel 1674-1924 (Hull, 1924); A Brief History of Mill Hill and its Two Centuries of Tradition (Leeds 1950); R.J.Morris, Class, Sect and Party (Manchester,1990).

82. Fraser, 'Leeds Churchwardens', 10.

83. ibid.

84. List of directors compiled from two sources: Nottingham General Cemetery Company: Circular (1836), Local History Library, Nottingham Central Library, and Annual Reports of the Nottingham General Cemetery Company, Nottingham Archive

Office.

Directors of the Nottingham General Cemetery Company.

R.ALLIOT	Congregational minister (Meeting House)
Absolom BARNET	Baptist
S.BEAN	Baptist
J.BRADLEY	Baptist
Benjamin CARPENTER	Unitarian minister (High Pavement)
Booth EDDISON	Quaker
James EDWARDS	Baptist minister (George Street)
W.Enfield	Unitarian (High Pavement)
Samuel FOX	Quaker
Joseph GILBERT	Congregational minister (Friar Lane)
F. HART	Unitarian (High Pavement)
John HEARD	Baptist (George Street)
Thomas HERBERT	Methodist/Baptist
J.HINE	Baptist
Hugh HUNTER	Baptist minister (Stoney Street)
George GILL	Quaker
Henry LEAVER	Baptist
William ROWARTH	Dissenter - unspecified
T.ROBERTS	Baptist
Thomas WAKEFIELD	Unitarian/Methodist
John WELLS	Baptist (George Street)
Robert WILLSON	Roman Catholic

Where known, chapel attended indicated in brackets

Men for whom no information on denominational affiliation could be found:

Nathaniel BARNETT, S.BIDDULPH, A.BLAKE, J.C.BURTON, W.B.CARTER, D.S.CHURCHILL, J.THEAKER, D.WOODHOUSE.

Sources include: F.Harrison, 'The Nottinghamshire Baptists', M.Phil. dissertation, University of Nottingham (1972); W.Wylie, Old and New Nottingham (1853); R.Mellors, Men of Nottingham and Nottinghamshire (Nottingham, 1924); B.Carpenter Some Account of the Origins and Introduction of Presbyterianism in Nottingham and the Neighbourhood (c. 1860).

85. B.Carpenter, Some Account of the Origin, 184.

86. Patriot, 10 May 1834.

87. Nottingham and Newark Mercury, 25 Jan. 1834.

89. E.Miall quoted by W.Mackintosh, Disestablishment and Liberation (1972), 3.

90. Leicester Chronicle, 27 Sep. 1845.

91. ibid.
92. Report from the Select Committee on Improvement of the Health of Towns: Effect of Interment of Bodies in Towns (1842), 186.
93. "Health of Towns". An Examination of the Report and Evidence of the Select Committee of Mr McKinnon's Bill; and of the Acts for Establishing Cemeteries around the Metropolis (1843), 40. This pamphlet reproduces articles on the subject first published in the Patriot.
94. G.Goodwin, 'William McKinnon', Dictionary of National Biography (Oxford, 1917), 616-17.
95. "Health of Towns", 6.
96. ibid., 9.
97. ibid., 6.
98. W.McKinnon, speaking of the opposition to his Bill, Hansard, 14 Feb. 1843, 66 c574.
99. MS Minute Books of the Sheffield General Cemetery Company, 10 Aug. 1843.
100. ibid., 12 Aug. 1844.
101. Reading Cemetery Company Particulars of Expenditure (1852).
Local History Library, Reading Central Library.
102. G.Hammon Whalley, Supplementary Report on the Kingston-upon-Hull Cemetery Bill, together with General Remarks on Cemeteries as a Means of Correcting the Evils of Intramural Interment (1847). Chadwick Papers, University of London.
Comment included in a pull-out table detailing cemetery establishment.

103. W.Collins, Modern Hereford (Hereford, 1911), 41.
104. See Report of the Sub-committee of the General Cemetery Society presented to the Council of the City of Oxford (1844) and the Oxford Parish Burial Ground Committee Report (1844). Both in the Bodleian Library, Oxford.
105. D. Watts to James Rawson, 9 Feb. 1844. MS Leeds General Cemetery Company miscellaneous correspondence. Brotherton Library, University of Leeds.
106. MS Minute Book of the Trustees of the St James Cemetery, 2 Sep. 1825.
107. ibid.
108. Nottingham Church Cemetery: Report of the Directors (1855). Local History Library, Nottingham Central Library.
109. List of directors taken from W.Wilson, A History of the Church of England Cemetery and the History of Christchurch Birmingham (Birmingham, 1900).

Directors of the Birmingham Church of England Cemetery Company.

W.C.ALSON	King Edward's Grammar School Governor.
Edward ARMFIELD	Treasurer of CELA and member of Birmingham
John ASTON	Made large donations to Church causes.
John O.BACCHUS	CELA*.
James BOURNE	CELA*.
William CHANCE	Queen's College Governor.
Charles COPE	King Edward's Grammar School Governor.
John GARBETT	King Edward's Grammar School Governor.
J.Benbow HEBBERT	Solicitor - prosecuted anti-church rate party after the anti-rate riots of 1837.
Peter HOLLINS	King Edward's Grammar School Governor.
James Prince LEE	Headmaster of King Edward's Grammar School, later Bishop of Manchester.
James LEDSAM	King Edward's Grammar School Governor.
John PAYNE	CELA*.
Thomas PEMBERTON	CELA*.
Richard SPOONER	Vice-President CELA.
James TURNER	Queen's College Governor.
Thomas UPFILL	Queen's College Governor.
Grantham YORK	Church of England clergyman, King Edward's Grammar School Governor.

Notes: CELA = Church of England Lay Association. An asterisk indicates membership on the CELA committee. Both King Edward's Grammar School and Queen's College were Church of England institutions.

Men for which no indication of denominational affiliation could be found:

Thomas Aurelius ATTWOOD, George BARKER, Peyton BLAKISTON, John BOULTON, Samuel R. PHIPSON, W.R.KETTLE, John W.WHATELY.

Sources include: The Times, 3 Apr. 1837, 3d, for membership of Birmingham 'Friends of the Established Church', which included Edward ARMFIELD; J.A.Longford, Modern Birmingham, 1 (Birmingham, 1873); W.Wilson, A History; W.Robson, Birmingham and Sheffield Directory (Birmingham, 1839); F.L.Colville, Worthies of Warwick (Birmingham, 1869)

110. Preliminary address of the C.E.L.A., reprinted in their Seventh Annual Report (Birmingham, 1845), 7.
111. F.Colvile, Worthies (Birmingham, 1869), 724.
112. Seventh Report, 14.
113. "Health of Towns", 10.
114. Untitled circular dated 8 Jan. 1844. Bodleian Library, GA Oxon b112 (207).
115. Oxford Parish Burial Ground Committee Report.

4. The cemetery company and speculation: 'necessarily mercenary'.

Although little direct work has been completed on Victorian cemetery companies, they have been addressed obliquely by a handful of historians, usually as an aside in studies of cemetery design or death culture [1]. Those seeking information on joint-stock cemeteries will be led to make two assumptions from these works. The most immediate supposition is that joint-stock cemeteries were, as a contemporary put it, 'necessarily mercenary' [2]. On this point critics have perhaps taken their lead from Edwin Chadwick's Interment Report of 1843, which dismisses the cemetery company in a perfunctory manner, having his less-than-objective witness - an Anglican clergyman - comment that 'the primary and effective character of these associations is that of trading associations' [3].

John Morley's Death, Heaven and the Victorians supports this view, noting what he calls 'a steady expression of distaste for the companies' [4]. The historian offers little proof that this was indeed the case, however. The handful of vitriolic quotations condemning joint-stock cemeteries that he cites come mainly from the same source - an evidently partisan and again Anglican article in the Quarterly Review [5], which is accompanied with comments from The Ecclesiologist and Ecclesiastical Art, evidently biased periodicals. As the last chapter has demonstrated, the Church had much to lose once private companies had started to offer alternatives to churchyard burial, and so Anglican writers were unlikely to be dispassionate

in their assessment of joint-stock cemeteries.

A second assumption made by Morley, also expressed by James Stevens Curl and hinted at by Chris Brooks, is that the cemetery companies were founded to cater for a demand for the provision of high quality burial services, which came from a class eager to express its status in expenditure on excessive funereal display. The rapid commercialisation of the British funeral in the first half of the nineteenth century was evidence of a growing attachment to mourning ritual. Edwin Chadwick's Interment Report of 1843 had recognised the increased and increasing expenditure taking place with regard to the last rite. It was calculated that £5m was annually 'thrown into the grave at the expense of the living' when the actual cost of funerals was reckoned to be only £1m [6]. It was evident that huge profits were to be made in the undertaking trade through the profusion of a bewildering range of funeral accessories. Once the decision has been taken to brand cemetery companies as profit-motivated, defining their establishment as a somewhat tasteless adjunct to the heavily commercialised 'Victorian celebration of death' is an almost inevitable step to take. The private cemetery therefore takes its place on the list of nineteenth-century funeral furbelows which included ostrich feathers, mutes, Shillibeer's funeral omnibuses and jet jewellery from Whitby. Again this assumption is supported by only limited evidence, with examples almost entirely restricted to London, and in particular the cemeteries at Highgate, Kensal Green, Brompton and Nunhead.

Already it has been hinted that both of these suppositions are massively overgeneralised, and deserve a great deal more

scrutiny than has hitherto been given. One of the primary functions of this thesis is to demonstrate that, as the first two chapters have already suggested, not all cemetery companies were, in fact, 'necessarily mercenary'. It cannot be denied, however, that the profit motivation for the establishment of cemeteries did exist, and was the dominating factor in the foundation of a significant proportion of companies. Indeed, 33.7% of companies having sufficient extant material for evaluation can be classified as being profit-motivated.

It would be a mistake to make many generalisations about this grouping of cemetery companies, however. Chapter one has indicated that profit-motivated cemetery companies took one of three distinct formats. This chapter will analyse the types of speculative cemetery company, and draw different conclusions concerning the significance of each. It will be demonstrated that the 'Victorian celebration of death' was not a crucial factor in the emergence of any kind of speculative company, and that the deepest significance of the companies lies not with their ability to comment on the commercialisation of Victorian death, but on the insights they provide with regard to the use of joint-stock financing.

Speculation in burials emerged in the mid-1830s, with the London Cemetery Company, the prospectus of which was printed in both The Times and the Morning Chronicle [7]. The notice was similar to those which had been issued by previous companies, mentioning the cemeteries already in operation which had shares 'in great demand at £20 premium, being a profit of 80%' [8]. Much

like other prospectuses, reference was also made to the poor quality of burial provision - but with a significant twist.

Burial grounds in London

are now in such a crowded state that in many instances double fees are demanded before the funeral rites can be performed [9].

The alliance of low quality burial conditions with financial disadvantage was exceptional. Before 1835, as has been seen in the two previous chapters, the cemetery company in Britain was dominated by the issue of burial ground security, and more importantly, the desire to provide burial provision independently of the Church of England. For some companies from the mid-1830s, however, the earnest rhetoric which so characterised company prospectuses of the early period was replaced by an altogether more basic approach. This appeal is well represented by the London Cemetery Company, which was to lay out the elaborate and highly successful burial grounds at Highgate and Nunhead, and constituted the apogee of cemetery speculation, as will be seen.

The London Cemetery Company was one of three types of enterprises which attempted to make profits from burials. Before examining in detail both the character of the different kinds of speculative cemetery company, and the reasons for their foundation, it would be useful to reproduce the list of enterprises included in each grouping of the speculative category and give a brief description of their chronological and geographic range. Table 5:1 (over) gives details of all the known speculative cemeteries. Although these constituted 33.7% of all types of assessable cemetery companies established between 1820

Table 5:1 - Speculative companies, by type.

Date estab-lished	Date cemetery opened	Town	Company	Capital (£s)	Size of cemetery (acres)
1. Companies proposing more elaborate burial schemes:					
1835	**	London	General Burial Ground and Cem.	50,000	**
1835	**	London	Necropolis and National	150,000	**
1837	**	London	London Necropolis	150,000	**
1837	**	London	Portland Cem. Co.	100,000	**
1845	**	London	Great Eastern and Western	1,600,000	**
1846	**	London	Provincial and General	250,000	**
1847	**	London	Metropolitan Suburban	100,000	**
1851	--	Woking	London Necropolis	250,000	400
2. Companies intending to capture a particular territorial market within a large town:					
1835	**	London	Strood, Rochester, Chatham	20,000	**
1836	**	Manchester	Necropolis	30,000	**
1836	**	Manchester	Salford and Hulme Cem. Co.	20,000	**
1836	**	Manchester	Salford, Pendleton	40,000	**
1836	**	Manchester	Hulme Cem. Co.	30,000	**
1836	**	Manchester	Stockport Cem. Co.	25,000	**
1840	**	Glasgow	Western Necropolis	20,000	**
1844	1845	Edinburgh	Metropolitan Cem. Ass	15,000	--
1845	**	Glasgow	Western Cem. Co.	40,000	**
1845	1846	Edinburgh	Western Cem. Co.	10,000	--
1845	**	Glasgow	Cem. Co.	20,000	**
1845	**	Stirling	Cem. Co.	5,000	**
1845	**	Edinburgh	Edinburgh and Leith Cem. Co.	20,000	**
1845	1847	Edinburgh	Southern Cem. Co.	20,000	--
1845	1846	Edinburgh	Leith Cem. Co.	10,000	--
1845	**	Greenock	Cem. Co.	10,000	**
3. Companies intending to tap a particular class market:					
1836	1839	London	Cem. Co.	80,000	20
1836	1837	London	South Metropolitan	75,000	39
1836	1840	London	West London and Westminster	50,000	--
1838	1840	Gravesend	Gravesend and Milton	10,000	6
1841	1841	London	City of London	20,000	33
1845	--	London	Victoria Park Cem. Co	20,000	11

and 1853, the table demonstrates that they were very much a restricted phenomenon. These companies were limited in time scale - the majority being founded in 1835-7 or 1845 - and in respect to their geographic location - with London, Manchester, Glasgow and Edinburgh predominating.

Because of the often ephemeral nature of these companies, extant material is patchy, and the patterns which will be described are tentatively proposed. It is possible, however, to discern three 'rushes' of cemetery foundation: the eight enterprises floated in the capital in 1835-37; the five Manchester companies of 1836; and the nine 1844-5 Scottish companies. Newspaper reports allow the drawing together of these companies into distinct groupings, influenced by specific trends. Twenty-two of the companies - 73.3% of the speculative category - fall into one of these three discernible clusters of cemetery foundation. The ability to assign the majority of companies to one or other of these spates of activity underlines the view that although speculative companies present a significant percentage of all company establishment they were in reality a fairly uncommon occurrence.

All speculative cemetery companies can be assigned to one of three categories, as has been indicated by table 5:1. Each grouping will receive detailed discussion, but before proceeding with this, exploration of the context of their establishment is necessary. Speculative companies first emerged, and the majority flourished, during times of investment mania. There was no doubt

that these companies were instituted to meet the soaring demand for investment opportunities which characterised the mid-1820s, mid-1830s and mid-1840s. The first mania for joint-stock companies reached a climax in 1825, by which time the country was awash with bubble schemes 'which came out in shoals like herrings from the polar seas' [10]. The mania was repeated in the mid-1830s, with increased concentration on domestic enterprises - banking, life assurance, mining, steam navigation and railway schemes being particularly popular [11].

Ten years later, enthusiasm for investment in railways was taken up again and with increased fervour, since they had for the main part constituted one of the more enduring enterprises launched in the previous boom. Railway investment sparked off the third mania of the period, in 1844-45, which saw a massive increase in provincial involvement in stock purchase and a public 'eager to embark in any scheme' [12]. Enthusiasm was unlimited:

All the gambling propensities of human nature were constantly solicited in to action, and crowds of individuals of every description...hastened to venture some portion of their property in schemes of which scarcely anything is known except the name [13].

Absorption in the investment mania seemed even fashionable, with one commentator noting that 'the classical idiom of the stock exchange is your only polite conversation nowadays' [14]. One consequence of the proliferation of new companies and almost hysterical search for good financial opportunities was the increased tendency for investors to deal in only partly paid-up shares - this being the case especially when companies requested

only minimal deposits. The cheapness of the original investment was enhanced by the prospect of extensive profits. The Anglo-Mexican mining shares, for example, purchased with a deposit of £10, had increased in value to £43 by December of 1824, and by the following January were worth £150 [15].

Some speculators went one stage further than merely stock-jobbing. Fraudulent exploitation of the sometimes unquestioning appetite for speculative ventures was inevitable. A number of schemes was launched with the sole intention of making profits from the sale of scrip - 'begotten by fraud upon credulity' [16] - with no intention that the proposed scheme should ever come to fruition. According to a writer in the Glasgow Citizen in 1845, these companies were

air-fashioned in the realms of dreamland. Water-pipes, the iron for which is not yet molten - railways mapped out only in the engineer's brain - fields of minerals where never a shaft has been sunk - or shining rows of imaginary tombstones - suffice abundantly for mere purchase and sale [17].

Such companies were remarkable for their inventiveness, and the tenuous grasp which they had on the practicable. Charles Dickens parodied such enterprises perfectly in Nicholas Nickleby's United Metropolitan Improved Hot Muffin and Crumpet Baking and Punctual Delivery Company, capital five millions in five hundred shares of ten pounds each: the 'very name will get the shares up to a premium in ten days' [18]. Dickens' exaggeration was scarcely misplaced, since London in 1824 had seen the formation of 'a

bread company' along with 'a beer company, a pawnbroking company, a washing by steam company, a stove grate company and many others' [19].

Entrepreneurs were not above using the relatively recent invention of the joint-stock cemetery as a means of attracting investment, as the quotation from the Glasgow Citizen demonstrated. The profitability of these concerns had been confirmed by the success of the Low Hill General Cemetery Company, or Liverpool Necropolis, which opened for interments in 1825. The company's ascending income was detailed in the 1831 prospectus of the Portsea Island Cemetery Company:

Table 5:2 - Liverpool Necropolis - interments and income, 1825-29.

	Interments	Annual Income
1825	204	£292 2 2
1826	424	£1018 2 0
1827	561	£1245 5 0
1828	706	£1700 17 7
1829	743	£1806 18 0

[20]

Burials for the year 1830 were estimated at 'probably 900'. Profits accruing to the company were such that it had managed to extinguish a debt of £3000 in five years, and still 'pay a £10 per cent interest on the shares' [21]. By 1845 the company was reckoned to be the most successful established in Britain [22]. Almost all major companies made some reference to the Necropolis in their initial announcements: the Liverpool dividends were 'not less than 5%', at times reached 20% and averaged at 12% [23].

The prosperity of the Liverpool Necropolis increased interest in other cemetery companies, often to the despair of

bread company' along with 'a beer company, a pawnbroking company, a washing by steam company, a stove grate company and many others' [19].

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1829	743	£1806 18 0

[20]

Burials for the year 1830 were estimated at 'probably 900'. Profits accruing to the company were such that it had managed to extinguish a debt of £3000 in five years, and still 'pay a £10 per cent interest on the shares' [21]. By 1845 the company was reckoned to be the most successful established in Britain [22]. Almost all major companies made some reference to the Necropolis in their initial announcements: the Liverpool dividends were 'not less than 5%', at times reached 20% and averaged at 12% [23].

The prosperity of the Liverpool Necropolis increased interest in other cemetery companies, often to the despair of

directors wanting to dissociate themselves from speculative mania. The General Cemetery Company of London, wary of the prospect of speculation, resolved at an initial meeting in 1830 that its shares would not be transferable until three-fifths of their value was paid up [24]. Northampton's Cemetery Company, founded in 1845, also made a determined effort to prevent the sale of its scrip, and vetted applicants for shares. There were 177 requests for shares from London, but these were refused, and shares were instead allocated to 'those who, in the opinion of the committee, were most likely to aid the objects of the company' [25]. Manchester's Ardwick Cemetery Association, set up in 1836, was less successful in its attempt to dissociate the company from speculation, and complaint was made at the first meeting that

they have found much difficulty in communicating with the actual proprietors in consequence of a great number of shares having changed hands [26].

There was no doubt, then, that cemeteries were regarded as attractive financial propositions.

Of the three types of speculative cemetery company, that most intimately connected with investment mania was the group of eight companies which attempted to float the more ambitious burial schemes. All these companies were established in London, and all had a nominal capital in excess of £50,000, averaging at over £300,000 each. All but one of these companies failed to open a cemetery, a fact which clearly needs explanation. It is possible that these companies floundered as a consequence of the

speculative bubble bursting. It is more probable, however, that such enterprises were frauds, and were set up to enable entrepreneurs to deal in the partially paid-up shares. Demonstrating that profit through stock-jobbing was the primary *raison d'être* of some cemetery companies is not directly possible. This sort of company is perhaps the most difficult to research, since their nature was so essentially ephemeral. These enterprises appeared and disappeared within a matter of weeks, and often produced prospectuses which did little more than hint at the possible dividends and outline the proposed scheme. Information on directorates, for example, is therefore impossible to trace, as are any business records and information on the profits made.

The exceptional nature of this grouping of speculative companies does point towards the possible conclusion that in most cases fraudulent motives prevailed. The high failure rate is perhaps the most significant indicator, along with the exceptionally heavy nominal capital and the sometimes outlandish nature of the schemes proposed. The Provincial and General Cemetery Company, for example, expected its capital to rise to £2m [27] - this at a time when cemeteries could be established with ease on a capital of less than £10,000. Almost all these companies proposed schemes which included some 'hook' to catch the attention of the investor. Usually the project was uncommonly elaborate, including plans for a cemetery of 'national' importance, and had some quirk of management which was certain to ensure greater profits. The Metropolitan and Suburban Cemetery Society proposed instituting a ground in which there would be a

simplified single charge for all burials, on which system it was anticipated 'at least 12% per annum will be realised during 350 years'[28]. Both the Great Eastern and Western Cemetery Company and the Provincial and General Cemetery Company intended to extend operations, 'erect[ing] cemeteries near all large towns or populous districts' [29]. The Great Eastern planned to add to its attraction by having all its cemeteries made accessible by river [30]. It was also proposed that one of their cemeteries should contain

a grand National Mausoleum, on the principle of Westminster Abbey, for burial, the monuments and tablets of those who have deserved well of their country [31].

Needless to say, all examples of this type of cemetery company disappeared without trace. It is impossible to discover who the promoters were, or get any impression of the scale of profits which were made.

An assessment of the significance of this type of cemetery company can only be tentative, given the small amount of information available. It seems reasonable to conclude that these companies were essentially ephemeral, and represented nothing more substantial than hastily put-together frauds. As such, these companies offer little comment on attitudes towards either burial or cemetery provision, but do say a great deal on the perceived gullibility of the public at times of speculation mania.

A similar conclusion may be drawn about a second type of speculative company, although in this case more detail is available. These companies intended to make profits through the

'appropriation' of areas in the larger cities where the need for extra burial provision had already been well established. Often these companies lacked the rhetoric of public health or denominational companies, and sold burial as a basic utility. Some 53% of speculative companies fall into this category. These companies lack any significance beyond their ability to demonstrate the popularity of domestic utilities as a safe investment, and therefore say less about attitudes towards burial and more about the joint-stock booms and the financing of service provision in urban areas. An example illustrates the trend: the first three months of 1845 saw the flotation of four cemetery companies in Edinburgh, and the establishment of the Edinburgh and Leith Water Company [32], the Edinburgh Washing and Bleaching Company [33], the City of Edinburgh Gas Light Association [34] and the Edinburgh New Gas Light Company [35]. It was clear that any utility was to be a popular investment opportunity at this time, cemeteries included.

The floating of these sorts of company - what will be termed cemetery utilities - all followed the same pattern. The existence of a successful well-established precedent company sparked off cemetery speculation during a time of mania. The new companies promised profits accruing from the advantage of greater proximity to a specific neighbourhood. In almost all cases, it appears that these companies did have the honest intention of laying out a cemetery, although some concerns are a shade ambiguous in this respect. The difficulty in distinguishing between the two types of company is perhaps best illustrated by the example of Manchester.

Cemetery establishment on a frenzied scale erupted in the city in April 1836, a month notable for investment mania. An editorial in the Manchester Guardian expressed surprise at the scale of activity and its intensity:

when within these few weeks past we have looked at the advertising pages of some of the newspapers...and have seen the multitude of schemes so invitingly brought forward in their columns, we have not been able to refrain from asking ourselves the question "Are people mad?" And it has been little less difficult to suppress the answer which we believe to be virtually the true one "They are" [36].

The editor was justified in being incredulous. Manchester saw the launching of many improbable schemes in April, including a Zoological, Botanical and Public Gardens Company, which was to be combined with a coliseum and baths [37]. Attempts were also made to float a Joint Stock Exchange Buildings Company, which was revealed to be a fraud, its directors 'well known speculators...[who have] hitherto studiously avoided bringing their names before the public' [38].

Cemetery establishment during April matched the fury of other joint-stock flotation. Two companies were founded early in the month - the General Cemetery Company and the Ardwick Cemetery Association. Both of these companies were most immediately concerned with public health and civic improvement. The Association in particular was undoubtedly a respectable concern. Included in its list of nine directors was Thomas Potter, founder of the Manchester Guardian, and later to be the first mayor of

the city. Potter was a leading light in the Unitarian Cross Street Chapel, which was also attended by another of the directors, Henry Pershouse.

It is probable that the Association took its inspiration from the 1820 Rusholme Road Cemetery Proprietary Company, the early Dissenting concern. The companies had two directors in common - William Newall and John Hall - and the reception of the earlier company is mentioned in the prospectus of the later:

that the establishment of another [cemetery], on a large and liberal scale, would be considered equally desirable. Of this no further proof is required than the manner in which the Rusholme Road Burial Ground has been supported from the time of its commencement [39].

It would seem that the directors of the Association considered that the Rusholme Road Cemetery - at only five acres, and architecturally undistinguished - was not a fitting institution for a city of Manchester's elevated status [40].

Notwithstanding the fine sentiments expressed by the Ardwick directors, speculation in its scrip was immediate, and imitators sprang up within days. On 23 April the prospectus of the Manchester Necropolis was published, and mention made of the massive oversubscription for the Ardwick shares. The Necropolis projectors expressed the intention 'to establish a first rate cemetery' [41]. It is probable, however, that the directors had the more pressing concern of making immediate gain through the sale of scrip. It planned to purchase grounds which were within two hundred yards of the General's Harpurhey Cemetery - surely financially disastrous in the long term - and certainly

inexplicable unless the intention was 'satisfying pique or realising a temporary profit' [42].

Further enterprises issued prospectuses in April. Notice of the Salford and Hulme Cemetery Company was also published on the 23rd, its prospectus appearing one week later. The company's appeal was essentially territorial:

The cemeteries recently contemplated, even when established, will necessarily from their distant situations, be ill adapted for the reception of interments from the densely populated towns of Salford and Hulme [43].

The prospectus of the Salford, Pendleton and Broughton Royal Cemetery Company was issued the same day, its rhetoric limited to expressing similar sentiments - that although Manchester had three cemeteries, Salford had none [44]. An additional hook to catch the attention of the investor in this case was probably the designation 'Royal' in the title, although how the company justified its inclusion is impossible to say.

At the end of April, an amazed editorial in the local newspaper surveyed the number of cemetery companies which had been founded in the city and asked 'Are we about to be visited by the plague?' [45]. Interest in cemetery speculation ceased almost as soon as it had arisen, however. In all, seven companies had been floated in Manchester in April 1836, only two of which survived to found cemeteries - neither overtly profit-making concerns. For Manchester, then, speculation in cemeteries was little more than a fad which quickly served its time.

Cemetery utility companies intending to make profits from

tapping specific territorial markets were most evident and unambiguous in the major Scottish cities. The pattern of development was essentially the same in each case. The companies were usually instigated as a consequence of a combination of general mania for joint-stock investment and the existence in the town of a non-speculative cemetery company which was making conspicuous profits. The enterprises were floated within days of each other, and blatantly appealed to the financial interests of the prospective investor. Again, it is clear that these companies were born of exceptional financial circumstances, and as such had limited significance beyond the pecuniary.

In 1844-45 Edinburgh saw an explosion of new enterprises, all tastelessly eager to carve up the city. The sudden interest in cemetery foundation was sparked off by payment of its first dividend by the Edinburgh Cemetery Company [ECC]. This company, as it so often stressed, had a noble heritage, having been instituted by a directorate including Adam Black, Liberal M.P. and Lord Provost of the city. The company was set up in 1840 to counter the decision of the Kirk Session to abolish Sunday burials. The ECC sold shares at £1 to make the undertaking as democratic as possible, a trend copied, for less honourable motives, by later Scottish companies [46].

The laudable nature of this concern did not hinder entrepreneurs once profitability had been confirmed. The first imitator of the ECC - the Metropolitan Cemetery Association [MCA] - was established as a direct response to the payment of the first ECC dividend. The dividend - of 5% - was issued in June, 1844. The first meeting of the MCA was in July, and the

prospectus published in August. Mention is made of the fact that the ECC shares were selling at a premium of 100%. Prospective investors were therefore assured, 'there cannot be a doubt'

That the shareholders of the projected company will receive a handsome return for the capital invested...there is ample room for the establishment of at least another company for those districts as yet unappropriated [47].

This prospectus, with its frank appeal to financial interests, set the tone for cemetery company activity over the next few months, and the ominous reference to 'districts as yet unappropriated' heralded a mad scramble to establish cemeteries at all points of the compass.

The second speculative concern was the Western Cemetery Company, founded in January 1845. The company felt it could afford to gloat in its Address that it was 'established...before any of the other recently established cemetery companies...had secured grounds for interment' [48]. The distinction was a narrow one - a matter of days only, but important given the somewhat frenzied activity which followed. During February 1845, company flotation in Edinburgh had become an unseemly battle for territory. On the 8th, the Edinburgh and Leith claimed land to the east. The 12th saw land appropriated to the south of the city. The Southern Cemetery Company prospectus noted grounds laid out in the north and west, and claimed that a cemetery to the south was inevitable. The company was starkly pecuniary in its appeal:

That there is a general desire for a burial ground without

the city, and those who provide it will be remunerated requires not now to be proven [49].

Another Leith company was also formed on the 12th, but the impossibility of both succeeding forced them into an alliance in the following month [50].

The nature of these new companies was further underlined by the response of the ECC. In April 1845 it published a circular defending its position against the 'mushroom' enterprises. They reminded the public that

This association is not of ephemeral growth. It was founded in 1841, when there was no speculation abroad, at great pecuniary risk to its members, for the sole purpose of benefiting the public - more especially the poorer classes [51].

The company was no doubt gratified by the fact that in May the Southern Cemetery Company suggested a merger with the earlier concern [52], and in 1848 the ECC actually bought up the Metropolitan Cemetery Association, which in the three years of its existence had never been on a sound financial footing [53].

In Glasgow, the pattern of speculative cemetery company foundation was different in detail, although in essence the same. February 1840 was notable for an increased concern about burial conditions: a company backed by the Town Council was set up and laid out grounds at Sighthill; and magistrates in Gorbals proposed a burial ground to the south of the city, financed on a complex co-operative basis [54]. In both concerns, stress was placed on cheap burial for the poor. A speculative venture, intending to exploit both the sudden interest in interments, and

to feed a public 'eager to seize upon any plausible speculation' [55] was also floated at this time. The Western Necropolis planned to lay out its cemetery on the grounds of the old botanical gardens, and maintain the arboretum as an adjunct. The whole scheme was described in the newspapers as being 'perfectly ruinous' [56], and disappeared without trace.

Further speculative cemetery companies were floated in 1845. Another Western company declared itself 'as a mere investment, bound to succeed', also referring to the ECC shares, which were selling at a premium of 200% [57]. No vestige of this or the rival Glasgow Cemetery Company can be found after the publication of their prospectuses [58]. It is possible that the entrepreneurs in both cases intended to prosper through the sale of scrip only, but it is probable that the market for new companies in Glasgow was much diminished. The original 1832 Necropolis, the Sighthill Cemetery and the Southern Necropolis had captured most of the available business - even as late as 1868 they were taking 58% of the city's burials [59].

The preceding outline of two kinds of speculative cemetery - those reliant on the sale of scrip, and the cemetery utility companies - demonstrates that such enterprises had small impact. Of the fifteen speculative companies floated in Manchester in 1836 and Scotland in 1845, only three managed to survive in the long term, the rest disappearing sometimes within weeks. These companies were not undertaken judiciously, but were hastily compounded and thrown onto the attention of a market eager for any plausible speculation. Ostensibly, the significance of these

companies lies only in their reflecting joint-stock mania - a particular insanity, a generation 'running wild' [60]. Attention to the financial context of speculative companies explains their foundation. In the majority of cases it can be seen that there was no causal link between the burgeoning enthusiasm for funereal display and company formation, a conclusion which further weakens the claim that the 'Victorian celebration of death' was a necessary prerequisite for cemetery company establishment.

At one level, this type of speculative cemetery company perhaps says little about attitudes towards death and the foundation of cemeteries. Approached from a different angle, a great deal can be implied, however. The most telling fact to note is the high failure rate of the first two groupings of speculative company. In some instances this distinctive element of their character can be explained - at least in the case of the possible fraud enterprises - as being intentional. Another more important factor is that the public chose to withhold their support from such enterprises, even in places where cemetery ground was needed badly.

The point is underlined by evidence from Glasgow. The speculative mania which had resulted in the floating of a number of cemetery companies in the Scottish city in 1845 was strong enough for entrepreneurs there to look further afield for fresh markets. Both Stirling and Greenock were subject to the largely unwelcome attention of speculators. The local newspaper carried notice of the Stirling Cemetery Company in February 1845 [61]. The enterprise was effectively opposed by the town council, which blocked all attempts by the company to buy land, even though it

was aware of the need for extra burial space in the town [62]. The attitude of locals towards speculators was perhaps most clearly expressed in Greenock. The Renfrewshire Advertiser carried the prospectus of the Greenock Cemetery Company in February 1845 [63]. The notice was typically basic in its appeal, and carried no list of directors. Reaction to the company was heated. It was acknowledged that the town needed a cemetery, but it should not be one established by

those who have no interest in the matter other than the opportunity which it affords for *stock-jobbing* and *speculation* [64].

Indeed, the company should be

of a *strictly local nature*, to which the Provost and Magistrates...and a portion of the clergy of all denominations should be parties...Such a company would afford satisfaction and be a blessing [65].

It seems that this particular sentiment held the day. The Greenock Cemetery Company failed, and in 1846 John Gray, a town councillor, successfully put forward plans for a cemetery which was backed by the town council [66].

The failure of speculative cemeteries to gain much of a foothold in towns outside the capital is especially remarkable considering relatively high success rates of both public health and denominational companies. Table 5:3 summarises the relevant statistics.

Table 5:3 - Cemetery company failure, by type.

Company type	number	number succeeding	percentage succeeding
Public Health	37	26	70.2
Speculative	30	11	36.6
Denominational	22	20	90.9
Total	89	57	64.0

The percentage of speculative cemetery companies which succeeded is little more than half that of the public health enterprises. It is clear that there was general enthusiasm for joint-stock investment in cemeteries, but not if the schemes were proposed by speculators wanting to exploit the need for burial ground.

One further type of speculative cemetery remains to be discussed. These companies intended to make profits by selling the right to burial in their cemeteries as a luxury commodity, to be conspicuously consumed and celebrated by elaborate memorialisation. It is this sort of company - although very much in the minority - which receives most of the interest from historians. Presuming that there is a causal link between this type of company and the increased commercialism of funerary practice again assumes too much. It must first be acknowledged that this sort of company was an exceptional phenomenon. There were only four enterprises which were formed with the express intention of selling status burials. Three of the four companies were located in London, and the exception - the Gravesend and Milton - was essentially an offshoot of one of the metropolitan enterprises, since it shared the same projector. This geographic

restriction suggests that something specific to the capital was cause for this sort of speculation in cemeteries. Three factors in particular should be singled out for attention: the existence of a long tradition of burial ground entrepreneurship in the metropolis; the success of the General Cemetery Company's Kensal Green Cemetery, opened in 1833; and the increased demand for elaborate memorials.

Providing burial facilities as a profit-making enterprise had long been a viable course of action in London. By the 1830s the capital possessed a number of small entrepreneurial burial grounds which were operated by single speculators. It is impossible to assess how many such places existed. Edwin Chadwick, writing in 1843, noted seven grounds, although this is certainly an underestimate. Reference to other sources - government reports, newspapers, and Dr Walker's survey of London burial grounds - reveals the existence of at least six more [67].

All these grounds operated in the most heavily populated districts of London. The East End was particularly popular for such entrepreneurial activity with Sheen's burial ground on Commercial Road, Ebenezer Chapel on Ratcliffe Highway and Globe Fields on the Mile End Road. Other areas of London were also similarly blessed - Southwark had Butler's, Clerkenwell had Spa Fields and Holborn, Enon Chapel. The lack of control over this sort of enterprise meant that 'any person may hire a piece of ground and actually trade in interments' [68]. The outlay was minimal and the potential for profit - particularly for the unscrupulous - high. Butler's is a typical example. The 'ground'

was in fact a basement running under four houses which was termed a 'vault' and into which coffins were placed, whether unleaded or not [69]. The business was run by an undertaker, who reduced the costs by employing the same man as porter and 'minister', 'deceiving the people under the idea that they are going to be buried in consecrated ground' [70].

The profitability of such burial grounds did not rest on excessive charges. The cost of interment was, generally speaking, lower than the church fee, and attracted the very poor. Table 5:4 indicates prices for basic burial:

Table 5:4 - Fees at three London entrepreneurial burial grounds, and one of the cheapest churchyards, 1842.

	Adult	Child
Enon Chapel, Holborn	12 - 15s	8s
Hoole and Martin, New Kent Road	11s	6s
Globe Fields, Mile End Road	10s	5s
St Clements, Portugal Street	14s 8d	8s 2d - 8s 4d

[71]

Financial gain accrued from tactical graveyard 'management' - the cramming in of many coffins into the smallest possible space. The Spa Fields ground, infamous in the 1840s, took management to the most gruesome extremes. The ground, situated in Clerkenwell, had been open for some fifty years, in which time, it was calculated, the two-acre site had accommodated over 200,000 dead. A Times report on the ground in 1845 claimed that Mr Vidall, the proprietor-manager, continued to bury 1,500 at Spa Fields each year [72].

It is unclear how much profit could be made from these sorts

of burial ground. Dr Walker commented in 1840 that 'private speculators have long known that a free-hold graveyard is infinitely preferable as a source of profit to any other' [73]. Enon Chapel, one of the more notorious burial places described by Walker in 1839, made over £900 for its owner in the first six years of its operation [74]. More general figures are not available, but there can be no doubt that such grounds were popular. Chadwick's report noted that six of the seven entrepreneurial burial places he included in his report could be considered insanitary because of gross overcrowding: three of the grounds took over 500 burials a year per acre of ground [75]. The application of joint-stock financing to this sort of enterprise was to be expected. The City of London and Tower Hamlets Cemetery Company was floated in 1841, and opened its cemetery within a few months - in September of the same year. The cemetery was located in the East End of London, and intended to serve the demand for cheaper burials. By the 1850s, the interment of paupers constituted 80% of the company's trade [76]. A similar enterprise was set up in 1845. The Victoria Park Cemetery Company laid out eleven acres in Bethnal Green, at the north end of the Mile End Road. Again, this cemetery specialised in pauper burials, and by the 1890s had taken 300,000 burials - over six hundred interments per acre each year [77], a figure which rivals the worst of the old entrepreneurial grounds.

This cynical exploitation of the demand for burial facilities acquired added sophistication with the flotation of three other London cemetery companies in 1836, the chief of which

was the London Cemetery Company, whose prospectus was quoted earlier in the chapter (above, p.205). Despite the bohemian luxury of the company's Highgate Cemetery, the Company was little more than a Sheen's or Butler's burial ground writ large. The Company's prospectus noted, for example, that Bunhill Fields 'has been a source of very considerable profit the last century' [78]. This comment must have been one of the few expressions of admiration directed towards the ground, the overcrowding in which was notorious - by 1832, its four acres had taken 107,416 interments [79]. The consequent insanitary conditions were evidently of small concern to the projectors of the London Cemetery Company.

As well as appreciating the immense profits to be had from burials, the projectors of the London Cemetery Company had no doubt noted the success attending the General Cemetery Company's Kensal Green Cemetery. Although this company was founded as a consequence of a very real concern about burial conditions in the capital, as will be seen in chapter six, attention to the design of the cemetery ensured that its clientele soon included some of London society's wealthiest families. Burial in Kensal Green quickly acquired a degree of status symbolism. In 1834 the directors of the General Cemetery Company were confidently commenting that

the interment of several persons of distinction [has] led to a reasonable hope of securing the countenance of these classes in society whose patronage would place this establishment in the same rank among cemeteries here as Père

Lachaise has obtained in Paris [80].

The 1835 Report noted the popularity of the cemetery's vaults and catacombs, and by 1842 could claim that the company had buried members of nearly two hundred noble families [81].

It would seem, then, that the London Cemetery Company had a fine precedent to work from. The principal projector in the company's establishment - and the individual most responsible for the phenomenon of this sort of speculation in burials - was Steven Geary, architect, civil engineer and entrepreneur. Up until 1836 Geary's career had not been particularly distinguished: he designed the huge statue at the point which later became known as King's Cross, and he is credited with building London's first gin palace [82]. Because little else is known about Geary, and because there are no extant records for the early years of the Cemetery Company, the exact intentions of the architect are impossible to gauge. Much then, must be inferred from the particular design of Geary's cemeteries.

It is clear that Geary considered the landscaping of the cemeteries built by the Company at Highgate and Nunhead to be vital to the success of the enterprise. The company paid £3,500 for the seventeen-acre site at Highgate, situated on a hill and having fine views of the capital. The site had long been resorted to by tourists and promenaders, and part of Geary's success with the cemetery can be attributed to the fact that this 'pleasure garden' atmosphere was not lost when the grounds were laid out. Indeed, one commentator was shocked to note:

parties of pleasure partaking of their slight refreshments,

in rural language called 'pic-nic', within the consecrated area [83].

The cemetery's main attraction, however, in terms of its status appeal, was the construction of vaults and catacombs at the highest point of the grounds. The now famous Egyptian avenue was tunnelled out of the hill, and designed to contain sixteen vaults, each capable of containing twelve coffins. The avenue led to the Circle of Lebanon, which was sunk below the normal level of the cemetery, and also contained room for vaults. A series of catacombs was constructed in an underground gallery, beneath the terrace. There were 840 spaces for coffins, at a cost of £10 each [84]. Although less impressive in its individual features, the Cemetery Company's ground at Nunhead was laid out according to principles similar to those adopted for the cemetery at Highgate, with deliberately Romantic planting enhancing the views of the city.

The South Metropolitan Cemetery Company, established in 1836, also had the intention of making profits by selling status burials, this time to the south of the river. Again, there are no extant records which give details of the marketing strategy of the company. It would seem, though, that the first commitment to architectural excellence which was demanded by those seeking status burials was well served by the company. The architect for the company's thirty-nine-acre cemetery at Norwood was William Tite, who was to gain considerable prominence after designing the Royal Exchange in 1841. The cemetery's buildings were in the Gothic mode, made hugely fashionable after the success of Charles Barry's designs for the new Palace of Westminster [85]. Again,

much stress was placed on the right sort of planting for the grounds, which gained criticism from John Claudius Loudon, the cemetery designer, as being too much in the 'pleasure-ground style' [86].

The huge success enjoyed by the cemeteries at Highgate, Nunhead, and Norwood gave evidence of the projectors having cashed in on a demand for luxury interment. At this stage two questions must be asked: where did the demand come from, and why did the response of founding this sort of speculative company not reach into the provinces? It cannot be denied that the success of this handful of companies in the capital rested on their extending the celebration of death beyond the funeral and into the grave itself. The increased commercialisation of the British funeral has been the subject of extensive study, and so it is unnecessary to go into detail here [87]. Suffice to say that the early nineteenth-century mourner felt under great pressure to express his sorrow through financial expenditure. The Liberal M.P. William McKinnon referred to this tendency as

a mawkish feeling of delicacy, which induced them [i.e. the bereaved] to avoid whatever might have the appearance of a deficiency of respect for the dead [88].

Made anxious by the desire to show respect to the deceased, the bereaved were also pressed into escalating expenditure by the status symbolism which was attached to a fine display of mourning:

if in street A or B a splendid funeral took place the relative of the deceased in a neighbouring street must have

an equally splendid funeral [89].

The 'feeling of delicacy', coupled with social expectation of extensive expenditure induced the purchase of a whole range of funerary perquisites, none of which was strictly speaking necessary to the conduct of the funeral, but all of which were nonetheless thought 'proper'. There was extensive exploitation of this feeling. Charles Dickens' Household Words carried a mock 'Address from an Undertaker to the Trade' in 1850, where his fictitious speaker commented:

I fear Common Sense would be of opinion that mutes, scarfs, hatbands, plumes of feathers, black horses, mourning coaches and the like can in no way benefit the defunct or comfort surviving friends or gratify anybody but the mob and the street boys. But happily, Common Sense has not yet acquired an influence which would reduce every burial to a most low affair [90].

It would seem that the undertaking trade had a secure hold on the nation's psyche, the twin elements of emotional blackmail and appeal to pride in display being difficult to resist.

It cannot be denied that the new joint-stock cemeteries enabled the extension of commercialised mourning into the realms of memorialisation. The directors of the Kensal Green Cemetery set a significant precedent in taking the decision to place no restrictions on the type of monument erected, a trend repeated in the newer speculative cemeteries and allowing for full expression of individuality. The prospectus of the Gravesend and Milton Cemetery Company amply summarised the nature of this appeal. The company, again founded by Stephen Geary promised, in 1838,

two Chapels and spacious Catacombs...and the whole ornamentally laid out with walks, trees and shrubs; thus tending to soothe the feelings of survivors, by affording them eligible opportunities of erecting suitable Monuments to the memory of those whom they have loved and respected, and of visiting their place of sepulture free from annoyance [91].

The prospectus stressed that the purchase of 'perpetual right of interment' would grant 'the privilege of erecting Grave-Stones, Monuments or Mausoleums' [92]. This is the only extant prospectus which stresses this right, incidentally. The sale of burial rights in perpetuity gave the deceased an assurance of permanence and encouraged the erection of elaborate and costly memorials.

Given that the 'celebration of death' was a national phenomenon, and noting the success of the London commercial cemeteries, it becomes necessary to ask why such enterprises were restricted to London. Why was the desire to memorialise the dead with elaborate statuary not so conspicuously exploited in the provinces? Some historians would claim that all cemetery companies had this aim as their original intention, but this is a supposition which has been undermined by the evidence assembled in this thesis. Of the speculative companies which did exist, however, none outside London - with the exception of Gravesend - chose to make profits through consciously pitching their appeal to the market for high quality burials.

There are perhaps two reasons why so many utility cemetery companies chose to provide a more basic burial service rather

than plump for selling the cemetery ideal. Perhaps the most important explanation is that the status burial business was hugely risky. To ensure appeal to the right class of people, expenditure on cemetery layout had to be excessive, and encompass a degree of architectural distinction. It was not always possible to catch the right fashion at the right time. Steven Geary had been involved in the setting up of a second cemetery venture in 1836 - the West of London and Westminster Cemetery Company. The intention to appeal to the status-conscious was made evident in the design of the company's cemetery, known as Brompton. Benjamin Baud, the designer of the cemetery, eschewed the Romantic and the Gothic and instead opted for the current fad for Italian Renaissance design, again influenced by Charles Barry, this time in his plans for London club buildings [93]. The enterprise was a financial disaster, however. The public never favoured the cemetery, which lacked the intimacy and atmosphere of Highgate. The commitment to such elaborate architectural detail embroiled the company in debt from which it never recovered, and the cemetery was compulsorily purchased by the Board of Health in the early 1850s [94].

It was clear that, after the sale of high quality burials had entailed an enormous initial outlay, there was no guarantee of recouping the cost. The Gravesend Cemetery was a relatively modest affair at £10,000 - almost certainly because laid out on an existing park, and therefore not in need of extensive landscaping [95]. The usual capital necessitated by this type of company was much higher, however. The three London companies were heavily capitalised for a cemetery venture, at an average of

around £65,000 each. The utility cemetery companies, in contrast, were established on around £20,000, and because there was no commitment to excessively elaborate architectural features, could begin offering interments within months of flotation.

Another reason why companies attempting to provide a luxury burial service did not venture far outside London was that there was, before 1850 at any rate, small demand for that sort of facility. Outside the capital only three companies - all either public health or denominational concerns - made some attempt to provide funerary 'perquisites' on a similar scale of elaboration as that provided by the London Cemetery Company. The Greenwich, Blackheath, Woolwich and Deptford Cemetery Company, set up in 1845 intended building

a series of family chapels, forming recesses in the principal edifice, in which it is proposed that the arms of the possessor, with other devices, shall be emblazoned in the windows, so as to admit the light through rich stained glass while the tablet and monuments of each family adorn its own peculiar niche and form a genealogical series. In each of these an entrance to a family vault will be constructed [96].

The company failed, its intentions perhaps too ambitious given a nominal capital of only £30,000.

The schemes of the Sheffield General Cemetery Company were similarly grandiose, and placed the company in financial jeopardy. In 1835 the company explained its position somewhat defensively:

a very considerable proportion of the expenses, probably one half of the whole cost, is made up of various ranges of catacombs, vaults and brick graves, the erection of which...will constitute a stock so to speak, of great value to the company [97].

The demand for this sort of interment facility was overestimated, however. In 1846, Thomas Grundy, visiting the cemetery as part of a deputation from the Northampton General Cemetery Company noted that only sixty-six interments had taken place in the vaults and catacombs calculated to hold over 4000 coffins: building had been 'almost an entire waste of capital' [98].

One tentative explanation might be forwarded for the lack of luxury speculative companies in the provinces. It was perhaps only London which contained the concentration of individual wealth extensive enough to invest in the status symbolism implied by burial in elaborate vaults or catacombs, set in architecturally remarkable surroundings. The work of W.D. Rubinstein demonstrates that London was the 'centre of wealth-making' in the nineteenth century, and that the vast majority of the very wealthy - millionaires and half-millionaires, bankers and financiers - lived in the capital [99]. These were the people who would be able, and want, to afford the purchase of elaborate memorials, and to have their dead housed in elegant vaults and catacombs. That the luxury burial perquisites were primarily located with the wealthy is confirmed by the one other cemetery company which invested in such building. In 1842, the Edinburgh Cemetery Company pronounced complete 'a range of beautiful and substantial catacombs well-lighted, airy and dry'

[100]. Edinburgh, the capital of Scotland, also contained the most concentrated collection of professional people outside London.

It can be claimed, therefore, that there was probably only limited demand for the more expensive types of burial facility outside the capital cities of Britain, and that is why this sort of speculative cemetery company was a restricted occurrence. The fact that the market for status interments was weak in the provinces has interesting ramifications. On the whole, the argument for the 'celebration of death' being a causal factor in the setting up of joint-stock cemeteries has rested on the 'proof' of such cemeteries containing elaborate statuary, apposite evidence of the commercialisation of memorial provision. Again, this argument lacks subtlety. Certainly the London cemeteries - fired by the excesses of Kensal Green's wealthy clientele - were remarkable for the expense lavished by the bereaved on monumental masonry, but the trend took some time to catch on in the provinces.

Perhaps the pattern is best explained by reference to the work undertaken by Deetz and Dethlefsen - 'Death's Head, Cherub, Urn and Willow' [101]. Written in 1967, this study constituted a seminal work on graveyard archaeology. The frequency of three types of gravestone symbol were recorded in churchyards in New England, and a definite pattern of dispersal could be distinguished in geographic and chronological terms. The more sophisticated classical symbol of urn and willow originated in Boston in the 1760 - 1770s, and gradually diffused outwards,

replacing the older designs involving skulls and cherubs. The point to be taken from this study is that it took some time for this transformation to take place - complete replacement of one type of memorial design for another in one particular graveyard happened over a range of thirty years. It is suggested that in Britain, the fashion for elaborate memorialisation, originating in London, took some time to diffuse outwards. In practical terms this would have been the case, since memorial masons could not have immediately acquired the skills to deal with demand. Although as yet no work has been done on the subject, a walk through any 1830-50 provincial cemetery reveals that the older the memorial, the simpler the design - the passion for urns and angels and broken columns did not really reign supreme until after the 1850s [102]. The timing of this trend again undermines the theory that the commercialisation of funerary practice encouraged speculation in cemeteries to any significant degree.

This chapter has discussed the speculative cemetery company, its origins and later flourishing in the joint-stock manias of the mid-1830s and mid-1840s. Much of the chapter has addressed the relationship between speculation in cemetery companies and the possible influence of this trend on what historians have termed 'the celebration of death'. It has been demonstrated that there was, on the whole, only a tenuous link between the two, and a factor of greater importance to the emergence of speculative cemetery companies was the joint-stock mania which seized Britain in the heady years of the mid-1830s and mid-1840s. It would seem that historians have been seduced by the appearance of the more

spectacular London cemeteries into making general assumptions which do not stand up to closer analysis.

Analysis of the speculative cemetery companies according to the three separate groupings has also produced some specific conclusions which reveal aspects of the nature of joint-stock investment in the first half of the nineteenth century. The speculative company failed to make significant inroads into the obvious demand which existed for new burial space at a time when the public health and denominational companies were receiving widespread approbation. This fact reinforces the notion that early nineteenth-century investors were discriminating in the companies they chose to back, as noted by R. Michie on his work on the Scottish stock market, and J. Wilson, writing on the gas industry [103]. The purchasers of shares did not condone the commercialisation of death, which some historians consider inherent in joint-stock cemetery foundation. Speculation in burials was resisted, and companies were commonly favoured, as the last chapter showed and the next two chapters will further demonstrate, if they evidently supported the community's interests.

FOOTNOTES.

Epigraph: Quarterly Review, 146 (1844), 449.

1. Three works in particular are referred to in this chapter:

J. Morley, Death, Heaven and the Victorians (1971),

J.S. Curl, The Victorian Celebration of Death (1972),

C. Brooks, Mortal Remains (1989).

2. Quarterly Review, 146 (1844), 449.

3. E.Chadwick, A Supplementary Report on the Results of a Special Inquiry into the Practice of Interment in Towns (1843), 115.

4. Morley Death, 41.

5. Quarterly Review, 146 (1844).

6. Chadwick, Interment Report, 72.

7. The Times, 14 Apr. 1836, 2e ; Morning Chronicle, 14 Apr. 1836.

8. ibid.

9. ibid.

10. The Times, 20 Apr. 1826, 3e.

11. B.C.Hunt, The Development of the Business Corporation in England (Cambridge, Mass., 1936), 61.

12. The Times, 12 Oct. 1844, quoted by B.C.Hunt, Development of the Business Corporation, 104.

13. H.Macleod, The Theory and Practice of Banking (1855), 243.

14. An Old Merchant, Remarks on the Joint Stock Companies (1825), 4.

15. H.Macleod, Theory and Practice, 243.

16. Monthly Review, 3 (1826), 26.

17. Glasgow Citizen, quoted by The Economist, 3 (1845), 601.

18. C.Dickens, Nicholas Nickleby (1839, reprinted 1983), 69.
19. The Times, 6 Nov. 1824, 2d.
20. Prospectus of the Portsea Island Cemetery Company (1830). Sanderson Collection, Local History Library, Portsmouth Central Library.
21. ibid.
22. G.Hammon Whalley, Supplementary Report on the Kingston-upon-Hull Cemetery Bill, together with General Remarks on Cemeteries as a Means of Correcting the Evils of Intramural Interment (1847). Chadwick Papers, University of London. Comment included in an appended table outlining details of cemetery companies.
23. G.Collison, Cemetery Interment (1840), 183.
24. Morning Chronicle, 10 Jun. 1830.
25. First Annual Report of the Northampton General Cemetery Company (1847). Local Studies Collection, Northampton Central Library.
26. MS Minute Book of the Ardwick Cemetery Association, 25 May 1837. Manchester Archive Office.
27. Scotsman, 28 Jan. 1847.
28. ibid.
29. Newspaper clipping, undated (but probably 1845) and without source, pasted into the Scrapbook of John Green Crosse (1829-46). Norfolk Record Office, Norwich.
30. ibid.
31. ibid.
32. Scotsman, 26 Feb. 1845.

33. Scotsman, 8 Mar. 1845.
34. Scotsman, 19 Mar. 1845.
35. Scotsman, 19 Mar. 1845.
36. Manchester Guardian, 23 Apr. 1836.
37. ibid.
38. Manchester Guardian, 2 Apr. 1836.
39. ibid.
40. ibid.
41. Manchester Guardian, 23 Apr. 1836.
42. ibid.
43. Manchester Guardian, 30 Apr. 1836.
44. ibid.
45. ibid.
46. For reports detailing the setting up of the company see the Scotsman, 9 Sep., 16 Sep., 7 Oct., 21 Nov., all 1840.
47. Edinburgh Evening Courant, 1 Aug. 1844.
48. Address by the Directors of the Edinburgh Western Cemetery Company to the Inhabitants of Edinburgh and the Vicinity (1845). Edinburgh Room, Edinburgh Central Library.
49. Scotsman, 12 Feb. 1845.
50. Scotsman, 12 Mar. 1845.
51. MS Minute Book of the Edinburgh Cemetery Company, 29 Apr. 1845. Scottish Record Office, Edinburgh.
52. ibid., 6 May 1845.
53. ibid., 30 Aug. 1845.
54. MS Minute Book of the City Burial Grounds Institute and Père Lachaise of Sighthill, 25 Feb. 1840; Glasgow Courier, 29 Feb.

- 1840.
55. Glasgow Courier, 28 Jan. 1840.
56. ibid.
57. Glasgow Courier, 16 Jan. 1845; 18 Jan. 1845.
58. Glasgow Courier, 23 Jan. 1845.
59. Report by the Town Council Committee on Intramural Interment
(1868). Glasgow Archive Office.
60. B. Love, Handbook of Manchester (Manchester, 1842), 91.
61. Stirling Observer, 20 Feb. 1845.
62. Stirling Journal and Advertiser, 10 Jul. 1846.
63. Renfrewshire Advertiser, 15 Feb. 1845.
64. Glasgow Herald, 17 Feb. 1845.
65. ibid.
66. The Post Office Greenock Directory for 1849-50 (Greenock,
1849), 69.
67. Report from the Select Committee on Improvement of the Health
of Towns: Effect of Interment of Bodies in Towns (1842); G.A.
Walker, Gatherings from Graveyards (1839).
68. The Times, 7 Nov. 1846, 6b.
69. Report from the Select Committee, 81.
70. ibid., 81-82.
71. Report from the Select Committee, pp11, 17, 48, 86.
72. The Times, 1 Mar. 1845, 8d.
73. Report from the Select Committee on the Health of Towns
(1840), 217.
74. The Times, 17 Sep. 1847, 3d.
75. Chadwick, Interment Report, appendix.
76. H. Meller, London Cemeteries: An Illustrated Guide and

- Gazeteer (1981), 271.
77. C.Brooks, Mortal Remains, 41.
78. The Times, 14 Apr. 1836.
79. Builder, 8 Apr. 1843.
80. MS Minute Book of the General Cemetery Company, 5 Jun. 1834.
Kensal Green Cemetery Lodge, Harrow Road, London.
81. ibid., 11 Jun. 1835; 9 Jun. 1842.
82. F.Barker, Highgate Cemetery: Victorian Valhalla (1988), 14.
83. G.Collison, Cemetery Interment (1840), 170-71.
84. Barker, Highgate Cemetery (1988), 14.
85. Brooks, Mortal Remains, 20.
86. J.C.Loudon, On the Laying Out, Planting and Managing of Cemeteries, and on the Improvement of Churchyards (1843), 69.
87. See for example J.Litten, The English Way of Death (1992), chapter 1.
88. William McKinnon, Hansard, 3 Jun. 1850, 111, c906-07.
89. Thomas Wakley, Hansard, 3 Jun. 1850, 111, c911.
90. Household Words, 22 Jun. 1850.
91. Handbook of the Gravesend and Milton Cemetery (1838), Local History Library, Gravesend Central Library.
92. ibid.
93. Brooks, Mortal Remains, 24.
94. S.E.Finer, The Life and Times of Sir Edwin Chadwick (1952), 412.
95. Gravesend and Milton Cemetery Company, to be Incorporated by Act of Parliament (1838), 2. Local History Library, Gravesend

Central Library.

96. Kentish Mercury, 18 Oct. 1845.
97. MS Minute Book of the Sheffield General Cemetery Company, 21 Aug. 1835. Sheffield Local History Library.
98. MS Report of the Sub-committee appointed to visit and examine into the formation and present management of various public cemeteries, and to provide plans and estimates for the Northampton Cemetery Company (1846), unpaginated. MS Northampton General Cemetery Company, miscellaneous correspondence 1830s-1880s, collected by Thomas Grundy. Local Studies Room, Northampton Central Library.
99. W.D.Rubinstein, Elites and the Wealthy in Modern British History (Brighton, 1987), 24.
100. MS Minute Book of the Edinburgh Cemetery Company, 6 Mar. 1842.
101. J.Deetz and E.S.Dethlefson, 'Death's Head, Cherub, Urn and Willow', Natural History, 76, 3 (1967). I am indebted to Julie Dunk for this reference.
102. Presenting evidence for this conjecture is difficult without extensive study of the business records of monumental masons - primary research outwith the scope of this thesis.
103. R.Michie, Money, Mania and Markets (Edinburgh, 1981), 246; J.Wilson, Lighting the Town: A Study of Management in the North West Gas Industry 1805-1880 (1991), 91.

5: The cemetery company and civic ethos: 'a favourite resort of the living'.

One reason why historians may have been misled into believing that speculative cemetery companies were successful in the provinces is that in many towns, aesthetic considerations with regard to cemetery layout and the design of buildings - chapels, lodges and cemetery offices - were given a high priority, a fact which might be construed as a conscious targeting of the luxury burial market. In 1846 Thomas Grundy, a director of the Northampton General Cemetery Company, undertook a tour of 'various public cemeteries' to gain 'plans and estimates' for his own local enterprise. Grundy's tour is invaluable for providing extensive testimony to the preoccupations of the projectors of cemeteries. His assessment of the grounds he visited indicates the elements commonly considered to be ideal. In every case, comment was made on the layout and buildings of the grounds. In Nottingham, the chapel was 'too prominent'; in Derby, however, the Gothic chapel was 'neat', and the lodge and gates in 'good taste, and worthy of imitation'. York Cemetery was similarly praised, as being laid out 'with much taste, and the whole kept in fine order'. Leeds General Cemetery 'lacked order and neatness', as did the Sheffield General Cemetery, which, it was thought, 'ill accords with the natural beauty of the situation'.

Grundy also visited London, and found that Kensal Green was

'not in the best taste'; Abney Park laid out 'with great propriety'; Highgate Cemetery planted with 'much taste'; and Norwood 'beautifully undulated', with Nunhead a fair rival. Trips further afield reveal that Southampton's cemetery, laid out by the town council, was 'finely situated in the midst of an old forest'. Winchester, however, was disappointing: 'its present appearance is anything but pleasing'. Grundy concluded at the end of the tour that the prospective cemetery at Northampton should be laid out with attention to neatness and regularity, and that 'excessive ornament' should be avoided [1]. Such a recommendation, however, did not prevent a modest attempt to present the town with a suitably attractive cemetery, 'laid out with great taste from designs by Mr Marnock, of the Regent's Park Botanical Gardens'. The cemetery had a Norman chapel, and at the entrance of the grounds was 'a handsome lodge in the Elizabethan style' [2].

The directors of the Northampton General Cemetery were not alone in their desire to provide an attractive burial ground, and to examine and assess existing cemeteries to find schemes to imitate. John Thompson and Charles Todd of the Hull General Cemetery Company visited Kensal Green, Birmingham and Abney Park, the latter grounds being reserved for special praise. They were

laid out with great taste, with parterres of sweet scented flowers, picturesque trees and clumps of evergreens scattered about in the most appropriate situations [3].

Both the Northampton and the Hull directors were typical of their time in seeing an importance in the design of their cemeteries. A writer to the Scotsman in 1846 noted that the 'indispensable

requisites' of cemeteries were 'removal from the centre of cities' - obviously necessary for health reasons - and 'ornamental grounds and elegant architecture' - neither strictly speaking necessary [4]. This view was common: all over Britain, cemetery company directors displayed an concern that their grounds should be in the best taste.

The question needs to be asked, why were the directors of public health and denominational companies so concerned about aesthetic matters with regard to the layout of their cemeteries? In answering this question, the chapter will constitute an exploration of a second subsidiary theme to be addressed by the thesis: chapter two explored cemetery foundation and security of the corpse; this chapter will consider the variety of cultural significances attached to the institution of the cemetery itself.

Explanation for the desire to lay out attractive cemeteries can be found in a general drive towards civic adornment. This enthusiasm was a marked feature of provincial life from 1800 to 1850, and continued a trend which had been in evidence for much of the previous century. Indeed, the work of Peter Borsay provides evidence for recognising an 'urban renaissance' in the period c.1660-1770, during which time certain types of town showed significant degrees of improvement. Often this development manifested itself in terms of changes to the townscape - greater attention to the amenities, rudimentary town planning and increases in leisure facilities, through the building of

theatres, public walks and assembly rooms [5].

Although Borsay's study extends only so far as 1770, there is ample evidence to show that attention to the physical appearance of the town did not diminish with the onset of the nineteenth century. Indeed, the trend seems to have intensified. An article in the Penny Magazine as late as 1838 expressed the essential elements of what amounted to a mania for improvement, a trend which included the erection of municipal buildings, schools, churches, educational and cultural institutes, botanical gardens, hospitals and medical schools, and cemeteries [6]. The garden necropolis was therefore one more accessory in a list of possible institutions: the prospectus of the Bristol General Cemetery Company in 1836 makes clear that a cemetery was 'among the many improvements suggested for the city' [7].

The extra-mural cemetery served the purpose of the urban improvers on two levels. All civic enhancement undertaken during the period before 1850 displayed common elements: the desire to provide a townscape which adequately reflected the successes of the local economy; a self-conscious rivalry with other towns; and philosophical ideas about the function of cities as agents of civilisation. The chapter will explore these elements in detail, and demonstrate that the extra-mural cemetery fulfilled all these prerequisites admirably.

In the context of civic improvement, a cemetery could function at a deeper level than simply providing another urban accessory: it also implied a degree of sophistication. At its most straightforward, the cemetery stood for a cultured revulsion against existing burial practices, which not only threatened

public health - as will be seen in detail in the next chapter - but which were increasingly defined as barbaric: offending moral, sentimental and aesthetic sensibilities. In addition, a garden cemetery - which is what the majority of companies founded - had further uses. A cemetery laid out as a park added to the urban leisure amenities because it was most often located at a prominent point outside the town, and so provided an impressive platform from which promenaders - preferably tourists - might take in the view. Most importantly, the cemetery was the ideal amenity for rational recreation, having the capacity to instruct - in the sciences of botany and horticulture - and to uplift morally, through edifying epitaphs. All in all, it would seem, the company cemetery was an essential portmanteau amenity few towns could be seen to lack.

Before going on to discuss cemetery foundation in the context of urban improvement, brief comment needs to be made about the prevalence of such sentiments according to company type. Although there are companies in all classes of enterprise which made comment tying the cemetery to some aspect of the fashion for urban improvement, the public health companies in particular tended to make this sort of statement. Around two-thirds of sanitary companies expressed awareness of the cultural value attached to cemeteries, compared with only about one-fifth of denominational enterprises. Explanation for the domination of public health companies is found in the way in which such enterprises were established. These companies were much more likely to be considered 'civic' enterprises, being founded by

members of a town's elite, drawn together despite religious affiliation. The companies were working conspicuously for the benefit of the whole community, and the cemeteries they founded were therefore much more likely to be invested with some degree of local pride, and be seen to be representative of a town's prestige.

The tendency of public health companies to use 'improving' rhetoric might lead to the assumption that the fashion for cemeteries as an urban improvement was largely restricted to the 1840s, as were public health companies. To answer this point it must be recognised that interest in improvement had a number of different strands. Revulsion against existing burial practices on the grounds of their being 'uncivilised' was an early feature of cemetery establishment. The full flourishing of appreciation of the wider amenity value of cemeteries did not take place until the 1840s, however, and was probably heightened by the publication of Loudon's work in 1843 [5].

The importance attached to the appearance of the cemetery and awareness of its uses beyond that as a site for burials is made evident in a number of towns. On 16 October 1837 the Yorkshire Gazette printed a report detailing the opening of the York General Cemetery. It seems that the occasion was a festive one, the crowd of upwards of two thousand displaying a jollity at odds with the solemnity of the event. Indeed the reporter noted that the cemetery resembled a pleasure garden, and the only indication of its 'sombre purpose' was 'a large lugubrious black vehicle with glazed black curtains' - evidently a hearse [8]. Of particular interest to visitors was the statuary which adorned

the palisading - a sarcophagus at one corner, and at the other a sphinx. More impressive still was the cemetery chapel:

the entrance is under a portico of the Ionic order, the general proportions of which are taken from the Temple of Erectheus at Athens [10].

The directors of York's Public Cemetery Company had evidently paid much attention to the appearance of the grounds they laid out. Indeed, the York site was chosen with care. At an early meeting in 1836, the directors described the ground:

Its surface is undulating, and commands an interesting view of the city, and when laid out properly in walks and plantations, uniting with part of the trees now on the grounds, will be very ornamental [11].

The intention of the directors was fulfilled. The consecration of the cemetery had drawn an abnormally large crowd, but the popularity of the site with visitors did not diminish. York's city guide recommended the cemetery to tourists, and the local newspaper reported in 1850 that

amongst the attractions of York, the cemetery occupies a high rank. Whenever a pleasure train arrives, I meet large parties on the road to explore it. Nor is it to be wondered at, considering the natural beauty of the situation and the taste with which it is laid out [12].

The York company's cemetery was not exceptional in fulfilling a double function, as local burial ground and park. In Brighton, the expressed intention was to lay out a cemetery 'as a picturesque shrubbery and garden' [13], Hereford's directors

sought to 'provide an attractive promenade both to the inhabitants and to strangers visiting the city' [14], and Gainsborough's cemetery was 'to lack nothing to make it an ornament to the town and neighbourhood' [15]. In all of these cases, improvement to existing burial provision was the highest priority, but the appearance of the grounds also had some degree of importance.

In some cases, the desire to provide attractive burial grounds threatened the financial standing of the company. In 1855, the directors of Nottingham's Church of England Cemetery Company produced a report which outlined why the laying out of the cemetery - which had begun in 1851 - was not yet complete. Edwin Patchett, the cemetery designer, was evidently ambitious, recognising that the site of the cemetery held great potential, encompassing as it did a dramatic punchbowl, and a series of caverns. Patchett wrote in 1855:

You are aware that the peculiar nature of the ground presented to my mind the possibility of raising the status of the cemetery far beyond that of an ordinary Burial Ground, and led to the opinion that it possessed capabilities which, if fully worked out, would develop attractive features of no ordinary kind [16].

Patchett's aspirations for the cemetery placed the company in difficulty: by 1854 the enterprise was losing public favour, and had debts amounting to £1,211 [17]. In the case of this enterprise, therefore, the desire to produce a cemetery of note was jeopardising the basic provision of, in this case, consecrated burial ground.

In one other instance, attention to the 'aesthetics' of the cemetery threatened the satisfactory fulfilment of its original purpose. In Leicester, the collapse of the militant Dissenting General Cemetery Company had meant that the council was compelled to take action to lay out new burial ground. In 1851 William Ranger, a public health inspector, visited the city to report on the new cemetery. He found that expenditure on the enterprise had been excessive [18]. A basic estimate on buildings and laying out of the first twelve acres marked for burial had been £6,700 - the councillors spent £12,411. Planting and forming the ground could have been adequately undertaken on £600, and on these items alone the council spent £1,518 [19]. Ranger concluded that if proper advice had been taken the council would 'never [have] embarked the large sum which has been expended' [20]. The council was attempting to fulfil a double obligation, however. Pressure to do so had come from the mayor, William Biggs, who had supported the scheme, but also wanted the cemetery to 'supply the place of a park or public walk' in Leicester, in which respect the town was seriously deficient [21]. For this reason, therefore, expenditure on the grounds had been more than was strictly necessary.

It would seem, therefore, that the founders of cemeteries were under pressure ensure that the grounds could be used for purposes other than that of burial - that the ground should become 'a general place of resort', for example. The priority placed on the design of the grounds they laid out is explained by setting the foundation of cemeteries in the context of the general drive towards civic improvements which was evident in the

first half of the nineteenth century. At one level, cemeteries were indistinguishable from other types of urban improvement, since they all described in a similar rhetoric. For this reason, analysis of cemeteries as an urban 'accessory' will take place alongside discussion of elements of the trend illustrated by examples of other types of building - the provision of assembly rooms, for example. A further section in the chapter will explore in greater detail the significance specifically attached to cemeteries in this context.

It seems that, at the moment, there is a gap in the history of the town in cultural terms in the later eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The work of Peter Borsay has suggested that urban improvement was a marked feature in some towns in the eighteenth century, and Helen Meller's work on Bristol covers the municipalisation of civic amenities [22]. The early Victorian city, however, is a place most often described in terms of accelerating disease and decay. The consequences of unbridled economic expansion have become known through the multitude of health reports published in the 1840s, and through the 'Condition of England' novels of such writers as Charles Dickens and Benjamin Disraeli. Indeed, this thesis has so far tended to perpetuate this particularly dismal image of the city as a place in which the corpses of the dead continually haunted the living.

It must be stressed, however, that there was very clearly a transition phase from one predominating urban experience to another, the move itself being forced by the press of over-rapid population expansion. The period in which the change was taking place was the early nineteenth century, a period of optimism

which few historians have highlighted [23]. During the three decades before 1850, it was the manufacturing provincial towns which were experiencing the urban renaissance, without seeing such efforts as being incompatible with industrialisation. Vast amounts of energy were directed towards urban improvement, albeit of a superficial kind. Admittedly very little attempt was made to address the slum conditions in which the majority lived, and of which the minority was largely ignorant. In 1851 the townspeople of Bradford were exhorted to 'throw a glance behind [their] colossal manufactories, elegant warehouses and splendid mansions' [24] and take a greater interest in the poor. But in the decades before 1851, it was the erection of those fine buildings which was absorbing capital and energy, and the magnificent city centre facades thus created were sufficient to convince the inhabitants that urban life contained much that should be celebrated.

Increased expenditure on public buildings was a trend which had been gathering pace since the middle of the eighteenth century. By the end of the 1810s it had accelerated. In Leeds and the West Riding alone, investment in such enterprises in the period 1810-19 amounted to £162,500; by 1820-29 this had increased to £436,500 [25]. At peaks in these construction booms, in 1824 and 1836, some thirty to forty public buildings were being erected simultaneously in the area [26]. The desire for improvement had developed into a mania, in which all the participants self-consciously revelled. The spirit of self-congratulation was conveyed in a letter to The Times in 1827: 'the taste for these improvements...is a distinguished example of

the more cultivated feeling of our own times' [27].

The enthusiasm for civic adornment was based, in part, on economic expansion and industrial growth, and a conscious delight in the wealth produced. Britain was known as the richest country in the world. Each town and city felt capable of measuring its contribution to the nation's wealth, and could declare itself superior in perhaps one or more enterprise. This achievement was extensively recorded in local guides and directories - often a most eloquent expression of a town's self-image. Even so modest a place as Kilmarnock could characterise itself in 1840 as

a great beehive of industry, whence thousands of bales of valuable carpets, and thousands of boxes of splendid shawls, are annually exported to far distant countries [28].

Often a town's industrial landscape was deemed worthy of inspection. A guide to Leeds written in 1835 directs tourists to

the warehouse of the Aire and Calder Company. Those erected in the years 1827-8, on the Northern bank of the river, by their immense size, command the attention of every stranger, and before the completion of this perambulation, we shall have the pleasure of suggesting to the sketcher a station from which we think they have a very striking effect [29].

Hunt and Company's 1848 guide to Bristol recommended the flint glass factories and potteries to visitors who might wish to view the production processes [30]. An 1839 directory to Manchester noted that

the mills, foundries and machine making, and steam engine establishments, present attractions of the highest interest to strangers [31].

Some historians have recognised in early nineteenth-century industry features of the sublime - the sheer size and power of factories inspired deep awe and admiration [32]. Visitors to Manchester were assured that, whatever their opinions on 'smoke, steam and dust', a walk among the mills would inspire 'wonder at their stupendous appearance' [33]. It is clear, then, that towns and cities in the provinces were well aware of the magnitude of their commercial and industrial expansion and constantly expressed pride in the achievement.

It was widely felt, therefore, that the appearance of the city should reflect the wealth of its inhabitants and, as a consequence, improvements became imperative. A good example of this notion is the building of market halls. Here, it would be imagined, the dichotomy between expanding wealth and poor facilities would be at its most acute. Investment in the development of old markets and the building of the new reached intensive levels in Leeds and the West Riding [34]. Expenditure on the building of markets and commercial premises in 1800-40 constituted 15% of all expenditure on public buildings and amounted to £153,900 - a rise of over £100,000 on the previous fifty years [35]. Although most markets were built on the joint-stock format, and promised higher than average returns, they were still primarily advertised in terms of civic enhancement and seen as such. An inhabitant of Leeds expressed his approbation in 1822:

The spirit of improvement which happily seems now to be in progress will, I trust, wipe off the justly merited reproach

under which the town has so long laboured: the removal of the old butcher's shambles will, I hope, be soon followed by other improvements consistent with the opulence and commercial importance of the town of Leeds [36].

That the town should reflect the wealth of its citizens was a desideratum frequently expressed in this period. Referring to local improvements in Paisley in 1846, the editor of the Renfrewshire Advertiser declared that he knew of no 'more certain index of wealth and importance of city, than such undertakings demonstrate' [37].

In addition to buildings adorning the centre of town, a well-laid out garden cemetery was also capable of conveying to the visitor the prosperity of the city, and burial provision appropriate to that wealth was deemed a necessity. At a meeting to promote the Wolverhampton Cemetery Company a Mr Dent, one of the directors, attempted to shame his fellow townsmen by intimating that lack of action on the issue was not appropriate in a town 'noted throughout England for its commercial eminence' [38]. George Milner, director of the Hull General Cemetery Company, expressed the hope 'to see the inhabitants of this wealthy port provided with a suitable cemetery' [39]. The Leeds General Cemetery Company received a rather peevish letter in 1833 from a local man who had visited the joint-stock cemetery at Portsmouth. It would seem that the architecture of that ground was superior to belonging to the inhabitants of Leeds, and the writer commented:

If they can't have as handsome an entrance to their cemetery as the people of Portsea have, I think they will be

disgraced considering their superior wealth [40].

In Manchester, a similar sentiment was expressed in 1836 by the projectors of the Ardwick Cemetery Association. They were dismayed by the existing cemetery provided by the Rusholme Road Company:

in this wealthy and populous town...so distinguished by its numerous public-spirited institutions, it is to be regretted that only one cemetery, and that of very limited extent, exists [41].

It was commonly believed, therefore, that a fine garden cemetery was an admirable medium for displaying the wealth of the town.

The pace of urban ornamentation could never be seen to flag. Inter-town rivalry was a strong factor in inducing civic leaders to continue programmes of urban improvement. The proposal of any public building scheme was often accompanied by mention of the completion of a similar plan in a rival town. A Bradford man writing to the local newspaper in 1824 referred to the opening of a dispensary in the town:

Institutions of this kind are an honour to the towns in which they are supported. Bradford is the only wealthy manufacturing town hereabouts in which such a one does not exist; and shall Wakefield, Huddersfield and Halifax excel us? Our pride says nay [42].

The same sentiment was expressed in an editorial in the Leicester Chronicle in 1844. It stressed the need for public works, and cited the examples of Liverpool, Birmingham and, perhaps a little shamefully, Ashby-de-la-Zouche, 'all actually on the stir, or

about to be, to add to the public health, comfort and convenience' [43].

The pressure of inter-town rivalries also applied to cemetery establishment. The Marquis of Lansdowne, speaking at a meeting in 1830 to discuss the formation of a cemetery company in London, asked if it was 'fitting' for Liverpool to have a cemetery when the capital lacked one [44]. In 1842, at a meeting to discuss burial provision in Doncaster, talk ranged over a number of topics, including the associated religious-political issues. The question seemed decided for a Mr Beckett, however, who commented baldly: 'other towns in the West Riding had cemeteries and he could not see why Doncaster should not have one' [45]. Towns were very much aware of advances made in burial provision in other areas, since a stay with distant relatives or friends almost inevitably encompassed a trip to the newly founded local garden cemetery. An editorial in the Bradford Observer in 1854 commented:

Most large towns have a cemetery to which strangers are taken...The reader who has visited Sheffield, Liverpool, Leicester, Hull, Newcastle, Edinburgh, Glasgow will at once remember with what pride his friends escorted him to the 'cemetery' in those towns, and with what volubility they discoursed by way of the beauties of the place [46].

Being without a beautiful cemetery constituted a serious deficiency in civic status terms. Consciousness that a town might be falling behind on this matter was commonplace. In Perth, the citizens were exhorted to action -

In London, Edinburgh and almost any other town of importance

in the country, new cemeteries without the city are now in the course of formation [47].

To some extent, therefore, pressure for the laying out of cemeteries was increased by the play of local rivalries.

For some towns it was not sufficient to satisfy possible critics by simply establishing a cemetery. The appearance of the new burial ground was also of major importance. The directors of the General Cemetery Company in London and the Edinburgh Cemetery Company - founded in 1832 and 1840 respectively - evidently felt the pressure of having to create cemeteries worthy of capital cities. The projectors of the London company noted the hope of their cemetery achieving the same status in Britain as the famed Parisian cemetery of Père Lachaise had in France [48]. The directors of the Edinburgh Cemetery Company felt a similar pressure. A writer to the Scotsman had complained in 1840:

Paris has its Père Lachaise, Glasgow and other towns their Necropolises, but where have we anything to compare with these beautiful repositories of the dead? [49].

The Cemetery Company was floated on an unusually high capital of £150,000, its promoters evidently being aware of the need to provide a cemetery sufficiently 'ornamental' to be worthy of the 'Modern Athens' [50], and to match its rivals.

Other towns too felt the need to impress through having fine cemeteries. All over Britain, local cemeteries were lauded as the most attractive, most dramatic or most charming in the country. A.E.Hargrove, speaking on burials in York in 1847, commented that 'no city in the kingdom possesses a more beautiful

cemetery than ours' [51], a claim rivalling Brighton's Extra-Mural: 'no cemetery in England can boast of a more picturesque or pleasing appearance' [52]. The town guide for Sheffield was perhaps a little more modest in declaring its cemetery 'indisputably one of the most beautiful establishments in the kingdom' [53]. Edwin Patchett, architect of the Nottingham Church Cemetery, promised to lay out a site 'equal to many and probably surpassed by few, Necropolitan places in the kingdom' [54]. Establishing a cemetery was therefore not always felt to be sufficient in civic improvement terms. In some places the grounds which were laid out had to be exceptional and expenditure went far beyond basic utilitarian requirements.

It has been seen that prosperity in the provinces, together with the desire to imitate and exceed the efforts of rival towns, encouraged expenditure on public buildings and amenities. Perhaps most importantly for the popularity of the company cemetery, the nature of the improvement which was undertaken was also significant, since it presented clear indications of the refinement and taste of the citizens. According to contemporary theories on the nature and purposes of the city, living in urban surroundings had come to imply the attainment of a degree of sophistication. The city was recognised as an entity with meaning beyond its basic concentration of population; it was a civilising force, capable of educating its inhabitants. A report of 1819 on Leeds commented that

there is evident alteration taking place in the character and people of Leeds. They are putting off to some degree that rudeness which is peculiar to them, enlightened

pursuits are more cultivated, and the elegancies and comforts of life are more sought after [55].

The most forcible expression of theories about the nature of the city can be found in Robert Vaughan's Age of Great Cities. Vaughan, a leading Congregationalist intellectual and editor of the British Quarterly Review, based much of his work on classical ideas. He recognised a dichotomy which was well established by the beginning of the century - the 'urbanity' of city-dwellers compared with the lack of refinement of those living in the country. Vaughan defined the advantages of living in the town, or 'association', in terms of its beneficial effects on morals, intelligence, the arts and religion. A typical argument claimed that association provoked greater discussion - 'each man stimulates his fellow, and the result is a greater general intelligence' [56].

The notion that the city constituted a means of education and refinement correlated with the deep-seated passion for Greek culture, which was already a feature of the eighteenth century. The increased wealth brought about by industrialisation allowed for the more pervasive expression of the admiration of the classical. In the provinces before 1850 the dominating motif in terms of urban improvement was that of the city-state, and most especially that city-state into which all Greek virtues were distilled - Athens. Although Edinburgh had hijacked the epithet 'The Modern Athens', it is clear that most early nineteenth-century provincial towns considered themselves worthy of the title. At the anniversary of the Leeds Literary and Philosophical

Society, a local poet was inspired to eulogise:

The second Athens soon her shell shall burst
And fame with pride shall rank her with the first [57].

Poor as this particular piece of doggerel is, it expressed a very real pride in the achievements of the city and the sophistication of its citizens.

The most influential aspect of the image of Athens with regard to urban improvement was the belief in the cultured elegance of its citizens. They displayed 'the most refined taste for everything belonging to the culture of art and literature' [58]. Athens was thought to have

exhibited society in the highest state of mental and moral improvement to which it has been possible that men should attain [59].

Town and city dwellers in the early nineteenth century had achieved a degree of commercial superiority which matched, even excelled, that attained by the ancient Greeks. All that remained was to show that 'in the ardour of mercantile pursuits' they had not 'omitted to cultivate the perception of the beautiful and a taste for the fine arts' [60]. Architecture was particularly susceptible to displays of culture. The projectors of the Victoria Assembly Rooms at Clifton were typical in showing their civility through classical design. The Rooms were described in 1848 as being

a superb and graceful ornament to Clifton; the classical purity of the entrance with its Corinthian columns and

sculptured pediments speaks highly for the refined taste and discrimination of its acting committee [61].

Perhaps this self-conscious aping of classical styles could be carried to extremes. It seems incongruous that attention to the appearance of the public baths in Exeter could be so elaborate. They were

replete with every internal accommodation and presented a classical exterior, in the Grecian style of architecture, with three porticoes the whole height of the building, the centre one being surmounted by a colossal figure of Neptune, with a sea-horse [62].

Again, this degree of excess shows that provincial towns and cities not only had to undertake schemes of urban enhancement, but were conscious that such improvements displayed the taste and civilisation of their projectors.

Thus cemeteries shared common elements with other civic improvements undertaken at this time. The garden cemetery was capable of reflecting the wealth of the locality; it proved to be a useful addition to the artillery in the play of inter-town rivalries. This final section will demonstrate how the cemetery constituted eloquent testimony to the 'urbanity' of its founders, in a way which was specific to cemetery foundation. The reform of burial facilities was evidence that the 'barbarism' of old burial practices had been rejected, and an increased sensibility on the matter adopted; and new cemeteries had the capacity to serve a demand for rational recreation. The remainder of the chapter will explore the cemetery's fulfilment of both these

requisites.

This thesis has already shown that there were a number of objections to the way in which burial was traditionally undertaken. Most significant to the establishment of the garden cemetery in particular was the fact that old burial grounds and churchyards did not accord with increasingly fashionable notions of a 'cemetery ideal'. Townspeople were becoming too civilised to be satisfied with the 'gaunt, grim loathsomeness of the city burial ground' [63]. In 1847 the Prospectus of the Dundee Cemetery Company expressed this trend succinctly:

The spread of education - the consequent greater intelligence that is abroad among all classes - the readier appreciation of what is beautiful and appropriate, have led all to desire that the style, the situation and the whole arrangements of public Burying Grounds should be greatly improved [64].

In 1846 the Builder expressed praise for plans to lay out a cemetery at Coventry by commenting that the town would become 'distinguished by one feature consonant with modern taste' [65].

There were a number of ways in which the 'modern' cemetery should be deemed consistent with increased sophistication. Perhaps most importantly, several of the themes which constituted Romanticism - a dominant genre of the late-eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries - contributed to a demand for changes to existing burial provision and the creation of garden cemeteries [66]. At the broadest cultural level, the most significant contribution of Romanticism was to stress the uniqueness of the individual. Rousseau's comment in his Confessions constitutes the

epitome of this feeling:

I know my own heart, and I understand my fellow man. But I am made unlike any one I have ever met; I will even venture to say that I am like no one in the whole world. I may be no better, but at least I am different [67].

The distinctness of every individual seemed to enhance the sorrow caused by each death. The influence of Romanticism can perhaps explain the eighteenth-century revulsion from burial practices which obscured the individuality of the interred, and the growth of the desire to memorialise each death with a stone above a separate grave [68].

At the same time that Romanticism was encouraging a view that each death constituted a unique loss, the movement also stressed the primacy of emotion. Delamelle in 1792 commented:

Few men have a superior reasoning power, all have a feeling heart, when they are moved. Man's reason is a source of his errors; his feelings are a source of generous actions [69].

The experiencing of strong passions was felt to be an essential part of learning, and the individual's receptivity to sentiment constituted a valued index of moral worth. At a deep, cultural level, the Romantic fashion sanctioned the open expression of pity, sorrow and grief, which changed attitudes towards mourning and the bereaved. At the same time, the fifty years around the turn of the nineteenth century saw such feelings achieving a degree of unprecedented popularity. Melancholic expression became extremely fashionable, and to be a 'Man of Feeling' was the

ultimate in sophistication [70].

One further strand of Romanticism is important to understanding the enthusiasm for garden cemeteries. Philippe Ariès, in his seminal work, The Hour of Our Death, notes that the desire for harmony with nature influenced the design of new burial places which were emerging in France at the end of the eighteenth century [71]. It was felt that the expression of grief needed an appropriate setting, where nature would reflect the sorrow of the bereaved. Thus de Girard, writing in 1801, recommended a cemetery with

paths where one may stroll, lost in a melancholy reverie. These paths will be shaded by cypress trees, poplars with trembling leaves, and weeping willows...There will be flowing streams...These places will become a terrestrial Elysian fields, where those weary of the sorrows of life may find perfect peace [72].

Certainly the French had borrowed much of their ideology from the English landscape garden tradition, but were setting significant precedents in applying such language to a place of burial.

It would seem, therefore, that a new sensibility was emerging, which underlined the uniqueness of each person, and the subsequent loss occasioned by their death; sanctioned the expression of grief, and to some extent rendered it highly fashionable; and called for an appropriate place in which such sorrows could be expressed. On all counts, the tradition of burial in intramural churchyards in Britain was far from appropriate: funerals were less than private affairs, and there was small opportunity for the mourner to grieve undisturbed by

the graveside.

A leader in The Times in 1850 gave a good indication of the tenor of city funerals. The streets were so busy that the procession to the graveyard was often disrupted, even 'jostled off the pavement by the rudeness or unconcern of foot passengers'. The undertaker interviewed by the newspaper commented:

I have met with instances of persons stopping in the streets of London and taking off their hats. On looking at them...I had reason to believe they were foreigners [73].

Once in the graveyard there was still no guarantee of calm, since such places often doubled as thoroughfares or playgrounds. Indeed a funeral seemed to be something of an occasion for the local children:

I have known...the service interrupted more than once during the ceremony by rude remarks upon the mourners or the procession, and by cries addressing the clergyman of "Read out old fellow" [74].

In the event of a funeral taking place without such unwarranted attention from the neighbourhood rowdies, chances were that the poor condition of most churchyards suppressed the desire to visit the grave after the burial.

The appearance of crammed graveyards was such that the prospect of visiting them was less than inviting. Dr Walker, always to be relied on for the most horrible examples of graveyard desecration, noted that in Southwark

a body partly decomposed was dug up and placed on the

surface, at the side slightly covered with earth; a mourner stepped upon it, the loosened skin peeled off, he slipped forward and had nearly fallen into the grave [75].

Certainly this constitutes an excessively grisly example of the perils of graveside visiting, but other writers provided further evidence. In 1846 the parish graveyards of Paisley were described in the local newspapers:

mounds of earth, over which you stumble, wading knee-deep in grass, nettles, hemlock, and other uncouth vegetation; if rain has fallen, they are often altogether impassable, and it is a chance if the eye is not disgusted with scenes of the grossest filth [76].

The situation in York was similar: 'tread cautiously when you leave the path, or your foot may sink into something clammy and fouler than earth' [77]. In these circumstances there could be no comfort for the mourner visiting the grave:

He may heave a sigh as he treads upon the sod...but is afraid the unconcerned spectator should observe it. He enters not there to become a better man by such study and contemplation as the place affords. The world jostles him aside from such a purpose [78].

The churchyard - noisy, overcrowded and neglected - could offer no comfort to the bereaved, and was certainly no suitable place for the expression of grief.

Dissatisfaction with poor conditions in churchyards was sharpened by the existence of a 'cemetery ideal' on the continent. The Parisian cemetery at Père Lachaise, already frequently mentioned in this thesis, was influential in showing

the possibilities for expressing grief at the graveside in appropriately sympathetic surroundings. Although initial responses to the French cemetery were ambiguous [79], attitudes changed. Throughout the 1840s, the French cemetery was consistently cited as 'the beau idéal of what a general cemetery ought to be' [80]. John Strang, the Scottish author, was indirectly influential in publicising the delights of Père Lachaise. Although Necropolis Glasguensis was published in 1831, when it received an indifferent reception in national terms, the work was subject to renewed attention in the 1840s. Whole chunks of Strang's overly lyrical prose were reproduced by John Claudius Loudon's On the Laying Out...of Cemeteries in 1843, and it is perhaps through this medium that enthusiasm for Père Lachaise became widely disseminated.

It is in Strang's writing that the 'man of feeling' *par excellence* finally encounters an environment befitting his grief. At the Parisian cemetery

the green glades and gloomy cypresses...surround and overshadow the vast variety of sepulchral monuments...and the contemplative mind is not only impressed with sentiments of solemn sublimity and religious awe, but with those of the most tender and heart-affecting melancholy [81].

The seclusion of the cemetery is such that the mourner is allowed the privacy in which to articulate sorrow, and so

instead of a solitary and deserted churchyard, the eye meets at every turn with some pensive or kneeling figure weeping over the remains of a relative, or worshipping his God at

the tomb of excellence and virtue [82].

Evidence abounds that the graves are faithfully tended: 'at every turn the eye is arrested by the tender proof of some late friendly visitation' [83]. Fresh flowers are in abundance, and 'the weeping willow, planted by the hand of the orphan, weeps over the grave of the parent' [84]. There is no doubt that Strang's enthusiasm for the French cemetery was overstated, even given the excessive idiom of the times. But his admiration did present to a wide audience an image of a cemetery ideal which was characterised by sensitivity and reverence, and against which British burial grounds appeared no more than 'vast fields of rude stones and ruder hillocks' [85].

Cultured revulsion against existing burial practices, fuelled by the example of Père Lachaise, meant that the majority of cemetery companies promised to lay out grounds where the requirements of the new sensitivity would be nurtured. Edinburgh Cemetery Company pledged to provide 'a site of sepulture...divested of gloom and dread' [86]. The Trustees of Liverpool's St James Cemetery offered 'retirement of situation' [87] in their ground, and Gravesend, 'a place of sepulture free from annoyance' [88]. In the Address of Edinburgh's Western Cemetery, it was noted that:

In consigning the bodies of deceased relatives to their last resting place, the romantic nature of the spot which this company has secured must have a soothing effect on the feelings of all [89].

Many cemetery companies promised grounds where the principles of 'appropriate' taste and refinement would be well in evidence.

Similar phrases recur with frequency in cemetery literature: the grounds will be 'ornamental and appropriate' [90]; 'in accordance with good taste' [91]; 'in the best taste' [92]; 'ornamented with a taste imposing a solemnity befitting the occasion' [93].

The garden cemetery was, therefore, evidence that a town was appreciative of the new sensitivities of the age. It also had further purposes. As well as being an indicator of taste, it was felt that the cemetery could also serve as an inculcator of virtue: 'a quiet, well-ordered cemetery is a place calculated to refine and soften the heart' [94]. In an address given at the first interment in the Westgate Hill Cemetery, the officiating minister, R. Pengilly, commented that the cemetery should be 'a place...where everything that meets the eye should be calculated for moral improvement and spiritual instruction' [95]. George Milner, director of the Hull General Cemetery Company, agreed:

One object of a cemetery is, or should be, the improvement of the moral sentiments, and refinement of tastes in all classes [96].

'Improvement' would result primarily from the ability to stand and meditate by the tomb undisturbed. It was felt that much could accrue from a visit to the cemetery:

Many a prodigal son might be reclaimed by visiting the grave of a departed and neglected parent provided such resting-places were suitably situated, away from the busy haunts of man, and so arranged to invite, and not forbid, meditation [97].

The editor of the Glasgow Courier concurred:

while standing by the grave of those whom in life you loved, you did not feel every vice within you shamed and every virtue stimulated [98].

Henry Lonsdale, an Edinburgh doctor, was expressing a general belief when he wrote in 1842 that cemeteries laid out with 'architectural taste' had 'a happy moral effect on the inhabitants' [99]. A Mr Greenfell, speaking at a meeting in Swansea in 1849 went so far as to comment that 'he pitied the man who entered a cemetery, and did not come out of it a more sober and serious man' [100].

The inculcation of virtue which was a supposed influence of garden cemeteries was supplemented by appreciation of their broader amenity value. On this level, the cemetery could serve two interconnected functions: as a park, for passive recreation; and as an arboretum or botanical garden, for what was termed 'rational' recreation. To fulfil these functions attention to both landscaping and planting was necessary. It became something of a necropolitan cliché for cemeteries to be situated on hills, and planted with shrubs and bushes, to create a park-like appearance. Certainly such a move was felt expedient given that the wind could then assist in disseminating noxious effluvia, but the fact that Père Lachaise was so situated was perhaps also a deciding influence. Commenting on the cemetery at Wisbech in 1849, the town historians gave the following account:

The Committee of General Management set about laying out the ground in an ornamental manner, planting evergreens and other shrubs and trees...The example of Père Lachaise at

Paris and of Kensal Green and Highgate in London had perhaps incited this ambitious feeling; but whatever it might be the public have received an essential benefit in an almost public garden, where the beauties of vegetation, arranged and cultivated by art, might be enjoyed [101].

Certainly the directors of this cemetery were very much aware of the amenity potential of their grounds.

Similar attitudes were evident in cemeteries all over Britain. It became almost *de rigeur* for cemeteries to have spectacular landscapes, encouraging promenaders. The proposed ground at Hereford was to be situated 'on a high and dry soil, with a beautiful and extensive view' [102]. From the Undercliffe Cemetery, 'the views of the surrounding country from various portions of the ground are not to be surpassed in the neighbourhood of Bradford' [103]. The Sheffield Cemetery Company planted their ground on the steep incline at Eccleshall, to similarly grand effect. Those companies failing to site their cemeteries on hills attempt to exploit other 'natural beauties'. The St James Cemetery of Liverpool, for example, was laid out in a striking manner in the basin of a quarry. Dundee's Western Cemetery lay on the north bank of the Tay, so that 'its beauty of situation is not to be surpassed' [104].

Landscape was complemented with planting, in a conscious effort to create attractive parkland. The projectors of both the London and the Leeds General Cemetery Companies expressed the desire that their grounds should be 'a place of healthful recreation' [105]. Such efforts were rewarded, and cemeteries did

become popular places for promenade. Abney Park was also well planted, and proved to be a popular place of resort:

the beauties of this sort of arrangement seemed to be fully appreciated by the public, as the grounds appeared to be visited daily by many persons enjoying the pure air and quiet scenes [106].

In almost every town where a cemetery had been established the town directories recommended it as a place of resort. White's directory of the West Riding gave the Sheffield cemetery a 'review' of nearly two pages [107]. Its treatment of the cemetery at Leeds was similarly generous:

the beauty and seclusion of the ground recommend it strongly both as a place of sepulture for the dead, and as a healthful retreat for the promenades of the living [108].

Directors of both the Portsmouth Mile End Cemetery and Edinburgh's Warriston Cemetery noted with satisfaction the numbers of 'respectable' visitors attending their grounds 'for the purposes of recreation' [109].

It is not to be supposed that new sensibilities and the pressure to imitate the cemetery at Père Lachaise were all that induced directors to lay out their cemeteries like pleasure gardens. Pressure for public open space was growing in the rapidly increasing towns and cities of early nineteenth-century Britain, and the need for parks was felt acutely. In 1833 Robert Slaney chaired a Select Committee in Public Walks, in which representatives from a number of industrial centres gave evidence on the limited nature of land available for passive recreation. The evidence of J.A.Yates of Liverpool suggested that the

cemeteries in the town were to some extent serving the function of open space: 'they are planted very prettily, the public allowed to walk in them pretty freely and that is to some degree used' [110]. The determination of William Biggs, the mayor of Leicester, to provide a cemetery-promenade was fulfilled, since the General Cemetery

had, since its opening day, served many of the purposes of a Public Park, being the only ornamental grounds in the borough, to which the inhabitants have access [111].

Thus cemeteries were regarded as park-substitutes, and even gained some criticism for being such. Robert Marnock, who laid out the botanical gardens at Sheffield and in Regent's Park in London, offered the opinion to the Northampton directors that there is 'as much impropriety in laying out the grounds of a cemetery in the pretty style of a common ornamental pleasure ground' as building its chapel to resemble a villa [112]. Generally, however, the dual function of the majority of cemeteries was considered entirely satisfactory.

The function of the cemetery as a place for passive recreation was further sanctioned by the fact that the cemetery was not simply able to serve the needs of those seeking a suitable location to 'take the air'. It also constituted an admirable place for the fulfilment of 'rational' recreation. Nineteenth-century leisure pursuits were categorised by their capacities to 'improve' both morally and educationally. The trend favouring rational recreation was very much in evidence in public building. Towns were provided with concert halls, galleries,

libraries, and buildings to encourage philosophical studies, and be venues for scientific lectures. Closely associated with the development of cemeteries as amenities was the marked popularity in the 1830s and 1840s of the botanical and zoological gardens. Indeed, no large town was considered complete without one. Even Edinburgh could feel itself denuded, despite its University Museum, Advocates' Library, and the medical collection of the College of Surgeons, but still was compelled to admit, with perhaps a note of weariness, 'that there remained at least one institution which required to be added to the other attractions of Edinburgh' - a zoo [113]. Zoological gardens were clearly able to contribute to the self-improvement so necessary to Victorian amusement. The zoo at Regent's Park was found not only to

improve and extend the study of natural history, in a scientific point of view, but, by engaging the popular mind in the observation of the phenomena of the Animal Kingdom, to elevate the tastes and pursuits of all classes [114].

Botanical gardens were equally well suited to serve the appetite for intellectual stimulus during leisure times. Even cemeteries could serve an identical purpose, if appropriately managed.

John Claudius Loudon was perhaps most eloquent and ambitious in terms of the possible educational merit arising from a trip to the local cemetery. He wrote that a churchyard or cemetery

properly designed, laid out, ornamented with tombs, planted with trees, shrubs and herbaceous plants, all named, and the whole properly kept, might become a school of instruction in architecture, sculpture, landscape-gardening, arboriculture, [and] botany [115].

Few cemetery directors were really so zealous in promoting the wide potential for genteel instruction in their sites, but some recognised the possibilities. Glasgow's Sighthill Cemetery was to be laid out so that the

disposition of its walks and ornaments will form a scientific arrangement of all the forest trees and shrubs enduring our climate [116].

The Abney Park Cemetery in London was established with the intention of attaching an arboretum to the grounds. The directors of this company were fortunate in the purchase of a site with an already admirable collection of mature trees, and in addition to this 2,500 varieties of trees and shrubs were planted, with a special area set aside for a rose garden to display 1,029 species of rose [117]. The London company was clearly exceptional in the extent of its commitment to horticulture. Other cemeteries were designed with less ambition, but still expressed the hope that the grounds might prove 'instructive' [118].

The educational resources of the cemetery were not limited to the natural features. The monuments and statuary could also prove to be edifying and provide a forum, 'furnishing the artist with a stimulus for the exercise of his talents' [119]. The directors of the Sheffield General Cemetery Company must have been gratified by a letter to the newspapers in 1842, evidently written by a tourist in the city, who was very much impressed by the grounds:

The numerous and neatly executed memorials of departed worth that are so choicely arranged in the most picturesque parts

of the ground - almost solely the production of local artists, are highly creditable to the taste and talent of that town [120].

Thus the cemetery could also offer the opportunity of tuition in art appreciation.

Mention must be made of the intended 'market' for the facility. In many areas, the clearly stated objective was for the cemetery to serve its recreational purpose for certain classes only. Already it has been noted that directors expressed pleasure at their grounds being frequented by 'respectable' parties (above, p. 278). It was believed by some directors that only the genteel could appreciate the beauties a cemetery might contain. The Ardwick Cemetery Association noted that the cemetery ought to be located in 'a respectable neighbourhood, where any money expended in ornamenting the grounds may produce a good effect' [121]. The desire that the cemetery should be fully appreciated was realised: application was made to the company for its grounds to be surrounded with palisading rather than by a wall so that a view could be had of the planting [122]. Sheffield General Cemetery took the decision in 1839 to employ a species of guard at the cemetery, wearing a 'distinguishing badge' and carrying a 'stout black staff', ostensibly to 'keep order' - this probably by refusing admittance to undesirables [123].

Only a small proportion of cemetery companies proposed that their grounds might serve the less respectable classes. The first annual report of Glasgow's Sighthill Company hoped that visits to the cemetery by the citizens of Glasgow

might improve their moral and intellectual condition,

raising them in the scale of humanity and inducing them to

Hope humbly then - on trembling pinions soar,

With the great Teacher Death, and God adore [124].

This sentiment was echoed by a later Glasgow company, which noted that 'visiting a well-kept cemetery' fostered 'proper and affectionate feelings amongst the humble classes of society' [125]. On the whole, this particular feeling was not commonly expressed, however. It would seem that the wish in some towns to exclude the working classes from enjoying the pleasures offered by the garden cemetery further illustrates Hugh Cunningham's contention that, in the early decades of the nineteenth century, the middle classes were still intent on appropriating what had been public open space for their own exclusive leisure purposes [126].

This chapter has attempted to explain why, given the fairly utilitarian nature of the reasons underlying the foundation of the majority of new cemeteries, such detailed attention was paid to the appearance of the grounds. The garden cemetery was one of a list of amenities thought to be indispensable in a prosperous commercial or industrial town. In appealing for shareholders in 1837, proprietors of the Bristol General Cemetery Company employed a rhetoric familiar to all calls for urban enhancement:

a cemetery is a desideratum in the history of Bristol, for too long delayed, and they trust that with the many other improvements of the last few years, it will tend to rescue us from the imputation of being careless or indifferent respecting those institutions which it is the pride of

cities to possess [127].

Garden cemeteries were more an invaluable asset in the forum of inter-town provincial rivalries, since the laying out of new grounds was replete with indicators of good taste, sentiment and intelligence. The multifarious significance of the cemetery is made evident in a cemetery company prospectus published in the Kentish Mercury in 1845. It commented that

A beautiful spot, rich in the healing influences of picturesque nature, planted with congenial taste, kept with care, watched vigilantly, open as a quiet, not uncheerful, but not merely idle resort, enriched with well-designed memorials, and adorned with buildings fitted for their solemn purpose, appears to be the most rational choice possible as a resting place for the ashes of the dead. The living may there contemplate, remember, and mourn, but they will not shudder [128].

Thus a cemetery ideal is presented, appealing alike to the civic improver, the 'man of feeling' and the person seeking rational recreation. It is the flourishing of this ideal which ensured that in the majority of early nineteenth-century cemeteries, aesthetics would have to be considered along with utility.

FOOTNOTES.

Epigraph: Renfrewshire Advertiser, 8 Feb. 1845.

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6. The cemetery company and sanitary reform: 'every necessary precaution as to the public health'.

In 1845 the Health of Towns Commissioners visited Norwich, collected evidence on the burial grounds of the town and concluded that additional space for interment was needed. In October of the same year the local newspapers in Norwich printed the prospectuses of two companies, one affiliated to the Established Church, and one non-denominational [1]. Both companies expressed a determination to combat the evils of intramural interment: the Norwich Church of England Cemetery Company especially promised to render burial for the poor 'as little onerous and expensive as possible' [2] - an essential prerequisite if such people were to be discouraged from continued use of overfilled intramural graveyards. The two companies in Norwich were fairly typical of such enterprises in the period from 1840 to 1853, in that their declared intention was to obviate the health risks associated with continued burial in overcrowded city churchyards. Public health - or sanitary - companies dominated joint-stock cemetery establishment in the 1840s and early 1850s, as table 7:1 demonstrates.

Table 7:1 - Cemetery company formation 1840-53.

Company type	number	percentage	cemeteries opened	percentage
Public Health	28	52.8	19	59.4
Speculative	18	34.0	7	21.9
Denominational	7	13.2	6	18.7
Total	53	100.0	32	100.0

[3].

The table shows that public health cemetery companies constituted over 50% of classifiable enterprises founded in the period, and succeeded in laying out nearly 60% of the cemeteries established during this time. Table 7:2 relates more detail of the companies listed under the public health category.

Table 7:2 - Public health cemetery companies

Year of establishment	Town	Name of Company
1825	London	General Burial Ground Association.
1830	London	General Cem. Co.
1834	Newcastle	General Cem. Co.
1834	York	Cem. Co.
1836	York	General Cem. Co.
1836	York	Public Cem. Co.
1836	Manchester	General Cem. Co.
1836	Manchester	Ardwick Cem. Association.
1836	Bristol	General Cem. Co.
1836	Halifax	General Cem.
1839	Winchester	Cem. Co.
1840	Glasgow	City Burial Grounds Institute...Sighthill.
1840	Darlington	Cem. Society.
1840	Edinburgh	Cem. Co.
1841	Rotherham	Cem. Co.
1842	Reading	Cem. Co.
1842	Cambridge	Cem. Co.
1842	Derby	Cem. Co.
1844	Dundee	Cem. Co.
1845	Perth	Cem. Co.
1845	Paisley	Joint-Stock Cem. Co.
1845	Paisley	Cem. Co.
1845	Hull	Cem. Co.

Table 7:2 cont.

Year of establishment	Town	Name of Company
1845	Gainsborough	Cem. Co.
1845	Canterbury	Cem. Co.
1845	Norwich	Cem. Co.
1845	Norwich	Church of England Burial Ground Co.
1845	Northampton	Cem. Co.
1845	Northampton	General Cem. Co.
1846	Plymouth	Plymouth, Devonport and Stonehouse Cem. Co.
1846	Wolverhampton	Cem. Co.
1846	Doncaster	Cem. Co.
1849	Falkirk	Cem. Co.
1849	Swansea	General Cem. Co.
1849	Bradford	Cem. Co.
1849	Brighton	Extra-Mural Cem. Co.
1849	Ipswich	Cem. Co.
1849	Hereford	Cem. Co.
1851	Torquay	Extra-mural Cem. Co.

[4].

This chapter will consider two issues: why the public health company flourished in the 1840s and early 1850s; and whether such enterprises made a significant attempt to contribute to improvements in public health. On the issue of chronology, one possible explanation for the predominance of sanitary companies in this period is the wide interest shown in the progress of general measures of public health. The 1840s constitutes a decade that is frequently characterised as a period of struggle to pass legislation designed to alleviate urban conditions. In particular, much attention is paid to the work of the reformer Edwin Chadwick, and his attempts to gain government support for the wide-ranging proposals set out in his surveys of living standards among the poor in the great Victorian cities [5].

Care should be taken, however, in assuming a causal

relationship between the work of Chadwick and the public health cemetery company. Certainly the directors of cemetery companies were well aware of the debates surrounding sanitary reform, an understanding reflected in company prospectuses and reports. The prospectus of the Norwich Church of England Burial Ground Company, for example, commented in 1845 that

the evils from intramural interments have...been...fully investigated of late, and so generally made known by valuable and authentic public documents [6].

Nevertheless, too much emphasis should not be placed on Chadwick's influence. The reformer had expressed dissatisfaction with private companies - as being principally 'trading associations' - in the Interment Report of 1843 [7], and was to do so again in the General Board of Health report in 1851 on burial in the provinces [8]. Despite this opposition, civic leaders concerned for public health still financed new burial grounds through the sale of shares, a procedure entirely contrary to Chadwick's recommendations. It is perhaps not too extreme to state that successful reform of burial practice took place in the early nineteenth century in spite of Chadwick. This chapter will explain how this is the case, rooting interment reform in the 1830s, and stressing the importance not of Chadwick, but of George Alfred Walker, whose seminal work on metropolitan burial conditions encouraged a deeper revulsion against existing interment practice all over Britain.

A further issue to be addressed in this chapter is how far public health cemeteries constituted an effective sanitary measure. Two assumptions in particular will be tackled: that bad

practice was perpetuated in private cemeteries, and that they constituted an improvement only for those wealthy enough to pay the exorbitant fees which were charged. Both these claims are again based on comments made in Chadwick's Interment Report, where the sample of company cemeteries assessed was heavily biased towards the speculative London concerns. It will be seen, notwithstanding Chadwick's remarks, that cemetery companies in the provinces took pains to ensure that interment in their grounds would comply with good sanitary practice, and made provision available for the poor at the cheapest rates.

Appreciation of the importance of burials as a public health matter is generally accepted as beginning with the publication of Edwin Chadwick's Interment Report in 1843. Attention to joint-stock cemetery foundation undermines such a view, however. The public health cemetery company emerged as early as 1825, and awareness of the sanitary consequences of intramural interment was being commonly expressed right through the 1830s. The public health cemetery company had its origins in the 1825 London General Burial Ground Association. This institution was the project of George Carden, a barrister with an obviously deep-felt concern for the state of burials in London. The prospectus of the Association constitutes the first extended use of public health reasoning to promote a cemetery company [9]. Only limited details of Carden's life have been discovered, and no reason can be put forward for the barrister's obvious dedication to the issue of burials - it is impossible even to hazard a guess. Clearly

Carden had done a good deal of pioneering study on the subject of intramural interments, since the prospectus for the Association abounded with scientific detail, including the statistic that there were 30,000 interments in the capital each year. A great deal of information on 'vapours' is related, supported by evidence from the Continent.

This very first public health cemetery company proved to be unsuccessful. Despite the effort expended in providing a scientific basis for his claims on the dangers of city burials, Carden could gain no widespread support for his scheme. The company disappeared before even laying out a cemetery, its failure perhaps a consequence of its association with some of the wilder schemes proposed at that time for national cemeteries - as outlined in chapter two. The provision of a public cemetery for London was revived only five years later: the Morning Chronicle announced the first meeting of the General Cemetery Company in June 1830 [10]. There was no question that this new institution would be taken seriously. Carden was again involved in the project, but his presence was eclipsed by the participation of a number of 'men of rank and character', including Sir John Dean Paul, the banker, Viscount Ingestre and the M.P.s Charles Lushington and Andrew Spottiswoode. The combined prestige of such a directorate ensured that the cemetery company would be a success.

The timing of the General Cemetery Company is crucial. It is tempting to give some credit to Carden for the foundation of the new enterprise, since his interest in the issue of burials did not decline in the years between the failure of his Association

and the launch of the General Cemetery: at the June 1830 meeting he expressed gratification that the 'plan on which he had bestowed so many years' attention [was] thus produced to the public' [11]. The historian should not be misled, however. More important than Carden's dedication to the subject was the emergence of fresh research on interments, which gave the question of burials an increased importance.

The new work was revealed in a Morning Chronicle report of a meeting of the Company in July 1830. Here, Colonel J.K. Money commented that 40,000 dead were annually interred in London, and that 'the constant decomposition of such a mass of bodies was productive of the worst consequences' [12]. Carden had intimated as much in his earlier prospectus, although the figures do not quite match. What was important, however, was that Colonel Money had a reputable source for his material - a treatise by Dr John Armstrong. Although the fame of Dr Armstrong has not endured, he was, in the 1820s, an influential and popular expert [13]. Armstrong preceded Thomas Southwood Smith at the London Fever Hospital, and constituted a great source of inspiration to the reformer - so much so that the Lancet had on one occasion accused Southwood Smith of stealing from Armstrong's work [14]. The temptation to plagiarise must have been great, since Armstrong was 'more conversant with cases of fever than any other physician in the metropolis' [15].

Not only was Armstrong considered the leading expert in his speciality of fevers, but he was also generally popular. Armstrong had come from Sunderland to London, and despite having

no licence with the London Faculty - and therefore technically barred from practising - he was taken on as Superintendent of the Fever Hospital, a decision which necessitated suspending a local bye-law [16]. Indeed, Armstrong seemed to make a habit of defying medical convention, which made him a great favourite of the equally radical Thomas Wakley, editor of the Lancet. The doctor's works were written with great verve, and were accessible to a wide audience. Such was his popularity that, after his death in 1829, one wily entrepreneur tried to cash in on his celebrity by selling 'Dr Armstrong's Liver Pills' made up from one of the doctor's last prescriptions [17].

The treatise by Dr Armstrong, published just before his death, claimed to prove a connection between fever and overcrowded burial grounds. The Times reproduced a report commenting:

the late Dr Armstrong, whose attention, it is well known, had been long directed to the worst kinds of infectious maladies, stated in his lectures, that he knew of houses in the vicinity of two or three churchyards in London, the inhabitants of which were scarcely ever free from the most malignant forms of typhus fever [18].

Although the doctor's conclusions have no validity according to modern medical knowledge, at the time Armstrong's acknowledged expertise on fevers, coupled with his more general reputation, ensured that his conclusions were accepted without question. The Times went on to reiterate that a public cemetery for London would, as a sanitary measure, 'save the lives of thousands' [19]. From this time, dissent from the view that graveyards posed a

threat to health was never seriously expressed - except once, by the Home Secretary in 1843, who was so beset by the complexities of the burial issue that he took the desperate measure of denying that there was a problem at all [20].

London's General Cemetery Company, then, was the first such institution to base its establishment on popularly accepted scientific proofs of the dangers of intramural interments. Despite its fine origins, however, the General Cemetery Company did not set an important precedent as the first public health company to open. The ability of the General Cemetery Company to be influential in terms of sanitary reform was impaired by the fact that its Kensal Green Cemetery soon became a fashionable place of burial. The fairly utilitarian reasoning behind the company's establishment was rapidly obscured by royal patronage and speculative imitations. That the General Cemetery Company made small impact on the progress of burial reform is confirmed by the fact that four years elapsed between its foundation and the establishment of the next public health enterprise.

The influence of the public health cemetery is called into question by this four-year gap, since during this time, Britain laboured under the onslaught of an epidemic of Asiatic cholera. This surely made reform of burial provision even more crucial. Why did cemetery companies not flourish during 1831-32? The reasons are threefold. The importance of separate places of burial for those dying as a consequence of the epidemic was never sufficiently established for the laying out of new cemeteries to be considered imperative. Local public health boards were

empowered to use the rates to purchase extra burial ground for cholera victims, but despite this provision, most of the corpses were still interred in the traditional burial places [21]. Recourse to joint-stock investment was far too lengthy a procedure to deal with what was essentially a short-term crisis. In addition, the problems associated with the establishment of burial grounds on the church rate - already outlined in this thesis - were too complex to tackle, especially if the precaution of separate burial was not deemed a priority.

Perhaps more importantly, the founding of cemetery companies did not accelerate in this period because they had not become a sufficiently well-established phenomenon for one of them to be considered as an option. There were eight companies launched before the early 1830s, six of which were reasonably successful - two conspicuously so [22]. Unfortunately for the progress of improvement in burial provision, almost all of these companies were associated with use by predominantly Dissenting congregations, as has been seen in chapter three. By the early 1830s, use of the cemetery company by the wider community had not yet been established - indeed, of the eleven enterprises founded before 1833, the General Cemetery Company was the only successful company with no denominational affiliations. For these two reasons, the cholera epidemic of the early 1830s did not, as might have been expected, provoke extensive cemetery company foundation.

The long-standing early association of cemetery companies and Dissent probably did much to restrict the spread of these institutions in the early 1830s. As late as 1847, directors of

the Hull General Cemetery Company were stressing in their literature that the Company was interdenominational, and that no 'infringement on established rites' was intended [23]. There is no doubt, however, that a transition took place in the mid-1830s, allowing the more general employment of the cemetery company format for non-sectarian purposes. The change was evolutionary rather than revolutionary. The two companies established in 1834 constituted expedient responses to burial conditions, and were not intended to be a radical gesture. Still, these companies were probably important in encouraging a wider public perception of the joint-stock cemetery as being of possible benefit to all rather than part of the community. Detailed discussion of both these companies will illustrate the point being made.

The Prospectus of the Newcastle upon Tyne General Cemetery was issued in January 1834. The document expresses the purpose of the company in fairly brief and unsensational fashion:

The crowded state of the Churchyards and the increasing Population of the Town of Newcastle upon Tyne render it necessary that an extensive Cemetery for the use not only of Members of the Established Church, but of persons of every Religious Persuasion should be provided for in the suburbs of the Town [24].

The Newcastle Cemetery was the first provincial cemetery which did not have burial provision for either Dissenters or Anglicans specifically as its main object, and as such could be claimed as a pioneer. When understood in its correct context, however, the innovation this company seems to represent diminishes. Newcastle

had seen the establishment of one cemetery company - the Westgate Hill - in 1825. Although that company was very much a Dissenting concern, its motivating factor was not the new provision of unconsecrated burial ground, but the extension of an existing tradition of independent burial, as has been seen in chapter three. As such the company did not constitute a blatant threat to the rights of the Established Church, as some later companies intended. The image of the cemetery company in Newcastle was therefore relatively non-partisan.

It was unremarkable, therefore, that when it was decided that extended burial provision was needed for the city, the move was taken to found a joint-stock cemetery. The Town Council backed the plan by exchanging suitable land for ninety shares in the company [25]. The example of the Westgate Hill Cemetery was assurance that money would not be lost in the venture. There was every prospect of co-operation between the two concerns, with meetings to decide on compatible charges for interments and the sale of ground in the cemeteries. Indeed, the close relationship between the two enterprises can be illustrated by the fact that they had four directors in common [26].

For Newcastle, therefore, the decision to meet the acknowledged need for fresh burial ground with the foundation of a company cemetery was an expedient, logical response. In York, the situation was perhaps more complex, as evinced by the foundation of three companies in as many years. The need for new land for interment had been noted in 1832, when the Corporation had given over ground for the burial of cholera victims [27]. The York Cemetery Company was founded in 1834 by a group of gentlemen

including Jonathan Gray, a leading philanthropist in the city. The company's concern for public health was expressed through the desire to implement favourable rates for burial of the poor [28]. The company expressed willingness to co-operate with the clergy of the city and with the Council in the provision of a cemetery. Such a move proved mistaken, however. The clergy were intractable, and demanded that separate cemeteries should be provided for each ward of the city, no doubt to ensure only limited loss of burial fees [29]. In addition the Council, which had initially appeared willing to provide land for the Company, took many months to come to the decision not to help after all [30].

Action to found a cemetery was so long delayed that a rival enterprise - the York General Cemetery Company - was launched in 1836. Galvanised into action, the original company re-advertised itself as the York Public Cemetery Company, resolving its stalemate with the clergy and the Council by acting completely independently. It was this concern which finally succeeded in providing a cemetery for the city. Twelve years later, when joint stock investment in cemeteries was becoming increasingly questioned, the Trustees of the Company justified themselves in an Annual Report:

and however much some persons object to this mode of providing burial places yet as after various attempts and many years delay no other mode could be devised [31].

It would seem that in York, reliance on the traditional providers of burial space - the Church and the Council - was so

fruitless as to provoke alternative action. For York, then, the foundation of a cemetery company was forced by very specific circumstances. Despite their differing origins, both the Newcastle and the York companies set an important precedent in terms of a 'new' use for the joint-stock cemetery format.

From 1836 to 1839, five public health cemetery companies were established, two in Manchester, and one each in Bristol, Halifax and Winchester. All the companies succeeded in opening cemeteries, but there the similarities cease, and no distinct pattern in their quite random distribution can be discerned. The companies are geographically widespread. They are not all places of high population and therefore under heavy pressure to reform burial conditions. Only Manchester had a pre-existing Dissenting cemetery company to provide assurance to the new company projectors that such schemes could work.

What these companies do show is that the use of the joint stock format to provide burial places was spreading quickly. The proliferation was no doubt enhanced by the heavy investment in speculative cemetery companies which had taken place in London and Manchester in the boom of the mid-1830s. Certainly by 1839 the use of the sale of shares to finance improvement in burial facilities was commonplace to the extent that the editor of the Hampshire Chronicle, writing of the need for a new cemetery in Winchester, commented: 'it is obvious that this can be done only by a company' [32].

The Bristol General Cemetery Company is a typical example of the enterprises established at this time. Its prospectus was printed in the Bristol Mirror in May 1836, and stated the need

for a new cemetery quite simply. It was noted that the foundation of extra-mural cemeteries was obviously conducive to health, and that the condition of the existing burial sites was unacceptable, in respect to their being overcrowded and situated 'near our most populous streets' [33]. Reports of the Annual General Meeting printed in the following year gave further detail. Burial ground in the city amounted to only fourteen acres,

and within this confined space tens of thousands of human bodies have already been deposited. When it is remembered that this small extent of ground has been used for many centuries, your Committee feels that the necessity of a Public Cemetery must be sufficiently obvious [34].

The directors of the Cemetery Company, acting 'from the conviction of the impropriety of burying in cities' [35], were clearly undertaking a measure of sanitary improvement.

By the beginning of the 1840s there had been ten cemetery companies established which had the advancement of public health as their prime motive. The cemetery companies founded in the 1840s had, therefore, significant precedents. Concern for the issue of intramural interments was no new phenomenon brought about by Chadwick's reports or the work of the Health of Towns Association. It is certain, however, that some change did take place in the perception of the burial problem. The 1840s did not display a new concern in looking at intramural interments, but the existing concern was significantly intensified - 71% of public health companies were founded between 1840 and 1853. Even if understanding of the problems of urban burial did not

originate with Chadwick, it might be supposed that his work was important in disseminating greater awareness of the issue.

Certainly there was a difference between the 1830s and 1840s in the way in which the problem of burial was perceived. Companies established before 1840 were most likely to express their desire to lay out a new cemetery in terms of 'need' - the fact that existing graveyards were overcrowded, and no fresh space was available. This was the case in Newcastle and Bristol, as has been seen, where the prospectuses merely mentioned the fact of overcrowding without giving any great detail. The Halifax General Cemetery Prospectus of 1836 made similar remark, only making general note of 'the crowded mortuaries of our thickly-peopled cities and towns', and the 'densely occupied' parish churchyard in Halifax [36].

The cemetery company prospectuses of the 1840s, however, were far more likely to dwell on the consequences of intramural interment, add a degree of grisly detail and give some sort of scientific evidence to support the claim that burial in the city was harmful to the health of the community. A random example is Paisley's Joint-Stock Cemetery Company, which placed great stress on the sanitary aspect of the burial issue, and elaborated on the 'horrors' of the churchyard, where the dead are 'promiscuously packed together' [37]. The change in stylistic approach evident in the prospectuses gives an indication that something must have happened to alter attitudes towards burials. It seems strange that the state of churchyards should only suddenly be deemed unacceptable in sanitary terms, when conditions must have been deteriorating for decades. Something fairly radical broke this

'habit' of acceptance in the late 1830s, however. Credit for this change does not go to Chadwick, whose work on interments did not appear until 1843, but to a previously little-known doctor, George Alfred Walker. With the publication of Walker's Gatherings from Graveyards in 1839, the public was treated to an exposé of burial conditions of such force that it transformed the language then used to describe graveyards, and allowed an almost Gothic relish of the worst conditions which contributed to an acceleration of change.

Gatherings from Graveyards, 'a work expressly on the burial places of the metropolis' [38], was the first extensive attempt to deal with intramural interment as a problematic health issue. This claim is substantiated by perusal of the Lancet - the medical periodical - a publication which stands as a fair index of the fluctuating interest in burials during the period. Interment as a sanitary issue was first mentioned briefly in 1829, when reference was made to Dr Armstrong [39]. The death of the doctor robbed the progress of burial reform of an authoritative medical opinion. No mention was made of the issue again until 1839, when Walker remedied the deficiency. The review of Walker's book in the Lancet constituted the first detailed treatment of the public health aspect of intramural interment in the periodical, and the reviewer praised Walker for succeeding in 'awakening an unusual degree of public attention to the subject' [40].

The Lancet was not alone in seeing Walker as a unique influence. The doctor was widely recognised as the pioneer of

burial reform, The Times claiming in 1850 that the first legislation on the subject was 'mostly owing to his exertions' [41]. Walker's dedication to the subject of burials was unquestionable. In giving witness to the Select Committee on interments in 1842, Walker commented: 'the conviction has never left me, that the mode in which the dead were disposed of was a considerable source of disease' [42]. The reason for such conviction is difficult to ascertain, even though his reputation as 'Graveyard Walker' was widespread and his work frequently quoted. What is known is that Walker was born in Nottingham in 1807, became a licenciate of the Society of Apothecaries in 1829, and a member of the Royal College of Surgeons two years later.

Walker's obituary in the Athenaeum mentioned his observation, as a boy, of the 'ghastly mutilation of human remains' in churchyards in Nottingham [43]. Whether conditions in Nottingham were worse than average is open to dispute, but it seems certain they must have been made to appear doubly appalling when compared with continental cemeteries. In 1836-37 Walker stayed for a year in France - common for medical students - and this sojourn had acquainted the doctor with the French approach to interment which prohibited any burials within the city walls. The well-publicised delights of Père Lachaise, which he described in his book, must have contrasted strongly with the decaying horrors of burial grounds close to his practice in Drury Lane, and galvanised his resolve to take action.

Walker enumerated specific objections to intramural interment which went far beyond the usual comment that churchyards were overcrowded. For Walker,

Burial places in the neighbourhood of the living [were]... a national evil - the harbingers if not the originators of pestilence; the cause, direct or indirect of inhumanity, immorality and irreligion [44].

Walker's belief in the miasmatic theory of disease confirmed that the stench from local graveyards had debilitating effects on the health of the neighbourhood, and his practice on Drury Lane seemed to provide ample evidence that the theory was correct. Walker worked in the vicinity of two of London's more notorious burial grounds - St Clement Danes and Enon Chapel. The lane's inhabitants 'breathe[d] on all sides an atmosphere impregnated with the odour of death'. As a consequence,

they were very unhealthy...Typhus fever in its aggravated form has attacked by far the majority of its residents and death has made among them the most destructive ravages [45].

Walker made his point more dramatically by outlining a number of cases which proved the directly fatal nature of graveyard emanations. Much of his work concerns gravediggers, who were habitually and notoriously drunk to enable them to work despite the stench. These men were most often open to the harmful consequences of breathing in the long-accumulated gases from putrid corpses. In one incident in September 1838, Thomas Oakes, a gravedigger, was discovered apparently dead at the bottom of a common pauper's grave in Aldgate Churchyard. The screams of the discoverer - the sexton's daughter - alerted passers-by, one of whom, a young labourer named Luddeth, descended into the grave and was 'instantaneously deprived of life' by the emanations

[46]. Walker cites a score of cases where diggers accidentally pierced coffins and suffered death as a result of breathing undiluted gases.

In case it was possible to maintain indifference through lack of sympathy for an obviously dissolute sector of the community, Walker stressed that dangers were not confined to the graveyards. Also at risk were those attending churches where burial was permitted in the vaults, despite the practice of lead-casing the coffins not interred in the ground. In one spectacular instance, which Walker quotes from the New York Gazette of Health, the interment of 'a very corpulent lady' in her parish church led to the poisoning of more than sixty of the communicants the following Sunday, many of whom died 'in the most violent agonies'. The clergy were arrested on the charge of adulterating the communion wine but protested innocence. The issue was resolved by placing on the altar a chalice of wine which, one hour later, was found to be full of insects which had emerged from the recent grave. The vault, when opened, emitted such gases as to cause two attendants to die instantly. Two others were revived only 'by the utmost exertions of medical talent' [47].

It is impossible to deny that Walker's work tends to display a certain melodramatic quality - certainly his 'case studies' are drawn out with relish. At least one writer was sceptical, and mocked Walker's approach, commenting: 'Our wonder is that he does not versify. He might easily achieve deathless fame as the poet of the spade and pickaxe' [48]. In general, however, Walker's work was accepted without criticism, which indicates that his

slightly hysterical tone was thought to be justified by the conditions in the graveyards of the capital.

The influence of Walker's particular approach to the subject of interments was amplified by the response of the medical community to his work. Walker, like the majority of doctors at the time, based his work on the miasmatic theory of disease. The miasmaticists believed that atmospheric impurities had debilitating effects on health - bad smells were capable of generating illness. All the leading doctors associated with utilitarian public health reform - Thomas Southwood Smith and Neil Arnott included - directed their proposals accordingly. Southwood Smith, writing in 1830, declared that

The immediate, or the exciting cause of fever is a poison formed by the corruption or decomposition of organic matter. Vegetable and animal matter, during the process of putrefaction, give off a principle, or give origin to a new compound which when applied to the human body produces a phenomenon constituting fever [49].

Poisons were carried through the air to the lungs, 'the thin delicate membranes of which they pierce, and thus pass directly into the current of the circulation'. Southwood Smith claimed that every eight minutes 'three distinct portions' of the poisons were transmitted 'to every nook and corner of the system'. The estimable reformer hedged his bets as to the consequences of this toxification: it could be death within hours or even minutes, progressive and rapid deterioration, or progressive and slow

deterioration [50].

Despite this uncertainty, the miasmatic theory stood with little contradiction for much of the 1840s. Walker's tales of instantaneous death were supported and added to by correspondents of and reports in the Lancet. Its editor, Thomas Wakley, coroner for West Middlesex, reviewed Walker's book in 1839 and asserted:

There can be no doubt that putrid exhalations from dead bodies, in concentrated degree, produce highly injurious and even fatal effects on the living subject [51].

The Lancet brought forward cases of patients suffering myriad symptoms, the causes of which were assigned to local graveyards, burial grounds or churches. A report on a meeting of the Medical Society of London revealed a discussion on the case of a young girl, who was struck down after 'shaking the mats' in the church during cleaning, which was believed to have released miasmas that had risen from the vaults. In a similar case, a patient was advised to stop attending church because of

the injury she sustained from effluvia proceeding from vaults beneath the building. These vaults are nearly full of coffins, piled one above the other, some of them having given way from the weight imposed on them [52].

That sepulchral overcrowding constituted a threat to health was therefore widely accepted, and Walker's work - at least in terms of its medical accuracy - hardly questioned.

Walker's expertise on the issue of burials was confirmed by his appearing as a witness before the Select Committee on the Health of Towns in 1840 and the specialised Committee, which dealt with interments only, two years later. Ratified by the

medical profession and by Government, Walker's particular approach to interments received much publicity. Certainly his book was read by many, including William Gladstone, then Vice-President of the Board of Trade, who unfortunately forbore to comment [53]. Walker's work on graveyards spread throughout the country, if not in book form, then through the Monthly Review, the Westminster Review and Blackwood's Magazine, all of which favoured the book and reproduced extensive extracts [54]. Provincial newspapers printed sections from the book, and offered support. A letter writer to the Wolverhampton Chronicle referred to him as 'that intrepid and indefatigable reformer' [55]. Walker was also mentioned in company prospectuses, such as that of the Sighthill Cemetery Company in Glasgow, which noted

a recent popular work by a medical gentleman in London [which] demonstrates the extensive evils of crowding the dead by the dwellings and congregations of the living [56].

There is no doubt that Walker was highly popular, and his works extensively read. It is therefore feasible that his style should have influenced the way in which discontent with burial places was expressed - perhaps graphically and emotively, but certainly in a way which meant that the issue could not be ignored.

By the time Edwin Chadwick had turned his attention to burials in 1843, a receptive audience had already been created. Nevertheless it is still plausible to claim that Chadwick had a significant influence on the progress of burial reform, acting to focus and intensify the existing interest. The majority of public health cemetery companies in the 1840s were established after

1843, and might possibly owe something of their foundation to Chadwick's reforming zeal. What contribution did Chadwick make to improvements in burial provision? Two elements of the reformer's 'mission' to sanitise the nation must be considered: his detailed study of city burials in the Interment Report of 1843; and his general work through the Health of Towns Association (the H.T.A.). The contribution of these elements to changes in burial practice will be assessed individually.

Chadwick's Interment Report was essentially a supplement to the more general health report of the previous year, and brought to the problem of interments a rigorous approach, reflecting the reformer's recognition of the failure of early Victorian society to deal adequately with burial at every level. This understanding inspired a radical attitude which was very much out of tune with the spirit of 'local autonomy and low taxation' - as Wohl phrases it - which dominated the age [57]. Chadwick saw chaos, and attempted to eliminate the confusion and waste with a self-regulating system which would ensure that at every stage of the burial process, finances, time and even information would not be squandered. According to Chadwick's system, a death would be registered by a Medical Officer of Health - creating a useful fund of statistics - and the body removed to a public mortuary at no charge. Burial would take place, at reduced cost, in cemeteries supervised by the Board of Health, and would eventually be self-funding [58].

Responses to Chadwick's report were equivocal, and ensured that no legislation on the issue of burials would be passed for some time. The authority of Chadwick's analysis of burial

conditions was unquestionable. The remedies proposed by the Interment Report were quite another matter. For the Board of Health to have extended powers smacked of centralisation and patronage, and its engulfing the undertaking and funeral business constituted an unwarranted interference with 'trading principles' [59]. Perhaps worst of all, personal liberties were threatened: the notion of a Medical Officer of Health intruding at a time of grief was naturally repellent, and the government's proposed circumscription of the expression of emotion through funeral expenditure totally unacceptable. The Brighton Guardian, in an article outlining the legislation which was based on Chadwick's recommendation, summed up the objections neatly:

There is implied ... the abominable assumption that the people generally are not capable of taking care of themselves and must be looked like so many babies by public medical men [60].

Chadwick's plans for cemetery reform had created controversy and confusion, and legislative action on the issue was delayed for some years. It may be seen, then, that the usefulness of the Interment Report to the progress of burial reform was likely to be limited.

Perhaps more influential in the short-term was Chadwick's involvement with the Health of Towns Association. The H.T.A. was founded in December 1844. Chadwick's membership of the Association was not deemed appropriate, since he was a government officer, but this did not prevent his 'unofficially' running the institution, providing it with information and writing its

reports. Using the H.T.A., Chadwick undertook a widespread programme of educating the nation on public health matters. The avowed aim of the H.T.A. was the preparation of public opinion to accept legislation aimed at alleviating the conditions which had been described in the various reports of the early 1840s. The Association did not restrict its activities to the capital. Local branches also organised lectures and public meetings and prepared reports on the sanitary conditions in their area. It was perhaps the stress on the 'objective' reporting of sanitary conditions, and the circulation of such detail which ensured the influential nature of the Association. Its politically neutral status ensured a wide range of support, as evinced by its original 1844 Committee, which included doctors, bishops, businessmen, Whigs and Tories [61].

Chadwick's work through the H.T.A. enhanced an important element in the agitation against city burials: the dissemination of statistics and scientific facts to strengthen the case against insanitary conditions. The H.T.A.'s most forceful arguments were presented through statistical evidence, published in 'A Weekly Sheet of Facts and Figures'. The statistics, despite being extensively doctored, still presented an image of incontrovertible authority, and exploited the Victorians' inherent faith in science. In addition, the impression was given that if it was possible to quantify problems, it must also be possible to eradicate them. If all the ills and evils were shown to be preventible, then 'disease, which was the cause of all death before the appointed time, would itself die out', though only if sanitation was 'carried out in all its completeness'

[62].

The systematic approach undertaken by the H.T.A. was highly useful to the progress of burial reform. The general assault of the Association on insanitary conditions also included graveyards in its programme. The inaugural meeting of the Association in 1844 at the Exeter Hall had been attended by G.F.Carden, who successfully proposed that the H.T.A. should accept a resolution on intramural interment [63]. General reports on sanitary conditions produced by the H.T.A. almost always included information on burials. Indeed, A.E.Hargrove of the York branch of the Association gave a lecture on the issue as it applied in his locality, and published this as a pamphlet [64]. In addition to the spread of information on burials which the H.T.A. included in its work, the success of the Association also encouraged the establishment of a similar institution, organised on comparable lines. The Metropolitan Society for the Abolition of Burial in Towns constituted a useful focus for burial reform, and provided a platform for such speakers as Walker - naturally - 'to extend the knowledge of the injurious nature of intramural interment' [65].

The information spread by the H.T.A., and the interest taken in sanitary matters in such national newspapers as The Times was quickly broadcast throughout the country. All over Britain a general awareness of the public health debate was perceptible. How far can a causal link be defined between the growing awareness of the evils of intramural interment and cemetery company foundation? Chadwick's failure to find long-term

government backing for his plans has persuaded historians that no effective action to improve interments took place in the period before the early 1850s. For Chris Brooks, for example, it was only the Burial Acts of 1852-57 which 'provided the answer' for the interment crisis of the preceding decades [66]. This is to ignore the fact that in 1840-53 alone, some twenty-nine public health cemetery companies in towns and cities throughout Britain succeeded in opening nineteen cemeteries.

That the directors of these companies were informed by debate on intramural interments is clear from company documents. The Prospectus of the Plymouth, Devonport and Stonehouse Cemetery Company was not untypical in noting, in 1845:

The great advantage to arise to the public, by the laying out of burial grounds, at a short distance from populous towns rather than in the centre (as now generally prevails) have been fully shown by the discussion consequent on the introduction into the House of Commons...a 'Bill for the Improvement of Health in Towns by the removing the interment of the dead from their precincts' [67].

Similar comment had been made at the launch of the Norwich Church of England Cemetery Company [68]. Other cemetery company prospectuses concurred. The Paisley Cemetery Company in 1845 stated that 'the social evils of interment, in the midst of towns are now universally acknowledged' [69], and in the Dundee Cemetery Company prospectus in 1844 it was noted that city burial was 'justly regarded as a serious social evil' [70].

Many companies went further than this, adopting Walker-type rhetoric and generally addressing the problem in a blunter and

more emotive fashion than had been the case in the earlier period. There was a greater willingness to dwell on conditions, as with the 1845 City of Canterbury Cemetery Company:

The graveyards in Canterbury are literally crammed to excess with mortal remains; in this state of things decent interment is impossible and the feelings of the living are continually harrowed by the conviction that their dead can find a resting place only among the mouldering heaps of mortality which are amalgamated with, and in fact form, the soil [71].

The 1850 Annual Report of the Northampton General Cemetery Company was perhaps a little more 'scientific', making much of the continued practice of intramural interment in the town, and commenting:

That 421 interments should have taken place in one year in the heart of Northampton, in graveyards closely surrounded by the dwellings of the living, to poison the atmosphere by their noxious effluvia, and destroy the health of our fellow citizens, is a fact which ought to make a deep impression on every reflecting mind [72].

The spread of information on burials had fallen on receptive ground.

The determination to eradicate intramural interments was undertaken with such energy in some areas that more than one cemetery company was formed. Paisley is a good example. There the enthusiasm for burial reform was evident. The editor of the Renfrewshire Advertiser had read Gatherings from Graveyards, and

publicised the work through the newspaper:

We have just received from Mr George Alfred Walker some appalling details of the evils of graveyard management in crowded localities. We cannot help, after perusing these, urging strongly and more strongly the necessity of having the projected undertaking at Paisley at once carried into effect [73].

A campaign was conducted through the pages of the newspaper which was, during the first half of 1845, full of comment on cemeteries and the conditions of the graveyards in the town [74]. In February 1845 two separate cemetery companies were founded, both informed by the appreciation of extra-mural burial ground as a health measure [75]. Within a month the two companies were harmoniously united, and, within a year, the first interment had taken place in the cemetery.

Similar events took place in Brighton. Here action was precipitated by the visit in 1849 of Edward Creasy, a Superintendent Inspector with the short-lived Board of Health. Creasy had examined conditions in the city and concluded that the provision of a cemetery outside the town was necessary [76]. Creasy's advice was immediately accepted. The townspeople of Brighton were already aware of the effects of intramural interment through the lectures of Dr John Cordy Burrows and Dr Kebbell - local experts [77]. Three companies were formed to undertake the laying out of the cemetery, although they quickly agreed to amalgamate. The cemetery was opened for interments in the following year.

In Hull, general interest in interments seems to have been

inspired by a visit, in November 1843, by Chadwick himself. The reformer was favourably received: the Eastern Counties Herald commented that 'Mr Chadwick is seen to be a co-worker with the Church in the regeneration of the people' [78]. For a year, a new cemetery was included among plans for widespread improvements in the town, and action was finally undertaken when the Railway Dock Company made overtures for the purchase of land forming part of the Holy Trinity Burial Ground, situated on Dock Green. A Cemetery Company was formed in January 1845, and the cemetery at Spring Bank opened in 1847.

It is possible to dismiss such enthusiasm for public health cemeteries as a rather superficial reaction to a popular issue, and to hold that the cemeteries which were laid out made no real contribution to improvement in burial conditions, and were by dint of their excessive charges only available to the wealthier classes. Chadwick concluded that company cemeteries were not sufficiently sanitary. The Interment Report dismissed such enterprises with only brief, condemnatory comment, claiming that

if most of these cemeteries themselves were in the midst of the population, they would, even in their present state, often contribute to the combination of causes of ill health in the metropolis [79].

It would seem that the directors of London's cemetery companies, in the race to establish grounds and make profits, had made 'no examination of the evils that are attendant on the practice of interment' [80]. As a consequence, the new cemeteries were deficient on a number of vital points. The provision of status-

oriented burial commonly meant that a range of catacombs must be made available, a form of burial Chadwick considered inadequate and dangerous. Even lead-casing the coffins placed in catacombs was no guarantee of safety, since there were instances of the lead either leaking or bursting and allowing the escape of 'mephitic vapour' [81].

Chadwick continued his attack on the joint-stock cemetery, extending his range to the provinces, in the 1850 Report on a General Scheme of Extramural Sepulture for Country Towns. The provincial cemetery company, much like its London counterpart, was considered to be a failure:

New cemeteries have been recently established in several towns but the instances are rare in which even essential conditions are fulfilled which are required to render them proper places of sepulture [82].

Criticism was made as to the type of soil in the grounds, which was generally not considered dry enough for 'effective decomposition'. In addition, common pits were often in use. Urban expansion had meant that many of the earlier cemeteries - such as those in Liverpool and Manchester - were already surrounded by houses [83]. It was concluded that

There is a tendency to the reproduction of the evils of existing churchyards, on a larger scale and with a little more ornament [84].

According to Chadwick, then, the cemetery company was a less than adequate response to the problem of intramural interment.

It must be remembered, however, that Chadwick was not an objective observer. He would be content with nothing less than

the full implementation of the resolutions as outlined in the Interment Report, and to achieve this end he was prepared to twist evidence and draw false conclusions. Proof of bias in the 1850 Report is legion. Chadwick claims, for instance, that cemetery companies were 'in almost every instance' not remunerative [85]. It is certain that Chadwick knew that this was not the case. Among the Chadwick papers at the University of London is a report written in 1847 by one G. Hammon Whalley, which contains a table listing the details of some sixteen different companies. Of the ten companies where some assessment of financial standing is made, six were considered successful, and one extremely successful [86]. Chadwick's 1850 report makes reference to the financial details of only one cemetery company - that at Reading. This was a less than typical example, however, since that company suffered clerical opposition to the passage of its incorporating act, adding considerably to early costs [87].

One further objection which Chadwick raises against the cemetery company is the fact that in the towns in which they were established, burials still continued in the local graveyards. This is a wholly unfair complaint, which should have been aimed at the Church rather than at the cemetery company. Private cemetery companies could never hope to gain legislative support for the compulsory closure of local churchyards. The Wolverhampton Cemetery Company did try, and was caught up in legal wrangles with the clergy for five years before the cemetery was finally established [88].

It is Chadwick's dismissal of the cemetery company as a

sanitary institution which is the greatest evidence of the reformer's bias. A less partisan observer would have arrived at very different conclusions, and J.C.Loudon was one such observer. Loudon was 'a writer of considerable celebrity on agricultural and botanical subjects' [89], and Britain's leading popular gardening expert. Loudon had captured the market in villa gardening, and commended horticulture as a respectable middle-class pastime. With his wife, Loudon had edited numerous periodicals on gardening, and compiled encyclopaedias on gardening, plants, and villa and cottage architecture. Just before his death in 1843, Loudon had undertaken extensive study on the landscaping of cemeteries [90]. Loudon did, like Chadwick, offer objections to some of the speculative London cemeteries which had been founded with the basic aim of reaping a healthy dividend. Unlike Chadwick, however, Loudon had no axe to grind on the subject of sepulchral enterprise: his book shows plans for a cemetery he designed, to be laid out by a company in Cambridge [91]. Loudon had no qualms about joint-stock cemeteries provided there was a statute to ensure hygienic practice: 'under such a law there seems to be no objection...to individuals forming companies as private speculations' [92]. This regulation was fulfilled to some extent by the Cemeteries Clauses Act of 1847, which standardised applications for Acts of Parliament to establish cemeteries.

There can be no doubt that the public health companies demonstrated a commitment to good sanitary practice. Indeed these enterprises were eager to comply with the necessary requirements for hygienic burial. James Smith, General Board of Health

Inspector, visiting Hull in 1850, made extensive study of the Spring Bank Cemetery [93]. Smith could find no objection to the grounds. The soil was perfectly dry, regularly drained using a steam pump. Although the practice had been to bury as many as six to a grave, the directors had expressed the willingness to reduce this to one if the measure was felt to be necessary. Indeed, Smith noted, 'they propose to adopt any further arrangements which I, as representative of the General Board of Health, may require' [94]. The inspector could only conclude that the cemetery had ensured

ample accommodation, with every necessary precaution as to the public health, and at moderate charges, for the interment of the dead in the town of Hull [95].

The company cemetery undoubtedly made a significant contribution to improving the public health of the town.

Similar conclusions were arrived at by William Lee, the General Board of Health inspector who visited Reading in 1852. Unlike Chadwick, Lee did not consider the company cemetery at Reading an unqualified failure [96]. It was generally admitted that the company 'has done good service to the town' [97] and, should the churchyards be closed, would provide sufficient cemetery land. Indeed, local preference was such that the closure of the churchyards might not be deemed necessary. The use of the cemetery compared with that of the churchyards was increasing yearly. By 1850-51, burial in the cemetery constituted the majority of all town interments, as the following table demonstrates:

Table 7:3 - Burials in Reading, 1850-51.

Location	1850	%	1851	%
Cemetery	256	58.2	295	66.0
St Mary's	71	16.1	57	12.0
St Giles	64	14.6	65	13.7
St Lawrence	34	7.7	31	6.5
Other	15	3.4	9	1.8
total	440	100	475	100

[98].

It would seem that Chadwick's gloomy assessment of the situation in Reading was unfounded.

Although many of the company cemeteries could not make a huge improvement to city burial conditions - this would require the enforced closure of intramural churchyards - they did at least provide valuable fresh burial space, which must have eased the pressure on the overcrowding in the old grounds. In Northampton, Bills of Mortality give the number of burials in different sites in the town. The figures given in the table below do not represent all burials, but give an indication of the percentages of the total for the town of the two principal places for interment - the new General Cemetery and the old All Saints Graveyard.

Table 7:4 - Percentage of Northampton burials in the General Cemetery and the All Saints Graveyard.

Year	General Cemetery %	All Saints Graveyard %
1847	9.2	31.8
1848	21.3	16.9
1849	35.8	12.3
1850	34.0	12.2
1851	39.0	11.4
1852	39.5	8.4
1853	47.0	9.5
1854	51.7	7.5
1855	50.5	6.5

[99].

The figures show that within a single decade of the cemetery's establishment, it was already taking just over fifty percent of the town's burials. Similar figures are available for York. Here, the cemetery, opened in 1838, was by 1846 accommodating one third of York's burials, and fully one half only a year later [100]. This was interment in fresh ground, away from town, and with no possibility of releasing allegedly harmful miasmas into the atmosphere. In all of these instances, therefore, the company cemetery was making a significant contribution to improved, sanitary burial provision in the area.

One further objection which has been expressed with regard to cemetery companies, is that they were essentially a class

phenomenon, and served only those able to pay the exorbitant fees which naturally accompanied luxury burial provision. Consequently the poor were compelled to continue using the overfilled town churchyards which were at the heart of the burial problem. This was certainly the case for London. As Ralph Bernal, a Liberal M.P., aptly commented to the Commons in 1845,

the cemeteries of Kensal Green, Brompton, Abney Park, that near Hampstead and others drew away a vast portion of the mischief; but the mischief was, that the poor could not avail themselves of the cemeteries [101].

The reason for this was that the charges at these grounds were far beyond the means of the poor, as Thomas Wakley asserted in 1842:

Many complaints had been made to him that the charges at the cemeteries were outrageous...He was informed that a poor person could not be buried at a less charge for the ground alone than 10s [102].

It must be remembered, however, that these complaints were made about the highly expensive speculative London companies.

Many cemetery companies in the provinces displayed a sincere consideration of burial for the poor. Concern was not only expressed for the burial of relatives or friends. The especially low quality of interment which the poor had to suffer was also cause for comment. 'Disgusting that it is', wrote one commentator in 1846,

that the deceased poor...should be huddled together in an undistinguished mass into a steaming charnel pit, regardless of their common humanity, as if they were entitled to no

better sepulture than that of a dog in a ditch [103].

William Dent, director of the Wolverhampton General Cemetery, was outraged at the suggestion of a common cemetery for the poor in the city, and wrote to the newspaper in 1847:

A *common* cemetery! Perhaps a disused *coal pit*?...A hard lot indeed is that of the *poor*. Unremitting toil and 'coarser' food during life, and after death, an anatomy act and a *common* cemetery! [104].

In many areas such indignation was channelled into action by the cemetery companies to relieve the poor of at least some of the financial burden of burial. Some companies stressed this wish in their prospectuses and announcements. In 1845 the Edinburgh Cemetery Company expressed the intention

to afford...the means of interment to the poor - to a large extent without any profit - in a becoming and respectable manner hitherto unknown [105].

The company implemented a reduced scale of charges, to ensure that fees would have to be lowered in all parts of the city [105]. In Ipswich it was stated that the fees would be decided with 'a view to economy, and provision will be made for the burial of the poor' [106]. In Norwich the Church of England Burial Ground Company

proposed to keep one object in view - that of enabling the poor to bury their dead at the least possible expense, and to afford them equal security with the rich that their graves shall not be disturbed [108].

It has already been seen (above, p.327) that in Hull, charges for

burial were generally moderate. In York, the decision was taken to bury at cost all those dying in houses of a ratable value below £5 [109]. At Bradford, the lowest burial fees were not to exceed the parish rates [110].

To show that such companies were indeed making significant contributions to reduced burial costs, table 7:5 contrasts charges in four provincial public health cemetery companies, two Dissenting companies and two of the more expensive London cemetery companies.

Table 7:5 - Cemetery companies: pauper burial charges.

Cemetery company	year	adult			child	
		£	s	d	s	d
York	n.d.		4	6	--	
Bradford	1850		6	0	5	0
Newcastle (General)	1834		7	6	5	0
Northampton	1847		7	6	6	0
Sheffield	1836		8	0	--	
Manchester (Rusholme)	n.d.		8	0	--	
London (Highgate)	c1842	1	5	0	--	
General (Kensal Gr.)	1834	1	5	0	16	8

[111].

It will be seen that the charges at York, Bradford, Newcastle and Northampton were less than a third of what was imposed by the prestigious London companies. Likewise in Glasgow, proprietors of the Sighthill Cemetery expressed determination that burial at their ground should always be less than that charged in the existing cemeteries and churchyard. Lairs were sold in Sighthill

for as low as 2/6 per square yard - one twelfth of the price charged elsewhere in the city [112]. These examples show that the desire to improve burial conditions for the poor was reflected in the charges at many of the public health cemetery companies. The new facilities were accessible to the mass of the population. It seems clear that, despite Chadwick's biased view, that the cemetery companies did make a significant contribution to improvements in public health.

In conclusion, one further possible objection must be considered. The passage of legislation on the issue of burials in 1852 and 1853 has for some historians been clinching evidence of the failure of the cemetery company to provide an adequate solution to the problems posed by intramural interment. The Burial Acts of the early 1850s were permissive, allowing the setting up of burial boards which were empowered to provide new cemeteries financed with monies raised on the poor rate. Chris Brooks has been especially impressed with the Burial Acts, commenting that it was 'remarkable' that the Acts could create a network of cemeteries without an accompanying centralised bureaucracy, and that the Acts laid the foundations for the system of cemetery provision which still exists. As such the legislation constituted a significant move forward in the history of burial provision [113].

This view rests on a series of misunderstandings which have hidden the essential similarities between cemetery companies and burial boards. Private company cemeteries were hardly less concerned about the provision of sanitary burial than the boards - a claim which has been substantiated in this chapter. Cemetery

companies were not a vested interest which the boards had to circumvent. Indeed, in at least two cases, companies willingly sold their cemeteries to boards, making no profit from the transaction [114]. Most importantly, the success of the Burial Acts lies with the fact that they honoured the tradition of local initiative which had been crucial to the establishment of private cemeteries - one system evolved from the other. In organisational terms all power under the new legislation was vested in the parish, and so the provision of cemeteries still remained a community response to a local problem, with the added advantage that the new boards were permitted to close intramural graveyards, action which cemetery companies could never take. Cemetery companies did not therefore 'fail' because they were superseded by burial boards. Rather, burial boards succeeded because they were founded on the same principle as cemetery companies - local initiative.

This chapter has attempted to illustrate two aspects of cemetery company history: the proliferation of public health cemetery companies in the period after 1840, and their significance in sanitary terms. A dominant theme of the chapter has been to question the influence of Edwin Chadwick on the progress of burial reform. Attitudes towards the issue fluctuated, even within the course of three decades, but at no time could it be said that Chadwick constituted the influence which had most bearing on increased cemetery provision. Rather, two doctors must be credited with swinging public attention towards the need to provide extra-mural burial ground as a public

health measure. The first, Dr John Armstrong, unfortunately died before his opinions on the connection between typhus and overfilled churchyards were widely accepted. Ten years later, the issue of intramural interments acquired an invaluable champion in Dr George Walker, whose unique style imbued burial reform with a drama and an urgency which elevated it to the status of a national scandal. After 1839, no-one could ignore the problem created by overfilled churchyards, since Walker had explicitly expressed the horrors they contained.

The cemetery companies which were founded principally as a means of public health improvement have sometimes been dismissed as superficial gestures, hurried together to respond to the pressure for reform. This chapter has illustrated that the public health cemetery company came into existence before the 1840s, when publicity on the problem of burials became widespread, and so had long been seen as a convenient means of extending space for burial. Companies in the 1840s did show a greater understanding of the complexities of the problem of intramural interment, however, and laid out cemeteries which would be sanitary according to current medical doctrine, offering favourable burial rates to the poor. Chadwick perhaps deserves some credit for setting up systems whereby information on public health matters could be spread, even though his ultimate recommendation - of a burial service controlled in its entirety by the state - was rejected. It must be concluded, however, that in the case of interments, Chadwick's importance has been over-rated - his version of burial reform was too dissimilar to current thinking on the issue to be influential. Such reasoning

encourages the idea that further research on individuals like Walker, working in other aspects of sanitary reform, could show that piecemeal reform was working much more effectively than Chadwick's failed centralising plans. It was the cemetery company which constituted the most significant step forward in the progress of extra-mural burial provision in the nineteenth century, and all subsequent reforms were only a refinement of an existing successful arrangement.

FOOTNOTES.

Epigraph: James Smith, Report to the General Board of Health on a Preliminary Inquiry into the Sewerage, Drainage and Supply of Water, and the Sanitary Condition of the Inhabitants of the Town and Borough of Kingston-upon-Hull (1850), 70.

1. Norfolk Chronicle, 24 Oct. 1845; Norwich Mercury, 24 Oct. 1845.
2. Norfolk Chronicle, 24 Oct. 1845.
3. For detail on company categorisation see chapter one.
4. For sources on each company see appendix.
5. S.E.Finer, The Life and Times of Edwin Chadwick (1952); R.A.Lewis, Edwin Chadwick and the Public Health Movement (1952).
6. Norwich Church of England Burial Ground Company (1845), handbill contained in Scrapbook of John Greene Crosse. Norfolk Record Office, Norwich.
7. E.Chadwick, A Supplementary Report on the Results of a Special Enquiry into the Practice of Interment in Towns (1843), 115.
8. Report on a General Scheme of Extra-mural Sepulture for County Towns (1851).
9. Prospectus of the General Burial Ground Association, appended to Prospectus of the General Cemetery Company (1830). British Library, London.
10. Morning Chronicle, 10 Jun. 1830.
11. ibid.

12. Morning Chronicle, 6 Jul. 1830.
13. See, for example, the British and Foreign Medical Review, 1 (1836), pp34-70; Beeton's Modern Men and Women; or British Biography from the Accession of George III to the Present Time (n.d.).
14. M.Pelling, Cholera, Fever and English Medicine (Oxford, 1978), 26. This book is generally useful for passing reference to Armstrong.
15. Quotation used in Pelling, Cholera, 28.
16. Beeton, Modern Men and Women, 7.
17. Bristol Mirror, 30 Apr. 1836.
18. The Times, 19 Jun. 1832, 2f.
19. ibid.
20. Sir James Graham, Hansard 13 Jun. 1843, 64 c1445.
21. M.Durey, The Return of the Plague: British Society and the Cholera, 1831-2 (Bristol, 1979), 95.
22. These were the Liverpool Necropolis and Manchester's Rusholme Road Cemetery.
23. G.Milner, On Cemetery Burial, or Sepulture Ancient and Modern (Hull, 1846), 43.
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25. ibid.
26. Rev. William Turner, Ralph Dodds, John Richardson, and Thomas Keenlyside.
27. Durey, Return of the Plague, 93-94

28. Yorkshire Gazette, 7 Jun. 1834.
29. J.Glasby, A Guide to the City of York (York, 1838), 59. See also H.Murray, This Garden of Death: A History of York Cemetery Company (York, 1991).
30. Murray, Garden of Death, 4.
31. Twelfth Annual Report of the York Public Company (1850). York Archive Office.
32. Hampshire Chronicle, 2 Sep. 1839.
33. Bristol Mirror, 14 May 1836.
34. Bristol Mirror, 18 Feb. 1837.
35. Matthew's Annual Bristol Directory and Almanack (Bristol, 1843), 40.
36. Halifax Guardian, 21 May 1836.
37. Renfrewshire Advertiser, 8 Feb. 1845.
38. G.A.Walker, Gatherings from Graveyards (1839), iii.
39. Lancet, 2 (1830), 460.
40. Lancet, 1 (1839), 366.
41. The Times, 23 Aug. 1850, 3f.
42. Report from the Select Committee on Improvement of the Health of Towns: Effect of Interment of Bodies in Towns (1843), 36.
43. Athenaeum, 12 Jul. 1884.
44. Walker, Gatherings, iii.
45. ibid, 149-50.
46. ibid, 138-39.
47. ibid, 14-15.
48. "Health of Towns": An Examination of the Report and Evidence of the Select Committee of Mr McKinnon's Bill; and of the Acts for Establishing Cemeteries around the Metropolis

- (1843), 40.
49. T.Southwood Smith, A Treatise on Fever (1830). Quoted by M.Flinn, ed., Report on the Sanitary Condition of the Labouring Population (Edinburgh, 1965), 62. For more general information on miasmatic theory see W.Bynum, E.Browne and R.Porter, eds., Dictionary of the History of Medicine (1983).
 50. T.Southwood Smith, Health of Towns Report on Lord Lincoln's Bill (1846), 72-73, quoted in Finer, Edwin Chadwick, 297.
 51. Lancet, 2 (1839), 40.
 52. Lancet, 2 (1841), 202.
 53. M.R.D.Foot and H.C.G.Matthew, eds., The Gladstone Diaries 3 (1974), 259. I am indebted to Dr D.W.Bebbington for this reference.
 54. Monthly Review, 1 (1840), 161; Westminster Review, 37 (1842), 201; Blackwood's Magazine, 48 (1840), 829.
 55. Wolverhampton Chronicle, 31 Mar. 1846.
 56. MS Minute Book of the City Burial Grounds Institute and Père Lachaise of Sighthill (1840), 25 Feb. 1840. Glasgow Archive Office.
 57. A.S.Wohl, Endangered Lives (1983), 170.
 58. Chadwick, Interment Report (1843), 42.
 59. see e.g. Sir R.Broun, Letter to the Right Hon. the Earl of Derby and Lord John Manners on the Dead Man's Question (1852).
 60. Brighton Guardian, 13 Mar. 1850.
 61. The Times, 12 Dec. 1844, 5e. See also R.G.Paterson, 'The Health of Towns Association of Great Britain', Bulletin of

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62. Chadwick, quoted by Lewis, Edwin Chadwick and the Public Health Movement, 34.
63. The Times, 12 Dec. 1844; 5e.
64. A.E.Hargrove, The Baneful Custom of Interment in Towns and the Present State of York Graveyards (York, 1847).
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73. Renfrewshire Advertiser, 1 Feb. 1845.
74. See the Renfrewshire Advertiser, Feb. and Mar. 1845, passim.
75. Renfrewshire Advertiser, 8 Feb. 1845.
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79. Chadwick, Interment Report, 27.
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82. General Board of Health (1851), 31.
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85. ibid, 31.
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111. Sources for charges:

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Archive Office.

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Fees, and Regulations at All Soul's Cemetery, Kensal Green,
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112. MS Minute Book of the City Burial Grounds Institute and Père
Lachaise of Sighthill, 25 Feb. 1840.

113. Brooks, Mortal Remains, 49.

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Conclusion: 'the best means of establishing a general cemetery in the borough'.

Most people's idea of a cemetery is something associated with great Egyptian lodges and little shabby flower beds, Joint Stock Companies and immortelles, Dissent, infidelity and speculation, and the irreverences of Abney Park, or the fripperies and frigidities of Père Lachaise [1].

This comment appeared in the Quarterly Review in 1844, and historians since then have continued to believe in the validity of the bundle of images thus presented. Cemetery companies are commonly thought to be a consequence of unbounded commercialism, manipulating architectural fads to create settings in which the bereaved could assuage their grief through excessive expenditure. This thesis has shown that the cemetery company has been much misunderstood. The true place of the cemetery company is not alongside bizarre Victorian fancies, but near the heart of the major questions of the time. Study of the cemetery company is invaluable in revealing the progress of opinion on burial and cemetery establishment, but it also illuminates other issues: Church reform, joint-stock financing, urban improvement, the public health debate and laissez-faire. In all these fields, research relating to cemetery companies reveals fresh conclusions and in some cases points towards the revision of existing

orthodoxies.

Before going on to discuss the broader conclusions to be drawn from the material studied for the thesis, it would be helpful to summarise the findings of the research as revealed in each chapter. The cemetery company was introduced by means of addressing a single basic assumption: that the foundation of new burial grounds happened as a consequence of overcrowding in existing churchyards. This presumption appears to be confirmed by the correlation between towns of large size - where it seems reasonable to conclude that the problem was most acute - and cemetery company establishment. Two reasons can be proposed for seeing only minor significance in the connection between large towns and cemetery foundation. Although overcrowding in burial grounds in towns and cities throughout Britain was chronic, resulting in scenes which were offensive to all the senses, poor conditions alone constituted no guarantee of action. In some places, appalling scenes in the local graveyard had been suffered for decades without anything being done. Conditions were much the same in 1850 as they had been in 1820, and toleration on the question of burials could be very high.

In those places where action was taken to lay out an extra-mural cemetery, furthermore, the primary reason for taking that step was not necessarily the desire to create extra space for burial. Although conditions were more than unpleasant for the whole of the period, it was rare for a cemetery company to advertise itself simply in terms of the improvement it intended on existing practice. The rhetoric involved was almost always far more complex, connecting interments with other concerns.

Prospectuses commonly drew in all sorts of issues. One example of 1830 referred to resurrection scares - the walls of the cemetery were to be thirteen feet high; Dissenting burial rights - mourners were 'at liberty to use what form they please'; and the increased sensibilities of the bereaved - there would be no 'idle rabble' to disturb the graveside visit [2]. There was no mention of the state of graveyards in the town, although there is no doubt - from a report produced in 1850 - that they were insufficient [3].

The introduction demonstrated that the state of intramural burial grounds alone rarely provoked change. For most cemetery companies, other issues dominated. The bulk of the thesis was spent in discussion of the separate elements which were instrumental in influencing cemetery establishment. Chapter one detailed the means by which such analysis was to be undertaken. Each of the 113 cemetery companies included in the thesis was classified, in a broad fashion, as one of three types. The groupings reflected the dominant motivation of the enterprise, as made clear from cemetery company literature and other primary sources. Three major reasons for founding companies were recognised: the desire to provide burial ground independent from the Church of England, or cemeteries which promoted its interests; the wish to make profits from cemetery provision; and the establishment of cemeteries as a public health measure. Interacting with these three elements were other themes: the need to protect the integrity of the corpse from violation; and the significance of cemetery establishment as an urban improvement.

Chapters were dedicated to each type of company, and to exploration of both of the associated themes.

The thesis tackled cemetery company establishment in roughly chronological terms. Chapter two attempted to assess the reasons why the cemetery company emerged in the 1820s. Historians have tended to place a great deal of emphasis on the influence of the Père Lachaise cemetery which was founded in Paris in 1804. British visitors to the French cemetery were so enamoured by what they saw, it is often claimed, that a movement sprang up calling for the institution of similar burial grounds in Britain. Reference to periodicals of the time, however, shows that the initial response of the British to the cemetery was not wholeheartedly favourable. Although opinions on the amenity value of cemeteries changed, as will be seen, the pleasure garden atmosphere of Père Lachaise was not immediately admired, and indeed, was thought by some to be tasteless. It is necessary, therefore, to dismiss the desire to imitate the Parisian cemetery as precipitating the emergence of the cemetery company.

Another reason must be sought to explain why the extra-mural cemetery should have been introduced in the 1820s. Attention to primary sources reveals that an answer can be found in the recurrence of resurrection scares. The theft of bodies had been known in the late eighteenth century, but the incidence increased in the 1810s and 1820s as the popularity of medical teaching as an entrepreneurial activity took hold and demand for cadavers grew. The reliance on body-snatchers was deemed so unsatisfactory as to call for legislative enactment, which was passed in 1832. In all the nine company cemeteries opened at or before this time,

however, evidence can be found of a commitment to increased security in the new grounds: 'every precaution' would be taken 'to preserve the sanctity of the tomb inviolate' [4]. Thus, the 'midnight intrusion of the surgeon's caterer' [5] would be thwarted. Steps to ensure security were taken in all cemeteries established before 1832, whether by cemetery companies or by other agencies.

After 1832, when an alternative supply of corpses for dissection was made available, concerned attention was switched to the violence meted out to the corpse as a consequence of the enforced burial of too many coffins in too small a space. The Parliamentary reports and the work of Dr George Walker had made available to the public the gory details of graveyard 'management', in which 'former occupancy is disregarded, coffins are remorselessly broken through and their contents heaped together' [6]. A consequence of this sort of revelation was that cemetery companies made conspicuous the fact that burial in their grounds was well regulated, offering 'decent and undisturbed sepulture' [7].

The desire of communities to ensure protection for their dead, in the face of increased resurrectionist activities, does not, in itself, suffice to explain the rise of the cemetery company. A network of influences operated, the most important of which - in the long term - was the predominance of Dissenters in early company establishment. Nonconformist communities were expanding in this period and the pressure to acquire new burial space was perhaps made more acute because existing grounds were

both insecure and limited in extent. Anglican communities had recourse to the Church rate to finance additions to their churchyards; it does not seem remarkable that Dissenters should light on the currently popular format of joint-stock financing to fund their improvements.

Throughout the 1820s and 1830s, Nonconformist companies dominated cemetery establishment, to the extent that the joint-stock cemetery was considered to be something of a Dissenting phenomenon. The cemetery company was admirably suited to the provision of burial ground where there would be no consecration and where the bereaved were free to use whichever funeral service they deemed appropriate. Such action could at times be considered imperative, since it was not unknown for clergymen to refuse burial to the children of Baptists and to Unitarians. Although it is not claimed that refusals to bury happened regularly, they were such cause for distress, and happened sufficiently frequently, for some Dissenters to be determined to obviate the need to resort to the Church at all for burial facilities. Cemeteries were called for where the users would not be subject to 'the odious and unfeeling parochial church-yard law' [8]. In some cases, the desire to lay out independent burial ground acquired a political edge. From late 1833, the agitation for the abolition of Nonconformist grievances had gathered pace and militancy. Local vestry battles to ensure the cessation of the church rate had resulted in a complete breakdown in relations between the local clergy and Dissenting congregations. Cemetery companies and anti-church rate agitators shared common protagonists, and the intention of some to use the cemetery

company to attack Church monopolies must be assumed.

All over England, and throughout the 1830s and 1840s especially, cemetery foundation was beset with wrangles with clergy, now fully aware of the threat to burial fees constituted by private cemeteries. The clergy were able to delay action to found companies by calling up 'sundry differences' [10] and exacting the payment of compensation fees [11]. In some places, the clergy would brook no compromise on the issue, and actively dissuaded congregations from supporting companies, claiming that such companies had 'agitat[ed] the people' against the Church [12]. In some places action was taken to defend the Church by instituting Church Cemetery Companies, where clerical compensation could be written into the regulations. Thus cemetery company establishment could be - and was often considered to be by the Church - an act of aggression against the clergy, so severe was the threat to its traditional monopoly.

The emergence of the speculative cemetery company in the mid-1830s to a large extent dissipated the domination of this type of enterprise by Dissenting companies. The financial boom of the middle years of the 1830s and of the 1840s saw an increased demand for investment opportunities of any description. The success of cemetery companies through the 1820s and early 1830s presented joint-stock burial grounds as likely candidates for speculation. Chapter four, which addressed this type of company, concluded that it is impossible to make broad generalisations about the profit-motivated cemetery company, since three distinct types existed. Those companies which intended to launch the more

exotic burial schemes can be dismissed fairly quickly. It is probable that their aims were at worst fraudulent, at best merely ill advised. A second type of company - what were termed the utility or territorial companies, seeking to extend cemetery provision to parts of larger towns - were perhaps more important. The establishment of such companies says much about the nature of joint-stock financing. It is clear that the public could discriminate between different sorts of cemetery company, and withheld support from those which were purely speculative in intent. Profiteering from burials was not deemed appropriate, and these companies suffered a poor success rate as a consequence of lack of public support.

The third category of company - almost entirely limited to London - was more successful, in some cases dramatically so. Many of these enterprises intended to create a burial service which would appeal to London society's finest, where status-consciousness might be displayed through an elaborate funeral and interment in luxury catacombs in appropriately lush surroundings. Because of the commitment to architectural splendour which was necessary for the provision of this type of private cemetery, the London companies of this type - laying out cemeteries at Highgate, Nunhead, Brompton and Norwood - have received a disproportionate amount of attention from historians. A consequence of the bias is that skewed conclusions have been made about both the development of cemeteries and their relationship with 'the Victorian celebration of death'. This thesis has demonstrated that the 'celebration of death' was not necessary to cemetery company establishment. Indeed, study of provincial

cemeteries suggests that the Victorian obsession with monumental display was a phenomenon which did not get underway in the provinces until after mid-century.

Chapter five explored the reasons why so many provincial cemeteries displayed a commitment to fine landscaping and architecture. The chapter showed that several pressures were being brought to bear on communities to add cemeteries to their list of urban accessories, during a period which might be characterised as one in which energies were directed towards improvement of the townscape. In this sphere, the cemetery at Père Lachaise was influential. Although the cemetery had not received immediate wholehearted praise, tastes had changed enough by the early 1840s to ensure more widespread appreciation of the emotive landscaping adopted by the French. A fashionable garden cemetery was considered to be a requisite few places could afford to ignore, given the extent of rivalry which existed between towns.

The garden cemetery was well suited to reflect all the essential elements of urban improvement. Expenditure on fine planting and the erection of elaborate cemetery buildings bore testimony to the wealth and good taste of the community. In addition, the cemetery proved to be an admirable witness to increased sensibilities, representing a cultured rejection of the barbarism of old burial practices. The new cemeteries were to present scenes calculated to raise 'endearing and solemn feelings' in visitors [13]. It was not just the emotions which were to be roused by a visit to the cemetery. The nineteenth-

century preoccupation with rational recreation was also brought to bear in the garden cemeteries, where lessons in history, botany, horticulture and the fine arts might be taught. Thus the cemetery served purposes beyond being a place for burial - consecrated or otherwise - being seen as an indicator and inculcator of civilised feeling.

The final chapter in the thesis examined the largest grouping of companies: those which undertook the establishment of cemeteries as a sanitary measure. It was demonstrated that theories relating to the supposed harmful effects of graveyard miasmas fluctuated throughout the period. It was not until the late 1820s that an authoritative voice on the issue of fevers - that of Dr John Armstrong - pronounced against intramural interments on health grounds. Armstrong's death left the question in hiatus until it was taken up again by Dr George Walker in 1839. Walker's Gatherings from Graveyards was singled out as having the most influence on the progress of the sanitary burial debate. Walker's emotive approach, backed as it was with scientific 'proofs' of the ill effects of churchyard emanations, gained immediate popular support for the abolition of intramural interment.

Chapter six also questioned the place of Edwin Chadwick in the progress of burial reform in the 1840s. Chadwick's Interment Report displayed a remarkable understanding of the nature of the burial problem, but it did little to forward the passage of legislative reform - indeed, if anything, its contentious recommendations delayed parliamentary action for some years. The image of Chadwick as an unbiased commentator on interment was

brought into question by analysis of his judgment on cemetery companies. It was Chadwick's claim that the companies formed as a consequence of concern for public health did little to mitigate the evil. This thesis has shown, however, that companies sometimes worked alongside burial inspectors sent out by Chadwick to produce grounds where 'peculiarly proper precautions' [14] were taken to ensure sanitary burial, and in which favourable rates were set for the burial of the poor - an issue at the heart of the interment debate.

To draw together all the conclusions thus presented by individual chapters, it seems helpful to ask one final question: can the introduction and spread of cemetery companies in the first half of the nineteenth century be properly called a 'cemetery movement'? The work of the most prolific historian on the subject of cemeteries - James Stevens Curl - concludes that this is indeed the case. Cemeteries emerged as part of a 'movement', the basis of which was the 'civilising of urban man', which created a society less likely to tolerate overcrowded burial grounds [15]. Since all cemeteries may be judged a consequence of this particular feeling, from this perspective detailed individual study can be dismissed. Curl's most recent book dealing specifically with cemeteries gives potted histories of some of the London grounds and comments:

Many cemeteries were founded at the same time as the London cemeteries...and generally followed patterns similar to the building of Kensal Green, Highgate and Abney Park [16].

The majority of cemeteries, according to Curl, were established

as a consequence of the same factors. This thesis has taken to task the notion both of a cemetery movement and the idea that cemeteries were a uniform phenomenon, and presents a rather different view of burial reform.

At no time in the first half of the nineteenth century was there a 'cemetery movement', since there never was a single common ideology surrounding cemetery establishment. Material relating to the 113 companies studied for the thesis reveals that at least six major elements had some degree of influence in the decision taken to establish a company, each element representing a facet of the burial issue. These included the 'nuisance' factor of overcrowded churchyards; the threat to the security of the dead posed by certain aspects of early nineteenth-century burial practice; the provision of burial space outside the control of the Established Church; the profitability of laying out burial ground; the viewing of the cemetery as an indicator of cultural worth; and the need to lay out new extra-mural burial grounds as a sanitary measure. Although the companies have been classified according to the main concern expressed by directors, to enable the recognition of certain trends, literature produced by cemetery companies shows that perhaps two or more of these elements were discernible as reasons for taking action, creating a mixture of motives which was to some extent unique in each locality. The melange is further confused by the fact that the perception of most of these elements changed over time: so that, for example, the need to lay out cemeteries as a public health measure was understood in one way in 1825 and another twenty

years later.

It must be concluded that the basic characteristic of burial reform in the first half of the century was mutability, a finding which has wider ramifications. Historians have long favoured discussing improvement in this period according to the play of grand generalised influences. David Roberts constitutes a fair representation, analysing the reforms of the first half of the nineteenth century - in public health, factories, education and poor relief. As explanation for the passage of legislation in these spheres he points to the combined influence of the working of the nineteenth-century shibboleths, utilitarianism and evangelicalism. Roberts eloquently characterises movements for reform thus:

The most rational in their demands that an effective central government promote administrative reforms were the Utilitarians, while the most passionate in calling on the Government to redress social evils were the Evangelicals [17].

This degree of generalisation is common, but has come to be questioned by a different approach. Oliver MacDonagh, through work on the Passenger Acts of the nineteenth century, proposes a pattern of reform based on 'intolerability': that once a situation became intolerable, then something had to be done. MacDonagh cites statistics demonstrating the horrors of the passenger trade and concludes: 'such facts as these constitute a *prima facie* case (to say the least) for the necessity of reform' [18]. As soon as a situation was declared 'intolerable', then

reform was inevitable.

Researching the cemetery company leads to the questioning of both these historiographical approaches towards the study of reform. Attributing legislated change to the workings of some sort of improving zeitgeist, whether powered by utilitarian or evangelical thinking, glosses over the complex conglomeration of often contradictory factors which fuels any reform movement. The cemetery company - easily dismissed as yet another fruit of a 'humanitarian', 'improving' age - in reality displays the importance of a more subtle approach, that recognises the diversity of motivation for a single reform. Furthermore, the thesis echoes Jennifer Hart's critique of MacDonagh, in considering that revulsion against 'intolerable' conditions is a less than convincing explanation for any reform [19]. It is probable that conditions in most burial grounds in urban Britain were intolerable by the 1810s, and yet some communities took no action until the 1850s. Study of the cemetery company, therefore, reminds historians that reform movements might possibly be heterogeneous and that the revelation of an abuse does not necessarily lead to its cure, as so many whig theorists tend to propose.

Related to this point, a further important conclusion to be drawn from the cemetery company is that the progress of burial reform should not be measured in terms of the passage of national legislation. In most cases, the historians who chose to cover the issue of burials start with Chadwick in 1843 and conclude with the passage of the Burial Acts of the early 1850s [20]. To do so leads to a misunderstanding of the progress of the question, and

overlooks the degree of local initiative taken to deal with the problem outwith the context of legislative enactment. National legislation would seem to indicate that cemeteries were not adequately provided until after 1852. Study of the cemetery company reveals that more than sixty new extra-mural burial grounds were established before that time. Perhaps the progress of other social questions in the nineteenth century might reveal similar conclusions - that attention focused on the passage of legislation has hidden effective ad hoc measures taken to deal with a particular problem [21].

The study of cemetery companies, because of the broad range of interest groups covered by the issue of interments, also reveals conclusions about wider social and political issues, and points to the possibility of fresh lines of research. Five themes will be explored: church reform, joint-stock financing, urban improvement, public health and laissez-faire. Reform of the Established Church in the nineteenth century has produced many scholarly works, including research on the agitation for the abolition of Dissenting grievances. Two books are particularly useful for this topic: Owen Chadwick's two-volume study of the Victorian Church, and G.I.T.Machin's study of politics and the churches [22]. Both texts devote pages to the progress of the Dissenting campaign for the alleviation of grievances, concentrating on the church rate battles in particular. In account of the campaigns, greatest attention is given to the fortunes of proposed bills abolishing the church rate, establishing civil registration of marriages and granting equal

admission for Dissenters to the ancient English universities.

Although the burial grievance is mentioned in passing, the mitigation of its effects by the widespread resort to the cemetery company is not noted, because such a move bypassed legislated enactment. Through the joint-stock format, however, Dissenters in towns throughout Britain gained improved access to cemetery land which was unconsecrated, and in which any burial service might be undertaken. The majority of public health cemetery companies, through pressure from Dissenting congregations, also left unconsecrated sections in their cemeteries. The importance of this development has long been unrecognised. It could be claimed that the cemetery company constituted one of the most significant attacks on Church monopolies in the nineteenth century, depriving the clergy of income and influence. Further research needs to be undertaken on the impact made by such companies on the financial standing of the clergy, through the loss of burial fees.

A second element which is shown by this thesis to be worthy of extended study is the use of joint-stock financing. Too often historians are content with assuming that the sale of shares connoted little more than the intention to make a profit. B.C.Hunt, for example, writing one of the more detailed histories of joint-stock enterprise, concentrates mostly on the cycles of mania and panic which were a feature of nineteenth-century financing, characterising the joint-stock company in terms of a search for 'respectability' [23]. Although R.C.Michie also chronicles the extremes of early nineteenth-century investment mania, he recognises the importance of joint-stock financing as

a facility for expanding local services, in noting the preference of investors for enterprises based in their area [24]. This is a trend also noted by John Wilson in his study of the gas industry [25]. The example of the cemetery company confirms the ability of shareholders to invest 'strategically', to ensure the provision of a necessary local utility. Again, attention paid to the 'orthodox' lines of reform - through local Acts of Parliament, for example - has overshadowed the probability that a wide range of effective service and utility provision was undertaken by the establishment of joint-stock companies. This is a view which provokes revision of the notion that the first half of the nineteenth century was bedevilled with apathy with regard to urban improvement.

This point is complemented by the third theme which the thesis questions. The work of historians such as E.P.Hennock and H.Meller, on Birmingham and Bristol respectively, recognises the existence of a proud municipal spirit in cities of the mid-to-late Victorian period [26]. Perhaps the essence of the ethos was the recognition of the power of the urban environment to influence the citizen, and the realisation that improving the cityscape would lead to an improvement in the citizen. Thus Hennock quotes George Dawson, originator of the civic gospel in Birmingham, speaking in 1866:

a town is a solemn organism through which should flow, and in which should be shaped all the highest, loftiest and truest ends of man's moral nature [27].

Chapter five has demonstrated at length that a very similar view

of the civilising power of the town was much in evidence in the 1810 - 1850 period, and underlay cemetery establishment. Individual studies have suggested that this was indeed the case - Asa Briggs' Victorian Cities being at the forefront of these [28]. Research into the cemetery company reveals that towns all over Britain displayed a civic ethos which had common elements. Further work needs to be done recognising the continuity of particular attitudes - on a national scale - towards the city and the citizen, and so making a connection between the work of Peter Borsay, on the eighteenth century [29], and the writings of Meller and Hennock on the later nineteenth century.

The thesis also suggests the need for redress of a further point. The progress of public health reform has, for too long, been dominated by analysis of the passage of the Public Health Act of 1848, and the work of Edwin Chadwick [30]. Study of the cemetery companies supports what some historians have already revealed in other fields - that Chadwick was a less than objective observer, and that his assessments of the sanitary conditions in towns and cities throughout Britain should be approached with caution. Far from being a dispassionate collector of statistics, Chadwick was so determined that his particular opinion on an issue should carry the day that he produced reports marked by bias and obfuscation [31].

Moreover, the attempts of towns in the provinces to institute sanitary reforms should be reassessed [32]. For too long it has been assumed that enthusiasm for public health matters originated with a group of influential doctors in London taking up the issue in the 1840s, and that their campaign

included battles against apathy on the issue in the provinces. Wohl's contention that, in the localities, 'public health measures were generally viewed with suspicion' [33] needs revision, at least on the score of cemeteries, given the existence of public health cemetery companies established throughout the provinces. All these companies demonstrated an understanding of the sanitary aspect of the burial issue, and founded cemeteries where hygienic practice - as far as was understood at the time - would be a priority. Again, because such reforms happened outwith the bounds of legislation, they have been largely ignored.

The last three points presented here lead to one further topic where revision may be called for: laissez-faire. In terms of local government, it is often commented that the principle which dominated town council activity in the first half of the nineteenth century was to keep the rates low, and restrict the activities of the council as far as possible. Wohl comments that the councils' unwillingness to undertake sanitary reform during this period might lead to the conclusion that 'low taxation, rather than basic self-preservation...was the basic instinct of Victorians' [34]. The desire to keep rates low is not questioned here. The accompanying assumption of apathy is undermined, however, by the example of the cemetery company. Keeping the rates down did not necessarily mean that nothing was done; rather, it encouraged the recourse to alternative means of financing - the sale of shares being the most popular.

Chapter five demonstrated that much of the urban improvement

which was completed in the period was financed by this means. Chapter four has shown that people were more likely to back companies which had the community interests at heart. It is suggested that town councils were not always apathetic - perhaps sometimes their members simply chose to act outwith the financial context of rate-payment, and instead use joint-stock enterprise. Rate-payers were more than willing to buy shares in such schemes, since they ensured the provision of a service, and gave some guarantee of slight profit.

A concluding example will demonstrate this point and reiterate earlier themes from the thesis. The example will be drawn out at length, and so serve to create perhaps a truer image of how the cemetery company operated than that afforded by such historians as Curl. In 1849 the Ipswich Journal reported a meeting of the town council, in which it was admitted that

intramural burial is injurious to the health of the living, and there can be no doubt that the evil has in some parts of Ipswich reached a point beyond which it cannot safely be permitted to extend [35].

The council appointed a committee to look into the matter. The committee reported its findings:

After viewing the subject in all its bearings, and giving every circumstance its due weight, it appears that the only practicable plan of providing a cemetery in Ipswich has been the one which has been adopted in other places, namely, to raise the capital by a company [36].

The burial committee itself formed the basis of the company. The report also stressed that the enterprise was not so much founded

as a profitable investment, but as a means of establishing 'what has been so long desired' [37].

What was deemed equally important was the fact the new burial ground would be provided in a fashion which would ensure that 'individuals may, without risk of loss, thus contribute to an abatement of an evil' [38]. Support for prospect of a company was exhorted by an editorial in the local newspaper:

let us townfolk do our whole duty - our very best duty - ...let us come forward with a liberal spirit, according to our several means, and risk in £5 or £10 shares [39].

Thus in Ipswich, the town council evidently felt that the easiest means of laying out a cemetery was through the use of joint-stock financing, and the local people believed it to be a duty to support the company. Ipswich presents an example of reform through civic initiative, reflecting what was happening in many and various ways in other localities. In 1850, a handbill was printed commenting on the Metropolitan Interment Bill then in progress through the House of Commons. The bill looked to localities for the best response to the problem of financing new cemeteries: 'Nothing should be done for a community that can be done by a community' [40]. This phrase might reasonably be taken as the motto of the cemetery company in early nineteenth-century Britain.

Study of the emergence of the cemetery company in the period 1820 to 1853 has proved to be fruitful for a number of different reasons. To a large extent, the thesis has confirmed the dictum

that the way in which a nation buries its dead is a true indicator of its level of civilisation. Historians have assumed that the reliance in the early nineteenth century on joint-stock cemeteries revealed a society where the exploitation of the grieving took place as a matter of course. This thesis agrees that a study of burial reveals much about society, but contends that far from being a mere commercial institution, the joint-stock cemetery presented finer aspects of the period: the determination to achieve religious independence; a revulsion against the barbarity of churchyards which were morally and emotionally offensive; and the willingness of communities to take corporate responsibility for welfare of public health.

FOOTNOTES.

Epigraph: Suffolk Chronicle, 20 Oct. 1849.

1. Thomas James, 'Cemeteries and Churchyards; funerals and funeral expenses', Quarterly Review, 73 (1844), 447.
2. Prospectus of the Portsea Island Cemetery Company (1830). Sanderson Collection, Local History Library, Portsmouth Central Library.
3. H.Slight, Intramural Interments (Portsea, 1850).
4. Prospectus of the Portsea Island Cemetery Company.
5. Kaleidoscope, 5 (1825), 333.
6. G. Walker, Gatherings from Graveyards (1839), 201.
7. First Report of the Leeds Cemetery Company (1836). Brotherton Library, University of Leeds.
8. Who are the Parties Liable for Additional Parochial Burial Ground? (1852). Scottish National Library.
9. The Times, 21 Mar. 1837, 5e; E.D.P.Evans, A History of the New Meeting House, Kidderminster 1782-1900 (Kidderminster, 1900).
10. MS Journal of Richard Eckroyd Clark, vol. 2: 1848-49, 2 Mar. 1848. Doncaster Archive Office.
11. Observer, 17 Mar. 1850.
12. Builder, 23 Jan. 1847.
13. Prospectus of the Extramural Cemetery Company (1850). Woodvale Cemetery and Crematorium, Lewes Road, Brighton.
14. J.Smith, Report to the General Board of Health on a Preliminary Inquiry into the Sewerage, Drainage and Supply of Water, and the Sanitary Condition of the Inhabitants of the

- Town and Borough of Kingston-upon-Hull (1850). Appendix, 69.
15. J.S.Curl, The Celebration of Death (1980), 206-7.
 16. ibid., 242.
 17. D.Roberts, The Victorian Origins of the British Welfare State (New Haven, Conn., 1969), 318.
 18. O.MacDonagh, A Pattern of Government Growth (1961), 19.
 19. J. Hart, 'Nineteenth-century social reform: a Tory interpretation of history', Past and Present, 31 (1965).
 20. S.E.Finer, The Life and Times of Edwin Chadwick (1852); R.A.Lewis, Edwin Chadwick and the Public Health Movement (1952); K.Jones, The Making of Social Policy in Britain 1830-1990 (1991), 37-9.
 21. In the case of urban improvement see K.Grady, The Georgian Public Buildings of Leeds and the West Riding (Leeds, 1989); for public health see B. Keith-Lucas, 'Some influences affecting the development of sanitary legislation in England', Economic History Review, 6 (1953).
 22. Owen Chadwick, The Victorian Church 2 vols (1966 and 1970); G.I.T.Machin, Politics and the Churches in Great Britain 1832-68 (Oxford, 1977). See also W.G.Addison, Religious Equality in Modern England (1944).
 23. B.C.Hunt, The Development of the Business Corporation in England 1800-67 (Cambridge, Mass., 1936).
 24. R.C.Mitchie, Money, Mania and Markets (Edinburgh, 1981), 246.
 25. J.Wilson, Lighting the Town: A Study of Management in the North West Gas Industry 1805-1880 (1991).
 26. E.P.Hennock, Fit and Proper Persons (1973); H.Meller, Leisure and the Changing City, 1870-1914 (1976).

27. Dawson, quoted by Hennock, Fit and Proper Persons, 75.
28. Asa Briggs, Victorian Cities (1963). See also G.S.Messenger, Manchester in the Victorian Age (Manchester, 1985); Grady, Leeds (1989).
29. P.Borsay, The English Urban Renaissance (Oxford, 1989).
30. See for example, W.M.Frazer, A History of English Public Health (1950); B.L.Hutchins, The Public Health Agitation 1833-48 (1909); F.B.Smith, The People's Health 1830-1910 (1979); Eric Midwinter, Social Administration in Lancashire (Manchester, 1969); U.Henriques, Before the Welfare State (1968).
31. See, for example, M.Blaug, 'The myth of the Old Poor Law and the making of the New', Journal of Economic History, 24 (1964), 243; D.Eastwood, ' "Amplifying the province of the legislature": the flow of information and the English state in the early nineteenth century', Historical Research, 62 (1989), 277; M.J.Cullen, The Statistical Movement in Early Victorian Britain (New York, 1975).
32. See for example B.Keith-Lucas, 'Some influences affecting the development of sanitary legislation in England', Economic History Review, 6 (1953), and the riposte to E.P.Hennock, 'Urban sanitary reform a generation before Chadwick?', Economic History Review, 10 (1957).
33. A. Wohl, Endangered Lives (1983), 170.
34. ibid.
35. Ipswich Journal, 6 Oct. 1849.

36. ibid.

37. ibid.

38. ibid.

39. Suffolk Chronicle, 15 Sep. 1849.

40. Metropolitan Interment Bill: Address of the Central Committee Appointed to Watch its Progress (1850). Guildhall Library, London.

APPENDIX: SOURCES FOR CEMETERY COMPANIES, 1820-53

There was no single central source locating all cemetery companies founded in Britain during the whole of the period 1820-53. As a consequence, information on company establishment had to be gathered from all the record offices and many of the local history libraries throughout Britain. The following list gives at least one source for each cemetery company, either prospectus, newspaper report, government report, legal document or secondary source. For full details of each reference, see bibliography. Where a primary source is given below, the reference is not always the first place in which details of the company were cited, but generally that which gives the greatest information about the reasons for the foundation of the company.

In addition, three government publications have been used. None of these is comprehensive for the period, and none gives information other than a date of establishment, and the title of the company. For some companies, indication of foundation is contained in only one of these three sources. Where this is the case, the sources are designated RSC, RRJ, or ILPA respectively. The three sources are:

1. Report to the Select Committee on Joint Stock Companies (1844).

Concern for the unregulated activities of some joint stock fraudsters led to the calling of this Select Committee. This Report lists some existing cemetery companies.

2. Reports by the Registrar of Joint-Stock Companies to the Committee of Privy Council for Trade (1846-53).

As a consequence of the findings of the Committee, English joint stock companies were obliged to register with the Committee of Privy Council for Trade. This took place from 1845, but some earlier companies registered. The designation RRJ, below, is followed by the date on which registration took place.

3. Index to the Local and Personal Acts.

There are three companies appearing in the Index for which no further information has been found.

Date	Town	Company	Source
1820	Manchester	Rusholme Road Proprietary Cem.Co.	MS Articles of Agreement.
1823	Liverpool	Proprietors of the Low Hill Gen. Cem.	MS Records.
1824	Norwich	Rosary Burial Ground Trust.	W.Lee, <u>Report...on...Norwich</u> (1850), 78.
1825	Liverpool	St James Cem.Co.	MS Minute Book.
1825	Newcastle	Westgate Hill Cem. Co.	J.Fenwick, <u>Substance of a Speech</u> (1826).
1825	London	Gen. Burial Ground Assoc.	<u>Prospectus.</u>
1828	Great Yarmouth	Gen. Cem. Co.	<u>Yarmouth...Trust Deed.</u>
1830	London	Gen. Cem. Co.	<u>Prospectus.</u>
1830	Portsmouth	Portsea Island Cem. Co.	<u>Prospectus.</u>
1832	Birmingham	Gen. Cem. Co.	Manning, <u>Guide</u> (1905).
1833	Leeds	Proprietors of the Leeds Gen Cem. Co.	<u>Annual Reports.</u>
1834	Sheffield	Gen. Cem. Co.	MS Minute Book.
1834	York	Cem. Co.	Murray, <u>Garden of Death</u> (1991).
1834	Newcastle	Gen. Cem. Co.	<u>Prospectus.</u>
1835	London	Strood, Rochester, Chatham, and Brompton Cm.Co.	<u>RSC.</u>
1835	London	Woolwich and Greenwich Cem. Co.	<u>RSC.</u>
1835	London	Gen. Burial Ground and Cems. Assoc. Co.	<u>RSC.</u>
1835	London	Necropolis and National Mausoleum Co.	<u>RSC.</u>
1836	Manchester	Gen. Cem. Co.	Deighton, <u>Manchester General</u> (1911).
1836	London	Cem. Co.	<u>Morning Chronicle</u> , 14 Apr. 1836.
1836	London	South Metropolitan Cem. Co.	<u>Morning Chronicle</u> , 30 Apr. 1836.

1836	London	South London Cem. Co.	<u>Morning Chronicle</u> , 30 May. 1836.
1836	Manchester	Ardwick Cem. Assoc.	<u>Manchester Guardian</u> , 2 Apr. 1836.
1836	Manchester	Necropolis	<u>Manchester Guardian</u> , 23 Apr. 1836.
1836	Brighton	Cem. Co.	<u>Morning Chronicle</u> , 25 Apr. 1836.
1836	Manchester	Salford and Hulme Cem. Co.	<u>Manchester Guardian</u> , 30 Apr. 1836.
1836	Manchester	Salford, Pendleton and Broughton Royal Cem. Co.	<u>Manchester Guardian</u> , 30 Apr. 1836.
1836	Liverpool	St Mary's Cem. Co.	<u>Albion</u> , 9 May 1836.
1836	Bristol	Gen. Cem. Co.	<u>Bristol Mirror</u> , 15 Feb. 1837.
1836	York	Gen. Cem. Co.	<u>Yorkshire Gazette</u> , 14 May 1836.
1836	York	Public Cem. Co.	<u>Yorkshire Gazette</u> , 9 Jul. 1836.
1836	London	West London and Westminster Cem. Co.	<u>The Times</u> , 21 Mar. 1837, 2b.
1836	Halifax	Gen. Cem.	<u>Halifax Guardian</u> , 21 May 1836.
1836	Manchester	Hulme Cem. Co.	Love, <u>Handbook of Manchester</u> (1842), 92.
1836	Manchester	Stockport Cem. Co.	Love, <u>Handbook of Manchester</u> (1842), 92.
1836	Nottingham	Gen. Cem. Co.	<u>Annual Reports</u> .
1837	London	Portland Cem Co.	<u>The Times</u> , 18 Mar. 1837, 2d.
1837	London	London Necropolis and National Cem. Co.	<u>The Times</u> , 7 Mar. 1837, 2b.
1838	Gravesend	Gravesend and Milton Cem Co.	<u>Gravesend...Prospectus</u> .
1839	London	Abney Park Cem. Co.	Joyce, <u>Guide</u> (1984).
1839	Winchester	Cem. Co.	<u>Prospectus</u>
1840	Glasgow	Western Necropolis	<u>Glasgow Courier</u> 9 Jan. 1840.
1840	Glasgow	Burial Grounds Institute...Sighthill	MS Minute Book.
1840	Chippenhan	Cem. Co.	MS Deed, Wiltshire Record Office.
1840	Darlington	Cem. Soc.	<u>Prospectus of a New Burial Ground</u> .
1840	Edinburgh	Cem. Co.	MS Minute Book.
1840	Brighton	Cem. Co.	<u>ILPA</u> .
1840	Shrewsbury	Abbey Cem Co.	Act of Parliament, Shrewsbury (1840).
1840	Truro	Cem. Co.	Brooks, <u>Mortal Remains</u> (1989), 26.
1841	London	City of London and Tower Hamlets Cem. Co	<u>Report</u> .
1841	Rotherham	Cem. Co.	MS Deed of Settlement.
1842	Newport	Public Cem. Co.	<u>Copy of the Deed of Settlement</u> .
1842	Reading	Cem. Co.	Lee, <u>Report...on...Reading</u> (1852).
1842	Cambridge	Cem. Co.	<u>Cambridge Advertiser</u> , 19 Oct. 1842.
1842	Derby	Cem. Co.	<u>Derby Mercury</u> , 12 Jul. 1843.
1842	Kidderminster	Gen. Cem. Co.	Evans, <u>History</u> (1900), 102-9.
1842	Wisbech	Cem Co.	MS Minute Book.
1844	Edinburgh	Metropolitan Cem. Assoc.	<u>Edinburgh Evening Courant</u> , 1 Aug. 1844.
1844	Dundee	Cem. Co.	<u>Address</u> .
1845	Glasgow	Western Cem. Co.	<u>Glasgow Courier</u> , 16 Jan. 1845.
1845	Edinburgh	Western Cem. Co.	<u>Address</u> .
1845	Glasgow	Cem. Co.	<u>Glasgow Courier</u> , 23 Jan. 1845.
1845	Glasgow	Eastern Necropolis	<u>Glasgow Courier</u> , 28 Jan. 1845.
1845	Perth	Cem. Co.	<u>Farmer's Journal...</u> , 6 Feb. 1845.
1845	Paisley	Joint Stock Cem. Co.	<u>Renfrewshire Advertiser</u> , 8 Feb. 1845.
1845	Paisley	Cem. Co.	<u>Renfrewshire Advertiser</u> , 8 Feb. 1845.
1845	Stirling	Cem. Co.	<u>Stirling Observer</u> , 20 Feb. 1845.
1845	London	Victoria Park Cem. Co.	<u>The Times</u> , 19 Feb. 1845.
1845	Edinburgh	Edinburgh and Leith Cem. Co.	<u>Scotsman</u> , 8 Feb. 1845.
1845	Edinburgh	Southern Cem. Co.	<u>Address</u> .
1845	Edinburgh	Leith Cem. Co.	<u>Scotsman</u> , 8 Feb. 1845.
1845	Greenock	Cem. Co.	<u>Greenock Advertiser</u> , 14 Feb. 1845.
1845	Hull	Gen. Cem. Co.	MS Minute Book.
1845	Birmingham	Church of England Cem. Co.	Wilson, <u>History</u> (1900).
1845	Gainsborough	Cem. Co.	<u>Eastern Counties Herald</u> , 4 Sep. 1845.
1845	Canterbury	City of Canterbury Cem. Co.	<u>Kentish Gazette</u> , 9 Sep. 1845.

1845	Leicester	Gen. Cem. Co.	<u>Leicester Chronicle</u> , 27 Sep. 1845.
1845	London	Metropolitan Necropolis	<u>RRJ</u> , 15 Oct. 1845.
1845	Greenwich	Greenwich, Blackheath, Woolwich and Deptford CC.	<u>Kentish Mercury</u> , 18 Oct. 1845.
1845	Norwich	Church of England Burial Ground Co.	<u>Norfolk Chronicle</u> , 24 Oct. 1845.
1845	Norwich	Cem. Co.	<u>Norwich Mercury</u> , 24 Oct. 1845.
1845	Wakefield	Gen. Cem. Co.	<u>Wakefield Journal</u> , 10 Oct 1845.
1845	Bridgwater	Cem. Co.	<u>Exeter Flying Post</u> , 18 Dec. 1845.
1845	London	Great Eastern and Western Cems Assoc.	<u>Prospectus of the Metropolitan</u> .
1845	London	Woolwich and Plumstead Cem. Co.	<u>RRJ</u> 10 Nov. 1845.
1845	Greenwich	Greenwich*	<u>RRJ</u> 26 Sep. 1845.
1845	Greenwich	Metropolis Necropoli	<u>RRJ</u> 15 Oct. 1845.
1845	Northampton	Cem. Co.	<u>RRJ</u> 1 Oct. 1845.
1845	Northampton	Gen. Cem. Co.	<u>Annual Reports</u> .
1845	Wolverhampton	Cem. Co.	<u>Wolverhampton Chronicle</u> , 11 Nov 1846.
1846	London	Provincial and Gen. Cem. Co.	<u>Scotsman</u> , 28 Jan. 1847.
1846	Plymouth	Plymouth, Devonport and Stonehouse Cem. Co.	MS Minute Book.
1847	London	Metropolitan Suburban Cem. Soc.	<u>Scotsman</u> , 28 Jan. 1847.
1847	Doncaster	Cem. Co.	Sheardown, <u>Doncaster Cemetery</u> (1865).
1847	Chester	Cem. Co.	<u>RRJ</u> 27 Nov. 1847.
1848	Newbury	Cem. Co.	ILPA.
1849	Falkirk	Cem. Co.	<u>Falkirk Herald</u> , 12 Apr. 1849.
1849	Swansea	Gen. Cem. Co.	<u>Canbrian</u> , 4 May 1849.
1849	Swansea	Nonconformist Cem. Co. or Swansea Necropolis	<u>Canbrian</u> , 1 Jun. 1849.
1849	Bradford	Cem Co.	<u>Bradford Observer</u> , 8 Jun. 1854.
1849	Brighton	Extra-mural Cem. Co.	<u>Prospectus</u> .
1849	Ipswich	Cem. Co.	<u>Ipswich Journal</u> , 10 Nov. 1849.
1849	Chester	Cem. Co.	ILPA.
1849	Hereford	Cem. Co.	Collins, <u>Modern Hereford</u> (1911), 41.
1849	Preston	Cem. Co.	Hardwick, <u>History</u> (1857), 310.
1850	London	Shooter's Hill Gen. Cem. and Mausoleum Co.	<u>RRJ</u> 12 Mar. 1850.
1850	Stafford	Gen. Cem. Co.	<u>RRJ</u> 2 Oct. 1850.
1850	f	Diocesan Cem. Co.	<u>RRJ</u> 6 Apr. 1850.
1851	Woking	London Necropolis and National Mausoleum Co.	Crosby, <u>History of Woking</u> (1982).
1851	Torquay	Extra-mural Cem. Co.	<u>Exeter Flying Post</u> , 2 Dec. 1852.
1851	Nottingham	Church Cem. Co.	<u>Nottingham...Report</u> .
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1853	Ilfracombe	Cem. Co.	Brooks, <u>Moral Remains</u> (1989), 91.

*the full title of this company is 'The Greenwich, Blackheath, Woolwich, Deptford, Lewisham and Charlton Cemetery Company'.

f no town was specified for this company.

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