

Death and the Disposal of the Dead in the
Industrial Town, 1820-1870: A study of
burial practices & provisions in the North
West of England

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Industrial Town, 1820-1870: A study of
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West of England

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Abstract

Between 1801 and 1871 the population of England grew at an unprecedented rate. This increase in population led to a major problem for towns across the country, which was how to dispose of their dead. This was a particular issue in industrial towns in the North West of England such as Liverpool and Manchester, which had some of the worst mortality rates outside London. Using Manchester as a case study and then expanding to other towns in the North West, such as Chester, Liverpool, Wigan and Preston, the first part of this thesis looks at who controlled the burial of the dead from 1820 to 1870. In order to achieve this, the thesis will analyse and compare the history of burial provisions in the North West. This was a time when new forms of burial provisions, such as cemeteries, joined traditional places of burial such as churchyards as sites for burying the urban dead. The comparative analysis examines the complex reasons why burial sites developed and declined in this period. Its findings complement and contest current work in the field of burial practices, especially by highlighting the diverse nature of local burial provisions. The second part of the thesis focuses more specifically, on what happened post 1850, when local government took a more active role in providing cemeteries to bury the dead in the form of the municipal cemetery. It uses neglected municipal cemetery sources such as grave receipts, to add new understanding of those buried in such cemeteries, especially those buried in public graves, including children.

The thesis challenges much current research into Victorian burials, arguing that the public (or mass) grave was the most popular grave in these northern cemeteries. It gives novel insights into the role of women in the burial process, illustrates the diverse nature of urban burial provisions in North West England and raises questions which could usefully be applied to other regions. Most significantly, it demonstrates how historians have misunderstood important aspects of working-class attitudes towards death and burials, especially in relation to pauper burials.

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My sincerest thanks also go to Dr Craig Horner for his continued help and advice whilst completing this thesis. I would also like to thank Terry Wyke for inspiring me to take up this field of research. A special mention must also go to Professor Brian McCook, Dr Sam Edwards and my colleagues at Manchester Metropolitan University, for their support and encouragement.

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Finally, a special mention needs to go to my great grandfather George Hughes, who is buried in a public grave in Philips Park Cemetery and who did not die a pauper.

Glossary of Terminology

Places of Burial

It is worth noting that places of burial often did not have fixed terminology in the nineteenth century. In the interest of clarity, the following terminology will be used in this thesis.

Burial sites or burial provisions will refer to all places of burial, rather than specific sites.

Churchyards or graveyards will be used to describe burial sites that are within the same ground as a church or chapel.

Burial grounds will refer to places of burial that are affiliated with a particular religion; however, unlike churchyards, they do not usually share the space with a place of worship.

Joint stock cemeteries

Although it could be argued that joint-stock cemeteries, mostly created by Dissenters, were religious cemeteries, this study separates them for clarity. Joint-stock cemetery companies were cemeteries that were funded by the selling of shares. The cemetery was run as a commercial business with its shareholders receiving dividends from the shares.

Religious cemeteries did not have shareholders. They were established by religious groups, such as the local Roman Catholic Diocese or the local Synagogue.

Municipal cemeteries were established by local government, often replacing older parish burial grounds. Central government loans primarily funded these places of burial.

Grave Space

It is also important to mention that not all burial sites had the same grave spaces. For example, in cemeteries such as Highgate or Brompton in London, a visitor would be greeted by a sight of impressive mausoleums. Due to their expense, such types of monuments were a rare feature in municipal cemeteries in the working-class districts of the North West of England.¹ Like burial provisions, burial plots also had interchangeable names, especially with plots that were similar in cost and style:

Vault and tombs were often used to describe the same space. When John Dalton died in 1844, he was buried in what the press at the time described as a vault... ‘The space allotted for the vault is 21 feet square and is situated in a central part of the cemetery’.² By 1899, the press was calling the same grave a tomb: ‘The tomb of John Dalton should be kept in repair by the Corporation’.³ This study tries to use the terminology used in the original source. If this is not clear, it uses the terminology listed below.

¹ For a full description of burial space terminology see appendix 40.

² ‘Funeral of the late Dr Dalton’, *Manchester Courier and Lancashire General Advertiser*, (10 August 1844), p.5.

³ ‘John Dalton’s Tomb’, *Manchester Evening News*, (5 June 1899), p.5.

Mausoleums

The rarest type of burial space within the North West was the mausoleum.

Mausoleums were impressive and expensive structures that resembled small grand dwellings. The burial chamber could usually fit in several coffins, placed on a plinth or within a sarcophagus. The burial chamber protected the coffins from disturbance, although this did not stop them from rotting if it was made of perishable material such as wood. The mausoleum typically had a front door where mourners could enter and spend time with their deceased loved ones. This type of burial space was often the most expensive and was usually owned by a wealthy local family.

Crypts

Similar to a mausoleum, although underground rather than above the surface. As well as being in churchyards, burial grounds and cemeteries, crypts are mostly found under the floor of churches and cathedrals and are usually reserved for local land-owning families or members of the clergy.

Vaults

Usually made from stone or brick. Vaults surround the coffin and protect it from disturbance from such things as grave robbers, soil and water.

Catacombs

Catacombs were a series of underground tunnels with recesses in which to put coffins. Between 1820 and 1870, the building of catacombs in the North West was rare. Only Liverpool council approved a design for their municipal cemetery which included catacombs. When Anfield Cemetery opened in 1863, it had two vast catacombs that

could each hold over 400 bodies. Mourners could access the catacombs by a flight of stairs, whereas coffins were lowered to the floor by a ‘noiseless’ lift.⁴ The expense of such a burial, meant that they would have been out of reach for the working classes.

Tomb

A tomb is a structure that covers the corpse. However, it is also used to describe both a stone structure similar to a mausoleum and also a vault.

Private, Family or Freehold Grave

It could be argued that all the above are private or family graves. However, the most popular types of family graves usually contain a maximum of four family members and have a standard stone headstone memorialising those that are interred in the space. The price of these graves differed depending on where they were situated in the cemetery. Usually, the most expensive first-class graves lined the walkways or were closest to the church or chapel.

Public, Common or Single Grave

Public, common or single graves were graves where the purchaser bought a single grave space in a large grave plot, which usually contained other people who were not kin. Such graves could contain as many 30 coffins. If the family of the deceased could afford it, they could pay for their relative's details to be inscribed on the headstone, which was usually a flat stone that covered the grave. These types of graves were the cheapest in the cemetery and were extremely popular.

⁴ ‘Corridors and Catacombs’, *Liverpool Daily Post*, (28 April 1863), p.7.

Pauper Grave

Pauper graves were graves paid for by the state. They were often, although not always, mass graves where bodies were stacked on top and also alongside each other. Pauper graves can be found in parish burial grounds, municipal cemeteries and workhouse burial sites. They were usually situated near the boundary wall of the cemetery, in a section that was furthest from the church or chapel. It is worth noting that paupers were also buried in public graves.

Introduction

'Whatever the cause of death, the disposal of the dead was a necessary task, the dimensions of which were also increasing at a rapid rate'.⁵

Julie Rugg describes population 'growth' as having an inevitable consequence, and this was displayed none more so than in urban areas during the nineteenth century.⁶

At the start of the eighteenth century, approximately 17 percent of the British population lived in towns with more than 5,000 residents. By 1800, this number had increased to 27.5 percent, and by 1880, it was estimated that 80 percent of the population was urban.⁷ Between 1801-1871 the population of England grew at a rate of 156.88 percent.⁸ This increase in population led to a significant problem for towns across the country, and that was how to dispose of its dead. This was particularly felt in industrial towns in the North West of England such as Liverpool and Manchester, which had some of the worst mortality rates outside of London.

Mortality remained high for most of this study, only falling significantly in 1868, which is two years before the research for this thesis finishes.⁹ Liverpool had the worst mortality rate in the North West of England. Between 1831 and 1849, the death rate did not drop below 30 per thousand. In 1847 it peaked at 71 per thousand when the national

⁵ Julie Rugg, 'From reason to regulation:1760-1850' in *Death in England: An Illustrated History*, (eds.) Peter C. Jupp and Clare Gittings, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999), pp.202-229 (p.219).

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Roderick Floud, Bernard Harris, 'Health, Height and Welfare: Britain, 1700-1980', in *Health and Welfare during Industrialization*, (eds.) Richard H. Steckel, Roderick Floud, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997), p.93; Eric J. Evans, *The Forging of the Modern State: Early Industrial Britain 1783-1870*, (Essex: Pearson Education Limited, 2001), p.130.

⁸ Evans, *Modern State*, p.512.

⁹ See appendix 24.

average was in the low twenties.¹⁰ Eric Evans states that in Liverpool, a labourer's child was twice as likely to die before their fifth birthday than in rural Rutland.¹¹ Life expectancy in Manchester was also low. A person born in the town between 1838 and 1844 only had a life expectancy of 21.4 years.¹²

At the start of this study in 1820, an adult or child dying in the North West would either be buried in the local churchyard, in a burial ground or later in the decade a cemetery. While the types of burial sites (churchyard, burial ground and cemetery) were the same in every town in the region, no town had the same burial history.

Throughout the period of this thesis, control over who provided burial space shifted between the ecclesial authorities, businessmen, local and national government. As this work will demonstrate, this was predominately a top-down process. That being said, those at the lower end of the social scale did have some agency in this matter. Although they lacked the power and influence to create new places of burial, this thesis will suggest that they did have power, and that power was in where they buried their dead. With large loans to pay back and shareholders to keep happy, their custom was vital in providing much needed revenue to new burial sites.

Trying to explain why burial provisions developed and declined in the nineteenth century is often complex and cannot be attributed to a single reason. For example, Manchester had a large population and high mortality rates, and yet the corporation, who were responsible for creating municipal cemeteries, went for over a decade

¹⁰ J. K. Walton, *A Social History of Lancashire*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1987) p.174.

¹¹ Evans, *Modern State*, p.196.

¹² Ibid.

without a cemetery to inter the dead. The town did not even have a parish burial ground at this time. Instead, its inhabitants were mostly dependent on private enterprise and not the local council to provide a place of burial for their loved ones.¹³ When 31-year-old Harriet Acton died in Manchester in 1858, her family had to bury her in a privately owned joint-stock cemetery in Ardwick because the corporation did not establish a municipal cemetery until 1866, when they opened Philips Park Cemetery.¹⁴

Looking outside of Manchester demonstrates the diversity of burial provision history. Liverpool for example, which also had a large population and high mortality rates, had two municipal cemeteries by the time that Philips Park opened. Chester in comparison, had no municipal cemetery, instead relying on the privately owned Overleigh Cemetery.¹⁵ Wigan, whose population was only a third smaller than Manchester, had a municipal cemetery in operation by 1858, eight years before Philips Park opened. One of those interred in Wigan's new municipal cemetery at Lower Ince in 1856, was five-month-old Amelia Cooper. Cooper's parents lived at the post office in Scholes. When she died, her parents decided to bury her in a public grave.¹⁶ With no written testimony from the Cooper family, it is not possible to know why they buried her in that plot. Also interred in the same grave were another six people, including 27-year-old Roger Aspinall who died in the workhouse and was buried a pauper.¹⁷ In the class-conscious nineteenth century, it has been argued by historians that dying a pauper denied the deceased a respectable send-off and represented 'the final stamp of failure' for those

¹³ See appendix 1.

¹⁴ Ardwick Burial Registers held by Manchester Archives, (MFPR 1947-1948).

¹⁵ See appendix 20.

¹⁶ A public grave is a burial plot where the coffins of several people are interred in the same space, these people are not usually kin.

¹⁷ Wigan (Lower Ince Cemetery) held by Wigan and Leigh Archives, (MF 4B 1/1-2)

at the lower end of the social scale.¹⁸ Even those who were not paupers, like Amelia Cooper, still faced the same criticism because she was interred in a grave with paupers, thus implying that the a public grave and a pauper grave were the same.

Cooper's burial addresses one of the key themes of this thesis and that is how did class, specifically being working class, shape the experience of death? Broadly speaking, the gradual release of new records over the past forty years, has made it possible to give 'ordinary people back their history'.¹⁹ Since WWII, there has been a steady increase from social historians focusing their research on under researched groups, such as women and the working classes, the field of death studies is still behind in understanding the experience of death and burial for 'ordinary people' in the nineteenth century.

The second theme is control. This thesis will investigate who controlled the burial process from 1820-1870, specifically looking at the role that central and local government, the church, individuals and private companies, had in the creation and decline of burial sites.

In order to assess what was occurring in this field, this study will be taking a relatively new approach by conducting a series of local studies of towns within the North West of England. Julie Rugg championed the benefits of using local studies in her work on the conflict of obtaining land for cemeteries some 20 years ago, stating that it 'marks a departure from the usual approach to burial history, which is to rely wholly on London-

¹⁸ J. S. Curl, *The Victorian Celebration of Death*, (Devon: David & Charles, 1984); Thomas Laqueur, 'Bodies, Death & Pauper Funerals', *Representations*, No. 1, (1983), pp.109-131; J. Morley, *Death, Heaven and the Victorians*, (London: Studio Vista, 1971), pp. 23-27.

¹⁹ K. Boyd, R. McWilliam, (Eds) *The Victorian Studies Reader*, (Oxon: Routledge, 2009), p.127.

based sources'.²⁰ However, only a small number of local studies have been conducted since her suggestion, and none have the broader regional comparative element which this thesis introduces.

Using Manchester as the main case study, this thesis aims to challenge, debate, and complement the current historiography on burial provision by demonstrating that current trends need to be re-evaluated to take into account local variations in the number and type of burial provisions and attitudes towards death. However, in order to fully understand the extent of these variations, this new study will develop a stronger comparative element that includes regions outside Manchester. The research methods that have been applied to the data from Manchester will then be duplicated to assess the extent to which these findings can be challenged or replicated elsewhere in the North West.

This work will challenge the historiographical framework of burial history in nineteenth-century towns which implies that there was a shift from churchyards and burial grounds, to private-stock cemeteries and then to municipal cemeteries which became the principal agency of burial.²¹ This thesis will argue that this process was not linear, and there was no displacement between the various different burial provisions.

This thesis will also be the first work to provide a study of the origins and early years of the municipal cemetery within a specific region. This is significant as it was the first

²⁰ Julie Rugg, 'Ownership of the place of burial: a study of early nineteen-century urban conflict in Britain' in *Urban Governance: Britain and Beyond since 1750*, (eds), Robert J. Morris and Richard H. Trainor, (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000), p.214.

²¹ Pat Jalland, *Death in the Victorian Family*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), p.199; S. M. Barnard, *To Prove I'm Not Forgot: Living and Dying in a Victorian City*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1990), p.17; Curn, *Victorian Celebration*.

place of burial that was created and controlled by both local and national government. A comparative study of municipal cemeteries in the North West from 1854-1870, will acknowledge their individuality in such things as their design, cost, size and management. It will also address the complexities of laying out such cemeteries within the religious context of nineteenth-century towns and cities. This research has been undertaken by consulting a wide range of primary evidence such as newspapers, council minutes, cemetery board minutes and burial registers. This new study will complement and contribute to the work that has already been undertaken on joint-stock cemetery companies by Julie Rugg and will create a new understanding of municipal cemeteries which have so far been neglected in the historiography of burial provision.

The study also adds new knowledge and understanding of the often-overlooked subject of working-class burials. An examination of 2,500 individual burial receipts from public graves in municipal cemeteries in Manchester and Liverpool will provide a unique insight into working-class attitudes towards respectability in the nineteenth century and what it meant to have a respectable 'send-off'.²² This evidence gives insight into those who were buried in the cemeteries by providing information such as date of burial, name, age, address, occupation, cause of death and grave number. Analysis of the data will open up a discussion regarding the interpretation of the public grave, which has so far been entwined in the pauper burial as something which people actively avoided.

²² Ideas surrounding defining respectability will be discussed in Chapter Four.

Case Studies

Manchester

Manchester was chosen as the original focus for this study because a large proportion of the scholarly research that had previously been conducted tended to focus on London. It was also chosen because of its prominence as a northern industrial city. In the fifty years prior to the start of the nineteenth century, Manchester had developed from a modest market town into one of the powerhouses of the Industrial Revolution. With this change brought a large increase in population. At the start of the nineteenth century, the population of Manchester was 76,788. Over the next fifty years, it would more than quadruple to 316, 213.²³ Coupled with the population increase was an increase in mortality, which was higher in Manchester (33 per thousand), than the national crude average, which stood at 22 per thousand.²⁴ In order to accommodate the growing number of deaths, a variety of different burial provisions such as churchyards, joint-stock cemetery companies and municipal cemeteries were created. The vast majority of the churchyards and cemeteries in Manchester have accessible source material in the local archives, thus making the city an ideal case study through which to research the history of mortality.

The North West

The history of burial provision within the North West is both diverse and complicated. To start with, as David Stenhouse alludes, in terms of geographical boundaries, the North West is hard to define.²⁵ He argues that it covers parts of Derbyshire and Cumberland. In this thesis, however, the North West only includes the mid-nineteenth

²³ A. Kidd, *Manchester a History*, (Lancashire: Carnegie Publishing, 2008), p.14.

²⁴ Ibid., p.42.

²⁵ D. Stenhouse, *The North West*, (Essex: The Anchor Press, 1977), p.1.

century counties of Lancashire and Cheshire. At the start of this study in 1821, the population of Lancashire and Cheshire was 1,322,957.²⁶ Only London had a higher population, with 1,328,671 inhabitants. By 1831, however, the counties of Lancashire and Cheshire combined had a higher population than London.²⁷ Lancashire was also rapidly expanding with the greatest number of buildings in England in 1840, and the second-largest growth in terms of building development.²⁸ Alongside the high population and the expansion of buildings, these two counties also had some of the worst mortality rates in the country, with the biggest killer in the North West during this period being diseases of the respiratory system.²⁹

Towns within the North West are the focal point of this study because there has never been an in-depth examination into the history of burial provisions within a specific north-west town or the region during this period. Most of the traditional work that forms the foundation of this field is still based on London and the South. However, basing this thesis in working-class areas of the north, will provide a much-needed study into the agency and experience of the poorer classes.

In more recent times, as mentioned at the start of this chapter, there has been some progress, with a couple of singular studies of mortality and burial provisions in towns and areas outside London, such as Sheffield, Leeds, Rutland and Leicestershire. What is still missing, however, is a comparative analysis. Basing such a study on the North West, where there are port towns, such as Liverpool, factory textile towns, such as Blackburn, Bolton, Manchester, Oldham, Preston, Salford, Stockport and county and

²⁶ Information gathered from the Second Annual Report of the Registrar General, Second Annual Report of the Registrar General, 1838-39, (London: W. Clowes & Sons, 1840).

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ Third Annual Report of the Registrar General, 1839-40, (London: W. Clowes & Sons, 1841).

²⁹ Based on the annual reports of the Registrar General 1839-1870.

leisure towns, such as Chester, gives a broader understanding of the varying attitudes towards death and burials by both the people and, the parochial and governing authorities.³⁰

Time Period

This study covers the period from 1820 to 1870. This period was chosen explicitly because all forms of burial provisions (churchyards, burial grounds, joint-stock and municipal cemeteries) were available and mostly present in urban areas within North West England.

This time frame has also been chosen because it covers a period when national legislation was introduced that had a significant impact on the interment of the dead and the creation of new burial sites. The legislation came as part of a broader governmental drive to improve the public health of those that lived in industrial towns.³¹

The study starts in 1820 because Manchester (which is the central case-study) did not get a joint-stock cemetery until 1821 when the Rusholme Road Cemetery opened as the first cemetery of this type in the North West. Therefore, the study starts just before this to allow for analysis of the motivations of the directors in opening such a venture.

Manchester did not get a municipal cemetery until 1866. It was one of the last places in the region to get one, which is why this study finishes in 1870. These extra years allow an analysis of those that were buried in the cemetery, as well as an examination

³⁰ Eric Evans groups towns into these categories in his book *The Forging of the Modern State: Early Industrial Britain 1783-1870*, (Essex: Pearson Education, 2001), pp.515-517.

³¹ This will be discussed further in chapter one and two.

of how the cemetery operated in the early years of its existence. This thesis does not provide a comprehensive study of each municipal cemetery built in the North West during this period. Instead, it uses individual municipal cemeteries as case-studies to highlight the diversity of such places of burial.

Finally, this period has been chosen because the years between the Burial Act 1853 and 1870, have often been overlooked by historians. Recent work tends to look at the period up to 1853, which has attracted attention because of the introduction of ‘modern’ commercial cemeteries that were grand in both design and ambition, while the period past 1870 has tended to focus on the introduction of crematoriums. The neglected period 1853-70, is significant because this is when considerable change occurred in this field, with introduction of a series burial acts that forced closure of a vast number of burials sites within the urban landscape – the full impact of these acts will be discussed in the following two chapters.

This thesis fills a gap in the existing literature by placing the history of death and burials within broader ideas surrounding the role of the state and its interference, or lack of, in everyday life and death in the nineteenth century. It highlights the diverse nature of burial provision history in a specific region, something that has not previously received attention. In taking this focus, it contests some of the broad generalisations that dominate this field of research and brings it in line with other urban histories which now acknowledge that there is no ‘one size fits all’ when it comes to discussing the history of industrial towns and cities during this period. Until now, there have only been two local studies that discuss why burial sites developed and declined in the towns on which the thesis focuses. Useful though these individual studies are, this work is the first to

concentrate on a specific region. Not only is it breaking new ground by looking at the specific reasons why burial sites developed and declined, it is also the first to provide a history of the origins and early years of municipal cemeteries and is the first to look at those that were interred in the said cemeteries by using burial receipts, a record that has been neglected by historians.

Historiography

'Everyone dies, but dying too has a history.'³²

Since its development in the 1970s, the historiography of nineteenth-century burial history has increased at a steady pace. Largely the work has tended to focus on two broad areas. Firstly, a history of burial provisions, loosely based on the European model, which suggests that the history of burial sites in the nineteenth century shifted from over-crowded churchyards and burial grounds to joint-stock cemetery companies and, by the middle of the century, to municipal cemeteries.³³ And secondly, a class conscious approach to individual attitudes towards death, with a particular focus on the

³² Hannah Malone, 'New Life in the Modern Cultural History of Death', *The Historical Journal*, Vol.62, No.3, (2019), pp.833-852.

³³ J. Rugg, F. Stirling, A. Clayden, 'Churchyard and Cemetery in an English Industrial City', *Urban History*, Vol. 41, No.4, (2014), pp.627-646; Malone, 'New Life', pp.833-852; J. Barker, *Highgate Cemetery: Victorian Valhalla*, (London: John Murray, 1984); S. M. Barnard, *To Prove I'm Not Forgot: Living and Dying in a Victorian City*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1990); J. S. Curl, *Kensal Green Cemetery*, (West Sussex: Phillimore, 2001); J. S. Curl, *The Victorian Celebration of Death*, (Devon: David & Charles, 1984); J. Litten, *The English Way of Death: The Common Funeral since 1450*, (London: Robert Hale, 1991); J. Morley, *Death, Heaven and the Victorians*, (London: Studio Vista, 1971); J. Rugg, 'The Origins and Progress of Cemetery Establishment in Britain', in *The Changing Face of Death* (eds.) P. C. Jupp, G. Howarth, (Hampshire: Macmillan, 2000); R. Richardson, *Death Dissection and the Destitute*, (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1987).

experience of those at the extremes – the wealthy and the pauper.³⁴ Most recently, in 2019, Hannah Malone presented a critical literature review on the modern cultural history of death in England. Focusing on eight books published between 2005-15, she argues that in recent years there has been an ‘abandonment of grand narratives of modernization and secularization; an interdisciplinary integration of political, cultural, and intellectual history; greater attention on the individual; and the expansion of the field beyond Europe and North America’.³⁵ Using parameters set out in her work, this study falls into two of these broad themes, which are a focus on the individual and an abandonment of grand narratives of modernization. However, a more clinical study of Malone’s work separates this study from others that she has cited. Apart from the work of Laqueur (which will be discussed later in the thesis), the other studies are either focused on a different period in history or a different country.

Starting with the history of burial provision, the following discussion will provide an examination of the research that has been undertaken in this field. It is worth noting that every chapter in this thesis also contains a summary of the historiography relating to the chapter’s specific area of research.

Burial Provisions

Scholars writing in the twentieth century about the history of nineteenth-century burial sites have suggested that at the start of the nineteenth century the country was reliant

³⁴ Barnard, *To Prove*; Curl, *Kensal Green*; Curl, *Victorian Celebration*; Litten, *The English Way*; Morley, *Death*; Rugg, *Changing Face of Death*; Richardson, *Death*; Philippe Ariès, *Western attitudes toward death from the middle ages to the present*, (Maryland: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1975); Philippe Ariès, *The Hour of our Death* (New York: Random House, 1991); Malone, ‘New Life’; John McManners, *Death and the Enlightenment: changing attitudes to death among Christians and unbelievers in eighteenth-century France* (Oxford: Oxford Paperbacks, 1985), pp.1-3; Régis Bertrand, ‘L’histoire de la mort, de l’histoire des mentalités à l’histoire religieuse’, *Revue d’histoire de l’Église de France*, Vol.86, (2000), pp.551-60.

³⁵ Malone, ‘New Life’, pp.833-852.

on churchyards and burial grounds to inter the dead. However, by the 1830s, the narrative suggests that a wave of commercial cemeteries, owned by shareholders, were also providing burial space. These new cemeteries were promoted as a hygienic alternative to burial in churchyards and burial grounds, which were now becoming overcrowded to a point where they were deemed as a threat to human health. Such was the concern from the governing authorities and social health reformers, that in the 1840s and 1850s a series of public health acts and burial acts were introduced to regulate the burial of the dead and burial provisions. Arguably, the most effective was the Metropolitan Burial Act 1852, extended outside of the metropolis in 1853. The Act forced the closure of churchyards and burial grounds within urban centres and also led to the creation of municipal cemeteries, some of which are still interring the dead.³⁶

This simplistic narrative is mostly based on research conducted in London. Recently, Clayden, Rugg and Stirling conducted a study into Sheffield's burial provisions. They have argued that there was not a 'dichotomised transition from churchyard to cemetery', showing that by the end of the century 'substantial' church burial was still occurring.³⁷ Their study of Sheffield offers similarities with the rise of burial provision in Manchester, as will be discussed later in this thesis, and contrasts with the findings of those who have tended to focus their narrative on London and France.³⁸ These varying histories highlight the individuality of burial sites within towns during this period.

³⁶ Pat Jalland, *Death in the Victorian Family*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), p.199; Barnard, *To Prove*, p.17; Curl, *Victorian Celebration*.

³⁷ Rugg, Stirling, Clayden, 'Churchyard and a Cemetery', pp.627-646.

³⁸ Aries, *The Hour*.

Alongside broad narratives of burial history, within this field there have also been several studies conducted into the history of individual cemeteries.³⁹ These studies have contributed to the understanding of this method of burial and have provided knowledge of the history of these particular cemeteries. Although none of these studies focus on the areas included in the thesis, they do give a view of what was happening elsewhere in the country – notably Yorkshire and London. These books need to be used with caution as they have often been written as visitor guides and frequently contain errors or lack references to sources.⁴⁰ By contrast, Curl's edited collection on the Kensal Green Cemetery, a commercial cemetery in London, is one of only a few academic works on a single cemetery and includes essays by some the leading historians in the field of mortality.

The most in-depth study into specific burial provisions is Julie Rugg's work on joint-stock cemeteries. She has challenged the way that commercial cemetery companies have been portrayed by historians, who had previously argued that the sole aim of these cemeteries was to make a profit.⁴¹ Rugg's work, based on an array of records such as minute books, annual reports, legal papers and company prospectuses, argues that the motivations behind the setting up of these cemeteries were more diverse than has previously been acknowledged. She suggests that other factors such as religion and the need for a 'sanitary' place to bury the dead all played a part in their development.⁴² She stresses that it should not be assumed that because the

³⁹ Bernard, *To Prove*; C. Clark, R. Davison, *In Loving Memory: The Story of Undercliffe Cemetery*, (Stroud: Sutton Publishing Limited, 2004); Curl, *Kensal Green*; Felix Barker, *Highgate Cemetery: Victorian Valhalla*, (London: John Murray, 1984).

⁴⁰ Felix Barker, *Highgate Cemetery: Victorian Valhalla*, (London: John Murray, 1984).

⁴¹ Julie Rugg, 'The rise of cemetery companies in Britain, 1819-1853', (unpublished PhD thesis, University of Stirling, 1992); Chris Brooks, *Mortal Remains*, (Devon: Wheaton, 1989).

⁴² Ibid.

cemeteries were formed as joint-stock companies, they were solely out to make a profit, as joint-stock companies were a common way of financing several different types of organisations in the nineteenth century.⁴³ This thesis will complement Rugg by arguing that in the case study areas, joint-stock companies were formed for various reasons. However, it will depart from her argument by illustrating the extent to which in Manchester they were motivated by profit.

Research undertaken for the Manchester case study has revealed a slightly different picture. The first directors' minute book for Ardwick Cemetery, for example, clearly states that the directors were intent on making a profit and they make no reference to opening the cemetery for religious purposes or as a sanitary place to bury the dead. This is just one example of a commercial cemetery in Manchester. However, the new research examines the extent to which this type of financial motivation was a one-off or whether it was prevalent in other industrial towns in the North West, by drawing on a broader range of sources, including local newspapers. Rugg admits in her work that she does not examine joint-stock cemeteries in terms of their social class and their commercial success, but focuses on their 'cultural and social significance'.⁴⁴

There is currently a distinct lack of historiography regarding the municipal cemetery. A possible reason for this is that historians such as Curl have branded them 'utilitarian, hygienic and for the most part uninteresting'. Research in Chapter Three of this thesis will contest all three of these observations. Municipal cemeteries are generally mentioned by historians when discussing the history of burial reform in the nineteenth

⁴³ Rugg, 'The Origins', p.106.

⁴⁴ Rugg, 'cemetery companies', p.13.

century and have been portrayed as the final solution to the burial crisis. However, what has been neglected in the history of burial provision is an in-depth comparative study of origins and early years of such cemeteries, something that Chapter Three will aim to fill. This thesis will also address the difficulty that councils frequently faced in trying to establish these new municipal institutions, notably concerning how to cater to all religious denominations. Manchester had a strong Unitarian presence and the planning of its first municipal cemetery, Phillip's Park, was designed so that Anglicans and the Dissenters were buried in the same part of the cemetery, although separated into different sections. Catholics were buried in their own section, separated from the main cemetery by large gates, a road and their own entrance, all of which is suggestive of the sectarian differences in Manchester. As such examples suggest, the spatial layout of Philip's Park was planned with much more than just aesthetic appreciation in mind.

Attitudes towards death and burial

James Stevens Curl was one of the first scholars in the twentieth century to examine the Victorian experience of death and burial. In his work, *A Victorian Celebration of Death*, Curl argued that even in death, the Victorians could use material wealth to elevate their social position in society, with those at the bottom of the social scale actively avoiding being buried by the state in a mass grave because it was seen as their final failure in life and something which would disgrace their family.⁴⁵ Curl's work was written at a time when the Victorian cemetery was a neglected eye-sore in the contemporary city and was designed to interest the reader in their plight. Although insightful and ground-breaking, his research concentrated on the burial practices of the

⁴⁵ Curl, *A Victorian Celebration of Death*, Thomas Laqueur, 'Bodies, Death & Pauper Funerals', *Representations*, No. 1, (1983), pp.109-131; Morley, *Death*, pp. 23-27.

middle-classes and the wealthy in London and failed to address adequately the experiences of those outside of the metropolis and those who were working-class and poor. Although recent scholars have critically challenged it, Curl's pioneering work still forms the backbone to many studies in this field.⁴⁶ For example, using contemporary literature and burial club statistics, Alan Kidd, John Morley, Elizabeth Hotz and Thomas Laqueur have all argued – with some success – that a person's social position in life was firmly established by what happened to their body after death.⁴⁷ They have also argued that the poor feared and attempted actively to avoid the pauper burial – a burial paid for by the state.

The definition of a pauper burial according to Richardson, is a grave that was 'twenty or more coffins deep, all generously treated with quicklime to hasten the speedy re-use. No monument marked a pauper's grave'⁴⁸ Julian Litten states: 'A pauper funeral was, therefore, something to be avoided, not only because of its extreme simplicity but also for its significance in exhibiting one's failure to maintain a position, however lowly, in society'.⁴⁹ Burial by the state not only represented failure, it often removed any element control that the deceased's family had over the funeral proceedings. It also meant that the deceased would be buried in a mass grave with people who were not family.

Historians who have made these generalisations about 'buying respectability' have not fully considered regional variations in attitudes towards death during this period or the class composition of local communities. The notion that the Victorians celebrated death with pomp and grandeur does not sit comfortably within Manchester's burial

⁴⁶ Curl, *Victorian Celebration*.

⁴⁷ M. E. Hotz, 'Down Among the Dead: Edwin Chadwick's Burial Reform Discourse in mid-nineteenth century England', *Victorian Literature and Culture*, Vol. 21, No. 38, (2001); A. Kidd, *State, Society and the Poor in Nineteenth-Century England*, (London: Macmillan, 1999); Laqueur, 'Bodies'; Morley, *Death*.

⁴⁸ Richardson, *Death*, p.274.

⁴⁹ Litten, *The English*, p.165.

history. For example, in Manchester's municipal cemetery, which is situated a working-class area, the line between the social classes and the type of grave in which they were interred, is quite blurred. For example, the occupations and last residences of those that were buried in public graves with paupers, and those that were buried in private family graves, were the same or very similar. This is significant as it suggests that the cheapest private graves were not out of reach financially for the working classes, which raises questions regarding burial in a public grave and a pragmatic approach to death.

As mentioned above, according to the current research in this field, the type of burial a person received mattered in the nineteenth century. In his research, Thomas Laqueur uses burial club statistics to argue that the working poor would do whatever it took to avoid a pauper burial. He argued that those at the lower end of the social scale put money aside to afford a decent burial for family members. However, the very idea of a 'pauper burial' is a complex area to discuss because historians such as Laqueur have failed to give a precise definition and failed to make a distinction between the term pauper, which this study argues, was a person reliant on the state, and those who were just poor. There is also a lack of clarity between a pauper grave and a public grave.

The public grave has popularly been identified with paupers, and many historians have made the same connection based mainly on two mistaken assumptions.⁵⁰ The first is that the public grave only attracted paupers. The second is that paupers were not buried in private plots. With so much of the historiography of burials focused on the 'pomp and

⁵⁰ Laqueur, 'Bodies', p.116.

'ceremony' of the middle classes and the 'stark and degrading' experiences of paupers, what happened to the working classes - those that did not need state help - has been somewhat neglected during the period on which this thesis is focused.

Julie Marie Strange is one of the few historians to attempt to clarify the difference between the pauper grave and a public grave. Writing about a later period in Victorian history, she states that a 'pauper burial is a direct reference to interment at the expense of the ratepayers'.⁵¹ Simply put, it is a burial paid for by the state.

Sylvia Barnard does not offer clarity over the definition, however, she does stress that paupers did not solely use public graves, highlighting that people also paid for burials in these graves.⁵²

Research on Manchester's Philip's Park Cemetery, which is discussed in the final chapter of this thesis, has provided evidence that the vast majority of those buried in public graves were not paupers. They may have been working class, but they were not paupers. This research questions the very existence of pauper graves in municipal cemeteries, arguing there were single interments paid for by the state in public graves, but that there were no graves solely for paupers in these burial sites.

This thesis will also contest the work of Strange, who does, as mentioned above, clarify the difference between pauper and public graves, but implies that the fact that the working classes were still buried with paupers meant that they would have faced the same criticism. She argues, for example, that the prohibited use of headstones over

⁵¹ Julie-Marie Strange, *Death, Grief and Poverty in Britain, 1870-1914*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005).

⁵² Barnard, *To Prove*, p.14.

public graves caused one woman great distress because it ‘reinforced the anonymity and indignity of the public interment’.⁵³ There were, however, variations of how cemeteries valued public grave burials and those buried in it. For example, public graves in Manchester’s Philips Park Cemetery had flat stone memorials and those that could afford it could have their relative’s details inscribed on the memorial.

As well as there being variations in attitudes towards public grave burials, Hurren and King, have taken their research one step further by arguing that there was no such thing as a ‘standard pauper burial’ with paupers being buried in both private and public graves. Using the Poor Law records from Hulme, Manchester, they have demonstrated that there was little evidence to support the view that ‘the poor abhorred the pauper funeral’ at all. Their study has shown that paupers in Hulme were buried according to their ‘families’ wishes’.⁵⁴ This thesis builds on their work by suggesting that there was no standard pauper burial, however, there is no evidence to suggest that the poor were content with being buried a pauper. Chapter four will suggest, through the use of burial clubs, that they were happy to be buried with paupers, but they wanted to pay for the burial and have some agency over the burial itself.

Due to limited working-class source materials, some scholars have focused their research on middle-class attitudes towards death and have used observations of the lower classes by their social superiors. Julie-Marie Strange implies that the Victorian culture of death is primarily derived from the journalism and London based novels of contemporary authors such as Charles Dickens’.⁵⁵ Most Victorian writers who speak of

⁵³ Strange, *Death*, p.147.

⁵⁴ S. Hurren, S. King, ‘Begging for a burial: form, function and conflict in nineteenth-century pauper burial’, *Social History*, Vol. 30, No. 3, (2005), pp.321-341.

⁵⁵ Strange, *Death*, p.2.

death, including Dickens – have tended to write about extremes - the wealthy and the pauper or lower working-class inhabitants of the industrial city. Although Dickens has been influential in highlighting the plight and struggle of the Victorian poor, it is also questionable how representative his work is concerning what was happening outside of London. Philips Park Cemetery in Manchester, for example, was a ‘working-class’ cemetery, which contained the bodies of both skilled and unskilled people. There is little evidence here to suggest that those at the lower end of the social scale wanted their burial practices to emulate those of the middle classes. Julie Rugg has also relied heavily on official documents produced by a class conscious middle class, such as the Burial Inspector’s records or Parliamentary enquiries, to condemn the public grave.⁵⁶ John Morley, following a similar pattern, similarly condemned the public grave by drawing on middle-classes sources and failed to take into account regional variations and attitudes towards death and burials. Rugg, for example, uses a newspaper article complaining about ‘pit burials’, where ‘coffins were placed in graves despite of their class’, to demonstrate class consciousness and to prove that society condemned the very existence of the public grave.⁵⁷ The evidence on which this thesis is based suggests that historians have exaggerated the extent to which the public grave was avoided because it lacked respectability. As one Victorian judge in the North-West stated in 1862, ‘there was no great difference between public graves and private graves’.⁵⁸

⁵⁶ Julie Rugg, ‘Constructing the grave: competing burial ideals in nineteenth-century England’, *Social History*, Vol. 38, No. 3, (2013), pp.328-345.

⁵⁷ Morley, *Death*, p.12.

⁵⁸ ‘Liverpool Winter Assizes’, *Manchester Guardian*, (16 December 1862), p.3.

Methodology

In order to present the analysis in a clear and coherent structure the research on which this thesis is based has been broadly grouped into four areas: burial provisions in Manchester from 1820-1870; burial provisions in the North West from 1820-1870; the origins and early years of the municipal cemetery; public grave burials in the municipal cemetery from 1855-1870.

The aim of the first chapter is to examine who controlled the process of burials in Manchester and how did this effect the landscape of death during the period of this study. It will achieve this by analysing the growth and decline of burial provisions in Manchester. In contrast, the second chapter aims to illustrate the diversity of burial histories within the North West by conducting a comparative study using quantitative data. Where available, annual burial data has been obtained for every burial site in operation from 1820 to 1870 in Manchester, Chester, Wigan and Preston, with the results used to create a comprehensive list of available burial sites for each town. In Manchester, these provisions have been placed on two maps which visibly show the changes that occurred in the number of burial provisions in both 1820 and 1850. Burial data from the towns have also been used to create a series of line graphs that document the rise and fall in the number of interments for each burial site. The graphs have also been used to see what effect new places of interments, such as cemeteries, had on traditional methods of burial, such as churchyards and to see what effect national legislation had on burial sites. In addition, population and mortality statistics have been gathered for each town, to discover if there is a correlation between both of those factors and the number of burial sites in each area.

Burial registers are also used in the first chapter to establish the last residence of those interred in the Church of England burial sites in Manchester. This religion was chosen because they have a full set of accessible burial registers. These results have been placed in a series of bar charts, which have been used to determine the distance people transported to be buried and the specific communities that burial sites served. This was to discover if there was a correlation between the growth of new residential districts and the development of new burial sites and to get some indication of how far people travelled to be buried. This evidence will be used to get some idea of how people decided where they buried their loved ones. Quantitative data, in the form of causes of death, have been gathered for Manchester's St Patrick's Roman Catholic burial ground. This data was collected for the years 1832 and 1842, to discover the impact that Irish immigration had on Manchester's mortality rates. Historians, alongside contemporary reports from observers and social reformers, have been critical of the living conditions of the Irish and their contribution to increasing mortality rates.⁵⁹ Data collected in this study will therefore see if Irish mortality was great enough to put pressure on the town's overcrowded burial grounds.

The next part of the thesis focuses on the origins and early years of the municipal cemetery, drawing attention to factors such as design, finances and management. Manchester is used as the main case study, although data has been gathered on every municipal cemetery in the North West. This data provides information such as the name of the municipal cemetery, the area it was situated, the date it opened, the

⁵⁹ T. Hunt, *Hunt, Building Jerusalem: The rise and fall of the Victorian city*, (London: Phoenix, 2005), p.31; M. Leon Faucher, *Manchester in 1844*, (Manchester: Abel Heywood, 1844), p.66.; 'Manchester Junction and Altrincham Railway', *Manchester Courier and Lancashire General Advertiser*, (19 May 1849), p.6.; M. Busteed, *The Irish in Manchester c.1750-1921: Resistance, Adaptation and Identity*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2015), p.49.

cost, the architect and the style of the architecture. A second table has also been drawn to reveal information about the design competition process, which was common practice with municipal buildings. This table reveals the architects who entered the competition and the subsequent premiums awarded to each architect. Burial Board, cemetery and council minutes, have also been used in this section to get a sense of how the cemetery was managed and to get financial information about it, which can only be found in these types of records.

The final chapter examines those that were buried in the municipal cemetery, with a particular focus on those buried in public graves. This fits in with the thesis's broader themes regarding the burial practices of the working classes and how those interred in public graves were perceived. Research in this section again relies on quantitative data. A study burial registers have been used to determine the types of graves people were buried in, with the results separated into two clear modes of burial: private (freehold) graves and public graves. These have been studied to see if the private grave or the public grave was the most popular mode of interment, the results either complementing or contesting the work of historians who have put forward the suggestion that the preferred mode of burial in this period was the private grave.

Focusing on the perception of the public grave, the final chapter draws on secondary material to determine the research that historians have produced on this subject and uses newspaper articles to determine what the popular view of such burials was in the twentieth century. It also uses data provided by questionnaires given to the descendants of those buried in public graves to get their perception of this type of burial. Although insightful, newspapers alone have their limitations and there needs to

be consideration, when assessing the sensationalist nature of newspapers as a source, of the type of newspaper, who wrote the article and where it appeared in the newspaper. Where there is doubt over its credibility, the article has been omitted.

The second part of this chapter is based on the personal histories of 2,500 individuals interred in public graves in two municipal cemeteries, Philips Park, Manchester and Toxteth, Liverpool. These cemeteries were chosen because of the availability and accessibility of their grave receipts.

To perform a fair and balanced comparative study, research was conducted into 500 grave receipts from each of the religious denominations at both cemeteries. The receipts ran chronologically over the same time period for the year, from 1866 to 1867. Data such as name, age, occupation, address, cost of grave, and purchaser information were recorded for each individual. This sample suggests their potential to humanise the statistics of public burial, an important legacy for the descendants of people buried in these graves, who for decades may have believed their ancestor died a pauper and in poverty.

Records and Limitations

In order to provide a comprehensive study of burial sites in the North West, contact was made with the archives of Lancashire, Manchester, Liverpool, Wigan (Leigh), Salford and Chester to determine what burial provisions were available in their areas during this study and also what records they hold concerning the said places of interment. Due to a rise in genealogical research, all the archives could identify local

places of burial, although the quality and the nature of the records varied considerably. This made it difficult, but not impossible, to conduct a comparative study. To overcome the issue of records' quality and survival, Manchester was chosen as the prime case study for this thesis because it has a good range of records from the town's burial sites. For example, Manchester archives hold Burial Board minute books, burial registers, grave receipts, committee books (Cemetery Committee, Public Health Board and the Parks and Cemetery Committee), and photographs. Records from other towns in the North West have only been used when they can be directly compared to Manchester's burial records. The most important records that have been consulted in this study are discussed below.

Burial Registers

Burial registers have been consulted in every chapter of this thesis. As mentioned previously, they have been mainly used to determine the number the burials per annum, which has helped identify patterns of mortality and burial site trends. The registers have also been used to discover the distance people were transported to be buried and to see if there was a correlation between the development of burial sites and the geographical expansion of the town. The registers are the only readily available source where this information can be found. Burial registers, alongside the Registrar General's returns, have further been used to discover how mortality rates, in particular, causes of death such as disease, affected the development and closure of burial provisions. Workhouse burial registers have been used to discover whether the person who died as a pauper received a pauper burial in the workhouse cemetery. In some cases, for example, such individuals were buried in private family graves in other cemeteries. There are limitations to this kind of research. Firstly, if the

workhouse pauper was buried in a public grave, it is impossible to know who paid for the grave unless the cemetery has grave receipts. Furthermore, not all workhouse burial registers note where the deceased was buried, making it impossible to know whether they were interred in the workhouse cemetery or another burial ground.

These records also have other limitations. For example, while there are registers for all of the burial places mentioned in this study, it would be wrong to suggest that they are complete. A major problem with conducting comparative studies using local research is the continuity and availability of records. Although most places of burial examined in this study have some form of records, the burial sites have not always been consistent in keeping them. For example, in Wigan, the Independent St Paul's Chapel was founded in 1787. A burial register was maintained for ten years and then did not start again until 1827. Therefore, it is impossible to know how many burials occurred at the start of the study for this particular place of burial.

There is also evidence to suggest that burials started in some burial sites a lot sooner than the official records indicate. It was not until 1812 and the Parochial Registers Act, that the compulsory act of recording burials came into law.⁶⁰ Before this time, at best there might have been recording of a name and date of burial, and at worst the record might be missing altogether. The Parochial Registers Act, otherwise called Rose's Act, 'imposed uniformity upon a chaotic, heterogeneous system'.⁶¹ Therefore, some burial sites, particularly in Manchester, only have the burial books created following the Act. Although burials began earlier, it has been impossible to know how many burials took

⁶⁰ 52 Geo. III, c.146, (1812), An Act for the better regulating and preserving Parish and other Registers of Births, Baptisms, Marriages, and Burials, in England.

⁶¹ Stuart Basten, 'From Rose's Bill to Rose's Act: A Reappraisal of the 1812 Parish Register Act', *Local Population Studies*, Vol.76, (2006), pp.43-62.

place before 1813. Every burial site seems to have had its own method for recording the data. There are also some burial sites where records no longer exist. However, there must have been burials because they are mentioned in the *London Gazette* as having burial closure orders placed on them – this will be explained more in the following chapter.

There has also been a problem with the accessibility of some records, especially Nonconformist and Roman Catholic records. For example, in Chester, there was no requirement for the Nonconformist or Roman Catholic places of worship to deposit their records with the local archives. Consequently, it has been challenging to obtain burial records for these chapels or, in the case of a burial site described as the ‘Roman Catholic Burial Ground’, it has been hard to prove it even existed, even though it was listed in the *London Gazette* as a place facing closure in the 1850s. There are similar issues with Roman Catholic records in Wigan and Preston. Alongside issues with burial records, there has also been difficulty in obtaining accurate population and mortality statistics. This is because it is not clear if the early records refer to just the actual town or whether they also refer to the surrounding townships. Out of the five Roman Catholic burial sites operating in Manchester from 1820 to 1850, only one (St Patrick's, Livesey Street) has complete records. The others are either missing entirely or are only partially available.

Further, there are questions regarding the accuracy and the vagueness of these records. For example, there seems to be some confusion over townships and their boundaries. In Manchester, there were several instances of last residences listed as addresses in the township of Manchester when they should have been listed in one of

the surrounding townships. The size and scope of this study meant that it was impossible to check that every road name was in the correct township, although where possible, apparent errors been corrected. For example, when Francis Wagstaff died in 1840 and was interred at St Michael's burial ground, the person who wrote in the register stated that Francis lived on Jersey Street, Manchester and not Ancoats, which was the correct township for Jersey Street.⁶² It is also worth noting that the last residence does not mean that the address was where the person lived; it was often the address of the place where they died. This can be a problem when using the last place of residence to discover the distance people travelled from where they lived. When assessing the effect that disease had on burial sites, the accuracy and the vagueness of these records have been taken into consideration. For example, it is impossible to state the full extent that cholera had on burial provisions. Although cholera is mentioned as a cause of death, it is possible that other symptoms such as a bowel complaint or inflammation, side effects of cholera, could have been recorded instead, leading to an under-recording of cholera deaths. For example, when Agnes McCormick died in 1832 and was buried at St Patrick's, Manchester, the cause of death was given as inflammation, although she was actually suffering from cholera. In another case, George Smith's cause of death was recorded as 'kings evil', an old term for swelling of the lymph nodes in the neck as a result of tuberculosis.⁶³ The impossibility of conducting detailed research into the cause of death for every individual has meant that the cause of death as written in the register is what has been used in this study. This may mean that some causes of death like tuberculosis and cholera are slightly under-recorded due to the symptom and not the disease being described

⁶² St Michael's Burial Register (1840) held by Manchester Archives (MFPR 626-7).

⁶³ St Patrick's Burial Register (1842) held by Manchester Archives (MFPR 1920-1).

Mortality Statistics

Woods and Woodward argue that the most accurate mortality statistics can be found after the introduction of civil registration in 1837. Before this, the historian has to rely on parish records, which can be problematic.⁶⁴ Parish records were often not recorded properly or were not recorded at all – especially when it came to recording infant deaths. Although the 1837 statutory recording of births, marriages and deaths did provide a central administration for recording data, the reliability of this data is also questionable, due to inaccurate reporting on the certificates, especially the age of those who were born before civil registration. Some deaths were also not recorded, and the population was under-enumerated.⁶⁵ These are, however, arguably the most reliable mortality statistics, and it is these that this study uses.

Religious Census

To understand the growth and geographical patterns of religious burial places with the North West, this study has consulted the 1851 Religious Census, which is useful in providing the religious breakdown of a particular area. It does, however, have its limitations. For example, the biggest problem with the census is that it was calculated on the number of people attending their place of worship on a particular Sunday. The turnout, especially in towns in the North West of England, was, however, rarely above 50 percent, with only Warrington (59.1 percent) and Wigan (53.2 percent) having more than 50 percent attendance. The lowest turnout was in Preston (25.5 percent), followed

⁶⁴ R. Woods, J. Woodward, *Urban Disease & Mortality in Nineteenth-Century England*, (London: Batsford Academic and Educational, London, 1984), p.153.

⁶⁵ R. Woods, *The Demography of Victorian England and Wales*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), p.180.

by Oldham (31.7 percent), Manchester (34.7 percent), Salford (36.6 percent) Bolton (36.8 percent), Blackburn (37.7 percent), Stockport (42.8 percent), Macclesfield (44 percent), Bury (44.1 percent), Liverpool (45.2 percent) and Ashton-under-Lyne (45.8 percent). The authors of returns noted that attendance on census day was lower than usual.⁶⁶ In the North West, the day the census was filled in was 'Midlent' or Mothering Sunday, which meant that people were often away visiting friends or family, while some towns had feasts that day, which kept them away from Church.⁶⁷ It is worth noting then that the number of people attending church would normally have been higher than what is reported.

Newspapers

Local newspapers have been a critical source in this thesis. They have been used where other records are absent or are not accessible. Newspapers can also reflect 'of social and cultural values of a certain place and time and often contain unique information that cannot be found elsewhere'.⁶⁸ For example, the Burial Board minutes for Rochdale do not describe the finished cemetery or how the public received it. Such information can only be found in an article in the local newspaper, which contests the notion that the cemetery was utilitarian and provides evidence of the multi-functionality of the cemetery.⁶⁹ Furthermore, on some occasions, local councils released information to the newspapers that was not officially recorded. For example, the layout and designs of the buildings within the cemetery were decided by the council following a design competition. On most occasions, the local council gave descriptions of the shortlisted

⁶⁶ K. S. Inglis, 'Patterns of Religious Worship in 1851', *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History* (1960), Vol. 11, No.1, p.76.

⁶⁷ Ibid.

⁶⁸ Krtalic, M., Lacovic, D., Tanackovic, S. F., 'Newspapers as a Research Source: Information Needs and Information Seeking of Humanities Scholars', IFLA, (2014), p.2.

⁶⁹ 'A Morning Walk in the Cemetery', *Rochdale Observer*, (28 February 1857), p.4.

designs to the local newspapers. Understanding why the council chose a particular design over others allows the historian to have some idea of the control that the council wanted over their municipal cemetery. It also sees how the cemetery fits with other municipal buildings that were in the corporation's portfolio, that were 'beacons of civic pride'.⁷⁰ In addition, the newspapers also recorded posted Home Office enquiries, such as irregularities that occurred at the cemetery – contesting the notion that the cemetery was a hygienic place to bury the dead. Furthermore, councils also advertised burial fees in the local newspaper, giving the historian an idea of the cemeteries' financial structure and also an insight into the sort of clientele that the council and cemetery management wanted to attract. For example, some cemeteries in wealthy areas charged more than those in working-class areas.

Alongside local newspapers, the *London Gazette*, which was the official newspaper of the Government, has also been consulted to determine when specific acts relating to the burial of the dead were introduced. The *Gazette* is also used to discover what restrictions had been placed on burial sites following the introduction of the 1853 Burial Act, which discussed in more depth in the next chapter.

Grave Receipts

Grave receipts are a fascinating source that have been largely neglected by scholars. The implication of this neglect means that this study will be able to present new and original research into those that were buried in this grave space, thus shedding new light on working-class attitudes towards death and burial. The receipts reveal the name

⁷⁰ Tristram Hunt, *Building Jerusalem: The rise and fall of the Victorian city*, (London: Phoenix, 2005), p.221.

of the purchaser, the purchaser's address, the cost of the grave and details about the deceased. It can be therefore determined, if these graves were 'pauper' graves or graves paid for by the deceased's family, etc..

Grave receipts for those that have been buried in public graves in municipal cemeteries have been extensively studied for the final chapter of this thesis, the results of which have helped to shed new light on Victorian perceptions of specific burial spaces.

Although these sources contain much useful information, traditionally they have not been used by historians because they are not easily accessible. Therefore, it has been impossible to conduct a full study into public grave burials because although all cemeteries were required to keep a burial register of who was interred in each grave, they were not required to keep grave receipts.

In the North West, the only three municipal cemeteries, Philips Park Cemetery in Manchester, Toxteth Cemetery in Liverpool and Anfield Cemetery, Liverpool, have useable grave receipts. Other surviving grave receipts do not have the same amount of detail as these. Those for Wigan, for example, do not state who paid for the burial, whereas in Philips Park and Toxteth it has been easy to identify those buried by the state, overseer or workhouse. Nonetheless, the non-pauper results should be viewed with caution because it is hard to identify who paid for the grave. Undertakers can be identified through trade directories, but it is impossible to know who paid the undertaker, which could have been a family member or a burial club. It is also worth noting that the final chapter only focuses on burials from a specific year; analysis of

other years might produce different results. For example, in years when mortality was particularly high, people in working-class districts would have been disproportionately affected, which might have altered the number of public graves that were sold

Synopses of Chapters

Chapter One

The first chapter in this thesis will provide critical analysis of Manchester's burial history from 1820 to 1870, focusing on how this process was controlled and managed during this period. It will seek to demonstrate the complex and varied nature of why burial sites developed and declined during this period and in this particular town. This chapter will focus its attention on four key factors that were identified in the preliminary research as affecting the development of burial provisions. These were; the geographical expansion of the town; population growth, in particular through immigration; government intervention and private enterprise. This chapter will also identify key factors that led to the closure of burial sites. These were the actions of the parochial authority and local government, which closed sites that were deemed to be full; national legislation, in particular, the Burial Act 1853, which forced the closure of burial sites that were deemed too close to human habitation and also sites that were a threat to the health of residents. Finally, this chapter will examine the effect that urban development, especially a drive for new infrastructure, had on burials in Manchester from 1820-70.

The chapter begins with an overview of the burial provisions that were in operation during the early part of the nineteenth century, and then between 1850 and 1870, highlighting new burial sites and those that stopped taking burials during this period. The results of this research are displayed in two maps, first dating from 1820 and the second map dating from 1850. These maps are the best way to show the physical growth of the town alongside the existing and emerging burial sites.

This chapter then analyses the sites individually to understand their origins and the effect that urbanisation had on places of burial within growing industrial towns. Starting with the effect that the geographical expansion had on the town, this chapter uses the maps mentioned above and burial registers to determine how far people were transported to be buried, to see if there is any correlation between the expanding town with its new residential areas and the emergence of new places of burial. This section also looks at the effect boundary changes had on burial provisions, by bringing existing sites under the township of Manchester.

The chapter goes on to discuss the role that private enterprise had on new burial sites. Using primary sources such as newspapers and the work that Julie Rugg has conducted on joint-stock cemeteries, this part of the thesis argues that churchyards, burial grounds and joint-stock cemeteries significantly benefited from private enterprise and the generosity of private donors. Following this discussion, the chapter examines the effects that a growing population had on burial sites. It starts with original research into the Million Churches Act, an Act designed to increase the number of Church of England churches in areas where the population outnumbered the number of available pews. Although it aimed to create churches, it also created churchyards in some of these new

places of worship. The final part of the discussion regarding the creation of new burial sites is focused on the role that immigration had on burial sites. Using Jewish and Roman Catholic burial records, the chapter suggests that a rise in immigration, led to new places of burial within Manchester.

However, it will also be suggested that the living conditions of some immigrants, such as the town's Irish residents, actually contributed to the town's high mortality rate, which led to the closure of burial sites that were deemed to be full. This section will also investigate the impact that national legislation had on burial sites, specifically restrictions placed on sites following the 1853 Burial Act. To conduct this research the *London Gazette* has been used to discover what restrictions or closures were in place for every place of burial in Manchester, cross-referenced with annual burial data, to see what number or if any, burials occurred after the restrictions were in place. The conclusions made in this chapter highlight Manchester's burial provision history. In order to discover if Manchester's history was the standard narrative of burial history in industrial towns during this period, Chapter Two extends the research to towns outside Manchester.

Chapter Two

Using the results from Manchester as the main case study, the second chapter develops a comparative study into why burial sites developed and declined between 1820 and 1870 in the North West of England. This chapter aims to highlight the diverse history of burial sites within the same region and to suggest that there is no 'one size fits all' in this field of research. It also exposes the often overlapping and complex nature of why burial provisions declined and developed in the manner in which they did during this period. Due to the time constraints of this study, this chapter

has researched the burial history of four towns located within Cheshire and Lancashire. These towns are Chester, Liverpool, Wigan and Preston. A full rationale of why these places were chosen for this study can be found in the chapter itself. However, to provide some context, each town was chosen because, like Liverpool, it was similar to Manchester in terms of population, mortality and the type and number of burial provisions or, like Chester, was very different. Chester was not a factory town, had a smaller population than Manchester and was mostly reliant on burial provisions that were over 100 years old. The town also never opened a municipal cemetery, relying on a joint-stock cemetery. Wigan, unlike the other places in this chapter, never had a joint-stock cemetery but had a municipal cemetery built next to the cemetery in neighbouring Ince.

Again, due to time constraints and for the benefit of the comparative study, this chapter has only focused on four key factors that affected the burial provision history in Manchester. Broadly these factors are population growth, immigration, local and national legislation and urban expansion. They were chosen because it could be argued that they made the most significant impact on the burial sites in the main case study. This chapter starts with a summary of all the burial sites in operation between 1820 and 1870 in the towns of Chester, Preston, Liverpool and Wigan, which leads to a discussion that highlights the similarities and differences in their burial history.

The evidence on which this part of the chapter is based involved researching the history of every burial site in the four towns during this period. The records used were burial registers, nineteenth-century local history books, council minutes, contemporary local newspapers and the *London Gazette*. Following this discussion, the chapter

assesses the impact that a growing population had on burial sites. It argues that the specific national legislation that was created because of the growing population (the Million Churches Act) and provided places of burial had an impact in Manchester but had no impact in other towns such as Chester and Liverpool.

The next section critically assesses the role that immigration had on burial sites, arguing that the effect that immigration had on burial provisions varied in each of the towns studied. For example, Liverpool was the only town to have a cemetery devoted solely to Roman Catholics, whose numbers had increased due to Irish immigration. Manchester, which also had a large Irish community, had no Roman Catholic place of burial following the closure of St Patrick's in 1858 and did not get a new burial space for Catholics until 1866. To see how popular Roman Catholic sites were, annual burial data has been obtained since their opening and until 1870. This part of the study also investigates whether there is a link between Irish settlement patterns and Roman Catholic places of burial.

Further, this chapter also investigates what impact Jewish immigration had on burial sites, which, again, was different for each town. For example, Liverpool had a Jewish burial ground in the centre of the town. However, in Manchester, the Jewish burial ground was approximately three miles out of the town. Further, Manchester was the only town in this study that had a Jewish cemetery specifically for poor children.

Using the *London Gazette*, burial registers and newspapers that relate to the four towns, this chapter also critically examines the impact that local and national legislation had on burial provisions, employing the same methods that were applied to

Manchester in the first chapter. These results will demonstrate that its impact differed between the towns. This chapter also provides evidence that local authorities closed burial sites before the enforced closures that came into force with national legislation in the 1850s. Finally, Chapter Two uses council minutes, maps and newspapers, to look at the impact that urban expansion, in particular, the creation of new infrastructure, had on burial sites.

Chapter Three

Both the first and second chapters of this thesis highlight the diversity and complexity of why new burial sites developed and declined in the North West of England, arguing that the local and national government did not start taking control of the process until the mid-nineteenth century. What is missing in both of these chapters is a thorough examination of the development of municipal cemeteries, cemetery created by local and national government. This is a deliberate omission, as the origins of the municipal cemetery have been largely neglected by historians and therefore this research warrants a chapter of its own. Other burial provisions, particularly joint-stock cemeteries, have received considerable attention from scholars such as Julie Rugg and James Curl. However, due to reasons that the chapter explores, an investigation of municipal cemeteries is lacking in this field of research. The third chapter, therefore, is devoted solely to the origins and early years of municipal cemeteries located in the North West.

The chapter begins by looking at how municipal cemeteries were created, with a particular focus on how they were funded. It investigates current research that suggests these cemeteries were facilitated by the 1853 Burial Act, which closed

existing churchyards and burial grounds within towns and cities, and provided a financial structure that would pay for these new burial provisions via loans. However, this chapter argues that the Burial Act of 1853 did not make the arrival of the municipal cemetery inevitable, nor did it provide adequate funding for all new municipal cemeteries. Research into their development, which has included a study of local council minutes, burial board books and local newspapers, suggests that the development of municipal cemeteries within the North West was just as diverse as the other burial provisions discussed in Chapter Four. The chapter examines the design of municipal cemeteries, contesting previous work that has suggested that the municipal cemetery was ‘utilitarian and ‘uninteresting’. It argues that cemeteries, like other municipal buildings of the time, followed the architectural styles of the period, employing talented architects such as Alfred Waterhouse. A study of cemetery maps, committee reports, local newspapers and the architectural magazine *The Builder*, reveals that no two cemeteries were the same. Municipal cemeteries built in the region between 1850 and 1870 differed in size, the design of the buildings, the layout of the land and cost.

The chapter also discusses the complexity of designing a cemetery, which included trying to work within the natural shape of the land, while also designing the layout in a manner to achieve the desired number of the grave spaces. Designs also had to take into account the best way to apportion the land into the religious denominations, either Church of England and Dissenters, or Church of England, Dissenters and Roman Catholics, which often included at least two chapels or three, if the Roman Catholics had their own chapel. The division of land was often complicated further by the sectarian differences that were present in towns with large Irish communities, such as

Liverpool and Manchester. For example, in Manchester, where a strong anti-Irish sentiment was present in the city, Roman Catholics were segregated from the other religious denominations in the cemetery by separate gates, a wall and a small road. A study of local sources relating to municipal cemeteries also sheds new light on the motivation of the cemetery management in setting up these new places. The chapter discusses these motivations, providing evidence to suggest that they were just as motivated by profit as earlier joint-stock cemeteries.

Finally, the chapter provides a brief examination of the early years of the municipal cemetery, arguing that this type of burial provision was not an instant success in some areas of the North West. It argues that it did not, in the early stages, stop the burial irregularities that had become a problem in urban areas during the first half of the nineteenth century. Chapter Three, focusing on the history of the municipal cemetery, like the previous two chapters, highlights the diverse nature of burial provision history. However, unlike them, it does not develop a comparative element due to nature and the availability of source material.

Chapter Four

The previous three chapters have demonstrated that the poorer classes had limited agency when it came to creation of places of burial. This chapter will take research conducted in the previous chapters a stage further by focusing on the burial of the working classes, to determine attitudes towards death and burial. Its conclusions are predominately based on 1500 grave receipts from Manchester's municipal cemetery, Philips Park, and on 1000 grave receipts from Liverpool's municipal cemetery, Toxteth. The receipts have been explicitly used in this chapter because they contain

information about both the deceased and the purchaser of the grave. A discussion regarding the advantages and limitations of using these sources can be found below.

Addressing broader themes regarding class and respectability that have been discussed earlier in this introduction, Chapter Four starts by examining the social implications of being buried in private, pauper and public graves, although the latter dominates this discussion. This chapter begins by addressing contemporary and modern perceptions of the public grave. It uses public grave burial data to challenge scholars who have argued that this type of grave was not respectable and to be avoided because it was the cheapest grave in the cemetery and a grave in which paupers were also buried. This chapter provides evidence that it was actually the most popular grave in the municipal cemetery.

The chapter's examination of those buried in public graves looks at wealth and social class and challenges the view that the public grave was the grave of the very poor and paupers. The mixture of techniques on which these findings are based includes using burial registers, census records and grave receipts to record occupations and the last residences of the deceased. This chapter also discusses present-day perceptions of the public grave among members of the public. Using two case studies of people's ancestors interred in public graves alongside a sample survey of 100 people taken in 2016, it suggests that the incorrect terminology calling the 'public grave' a 'pauper grave', has led members of the public to believe that their ancestors were paupers when they were not.⁷¹ To develop this argument further, the chapter examines the 1500 grave receipts from Philips Park Cemetery in more depth, concluding that over 80 percent of

⁷¹ See appendix 39.

those buried there were not paupers – their graves were not paid for by the state.⁷² This significant new research has implications not only in this field of death studies but also for the descendants of those buried in such plots, who have incorrectly believed that their ancestors were so poor that the state had buried them. A study of the occupations of the deceased has found that they were mostly working-class, with occupations ranging from police officers, teachers and clerks, to labourers and French polishers.

Chapter Four also sheds new light on the role of women, family and non-family, in the burial process. Work has already been done by Pat Jalland on the role of women, specifically middle-class and upper-class women, in the period up to the burial.⁷³ However, this chapter's findings suggest that women, in particular working-class women also had a role in paying for the burial. It is worth noting that some of these women were not relatives, but were employed in the undertaker business, challenging the idea that women were being withdrawn from family businesses during this period.⁷⁴ Using burial statistics for both private and public graves, the chapter argues that the public grave was primarily the grave of working-class children and explores nineteenth-century attitudes towards such child deaths.

Finally, the chapter examines the pauper burials that took place in Philips Park Cemetery, which were surprisingly low. It considers why this was the case, arguing that having a municipal cemetery did not stop poor law authorities interring paupers in

⁷² See appendix 35a.

⁷³ Jalland, *Death*.

⁷⁴ Eleanor Gordon & Gwyneth Nair, 'The economic role of middle-class women in Victorian Glasgow', *Women's History Review*, (2000), Vol.9, No.4, p.791; L. Davidoff, M. Doolittle, J. Fink, K. Holden, *The Family Story: Blood, Contract and Intimacy, 1830-1960*, (London: Longman, 1998); L. Davidoff & C. Hall, *Family Fortunes, Men and Women of the English Middle Classes*, (London: Routledge, 1987), Chapter 6.

privately owned cemeteries, as well as in the workhouse cemetery. It concludes by examining how the cemetery management viewed the public grave. It argues that the management of Philips Park Cemetery saw the grave as a valuable economic commodity and employed agents in working-class areas to try and get more burials. They also directly marketed the grave to working-class people by offering such trappings as a memorial stone and a competitive pricing structure.

Chapter One: The Growth and Decline of Burial Provisions in Manchester, 1820-1870

Introduction

Looking back to 1801, the *Manchester Guardian* described Manchester as a 'small place'. It stated that

Hulme was yet unbuilt; much of Ancoats in the same condition. Strangeways was comparatively rural, Greenheys or Chorlton Row as it was then called, were dotted with farms, Ardwick and Rusholme were outlying villages, the possession of which was shared by wealthy merchants and industrial farmers.⁷⁵

This relatively small market town, centred around the Collegiate Church, grew to become the 'shock city' of the Industrial Revolution.⁷⁶ By 1820, it had spread outwards from Deansgate and Market Street, reaching Cheetham Hill to the north and Chorlton-on-Medlock to the south.⁷⁷ Pigot's map of 1821 shows that not only had the town spread, but that existing areas were also now densely packed with a mixture of industrial, commercial and residential buildings.⁷⁸ Research for Sheffield has suggested that the geographical spread of the town assisted in the development of burial provisions.⁷⁹ In Manchester, however, this was only partly correct. New communities may have needed a new burial site, but that did not mean that they were going to get one.

⁷⁵ William E. A. Axon, 'Manchester in 1801', *Manchester Guardian*, (1 January 1901), p.7.

⁷⁶ Alan Kidd, *Manchester A History*, (Lancaster: Carnegie Publishing, 2008) p.31.

⁷⁷ Pigot (1821) Map of Manchester, GB127.Local Studies Street Map Collection

⁷⁸ Ibid.

⁷⁹ Rugg, Stirling, Clayden, 'Churchyard and Cemetery', pp.627-646.

This chapter asks why burial sites in Manchester declined and developed. It will demonstrate how the creation and decline of burial sites mirrored what was occurring within local and national government and changes in broader society. It will not only address the complexities of intramural interment within the industrial landscape, but it will also suggest that this process was controlled by both local and national government, the ecclesial authorities and a group of middle-class entrepreneurs that were keen to add cemeteries to their commercial portfolio.⁸⁰ The working classes, central to the need for new burial provisions, were largely voiceless in this process because they lacked the means or power to create new places of interment. Their agency lay in the limited control they had over their own burial practices, as a later chapter will demonstrate.⁸¹

Current research suggests that in industrial cities, unable to cope with the increasing mortality rates of burgeoning working-class populations, a decisive shift occurred in how the dead were buried, moving away from traditional churchyards and burial grounds to hygienic and sanitary cemeteries, built on the outskirts of towns by entrepreneurs and later by local councils, who added cemeteries to their municipality portfolio.⁸² Such changes paralleled what was occurring outside the field of death, as entrepreneurs were seizing the opportunity to profit from a growing population, such as by building cheap housing.

An increased risk of disease, brought about by growing urban populations, helped shift attitudes towards the health of those living in crowded urban areas. This had

⁸¹ See chapter four for an in-depth discussion of working-class burials.

⁸² Jalland, *Death*, p.199; Barnard, *To Prove*, p.17; Curl, *Victorian Celebration*.

for the burial of the dead as legislation closed overcrowded burial sites deemed a risk to the living and new municipal cemeteries were laid out on the urban outskirts, away from inhabitants.

Current scholars largely agree over how and why these changes occurred. Jalland argues that suburban cemeteries came during a time of national public health reforms, which included burials. She suggests that the 1852 Metropolitan Interments Act (extended beyond London in 1853) ‘prohibited intramural burial and interments in churchyards’, and in ‘closed old burial grounds’ for public health reasons.⁸³ Griffith and Wallace, state that ‘New landscapes of death developed, as burial grounds surrounding the old city churches filled up and modern cemeteries were laid out’.⁸⁴ Others such as Rugg, Stirling and Claydon argue this period in the history of burial provision represented ‘a signifier of shifting sensibilities’ into ‘scientific and sanitary paradigms’.⁸⁵ Yet, while this scholarship is important, it does not acknowledge the complexity and diversity of burial provision development in the nineteenth century. Manchester, as the age’s ‘shock city’, is an illuminating case study, through which to complicate the established narrative of burial developments as this chapter aims to do, arguing that current interpretations are often over-simplistic.

Starting with a brief overview of Manchester’s burial provision history between 1820 and 1870, this work will argue that multiple interconnecting factors were responsible for the growth and decline of burial sites in Manchester, which included geographical expansion, changing municipal boundaries, improvements in public health, the effects

⁸³ Jalland, *Death*, p.199.

⁸⁴ Lisa Marie Griffith & Ciaran Wallace (ed.) *Grave Matters*, (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2016), p.33.

⁸⁵ Rugg, Stirling and Clayden, ‘Churchyard and cemetery’, p.4.

of private enterprise and an increasing population, both natural and through immigration.⁸⁶

⁸⁶ Rugg, 'Ownership', p.219.

Burial sites, 1820-1850

1. Anglican

Despite the population doubling between 1800 and 1820, Manchester's Church of England community was mostly reliant on old burial sites which had opened in the previous century. Only two burial sites had opened during this time, one of which was the parish burial ground at Walker's Croft which opened in 1815.⁸⁷ The predecessor to Walker's Croft was the churchyard of the Collegiate Church, which was the original parish church. This site was taking burials from 1573, but the grounds were closed in 1819, following the opening of the new ground at Walkers Croft.⁸⁸

In the early nineteenth century, a traveller walking down Deansgate from the Collegiate church would have been in the vicinity of three Anglican eighteenth-century burial sites: St Anns, opened in 1712; St Mary's, opened in 1754; St John's, opened in 1769. The next site to open chronologically was St James in 1788 and then St Michael's, in 1789, which was on the northern tip of the residential part of the town in Angel Meadow. Although attached to the church, it was a parish burial ground intended for the poor who had 'no family place of burial'.⁸⁹ After St Michael's, the next burial site to open was St Peter's, Mossley Street, in 1796. This was the furthest south out of all the town burial sites and was in one of the least built-up areas. The most rural burial site was St George's, Oldham Road, which opened in 1798 and was surrounded by fields. Looking at the burial provisions on an 1821 map, it is evident that the burial sites wrap around the outskirts of the built-up areas of Market Street and Shude Hill. It is worth noting that

⁸⁷ See appendix one.

⁸⁸ 'Rough Church Notes', *The Manchester Guardian*, (19 November 1855), p.4.

⁸⁹ 'St Michael's Church, Angel Meadow', *The Manchester Guardian*, (28 December 1888), p.6.

in 1820, there were no burial sites to the west of the town in the area north of Piccadilly and Ancoats.⁹⁰

2. Nonconformist burial sites

Besides these Church of England places of burial, in 1820 ten Nonconformist burial grounds and churchyards were also open for interments, which included burial sites for Quakers, Unitarians, Baptists, Swedenborgians, Methodists and Independents. The number is equal to the Church of England burial sites. Six of these Nonconformist burial sites were to the south of Market Street. The oldest of the sites was the Quakers Burial ground which opened in 1674 on Deansgate. Unlike the Church of England sites which were all built in the eighteenth century (except for the ground at St George's and the parish burial ground), the Nonconformists did get five new burial sites in the nineteenth century before 1820, which included one in 1800 on Great Bridgewater Street and one in 1807 on Grosvenor Street.⁹¹

3. Roman Catholic and Jewish burial sites

At the start of this study, there were fewer burial sites in Manchester for Roman Catholics than Church of England and Nonconformists. Before 1820, they had only one Roman Catholic burial ground that had opened in 1816 and was situated on Mulberry Street, off Deansgate. However, in 1820, a second site called St Augustine opened on Granby Row, which was to the south-west of Manchester. There was no Jewish burial ground in Manchester in this early period. The nearest burial ground, in Pendleton, was two miles out of Manchester. It opened for burials in 1794 and closed in 1840. By 1850,

⁹⁰ See appendix 2 and 3.

⁹¹ Ibid.

however, three new Jewish cemeteries had opened in Prestwich (1841), Collyhurst (1844) and Miles Platting (1850).

Burial sites, 1850-1870

By the middle years of this study, the number of burial provisions in Manchester had grown considerably. Whereas in 1820 there were 18 places of burial, by 1845 the number had increased to 41. The number of Church of England burial sites had grown by 11, to 19. There were seven new Nonconformist sites. Three had closed, taking the number to 11. The number of Roman Catholic sites had doubled to four. As mentioned above, besides the ground at Pendleton, there were now two Jewish burial grounds on the outskirts of the town, in Miles Platting and Collyhurst. There was still a parish burial ground at Walker's croft, but paupers could now also be buried at one of the town's three joint-stock cemeteries (Rusholme Road Cemetery, Manchester General Cemetery or Ardwick Cemetery).

By 1870, the number of burial provisions had changed again. There was no longer a parish burial ground. Instead, a municipal cemetery had opened in 1866. Ten church of England sites closed between 1845-1870, but four new sites had opened outside Manchester, in Failsworth, Longsight, Newton Heath and Bradford. Seven Nonconformist burial sites had closed leaving four, while one new burial ground had opened. All the Roman Catholic burial sites operating in 1845 had closed, but a new churchyard (St Mary) had opened in Failsworth, and the new municipal cemetery, Philips Park, had a Roman Catholic section. Except for Pendleton, all the Jewish burial grounds were still open, and a new site had been established in Prestwich. All three joint-stock cemeteries were still operating, although they were interring fewer numbers than in

1845. Manchester also had two new places of burial, a burial ground attached to the Withington Workhouse that opened in 1859 and a burial site for executed prisoners in Strangeways Prison from 1869.⁹²

⁹² See appendix 1.

Overview of Manchester's Burial Sites

Map of active burial sites in the township of Manchester 1820

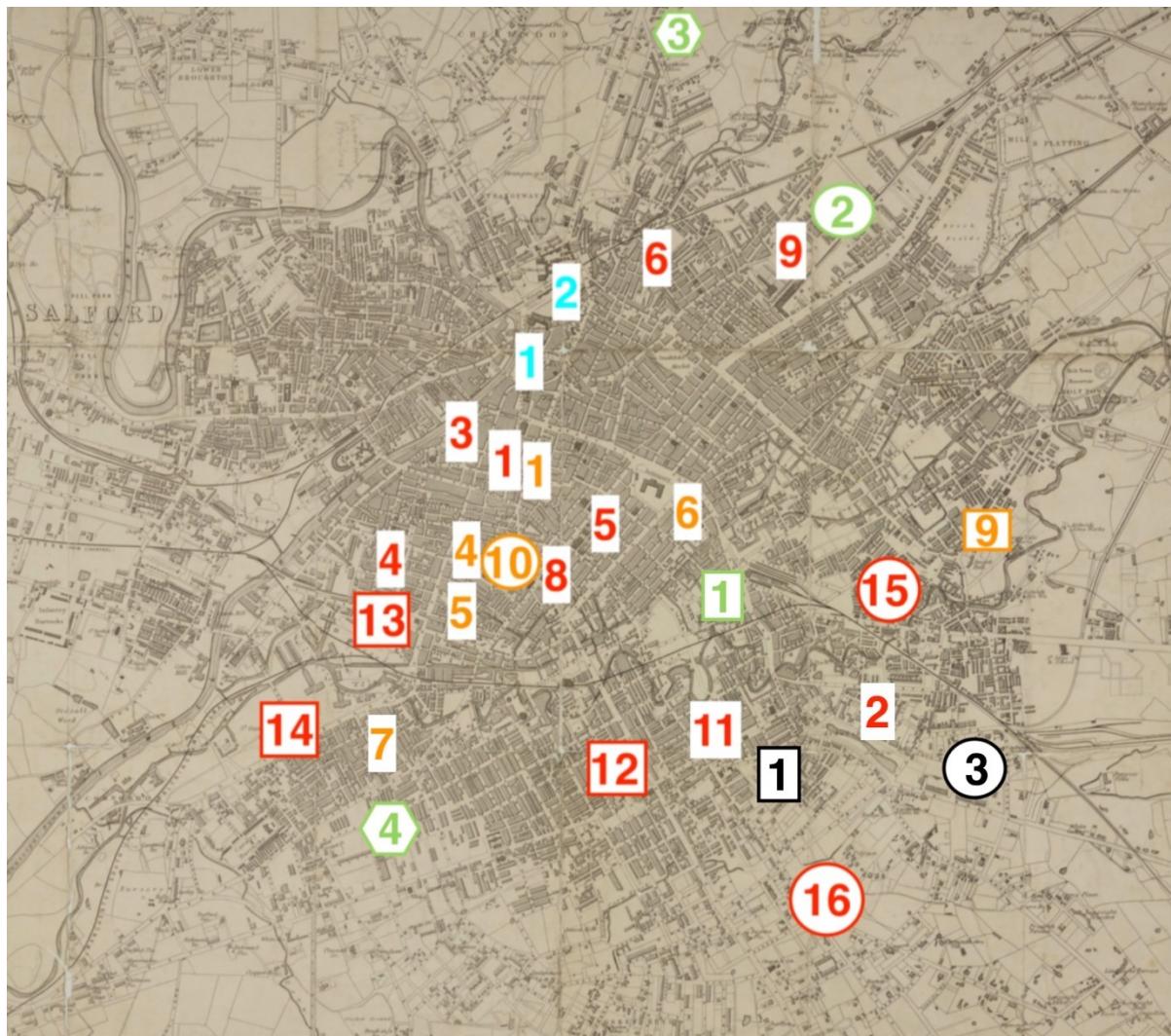


Pigot (1821) Map of Manchester held by Manchester Archives, ref: GB127.Local Studies Street Map

Collection/1821 Pigot.

Parish	1	Collegiate Church	Roman Catholic	1	St Mary, Mulberry Street
Burial Grounds	2	Walker's Croft		2	St Augustine, Granby Row
Church of England	1	St Ann	Nonconformist	1	Quaker Burial Ground
	2	St Mary		2	Cross Street Chapel
	3	St John		3	Rochdale Road Chapel
	4	St James		4	New Jerusalem Chapel
	5	St Michael's		5	Great Bridgewater Street Chapel
	6	St Peter		6	Mosley Street Chapel
	7	St George		7	Grosvenor Street Chapel

Map of active burial sites in Manchester 1850



Cornish (1857) Map of Manchester held by Manchester Archives, ref: GB127.Local Studies Street Map

Collection/1857 Cornish

Parish Burial Ground	1	Collegiate Church	Dissenters	1	Cross Street Chapel
	2	Walker's Croft		2	Platt Chapel, Fallowfield. *
Church of England	1	St Ann		3	Brookfield Unitarian *
	2	St Thomas, Ardwick		4	New Jerusalem Chapel
	3	St Mary		5	Great Bridgewater Street
	4	St John		6	Grosvenor Street Chapel
	5	St James		7	Bible Christian, Hulme
	6	St Michael		8	Cheetham Hill Wesleyan *
	7	St Mark, Cheetham *		9	Every Street Bible Christian

	8	St Peter		10	Quaker Friends Meeting House
	9	St George, Oldham Road		11	Upper Brook St Chapel *
	10	All Saints, Newton Heath *		1	St Augustine, Granby Row
	11	St Luke, C.o.M	Roman Catholic	2	St Patrick, Livesey Street
	12	All Saints, C.o.M		3	St Chad's, Cheetham Hill
	13	St Matthew, Campfield		4	St Wilfred, Hulme
	14	St George, Hulme		1	Rusholme Road Cemetery
	15	St Andrew, Ancoats		2	Manchester General Cemetery *
	16	St Saviour, C.o.M		3	Ardwick Cemetery
	17	Christ Church, Harphurhey *	Jewish	1	Miles Platting Jewish Burial Ground *
	18	St Luke, Cheetham *		2	Prestwich Cemetery *
	19	St John, Failsworth *		3	Collyhurst Jewish Cemetery *

The symbols represent the decade that the burial site was founded; no symbol before 1820; square 1820-30; circle 1831-1840; hexagon 1841-1850. * indicates that the burial site is not showing on the map.

Critical Analysis: Development of Burial Provisions in Manchester

Before this work discusses how and why burial provisions were created, it is important to acknowledge the impact that the Reform Act 1832, had on the number of burial sites that fell within the borough of Manchester. The introduction of the Act in 1832, resulted in the incorporation of the townships of Cheetham, Newton, Harpurhey to the north and Ardwick, Bradford, Beswick, Chorlton Row (Chorlton-on-Medlock) and Hulme into the newly formed parliamentary borough of Manchester.⁹³

The impact of these new included townships on Manchester's burial provision history was substantial because it brought existing burial sites within the borough of Manchester. This meant that residents who lived within the borough could be buried in one of these sites without paying higher burial fees, thus giving more choice to those, such as the working classes, who would have struggled to pay the higher fees. For example, a person from Manchester who wanted to be buried Salford's Weaste Cemetery, would be charged £1 1s more for a first-class grave, than a person who resided in the borough of Salford.⁹⁴

If these townships had not been added, Manchester before the 1832 Act would have only got one new burial provision between 1820 and 1850, which was St Matthew's, situated just off Deansgate.⁹⁵ Of the new township burial sites brought into Manchester,

⁹³ Martin Dodge, Brian Robson, Terry Wyke, *Manchester: Mapping the City*, (Edinburgh: Birlinn Ltd, 2018), p.52.

⁹⁴ 'Salford Borough Cemetery', *Manchester Courier and Lancashire General Advertiser*, (05 September 1857), p.6.

⁹⁵ See appendix 1.

five were constructed before 1820 and four were built between 1820 and 1850 to accommodate growing townships.⁹⁶

A similar picture emerges for the Nonconformists. If the boundary of the borough of Manchester had not changed, Nonconformists would have had only one additional burial provision between 1820 and 1850, which was the ground attached to the Quakers' Meeting House (1828). Following 1832, however, the Nonconformist burial provisions in Manchester increased by two, Cheetham Hill Wesleyan Chapel (1815) and Christ Church, Ancoats (1824).⁹⁷ The number of Roman Catholic provisions also increased following the inclusion of the new townships. In 1820, the Roman Catholics had only one place of burial, situated on Granby Row. However, after 1832, three locations in Cheetham, Hulme and Collyhurst, were available to the people of Manchester for Roman Catholic burials.⁹⁸

Studying maps of Manchester during this period, it is evident that the main reason why there was a lack of burial site construction in the old township of Manchester, is that the town was running out of space.⁹⁹ Any available land in the centre of Manchester in 1820, had disappeared by 1850 under new warehouses, shops and transportation infrastructure.¹⁰⁰ New townships that were situated on the outskirts of the centre of the town had the space to build new places of internment for the local community.

⁹⁶ Ibid.

⁹⁷ Ibid.

⁹⁸ Ibid.

⁹⁹ See appendix 2.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid.

Not only did these residential settlements have the space, there was also a willingness by local religious authorities to create new places of worship, which were largely funded by private donation or by a government grant – the latter will be discussed shortly. These churches served the local community, not only as a place of worship, but also as a place to bury the dead. A study of the final residences of those interred in Manchester's Church of England burial sites and the parish burial ground, has found that the vast majority of people were buried within walking distance of their home.¹⁰¹

A study of the final resting places of the dead, has highlighted the class composition that was present in nineteenth century society. Wealthy residents of the nineteenth century city, had greater control and choice when it came to the burial of their dead. They could afford the best plots in the burial site and they were not limited to burial sites within a short proximity of where they lived. This choice was not available for the working classes and the poor, who were buried close to where they lived. The reasons why people chose a specific place of burial is often complicated and can be attributed to several factors. For example, being buried within a close proximity of the deceased home was convenient for the transportation of the coffin, saving them the expense of paying for a professional hearse or a horse and cart. This meant they could transport the coffin to the grave themselves, carrying it by hand or placing it on a handcart. It was also accessible for the deceased family to visit. Burial sites were also chosen by both the wealthy and the poor because it was attached to the deceased's place of worship. There was also often sentiment attached to local churchyards because other family members were interred in there. When James, the nine-month-old son of William and Jane Cox

¹⁰¹ Inconsistency in the recording of addresses for those buried in Nonconformist and Roman Catholic burial sites means it has not been possible to conduct a thorough study for these denominations and therefore they have been omitted from this part of the chapter.

died in 1840, his parents, who lived on Chester Road, decided to bury him in the nearest church which was St George's, Hulme. Also in that churchyard were four other members of the Cox family.¹⁰²

St George's, Hulme, opened for burials in 1829 and was created to serve new communities that had become established in the first quarter of the nineteenth century. By 1840, 52 percent of all the burials at St George's were from people who lived in Hulme.¹⁰³ With less competition from other churchyards and serving the densely populated area of Hulme, the burial ground proved to be one of the most popular Church of England sites in Manchester. Burials peaked at St George's in 1858, when they reached an all-time high of 953 burials per annum.¹⁰⁴

Between 1842 and 1855, All Saints churchyard in Chorlton-upon-Medlock, was the most popular Church of England burial site in Manchester, with the annual number of burials not dropping below 650.¹⁰⁵ Like St George's in Hulme, out of the twenty districts that people came from, 40 percent of all burials in 1840 came from the district of the burial ground, with the rest predominately coming from the two surrounding areas of Hulme and Manchester.¹⁰⁶ A study of nineteenth-century maps shows a correlation between the growing density of the buildings and the increasing number of burials.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰² St George's burial register held by Manchester Archives, (MFPR 611-12).

¹⁰³ See appendix 9c.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid and appendix 9f.

¹⁰⁵ See appendix 4d.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid.

¹⁰⁷ See appendix 2 and 3.

Another burial ground with a high number of local resident burials was St Andrew's in Ancoats, where 59 percent of burials came from the district of the church.¹⁰⁸ Unlike All Saints and St George's, the churchyard at Ancoats never interred in great numbers. Burials peaked in 1840 when the number of annual burials reached 90.¹⁰⁹ One reason why there was not a large number of annual burials at St Andrew's, was because the area was one of the main factory districts in Manchester.¹¹⁰ Next to the mills, densely packed houses housed factory workers and later a thriving migrant community, who were Irish and Roman Catholic.¹¹¹ The majority of the residents of Ancoats, especially the Irish, were working class and poor, and most likely would have needed assistance from the state to help pay for a burial.¹¹² Paupers tended to be buried in the parish burial ground at Walker's Croft and later at the Manchester General Cemetery, and not buried in the churchyard of St Andrew's. Burial data from 1840, shows that excluding the workhouses, most people who were buried in the parish burial ground came from Ancoats.¹¹³

The burial sites where the immediate district did not provide a considerable number of burials were the grounds attached to St Mark's, Cheetham and St Thomas, Ardwick.¹¹⁴ For example, at St Thomas's, only 30 percent came from Ardwick.¹¹⁵ It is worth noting that Ardwick was a wealthy area, and those that lived in Ardwick could afford to be buried in a burial ground outside of the area in which they lived.

¹⁰⁸ See appendix 9l.

¹⁰⁹ See appendix 4d.

¹¹⁰ Alan Kidd, *Manchester A History*, (Lancaster: Carnegie Publishing, 2008), p.16.

¹¹¹ Kidd, *Manchester*, p.33., and Kay, *Condition of the Working Classes*, p.32.

¹¹² Kay, *Condition of the Working Classes*, p.32.

¹¹³ See appendix 9a.

¹¹⁴ See appendix 9l and 9g.

¹¹⁵ See appendix 9l.

While the residents in the district of St Andrew's, Ancoats, had little control on where they were buried because of their financial situation, the wealthy residents of Ardwick would have had a greater choice in where they were interred.

Another important difference between the two churches is how they were funded. St Thomas's was funded through private donation whereas St Andrew's was funded by a government drive to build new churches. The initiative was not to build new places of interment, but to build churches where a growing population could worship, with the churchyard being a by-product of this.

By 1820, the rapid increase in population had led to a church shortage. In the 1780s, the population of Manchester was approximately 40,000. By 1801 it was estimated to be over 70,000. As Messinger states, if Salford's population were to be included in these figures, Manchester had the highest population of anywhere outside London.¹¹⁶ Excluding Salford, Manchester had the second-highest population in the North West. Liverpool, which had the highest population, will be discussed in the next chapter. At the start of this study (1821), the population of Manchester stood at 126,000, and by 1851 had increased to 303,000.¹¹⁷ The increase was a combination of a natural increase due to high birth-rates, which more than counterbalanced the 'county's very high death-rates',¹¹⁸ and high levels of immigration.¹¹⁹

¹¹⁶ Messinger, *Manchester*, p.10.

¹¹⁷ Evans, *Forging of the Modern State*, p.515.

¹¹⁸ Walton, *Social History*, p.124.

¹¹⁹ Woods, R., Woodward, J., *Urban Disease & Mortality in Nineteenth-Century England*, (London: Batsford Academic and Educational, London, 1984), p.149.

The unprecedented rise in Manchester's population between 1780 and 1815, led to a shortage of churches for residents of the town. Port argues that returns sent to the House of Lords in 1816 and 1818, stated that Manchester's population was approximately 80,000, but there was only church-room for 11,000.¹²⁰ The shortage of churches might not have been a problem had it not been for the French Revolution and the government's fear that something similar might happen in Britain. 'The influence of the church and its religious and moral teachings' was perceived 'as a bulwark against revolution' and in its drive to try and stop any revolutionary ideas, the government came up with a proposal to pay for more churches.¹²¹ The Home Secretary expressed willingness to invest in church building. When discussing Manchester, he stated that after talking to people in the church 'he trusted the attention of parliament would "at length be awakened to the urgent importance of adopting upon an extensive scale" measures to supply the deficiency'.¹²² The official government response was to introduce the Act for Building New Churches, which established a Church Building Commission, whose role was to provide new places of worship within towns that did not have enough church places for the growing population. The Act gave the commissioners a grant of £1 million to build new churches. Although it was not per se an Act to fund new places of interment, it did by proxy as some churches had churchyards. This would be the only scheme from the Government in the first half of the nineteenth century that provided a financial structure to create new places of interment. In Manchester the parliamentary grants paid for the following churches that had burial provisions attached: St Andrew's, Travis St; St George's, Hulme and St Matthews, Campfield. Their burial sites varied in size and popularity. St Matthews provided conducted 35 burials from

¹²⁰ M. H. Port, *Six Hundred New Churches: The Church Building Commission 1818-1856*, (Reading: Spire Books, 2006), p.22.

¹²¹ Port, *New Churches*, p.15.

¹²² Ibid., p.25.

between 1826 and 1850, whereas St George's was much more significant with 4,027 burials between 1829 and 1850.¹²³ However, while the 'Million Church's Act', as it was otherwise known, did increase the number of Church of England burial grounds, it did not provide extra burial space for Nonconformists, Roman Catholics or Manchester's Jewish residents.

It was estimated that by 1839, nearly 40,000 Irish were living in the town, alongside 3,000 to 4,000 Scottish people and a growing Jewish community.¹²⁴ Immigration had a significant impact on the development of burial provisions within Manchester. It led to the construction of four new Roman Catholic churches, that provided burial space and a cemetery solely for Roman Catholics. There were also new Jewish burial grounds, such as Jewish burial ground that opened in Collyhurst in 1841. There is a direct link between a rise in immigration and the creation of this burial ground, as it was founded by 'recently arrived Jewish immigrants'.¹²⁵ There was also a link between a rise in the Jewish community and the Whitefield Cemetery, which was used by Reform Jews who were German Immigrants and members of the Manchester Congregation of British Jews.¹²⁶

The first area of Jewish settlement in the late eighteenth century was situated between 'Oldham Street and the Collegiate Church'.¹²⁷ Notably, while there was a synagogue at this time, there was no Jewish place of burial. The nearest Jewish burial ground was in Liverpool, whose Jewish community was larger than Manchester's. In 1815,

¹²³ Appendix 4c and 4d.

¹²⁴ 'Corporate Wit and Wisdom', *Manchester Courier and Lancashire General Advertiser*, (20 April 1839), p.7.

¹²⁵ L Kay, 'Manchester Cemeteries', *Shemot*, Vol. 12, No.4, (2004), p.29.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*

¹²⁷ Williams, *The Making of Manchester Jewry*, p.12.

Birmingham, Plymouth and Portsmouth, all had larger Jewish communities than Manchester. Bill Williams estimated that Liverpool's Jewish population was over 400, 'three times that of Manchester'.¹²⁸

The first Jewish burial ground in Manchester opened in 1794 in Pendleton, which was on the outskirts of Manchester. It served as the only Jewish burial ground until its closure in 1840. The slow growth of Jewish burial provisions followed the growth pattern of the Jewish population, which was also steady. By 1851, the number of settlers had risen to approximately 1,100,¹²⁹ which explains why new Jewish burial sites opened in Prestwich in 1841, Collyhurst in 1844, Miles Platting in 1850 and Whitefield in 1858.

Jewish immigration not only affected the number of burial provisions, but it also created a new type of burial site, which was a burial ground primarily for children, especially poor children. Of all the burial sites looked at in this study, no other site was specifically associated with the burial of children because they were more often buried alongside adults in family plots or public graves. Up until 1871, however, the Jewish burial ground at Collyhurst was used to bury children from poor Jewish families. The aim was to stop impoverished Jewish children being buried as paupers. Unlike other faith burial sites in Manchester, Jewish burial sites tended to only cater to specific fractions of their faith. For example, the cemetery at Collyhurst was only open to members of the New Synagogue.¹³⁰

¹²⁸ Ibid., p.28.

¹²⁹ Todd M. Endelman, *The Jews of Britain 1656 to 2000*, (London: University of California Press, 2002), p.80.

¹³⁰ Kay, 'Manchester Cemeteries', p.29.

Irish immigration also had a particularly significant impact on Manchester's burial history in terms of the growth of burial provisions in the first half of the nineteenth-century, as the Irish were the largest group of people to settle in the North West from outside England, Wales and Scotland. In 1825, it was estimated that 35,000 Irish Catholics were living in Manchester.¹³¹ The number of Irish settling in Manchester grew considerably after 1845-51 because of effects of the potato famine. By the 1851 Census, the number of Irish-born people living in Manchester was thirteen percent.¹³² What was different about Irish immigrants, as opposed to people who had moved from rural parts of England, is that they were overwhelmingly Roman Catholic. Mervyn Busteed estimates that by the early 1830s, somewhere between two-thirds and 90 percent of Manchester's Catholics were Irish.¹³³ There were, of course, English Catholics, but they worshipped at different churches, and there were less of them compared to the number of Irish Roman Catholics.¹³⁴

The growth of Roman Catholic burial provisions did not always develop in correlation with Irish settlements, this was contrary to research conducted into Church of England burial sites. When this study begins in 1820, there was already a working-class Irish settlement to the north of Manchester, in Newtown.¹³⁵ However, the nearest Roman Catholic burial site was at St Mary's, Mulberry Street, the oldest Catholic burial site in Manchester. This site quite a distance away from the Irish settlement in Newtown. A second Roman Catholic burial site did open in 1820, at Granby Row, to the south-west of St Mary's Church, on the outskirts of the built-up area. No burial registers exist for this

¹³¹ Mary J. Hickman, *Religion, Class and Identity*, (Vermont: Ashgate Publishing, 1997), p.65.

¹³² T. Hunt, *Building Jerusalem*, (London: Phoenix, 2005), p.20.

¹³³ Mervyn Busteed, *The Irish in Manchester c.1750-1921: Resistance, Adaptation and Identity*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2015), p.77.

¹³⁴ Busteed, *The Irish*, p.79.

¹³⁵ Graham Phythian, *Peterloo: Voices, Sabres and Silence*, (Stroud: History Press, 2018), p.79.

ground, but it probably catered for the scattering of middle-class English Catholics who lived to the south of the town and worshipped at St Augustine's, Granby Row.¹³⁶

By 1827, a significant residential Irish settlement had grown up just off Oxford Road called 'Little Ireland',¹³⁷ whose closest burial site was St Mary's. However, in 1835, St Mary's collapsed, leaving those in the Deansgate and the Chester Road area without a place of worship. In 1842, St Wilfred's opened in Hulme. It was built to serve the community of Deansgate and Hulme.¹³⁸ In 1832, Hulme had an estimated Catholic population of 500. By 1867, it had grown to approximately 12,000.¹³⁹ The burial site attached to the church proved extremely popular, closing in 1858 because it was deemed as full.

As mentioned above, the largest Irish settlement was concentrated to the north of Manchester.¹⁴⁰ However, there was no Roman Catholic burial site in the north until 1832, when St Patricks, Livesey Street opened. As mentioned previously, the church was funded by a private donation, however, it was the Rev. Daniel Hearne, who made the project happen.¹⁴¹ In 1842, another Roman Catholic burial ground opened to the north of the town, in Cheetham Hill. By 1850 then, there were four active Roman Catholic burial sites, two to the north of Manchester, one near the centre of Manchester on Granby Row and one to the south-west of Manchester. All the Roman Catholic burial sites built before 1850 were affiliated with churches, with the motive for their construction

¹³⁶ Busteed, *The Irish*, p.79.

¹³⁷ Ibid., p.18.

¹³⁸ Charles A. Bolton, *Salford Diocese and its Catholic Past*, p.112

¹³⁹ 'Roman Catholic Traditions of Manchester and Salford', *Liverpool Daily Post*, (9 May 1867), p.9

¹⁴⁰ 'Manchester and Leeds Railway', *Manchester Courier and Lancashire General Advertiser*, (7 July 1838), p.4.

¹⁴¹ 'Testimonial to the Rev. Daniel Hearne', *Manchester Guardian*, (17 June 1846), p.6.

not to create a place a burial but to build a church in which the Irish community could worship. The priority was the church itself and not creating a place of burial; the burial ground or churchyard was a by-product of this. St Patrick's was created, for example, because the existing chapels of St Mary's and St Augustine's could not cope with the growing number of worshippers and a new site was needed.¹⁴²

The first burial at St Patrick's was that of Michael Gorman, who was interred on 10th May 1832.¹⁴³ There were more burials in St Patrick's than in all of the Church of England burial sites and in both of the joint-stock cemeteries (Ardwick and the Manchester General). In 1839, approximately 857 people were buried at St Patrick's, whereas the most popular Anglican church (All Saints) for the same year was only burying 300.¹⁴⁴ This was due to there being less choice for Roman Catholics to bury their dead, coupled with the high mortality rates of Irish residents in the town. Finally, and arguably the most important, the Irish trusted the Rector, Fr. Daniel Hearne, to bury their dead in a respectful manner with the rites of their church. As a later instance during the cholera outbreak would demonstrate, the Irish felt they were not treated equally and fairly during this period.¹⁴⁵ It is worth noting here that while Catholics could also be buried in other burial grounds, St. Patrick's burial site was used by both the local Irish residents and by Roman Catholic paupers who died in the workhouse. However, by 1854, Catholic paupers were being buried at the Manchester General Cemetery in unconsecrated ground and not St Patrick's. This was because the Guardians had signed a contract with

¹⁴² Ibid.

¹⁴³ St Patrick's burial register (1832) held by Manchester Archives MFPR 1920-21.

¹⁴⁴ See appendix 4e.

¹⁴⁵ In 1832, John Brogan, a young Irish boy, died in the Swan Street Cholera Hospital during the outbreak. Before his burial, his grandfather opened his coffin and discovered that Brogan's head had been removed and replaced with a brick. An outraged crowd rioted outside of the hospital, claiming that the boy had been murdered. The head was found, and the boy was allowed to be buried at St Patrick's. 'Attack on the Cholera Hospital', *Manchester Times*, (08 September 1832), p.2.

the cemetery to bury paupers at a reduced rate, making it cheaper than burying them at St Patrick's.¹⁴⁶

In towns that had large Irish populations, such as Manchester, the poor Irish were often blamed for having disease and 'actively spreading infection', thus increasing mortality rates.¹⁴⁷

The Irish who settled in Manchester were mostly the lower classes who were seeking employment. They lived in some of the town's least sanitary and hygienic places. 'Little Ireland' was one of the most notorious areas, highlighted in public reports and by social reforms as one of the most unsanitary and damp places to live. The district was densely populated and low lying, which meant that it was prone to flooding from the River Medlock. Leon Faucher stated that it was 'inhabited chiefly by the lowest Irish'.¹⁴⁸ It was later described as 'one of the filthiest hovels in Manchester, the abodes of the lowest, the filthiest, most miserable, most degraded Irish in Manchester and Salford'.¹⁴⁹ Angel Meadow, which had the largest number of Irish residents, also had problems with poor sanitation. Busteed argues that the 'provision of toilets, water supply and sewage relief was utterly inadequate for the numbers involved, and ill health and contagious disease were endemic'.¹⁵⁰ It was estimated in 1841, that on average, an English person could expect a life expectancy of 41, whereas an Irish person could expect to live between 24 to 29 years old.¹⁵¹ A study of St Patrick's burial registers for 1832, reveals the biggest recorded killer of Catholics buried in St Patrick's was 'decline' (33.8 percent), followed

¹⁴⁶ 'Manchester Board of Guardians', *Manchester Times*, (27 September 1854), p.5.

¹⁴⁷ Hunt, *Jerusalem*, p.31.

¹⁴⁸ M. Leon Faucher, *Manchester in 1844*, (Manchester: Abel Heywood, 1844), p.66.

¹⁴⁹ 'Manchester Junction and Altrincham Railway', *Manchester Courier and Lancashire General Advertiser*, (19 May 1849), p.6.

¹⁵⁰ Busteed, *The Irish*, p.49.

¹⁵¹ *These figures would be dependent upon living conditions, occupation, class etc...* Registrar General Report (1841), p.45.

by measles (9.7 percent) and fits (9.7 percent). A study of the burial registers a decade later in 1842, reveals that 'decline' was still the biggest killer (18.2 percent) with inflammation (7.9 percent) and consumption (7.7 percent) in second and third places.¹⁵² During the same year, the biggest killer regionally was consumption, followed by convulsions.¹⁵³

To get a fair assessment of the impact that the Irish had on burial provision, one can look at the number and causes of death at the only Roman Catholic burial ground attached to a church with a majority Irish congregation, which was St Patrick's. In 1842 there were 689 interments at St Patrick's, which accounted for 12 percent of all the deaths that occurred in Manchester that year.¹⁵⁴ It is difficult to know exactly how many Irish were living in Manchester in 1842; one estimate suggests that there were over 35,000.¹⁵⁵ Working with this estimate, approximately two percent of the Irish population in Manchester died in 1842. High mortality rates put pressure on town's burial provisions, with people still preferring to be buried old churchyards than cemeteries. The vast majority of these churchyards did not have the capacity to meet the growing demand for burial space.

As mentioned above, the burial ground at St Patrick's was extremely popular with the Irish community. The church may not have been built had it not been for a donation of £4000 from Captain Heatley of Brindley, near Preston.¹⁵⁶ The majority of the burial provisions created in Manchester before 1850 were provided by private enterprise or

¹⁵² See appendix 8a-8c.

¹⁵³ Six Annual Report to the Registrar General, 1842, (London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans, 1845).

¹⁵⁴ See appendix 4e.

¹⁵⁵ In 1825 it was estimated that there were 35,000 Irish residents in Manchester.

¹⁵⁶ C. A. Bolton, *Salford Diocese and its Catholic past*, (Manchester: Jas. F. & C. Carter, 1950) p.109.

donation. On a national level, private enterprise and donation was a popular method of funding new buildings, institutions and structures during the nineteenth century. Besides churches funded by subscription and donation, Manchester also had burial sites that were founded as commercial businesses. Using the joint-stock model, three cemeteries opened in Manchester between 1821 and 1838.

In 1821, the town got its first modern cemetery, Rusholme Road. Created by a group of Dissenters, this new cemetery marked a shift from traditional burial grounds and churchyards. It was operated as a commercial business, with investors buying shares in the cemetery company. The company which established the cemetery, the ‘Rusholme Road Proprietary Cemetery’, was founded in 1820.¹⁵⁷ This cemetery proved extremely popular and created a healthy dividend for its investors. From 1825 to 1853, apart from two years, one of which was the 1832 cholera outbreak, it conducted the majority of burials in Manchester, even more than the parish burial ground at Walker’s Croft.¹⁵⁸ Rusholme Road Proprietary Cemetery reached a peak in 1841, when it interred 34.5 percent of all the people who died in Manchester during that year.¹⁵⁹

The motive behind the creation of joint-stock cemeteries is still debated amongst historians. Rugg has argued that there were three primary reasons why joint-stock cemetery companies were created: financial gain, public health reasons and for religious purposes – this will be explained shortly.¹⁶⁰ Julie Marie Strange further suggests that motives for their creation included ‘Dissenters’ protests concerning burial privilege, the

¹⁵⁷ Julie Rugg, ‘*The Rise of Cemetery Companies in Britain, 1820-1853*’, (Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Stirling, 1992), p.79.

¹⁵⁸ See appendix 4a.

¹⁵⁹ Calculation made using data from appendix 4a and 5.a

¹⁶⁰ Rugg, ‘Cemetery Companies’, p.70.

need to protect corpses from body-snatchers, and the desire to use commercial space as a landscape for the expression of a secular identity'.¹⁶¹ Research conducted in this study has found that the primary motive for the setting up of such cemeteries varied depending upon the decade they were built. For example, as discussed below, there is a logical argument to suggest that when the proprietors of Rusholme Road set up the cemetery, they did so for religious reasons. The cemetery was created for 'Dissenters', with no consecrated ground.

To understand why Manchester got the Rusholme Road Proprietary Cemetery in 1821, it is essential to understand the town's religious breakdown and grievances among the Dissenting population. Throughout the nineteenth century, Manchester had a large, influential and political Nonconformist community. The religious census of 1851 reveals that Nonconformists had the largest share of worshippers on the day the census was taken (42.3 percent), with Anglicans accounting for 34.4 percent and the Roman Catholics accounting for 23.3 percent.¹⁶² Rose suggests that the town's first 28 mayors came from the Unitarian, Cross Street Chapel.¹⁶³ At the start of this study, the township of Manchester had exactly the same number of Church of England and Nonconformist places of burial, which broadly reflected the town's religious make-up at this time.

The new cemetery was 'essentially an expression of the power of provincial Nonconformity'.¹⁶⁴ The Nonconformists who founded the cemetery wanted their own

¹⁶¹ Strange, *Death*; J. Morgan, 'The Burial Question in Leeds in the Eighteenth Centuries' in *Death, Ritual and Bereavement* (ed.) R. Houlbrooke, (London: Routledge, 1989), pp.95-104.

¹⁶² Rose, 'Church and Chapel', p.195. – the validity of these statistics are questioned due to the number of sittings that took place in one day.

¹⁶³ E. Alan Rose, 'Church and Chapel in Manchester 1847-1914', in *The Church in Cottonopolis: Essays to Mark the 150 Anniversary of the Diocese of Manchester*, (eds.) Chris Ford, Michael Powell, Terry J. Wyke, (Manchester, 1997) p.198.

¹⁶⁴ Rugg, 'Cemetery Companies', p.158.

burial ground. George Hadfield, a solicitor, one of the founders and a prominent Congregationalist, stated that ‘but to us is was a particular advantage, to get our own ministers enabled to preside at funerals’.¹⁶⁵ The origins of Nonconformity in Manchester can be traced back to the Act of Uniformity of 1662, which stated that all clergymen must use ‘The Book of Common Prayer and Administration of the Sacraments, and Other Rites and Ceremonies of the Church according to the Use of the Church of England’ for morning and evening prayers.¹⁶⁶ This was problematic for Nonconformists, such as Presbyterians, who did not recognise the Book and other parts of the Act. Those who refused to take the oath were expelled from the established church. This led to a split between those clergymen who refused to take the oath and those who did. In Manchester, the popular Rev. Henry Newcome, M.A., who was a minister at the Collegiate Church was replaced because of his Presbyterian views. After returning from expulsion in 1670, he began to give his sermons from his house and later a barn.¹⁶⁷ Twelve years later the first Nonconformist (Quaker) burial ground opened in Jackson's Row, followed by the burial site at Cross Street Chapel in 1694.

Despite being an active community, Nonconformists did not have the same burial rights as those who were interred in the Church of England grounds. For example, their own burial rites were not allowed to be read in an Anglican burial ground. The division between Anglicans and Nonconformists was not just religious; it was also political. As Kidd argues, Manchester's political middle-class was divided into two factions; Nonconformist and Liberal or Anglican and Tory.¹⁶⁸

¹⁶⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶⁶ Act of Uniformity 1662, www.legislation.gov.uk {accessed 3 March 2018}

¹⁶⁷ William E. A. Axon (Review) in *The Academy* (5 Sept 1886) p.147; Sir Thomas Baker, *Memorials of a Dissenting Chapel, its Foundations and Worthies*, (Manchester: Simpkin, Marshall and Co.,1884).

¹⁶⁸ Kidd, *Manchester*, p.60.

After witnessing the commercial success of earlier joint-stock cemeteries, the 1830s saw a boom in the number of joint stock ventures. The *Manchester Guardian* called it ‘Joint Stock Mania’.¹⁶⁹ Six new cemetery companies were proposed during this period: the Salford and Hulme Cemetery; The Salford, Pendleton, Hulme, and Broughton Royal Cemetery; Hulme Cemetery; The Necropolis; Ardwick Cemetery and The Manchester General Cemetery.¹⁷⁰ Out of the six, only the last two managed to secure the land and capital to open as cemeteries.

The Manchester General Cemetery opened first in 1837 in the district of Harpurhey, which is two miles outside of the centre of Manchester. Ardwick Cemetery opened the following year in 1838. The Manchester General Cemetery aimed to attract all religious denominations, however, due to a lack of consecrated ground, it was ‘supported chiefly by Dissenters from the north of Manchester. After trying unsuccessfully to emulate the commercial success of the ‘Dissenters’ Rusholme Road Cemetery, the proprietors of the Manchester General Cemetery looked to appeal to a new clientele by consecrating a part of the cemetery. Opposition to consecration came from several shareholders who were concerned that the cost of consecrating a section of the land would result in a loss to the shareholders. However, with a contract to bury paupers in place and communication from the Dean and Charter to say that using their consecrated ground would save them the expense of purchasing their own ground, it was deemed that the shareholders would have ‘a greater certainty of remuneration.¹⁷¹ In 1848, the Lord Bishop of Manchester consecrated a part of the cemetery so that ‘members of the

¹⁶⁹ ‘Joint-Stock Mania’, *Manchester Guardian*, (30 April 1836), p.3.

¹⁷⁰ ‘Joint-Stock Schemes’, *Manchester Guardian*, (30 April 1836), p.3.

¹⁷¹ ‘Manchester General Cemetery Company’, *Manchester Courier and Lancashire General Advertiser*, (22 December 1847), p.6.

established church might conscientiously have their friends interred there'.¹⁷² This had an immediate effect, and the number of burials increased sharply in 1849. However, it was not until 1853 that the Manchester General Cemetery was interring more than the 'Dissenters' Rusholme Road Cemetery.¹⁷³

The Manchester General Cemetery Company began advertising its cemetery in the local press from 1833 onwards. The proprietors quoted the famous garden cemetery of Pere Lachaise in Paris, Bunhill Field's, London and two public burial grounds in Liverpool as their inspiration. Notably absent from their appraisals was the Rusholme Road Cemetery, which would have been its competitor. The advertisers stressed that the new ground would be secure, with a wall and metal railings protecting the dead against 'midnight spoilers', which was a real cause for concern for local residents. This was because, during the 1820s the town had a problem with body-snatchers. Reports suggested that most of the grounds within Manchester were at risk or had been tampered with. Body snatchers had been successful in the Walker's Croft Burial Ground, the Quaker Burial Ground and St Augustine's RC Burial Ground. Like other large towns that had anatomy schools and high mortality rates, stealing bodies proved a lucrative business. When Thomas Turner opened a second anatomy school in Manchester in 1824, the demand for bodies increased.¹⁷⁴ Before the passing of the Anatomy Act 1832, only bodies from executed prisoners could be used for dissection.¹⁷⁵ However, following

¹⁷² 'Consecration of the Manchester General Cemetery', *The Manchester Guardian*, (15 November 1848), p.6.

¹⁷³ Appendix 4a.

¹⁷⁴ Walter Whitehead, 'President's Address Delivered, at the Seventieth Annual Meeting of the British Medical Association, Manchester's Early Influence on the Advancement of Medicine and Medical Education', *British Medical Journal*, Vol. 2, No. 2170, pp.301-313.

¹⁷⁵ John Knott, 'Popular Attitudes to Death and Dissection in Early Nineteenth Century Britain: The Anatomy Act and the Poor', *Labour History*, No. 49, (1985), pp.1-18.

the Act, people could donate bodies and the medical professionals could also claim corpses which were unclaimed in workhouses and hospitals.¹⁷⁶

Alongside promoting the enhanced safety features of the cemetery, the proprietors of the Manchester General Cemetery also promoted the twelve-acre site as a ‘public cemetery’ for Manchester, which was described as ‘possessing natural advantages to soil, prospect, and scenery, not to be found in any other quarter of the town’.¹⁷⁷

Ardwick Cemetery followed the opening of Manchester General and was situated on an eight-acre site. It was described as a ‘suburban burial ground’.¹⁷⁸ When categorising these companies, Rugg argues that both Ardwick Cemetery and the Manchester General Cemetery were founded out of concerns for public health. However, the evidence on which this study is based suggests that other factors were just as important. Rugg explains that these ‘cemetery companies in the provinces took pains to ensure that interment in their grounds complied with good sanitary practice and made provision available for the poor at the cheapest rates’.¹⁷⁹ However, such a view does not sit comfortably with this study. There is no evidence, for example, that the Manchester General Cemetery ‘made provision available for the poor at the cheapest rates’. In fact, a study of burial fees for those in public graves, which were the cheapest in the cemetery, has revealed that during the 1850s, the lowest price the Cemetery would bury someone for was 20s, ‘considerably in excess’ of what was being charged in other burial grounds, in some cases a third more.¹⁸⁰ This led the Board of Guardians to state that

¹⁷⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷⁷ ‘Manchester General Cemetery’, *Manchester Guardian*, (04 May 1839), p.1.

¹⁷⁸ H. G. Duffield, *The Stranger’s Guide to Manchester*, 1850, (Neil Richardson, 1984), p.36.

¹⁷⁹ Rugg, ‘Cemetery Companies’, p.293.

¹⁸⁰ ‘Manchester Board of Guardians’, *Manchester Guardian*, (19 Sept 1856), p.3.

paupers should be ‘interred elsewhere than at Harpurhey [Manchester General], as far as may be practical’.¹⁸¹ The proprietors could do this because at this time they had the monopoly on burials due to forced closure of the parish burial ground, and the closure of other cemeteries to new interments – the reasons for this will be discussed later this chapter. This pricing structure, which would have increased the profits of the shareholders, indicates that one of the primary motives in setting up this cemetery was for financial gain.

More evidence that the cemetery directors were primarily concerned with profit can be found in the local press before the cemetery had even had its first burial. For example, in 1836, a year before Ardwick Cemetery opened, the cemetery’s founders took out an advertisement that was intended to promote the cemetery to the general public and prospective shareholders, emphasising it as a sanitary place in which to bury the dead.¹⁸² On this evidence alone, it might be concluded that the cemetery was built for sanitary reasons. However, there is also evidence that these cemeteries, in particular, the Manchester General Cemetery, were motivated by profit. For example, when Ardwick’s joint-stock cemetery company looked to open a cemetery to the south of Manchester, the directors of the Manchester General Cemetery did their upmost to condemn its construction by stopping people purchasing shares. They wrote to the local paper about rumours that it was not going to happen, which led to the Ardwick founders taking out an advertisement to state that the rumours were ‘unsupported by any shadow of truth’.¹⁸³ When the cemetery did eventually open in Ardwick, applications for shares

¹⁸¹ Ibid.

¹⁸² ‘Plan for Establishing a Public Burial Ground’, *Manchester Courier*, (12 March 1836), p.1.

¹⁸³ ‘Ardwick Cemetery’, *Manchester Guardian*, (30 April 1836), p.1.

were oversubscribed by 600 percent, thus demonstrating that this was a lucrative business attracting Manchester's ambitious middle class.¹⁸⁴

There is also no evidence that the proprietors of Manchester General and Ardwick ensured that 'good sanitary practice' was not being exercised in their cemeteries. The new cemeteries may have looked aesthetically pleasing to the observer, but they still had a problem with burying the dead in a sanitary manner. There were reports that both cemeteries were regularly burying bodies in large open 'pits', which were sometimes left open for weeks.¹⁸⁵ This is suggestive that they were not providing respectful burials, nor were they overly concerned with providing sanitary spaces to inter the dead.

Although applications to shares at Ardwick Cemetery were oversubscribed, it was no guarantee of burials, with burials for both the cemeteries being initially slow and steady. Marsden's history of burial in Manchester states that burials increased after 'seven relatively unimpressive years' because of two funerals that secured the reputation of the cemetery as one for the aspiring middle classes: the burial of John Dalton, an eminent 'chemist, physicist and pioneer of atomic theory' and that of Sir Thomas Potter, the city's first Mayor'.¹⁸⁶ Even so, although there is evidence to suggest that in 1845, a year after Dalton's burial, interments increased to 269, they were still only half those that were taking place in the Rusholme Road Cemetery.¹⁸⁷ Until 1853, apart from one year, the annual number of interments at Manchester General and Ardwick Cemetery did not go above the number of burials at Rusholme Road Cemetery. Thus, contrary to what

¹⁸⁴ John Marsden, *Forgotten Fields*, (Bedfordshire: Bright Pen, 2014), p.147.

¹⁸⁵ 'Extra-Mural Sepulchre: Report of The Board of Health', *The Observer*, (11 March 1850), p.5.

¹⁸⁶ Ibid., pp.148-150.

¹⁸⁷ See appendix 4a.

Marsden states, the funerals of Dalton and Potter did not ‘significantly change’ the fortune of the cemetery as there was no lasting effect on the number of burials.

Critical Analysis: The decline of burial provisions between 1820 and 1870

Having established that private enterprise, religious groups, public donation, and local and national government intervention, led to the creation of burial sites in Manchester, it is important to assess why sites also declined at a time when mortality rates were rising in Manchester. The evidence on which this chapter is based suggests that there were two principal reasons – public health and urban development. At the start of this study, in 1820, there were nineteen places of burial within the township. By 1870, only three of the nineteen were still open for interments. Of the original nineteen, the first ground to close was the parish churchyard attached to the Collegiate Church. This ground was closed in 1820 due to overcrowding which had led to waste matter from the decaying corpses becoming a danger to public health. One observer stated that it was ‘crowded with corpses in every stage of putridity and emitting the most offensive odour’.¹⁸⁸

It is widely acknowledged in the historiography of burial provision that during the 1850s a series of Burial Acts were introduced that forced the closure of overcrowded burial grounds and churchyards.¹⁸⁹ In Manchester, however, grounds deemed to be full and

¹⁸⁸ ‘State of the Old Churchyard’, *Manchester Mercury*, (11 November 1817), p.2.

¹⁸⁹ Griffith & Wallace, *Grave Matters*; Jalland, *Death*, p.199; Barnard, *To Prove*, p.17; Curl, *Victorian Celebration*.

a threat to human health were being closed as early as 1788 without government interference. In the same year, parish officials also introduced a series of instructions to improve public health concerning burials, stating that in new burial grounds, each grave 'must be 9ft deep at the least, with coffins not being any higher than 2ft from the surface'.¹⁹⁰ This drive for improved sanitation and public repulsion at unsanitary burial practices and their effects on the health of the town came much earlier than is acknowledged in the current historiography. Deborah Wiggins's thesis on cemetery reform suggests that it was not until the 1850s that people 'were aware and outraged by burial problems'.¹⁹¹ In Manchester, burial grounds were being closed because they were full as early as 1788.¹⁹²

Although Manchester's ruling authorities had been closing grounds and creating new ones for sanitary reasons since at least the eighteenth century, from the 1840s, there was a national drive for improved local public health in relation to the threat posed by the dead. This was expressed through a series of public reports and health acts, which came as a response to a severe outbreak of cholera that hit the town in 1832; later outbreaks also occurred in 1849, 1854 and 1866. Each town, with their own Board of Health, were responsible for managing the disease. It is estimated that cholera claimed the lives of over 51,000 in Great Britain.¹⁹³ In Manchester, the number of deaths was reported as 706, with 1,325 suffering from symptoms.¹⁹⁴ Outbreaks of diseases that had high mortality rates like cholera, put extra demand on existing burial sites.

¹⁹⁰ 'Accounts of Parish Churchwardens of Manchester in the Last Century', *The Manchester Guardian*, (17 May 1851), p.9.

¹⁹¹ Deborah Wiggins, *The Burial Acts: Cemetery reform in Great Britain 1815-1914*, (unpublished PhD thesis, Texas Tech University, 1991), p.22.

¹⁹² *Manchester Mercury*, (12 February 1788), p.1.

¹⁹³ Alan Kidd, Terry Wyke, 'The Challenge of Cholera: Proceedings of the Manchester Special Board of Health 1831-1833', *The Record Society of Lancashire and Cheshire*, Vol. 145, (2010), p.X.

¹⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, p.XXV.

Cholera is recorded as arriving in Manchester in 1832. The first victim was 29-year-old James Pelfryman, who died on 17th May 1832 and was buried two days later at St John's churchyard. By the time of Pelfyman's death, the town had set up The Manchester Special Board of Health, whose role was to manage the outbreak as effectively as possible.¹⁹⁵ In an attempt to control the spread of the disease, the Board introduced strict conditions on the burial of the dead and recommended that all bodies must be buried within 24 hours in a dedicated 'cholera' burial ground. The Board chose the existing parish burial ground at Walker's Croft to bury the cholera dead. It was decided upon because it was close to the Swan St Cholera Hospital and it was also on the outskirts of the town, therefore the health of the residents would not be compromised by those that had died from cholera.¹⁹⁶ Following the selection of Walker's Croft as a suitable ground, an Order in Council was given stating that all cholera victims had to be buried in Walker's Croft. However, some ministers ignored the Order and buried cholera victims in other burial grounds.¹⁹⁷

The extra number of cholera burials led the authorities to start looking for a new piece of land that could be converted into a cemetery. Writing in 1855, W.A. Hale, the Archdeacon of London, stated that the cholera epidemic changed the burial landscape because it 'introduced a new kind of death, new views on disease, and new views on burial'.¹⁹⁸ Although cholera had an impact on the parish ground at Walker's Croft in 1832, it did not have a significant effect on any of the other burial grounds, for example, only

¹⁹⁵ Ibid., pp.6-7.

¹⁹⁶ Ibid., p. XXIII

¹⁹⁷ 'The Cholera', *Manchester Courier*, (01 September 1832), p.2.

¹⁹⁸ W.H. Hale, *Intramural Burial in England not Injurious to the Public Health: Its abolition injurious to religion and morals*, (London: Rivingtons, 1855),

<http://anglicanhistory.org/england/whhale/intramural1855.html> {accessed: 03/08/2019}

four cholera burials occurred in St Patrick's and four at the burial ground at Every Street.¹⁹⁹

Even without counting spikes in mortality during epidemics such as Cholera, Manchester had a consistently high mortality rate, peaking at nearly 33 per thousand in the 1860s. The national average was 22 per thousand.²⁰⁰ Life expectancy in the town was one of the worst in the country. It was estimated that between 1861 and 1863, at birth, a labourer would live to between 25.0 and 39.9 years.²⁰¹ High mortality rates, coupled with often poor management, led to overcrowded and unsanitary burial sites that were a danger to the living. Although Manchester's parish officials were closing grounds that they thought were full, such as the churchyard at the Collegiate, there was no official body with the task of doing this until the 1848, when the Public Board of Health Act was introduced.²⁰² The Public Board of Health was the first centralised body to oversee the health of the nation. Its powers were limited because of a lack of funds but, regardless of the funding problem, it was a step in the right direction for improved public health. The Act also introduced broader legislation regarding the interment of the dead and burial practices. It created Local Boards of Health which were responsible for making sure places of burial were operating to the standards set in the Act. Every township in Manchester had its own Board of Health. Their powers also extended beyond the burial of the dead, stating that every area should provide a place where the corpse could be stored before burial. This was intended to stop people from keeping the dead at home, which was a real concern for health reformers. The 1848 Public Health Act gave the

¹⁹⁹ See appendix 8c and 'The Cholera', *Manchester Courier*, (01 September 1832), p.2.

²⁰⁰ The national average was 22 per thousand, see Kidd, *Manchester*, p.42.

²⁰¹ N. Shelton, R. Woods, *An Atlas of Victorian Mortality*, (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1997), p.29.

²⁰² 'Public Cemetery for Manchester', *Manchester Times*, (17 October 1849), p.8.

General Board of Health the powers to stop interments in any burial site that it deemed as dangerous to human health. Any person who ignored the Act could face a fine of £20.²⁰³ The Act also prohibited burials in the walls or under any churches and stopped the construction of any burial ground within towns without the consent of the General Board of Health. Anyone who disobeyed this part of the Act could face a fine of up to £50. Alongside the Boards of Health, there was also a local group called *The Manchester and Salford District Sanitary Association* which was set up in 1852 to ‘promote attention to temperance, personal and domestic cleanliness, and to promote health more generally’. It was also there to co-operate with the boards of health ‘in giving effect to official regulations for sanitary improvement’.²⁰⁴

In 1867, despite the Acts, the *Manchester and Salford District Sanitary Association* wrote that it was losing the battle to improve the health of the inhabitants, stating that the average annual death rate for the previous ten years was 33 per thousand, which it had also been between the years of 1841 and 1851, before the drive to improve places of burial.²⁰⁵ Although the Association was right in 1867, to be concerned about high mortality rates, a drop in the rate was recorded by 1870. A ‘clean up’ of the town’s burial sites and a drive to improve burial practices, particularly after the 1850s Burial Acts, did little in reducing Manchester mortality rate.²⁰⁶

The Sanitary Association, historians nor contemporaries have attributed a decline in mortality to improved burial practices. As Kidd rightly argues, the drop in the crude death rate is due to a decline in infectious diseases through a greater knowledge of how

²⁰³ 11 & 12 Victoria, Cap 23. p.759.

²⁰⁴ ‘The Local Sanitary Association’, *The Manchester Guardian*, (09 October 1852), p.8.

²⁰⁵ A. Ransome and W. Rayston, *Report Upon the Health of Manchester and Salford During the Last Fifteen Years, Manchester and Salford Sanitary Association*, (1867), pp.11-13.

²⁰⁶ See appendix 5b.

disease spreads; improvements to the water supply; improvements in housing with the abolition of back-to-back housing and the introduction of better and regular methods of disposing of sewage.²⁰⁷

The social reformer who argued that the health of the residents of Manchester was being put at risk by unhygienic burial practices and burial sites was Edwin Chadwick. He wrote two reports of interest to this study. The first in 1842 was an investigation into the sanitary conditions of the labouring population and the second, in 1843, titled *Report on the Result of a Special Inquiry into the Practice of Interment in Towns*, focused on the dangers of intramural burials.²⁰⁸ Heavily relying on testimony of Manchester residents, the report argued that there was a link between unsanitary and overcrowded burial grounds and the health of the general public. The report argued that if the labouring classes got sick, they would not be able to pay their rent, stating that in the 'cellar dwellings of Manchester the loses of rent, chiefly from sickness, amounted to 20 percent'.²⁰⁹ Chadwick and his numerous witness provided evidence that decaying waste matter from decomposing corpses that were above ground level in overcrowded burial grounds was seeping into the water supply by entering wells and streams.²¹⁰ They also suggested that diseases such as smallpox and typhus, that were in the body before death, could be transferred to the living.²¹¹ Evidence was also put forward in the report that suggests the stench alongside toxic gases caused respiratory problems and

²⁰⁷ Alan Kidd, *Manchester a History*, (Lancaster: Carnegie, 2006), pp. 125-126.

²⁰⁸ Edwin Chadwick, *Report on the Result of a Special Inquiry into the Practice of Interment in Towns*, (London: W. Clowes, 1843)

²⁰⁹ Chadwick, *Special Inquiry*, p.166.

²¹⁰ Michala Hulme, (*The Origins and Early Years of Manchester's first Municipal Cemetery*, unpublished dissertation thesis, Manchester Metropolitan University, 2012), p.20; Chadwick, *Special Inquiry*, pp.34-36.

²¹¹ Hulme, *Origins and Early Years*, p.20; Chadwick, *Special Inquiry*, p.14.

nausea.²¹² It was especially critical of industrial towns such as Liverpool and Manchester, the burial customs of the working classes, and the dreadful state of their overcrowded burial sites. One local witness stated that she had to leave her house because when the wind blew west, the smell was ‘dreadful’, giving her headaches and diarrhoea.²¹³

Ever since the release of his report, there have been questions about the reliability of Chadwick’s witnesses and their evidence. Rugg, talking about the benefits of local studies, champions the use of local sources because of the ‘deeply flawed material collated by the sanitary reformer, Edwin Chadwick’ that is often used in the historiography of burial practices. Yet despite the use of ‘deeply flawed’ material, what Chadwick did do was promote the use of cemeteries as the best way of disposing of the dead and drew attention to the unsanitary nature of some burial grounds. Chadwick’s idea that ‘overcrowded, unhygienic churchyards and burial grounds’ should be replaced by cemeteries on the edge of towns was implemented through a series of burial acts introduced in the 1850s – more detail about these acts will follow shortly.

Looking at Chadwick’s report and studying the burial grounds on an individual basis, it is clear that some burial sites in Manchester were over-crowded, and burials were taking place in an unsanitary manner – such as the burial ground of All Saint’s Church that had interred over 16,000 bodies by 1870.²¹⁴ However, it would be hard to prove that all the burial sites were a risk to human health, especially those like St Peter’s, which from 1820 was interring fewer than ten bodies per annum. Out of the eighteen Church of

²¹² Hulme, *Origins and Early Years*, p.20; Chadwick, *Special Inquiry*, p.15.

²¹³ Chadwick, *Special Inquiry*, p.24.

²¹⁴ ‘The Moral Condition of the District of All Saints’, *Manchester Guardian*, (22 March 1854), p.11.

England burial sites examined in this study, only four had more than ten interments per month. However, all these burial sites had closure orders placed on them following the introduction of the 1850s burial acts. Rather than overcrowding, a greater problem in Manchester was how close old burial sites were to houses, especially as the town developed.²¹⁵

Edwin Chadwick was influential in terms of bringing attention to the link between burial practices and the health of the nation to the national government. In doing so, he also highlighted Manchester's burial practices. However, other social commentators had been writing about the problems of intramural interments since the 1830s. One of the first to write nationally on the subject was George Frederick Carden, who regularly wrote in the *Penny Magazine* about the sanitary problems facing places of burial. In 1832, Carden wrote in the *Penny Magazine* about the 'hideous burial grounds' in Britain. He championed the use of cemeteries, which had become popular in Europe as a hygienic place to bury the dead, but which were also places that local residents could use for recreation. He described these as 'open and airy spaces, mostly decent, frequently beautiful' which 'often formed the favourite places of resort to the neighbouring population'.²¹⁶ Although, his report was not focused on Manchester, it still promoted the idea to the wider public (including Manchester) that cemeteries were the best method to bury the dead. This article played into the hands of cemetery proprietors, especially joint-stock cemetery proprietors, who were trying to the public to buy shares and graves in their cemeteries during this period and used a similar language in the press to promote their new commercial ventures.²¹⁷

²¹⁵ See appendix 2 and 3.

²¹⁶ S. Rutherford, *The Victorian Cemetery*, (Oxford: Shire Library, 2008), p.10.

²¹⁷ 'Prospectus of an Intended Cemetery', *Manchester Times*, (23 April 1836), p.2.

Another reformer who wrote about the link between unsanitary burial grounds and the public health was George Alfred Walker, who in 1839 published *Gatherings from Graveyards*.²¹⁸ Focused on London, Walker's report was widely circulated outside of the Metropolis, with *The Lancet* describing it as 'excellent and interesting'.²¹⁹ Like Chadwick, he brutal in his observations of the city's burial sites and their effect on the health of the inhabitants. When he visited a churchyard at St Giles, he stated

In the church yard of St Giles's, seen with horror, a great square pit, with many rows of coffins piled one upon the other, all exposed to sight and smell; some of the piles were incomplete, expecting the mortality of the night. I turned away disgusted at the view, and scandalized at the want of police, which so little regards the health of the living, as to permit so many putrid corpses, tacked between some slight boards, dispersing their dangerous effluvia over the capital, to remain unburied.²²⁰

It was also read by W.A. MacKinnon, Member of Parliament for Lymington. In 1842, MacKinnon called for a Select Committee to report on interments in London, which stated that all burials should cease in the city and that cemeteries should be established to bury the dead. This was to be achieved without causing any financial loss to the church.²²¹ Although this work was based in London and not Manchester, it made the Government take notice and act on what was a serious and growing problem.

²¹⁸ George Alfred Walker, *Gatherings from Graveyards*, (Nottingham: Longman & Co., 1839).

²¹⁹ *The Lancet* (13 June 1840), p.405.

²²⁰ *Ibid.*, p.165.

²²¹ Rugg, 'Ownership', p.216.

The Government's response to publications by Chadwick, Walker and MacKinnon came in the 1840s, when the newly created General Board of Health began visiting every place of burial and asked the associated clergy or ministers 20 questions as the basis of a report which would lead to possible closures. Questions extended beyond the amount of available burial space, with the General Board of Health also wanted to know what class of people were interred in the burial ground and to whom the fees were paid.²²² This evidence led to a series of Burial Acts implemented through the national government.

As mentioned earlier, the research for this chapter shows, however, that the parish authorities had attempted to deal with unsanitary burial sites a great deal earlier than was the case with other towns in North West England. In Manchester, before 1842, all but one of the parish burial grounds were closed to new interments because they 'had been filled with corpses to such an extent that further interments were deemed prejudicial to the public health'.²²³ Prior to the Burial Act 1853, Manchester had already identified that overcrowded burial grounds could affect the health of those living in close proximity to them and had introduced 'clauses relating to intramural interment' in the Health of Towns Act 1843 and the Manchester Streets Improvement Act 1853.²²⁴ It is widely assumed by scholars that The Metropolitan Burial Act 1852, which was extended in 1853 to include burials outside of the metropolis, was a key piece of legislation that transformed intramural interments in towns.²²⁵ However, regionally, some towns already had effective burial legislation that was introduced the decade before. Manchester was

²²² 'Official Inspection of Graveyards in Manchester', *Manchester Courier and Lancashire General Advertiser*, (20 October 1849), p.7.

²²³ 'Interment in Towns', *The Manchester Guardian*, (17 October 1849), p.6.

²²⁴ 'Intramural Interment in Manchester', *The Manchester Guardian*, (25 January 1854), p.3.

²²⁵ Griffith & Wallace (ed.) *Grave Matters*, p.33.

an example of this. During the 1840s, for example, the local board of health had the power to close burial grounds and during the 1850s this role was given to the Corporation. The introduction of the ‘metropolitan’ Burial Act 1853, simply modified some of the existing clauses concerning the closure of burial grounds.²²⁶

The first Act to affect new burial sites in Manchester was the Cemetery Clauses Act of 1847. This Act gave stipulations on the creation and management of new cemeteries. It also gave extra powers to the established church, stating that the ‘bishop of the diocese in which the cemetery is situated may, on the application of the company, consecrate any portion of the cemetery set apart for the burial of the dead according to the rites of the Established Church’.²²⁷ Further, it said that ‘within the consecrated part of the cemetery, and according to a plan approved of by the bishop of the diocese, a chapel for the performance of the burial service according to the rites of the Established Church’ should be established.²²⁸ It also introduced powers to protect bodies in the consecrated part of the cemetery and stated that ‘nobody buried in the consecrated part of the cemetery shall be removed from its place of burial without the same authority as is by law required for the removal of anybody buried in the churchyard belonging to a parish church’.²²⁹ For those who were not members of the established church, it gave the cemetery companies power to set separate sections for their burials which would ‘allow such bodies to be buried therein, under such regulations as the company appoint’. However, both the unconsecrated and consecrated sections had to be clearly marked. The unconsecrated chapel could also be used ‘by any minister of such other church or

²²⁶ Ibid.

²²⁷ An Act for consolidating in One Act certain Provisions usually contained in Acts authorizing the making of Cemeteries, Cemetery Clauses Act 1847, 10 & 11 Vic. C. 65.

²²⁸ Ibid.

²²⁹ Ibid.

congregation duly authorized by law to officiate in such church or congregation or recognised as such by the religious community or society to which he belongs.²³⁰

Besides the rights of those being buried, the Act also looked to ensure ‘that all burials within the cemetery are conducted in a decent and solemn manner’, and that those who visited the cemetery did so in an orderly manner.²³¹ It also made it an offence to commit nuisances in the cemetery; there was a maximum penalty of five pounds for damaging the cemetery – including plants and shrubs. There were stipulations on design; all cemeteries had to be enclosed with a fence or railings of at least eight feet high. The cemetery company could also take down and remove any gravestone, monument, tablet, or monumental inscription erected without the permission of the cemetery. Yet, although this Act did affect the managerial and operational aspect of cemeteries, it did little to regulate burials in other grounds; this would not be introduced until the following decade.

The most significant impact on the decline of burial sites, in particular, churchyards and burial grounds in Manchester, was a series of burial acts that were introduced in the 1850s. The Burial Act of 1853 arguably introduced several key changes to burial grounds and the burial of the dead that specifically impacted burials outside of London.²³² The Act called for the creation of new cemeteries and stated that, for the protection of the public’s health, further burials within a burial site, city or town could be prohibited. It stated that cemetery records must be kept of everyone buried in the

²³⁰ Ibid.

²³¹ Ibid.

²³² An Act to Amend the Laws concerning the Burial of the Dead in England beyond the limits of the Metropolis..., Cap. 134, 16 & 17 Vic, (20 August 1853).

ground, and further called for the creation of burial boards, who were responsible for setting up new cemeteries for the parish. A Burial's Inspector, who was based at the Home Office, had the responsibility to make sure that the Act was carried out successfully throughout the country. There was also a shift in how burial sites were opened and closed. Manchester's Board of Health, who signed the order for new sites to open, was only administrative, it would be the Burial Inspector through the Home Office, that would approve new places of burial.²³³ This marks a decisive shift from the beginning of the nineteenth century. Permission to create new burial sites moved from the ecclesiastical authorities to local Government and then National Government, thus reflecting broader changes that were happening with society

In Manchester, the Act either wholly closed or put restrictions on burials in the grounds of 18 of the 19 Church of England burial sites, eight of the 15 Nonconformist burial sites, all of the Roman Catholic burial sites and all the three joint-stock cemeteries.²³⁴ All the religious bodies and owners of joint-stock cemetery companies had to respond to the Act, or they faced a fine. The hardest hit by the Burial Acts were the Roman Catholics, who lost their principal place of burial, which was St Patrick's, Livesey Street. It was deemed that the site was nearly at capacity, with burials taking place close to residential dwellings. In 1854, St Patrick's was initially allowed to continue interring the dead, as long as they only buried one body per grave and the graves were at least 20 feet away from dwelling houses. However, in 1858, burials were supposed to be stopped completely. Nonconformist burial sites were also affected by the new Acts; for example, the Wesleyan Chapel was only allowed to inter in existing vaults and no new burials

²³³ 'Manchester Board of Guardians', *Manchester Times*, (14 October 1854), p.5.

²³⁴ *The London Gazette*, 1854-1858.

within twenty feet of the boundary of the cemetery. Further, 'nobody was allowed to be buried in any grave unless there was a covering of four and a half feet of earth, measuring from the top of the coffin to the level of the ground'.²³⁵

Although they did have some initial effect, some burial sites managed to petition the Burial's Inspector from the Home Office, and stay open. For example, although St Luke's had an order to 'wholly discontinue' burials in 1856, the last burial was that of Annie Cawley Roberts from Hazel Grove, who was buried on 1st November 1932. St George's, Hulme had an order to cease burials in 1858, but the last burial was that of 80-year-old Emma Morris from Hulme, who died of bronchitis, and was buried on 23rd June 1920.²³⁶ The Act partially closed the Cheetham Hill Wesleyan burial site, however, by the 1860s it was back interring bodies at a rate of over 400 per annum.²³⁷

This research has also found that rather than alleviate a perceived burial crisis, the closing of churchyards and burial grounds, particularly after the 1850s Burial Acts, actually gave the remaining 'open' cemeteries the monopoly on burials in the towns. This had the most significant effect on the poorer members of society, who could only afford to be buried in a public grave. Due to the nature of public graves, with sometimes as many as twenty coffins in a single grave, these graves were singled out as being a danger to human health and were ceased in most churchyards and burial grounds, although burials were permitted in such grounds in vaults and private family graves. In Manchester, which did not have a municipal cemetery until 1866, only two joint-stock cemeteries (Ardwick Cemetery and the Manchester General Cemetery) were allowed to

²³⁵ *The London Gazette*, (18 October 1854), p.3173.

²³⁶ *The London Gazette*, (8 June 1854), p.1783.

²³⁷ 'Cheetham Hill Wesleyan Chapel', *The Manchester Guardian*, (23 October 1867), p.3.

permit burials in public graves following the Burial Act 1853. An example of how this affected the poorer classes is the case of Dennis Lane, who earned on average 14s per week with which he had to support his wife and children. It was reported that when his wife died, he managed to fund the purchase of a coffin with the help of his friends. He then approached the Registrar of the Manchester General Cemetery, which was privately owned, to ask if he would bury his wife for 5 shillings, as that was all he had. The Registrar refused, stating that the cheapest he could bury her for would be 20s, which was 'considerably in excess' of what was being charged in other burial grounds.²³⁸ To put this into context, at the Salford Cemetery the price for a single interment burial was eight shillings for a resident of Salford and ten shillings for those that lived outside the borough. In Bolton, a single interment in their borough cemetery was six shillings.²³⁹ Lane eventually managed to raise 10 shillings, but was still refused by the Registrar, who told the man to apply to the relieving officer (the state), which he did and got his wife buried at the General Cemetery. In effect, the monopoly that the General Cemetery had over burials in Manchester and its ability to implement high burial fees, turned Dennis Lane into a 'pauper', who had to seek help from the state, which caused a great deal of distress.²⁴⁰

Not only did the Burial Acts drive some families into poverty, they also had financial consequences for those who owned burial grounds that were faced with closure orders. Every Street Cemetery (Nonconformist) was opened in 1824 by the Rev James Schofield. When he died, it was placed with a group of trustees. In 1855, an order was given to close the cemetery, however, twelve years later - during which time the

²³⁸ 'Manchester Board of Guardians', *The Manchester Guardian*, (19 September 1856) p.3.

²³⁹ 'Borough of Bolton Cemetery', *Bolton Chronicle*, (03 January 1857), p.1.

²⁴⁰ Incidentally, Lane later paid for the burial of his daughter without assistance from the state.

cemetery was granted two extensions - it was still operating. The cemetery was kept open because an argument was put forward that there was nowhere in the area for the locals to be buried and that due to a large ground rent, closure would result in a 'great hardship' on the family of James Schofield and they would be 'ruined'.²⁴¹ As the new municipal cemetery was now open for burials, the council, supported by the government's Burial Inspector, said that there was little need to keep it open. The closing of such grounds increased the number of people using the new municipal cemetery, thus increasing the revenue derived from interments. The family of the Reverend Schofield asked the council and burials inspector if they could get any compensation to help pay the ground rent if the cemetery was to close. They were, however, refused, and the order was given to close the cemetery, leaving the family to face financial ruin.²⁴²

It appears that even the local press was concerned about the number of burial sites that were being closed by the Act. In 1854, a reporter writing for the *Manchester Courier* shared concerns about the closing of local places of burial, stating that

the sweeping condemnation of burial grounds, without regard to the convenience or feelings of the public, or the injury of individuals, and without proof of their prejudicing the health of the neighbourhood, looks very like the reckless zeal of officials wishing to give a plausible colour to smug salaries, no matter who suffers by the mania of the sanitary exaggeration.²⁴³

²⁴¹ 'The Every Street Cemetery', *Manchester Times*, (13 July 1867), p.3.

²⁴² Ibid.

²⁴³ 'Closing Burial Grounds', *Manchester Courier and Lancashire Advertiser*, (22 April 1854), p.6.

Although the Burial Acts did close some sites and temporarily affected others, further research is needed on individual sites to see exactly why they were chosen for closure or why burials were restricted, especially in grounds where burials were minimal. An examination of all the burial data for Church of England sites in Manchester shows how in some instances the number of burials would not have constituted a threat to the health of the living, especially when a body can decompose to a skeleton within fifteen years, depending on the composition of the soil. It seems that following the initial passing of the Act, there was a drive to close all burial grounds and churchyards irrespective of the number of burials in favour of joint-stock cemeteries. This explains why some churchyards and burial grounds were able to seek an extension.²⁴⁴

The Act also gave Manchester's municipal leaders the ability to raise funds through the poor rate to fund the new cemeteries that would serve all the residents. The impact this Act had on the creation of the municipal cemetery and the impact that the municipal cemetery had on burial grounds and churchyards will be discussed in Chapter Three.

So far, this chapter has argued that local interference and compulsory state legislation had an impact on the decline of burial provisions in Manchester. Overcrowded burial sites and insanitary burial practices led local parish officials to close the parish burial ground, and later drives for improved public health led to the creation of Burial Boards and national legislation that forced the closure of burial grounds deemed to be full and a risk to human health.

²⁴⁴ 'Interments in Manchester', *Manchester Courier and Lancashire Advertiser*, (25 March 1854), p.9.

Alongside the drive for improved public health which closed burial sites, burial sites on prime development land in the centre of thriving towns such as Manchester, were at risk of being sold for new buildings and infrastructure. In 1848, a part of the parish burial ground at Walker's Croft was sold because the land was needed for a new railway line. Walker's Croft was opened in 1814 after the churchwardens of Manchester purchased a piece of land from a rate that had been levied on the parish, for a parish burial ground. The burial site opened the following year. Walker's Croft appeared aesthetically similar to later cemeteries such as Rusholme Road Cemetery, which opened in 1821. The burial ground at Walker's Croft had a sizeable grand entrance and a chapel, secured by a boundary wall. It was adjacent to the Manchester Workhouse, which explains why a large number of burials were in common graves and why the cemetery failed to attract wealthy residents. Friedrich Engels called the cemetery 'the pauper burial ground'.²⁴⁵ The cemetery continued to operate until 1848 when it was sold for £13,000²⁴⁶ to the Lancashire and Yorkshire Railway. By 1860, the burial ground had disappeared under Victoria Station.

Although the Corporation used its power to sell the land that Walker's Croft was on, it did not always get its own way. In 1857, the Corporation sought to take a piece of the burial ground from the Friends' Meeting House in order to widen Mount Street. After a strongly worded letter from the Friends' Meeting House committee, which stated that under no circumstance could it sanction the taking of any part of the burial ground, the Corporation backed down.²⁴⁷

²⁴⁵ Fredrich Engels, *The Condition of the Working Class in England*, (London: Penguin Books, 2005), p.287.

²⁴⁶ 'Manchester Burial Board', *Manchester Guardian*, (9 March 1857), p.3.

²⁴⁷ 'Proceedings of Committee', *Manchester and Lancashire General Advertiser*, (19 September 1857), p.10.

Conclusion

This chapter has highlighted the complex and varied nature of the development and decline of burial sites in Manchester. It has argued that burial provisions in Manchester in the first half of the nineteenth century were mostly provided by private enterprise, public donation and the ecclesial authorities, with local government staying relatively silent in this process. It was dissenting businessmen who provided the largest burial sites, thus reaping the financial benefits of the town's high mortality rates. The working classes had little control over where new burial sites were situated, although, as Chapter Four will demonstrate, they did manage to exercise some autonomy over how and where they were buried.

This chapter has argued that the vast majority who lived in Manchester's working-class districts lived within a short proximity of where they were buried, and that contrary to the historiography, people, particularly the Irish, still preferred burial in churchyards and local burial grounds than in joint-stock cemeteries. Further, it has also suggested that new burial sites in growing communities did not always equate to interments, especially in the wealthy district of Ardwick (St Thomas's) where people could afford to be buried outside of the immediate township.

Improvements in public health, particularly after 1850, brought sanctions on burials and burial sites. Rather than help eradicate a 'burial crisis', these increased sanctions and the closing of burial grounds and churchyards in Manchester affected the poorest in society most, because burials in public graves faced the worst sanctions. It also gave the monopoly on burials to sites that were permitted to remain open, which could

charge particularly high burial fees, thus, again, affecting those at the lower end of the social scale.

Chapter Two: Burial Provision History 1820-1870: A comparison of burial practices in towns in the North West of England

Introduction

Research in the previous chapter has added a new dimension to the field of death studies by providing the first detailed critical analysis of the range of reasons why burial provisions developed and declined in Manchester, the most significant urban town of the industrial age. It placed these changes within the power dynamics of secular and religious forces (ecclesial, the needs of religious groups, entrepreneurs and local government) which underpinned the process of burial and highlighted what is often forgotten in existing studies, which is the immense impact that the social and economic changes of rapid industrial and urban expansion had on the conventions surrounding death and burial in working-class communities. Working-class people were removed from the decisions made about the nature and availability of burial provisions, whose considerable disruptive consequences affected where they were able to bury their dead and the practical choices and decisions, they were forced to make in order to inter their loved ones.

It would be wrong to assume that what happened in Manchester was happening nationally or even regionally. Regional and local attitudes towards death, combined with national legislation introduced by the government and the characteristics of a specific area, all shaped the individual experience of death and burial. Historical research has,

however, largely failed to acknowledge that the experience of death and burial in England was not the same in every town. Indeed, work on mortality in the nineteenth century lags somewhat behind historians of the urban landscape, who now accept the individuality of Victorian industrial towns. Asa Briggs, for example, stressed their individuality, stating how ‘they diverged very strongly in their economic life, their social structure and their politics’.²⁴⁸ Waller similarly highlighted the differences between industrial towns, describing Liverpool’s merchants and Manchester’s industrialists as two different types of men.²⁴⁹

If it is now widely accepted that industrial towns of the nineteenth century have different histories, the history of nineteenth century burial practices still lags behind this acceptance. This is a major flaw in the field of death studies that needs to be addressed by developing comparative studies in order to get a broader understanding of burial history in England. Chapter Two contributes to this scholarship by developing a comparison of the North West towns of Chester, Liverpool, Preston and Wigan between 1820-1870, thereby filling a significant gap in the field of death studies, which is still heavily focused on London. It highlights the value of local studies by demonstrating differences in regional and local attitudes towards death and burials and adds a new understanding of urban burials during this period by avoiding the generalisations that too often surround the history of early-nineteenth-century burials.

Julie Rugg, who has written extensively on burial provisions in the nineteenth century, champions the benefits of using local studies in her work on the conflicts which

²⁴⁸ A. Briggs, *Victorian Cities*, (New York: Harper and Row, 1963), p.32.

²⁴⁹ J. Waller, *Town City and Nation*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1983)

surrounded obtaining land for cemeteries. She states that local studies mark ‘a departure from the usual approach to burial history, which is to rely wholly on London-based sources’.²⁵⁰ Like Rugg, Chapter Two contests the singular narrative that has dominated much existing scholarship in favour of developing a more nuanced, complex interpretation of burial provisions in this period of study.

Overview of burial provisions

On the 5th February 1839, 37-year-old Harriett Paulson was the first person to be interred in the churchyard of Christ Church, a new Church of England church in Chester. This was the first and only Church of England place of burial to open in the first half of the nineteenth century in Chester. In 1850, excluding Christ Church, all the other available burial sites had served the residents since the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

Research from Rugg puts forward the idea that the first half of the nineteenth century was a period of change in relation to the development of burial provisions, with people moving away from burials in churchyards and instead interring their dead in newly created cemeteries.²⁵¹ She argues that by 1850 burials had changed, with people ‘increasingly being buried in a cemetery, rather than a churchyard’.²⁵² This narrative does not fit with a local study into Chester’s Church of England burial sites which, up to 1850, were heavily reliant on churchyards that were over two hundred years old. Although the churchyards had been in use for centuries, many of Chester’s parish churchyards kept extending their burial sites and consecrating the land. Holy Trinity had new land consecrated in 1810 by the city gaol, St Mary’s consecrated land in 1825 and

²⁵⁰ Rugg, ‘Ownership’, p.214.

²⁵¹ Rugg, ‘reason to regulation’, p.202.

²⁵² Ibid.

St Bridget's consecrated a new burial ground in 1829 near the castle.²⁵³ In 1771, the parish purchased a piece of land to extend the parish burial ground from a rector of another church on the agreement that he and his successors would be paid four guineas per year for life.²⁵⁴ By 1809, more ground was acquired after the burial ground was deemed as 'having been long extremely crowded with bodies'. The new burial ground opened the following year at the cost of £1,000.²⁵⁵ During the period of this study, extending churchyards was not possible in the centre of Manchester due to a lack of available land within the proximity of church.

As mentioned, Chester's system of expanding existing churchyards, combined with their slow growing population, meant that they only needed one burial site between 1800 - 1850. Preston, on the other hand, which had a faster growing population, opened seven new Church of England burial sites in the first half of the nineteenth century, relying on only one that had opened in the eighteenth century.²⁵⁶ As demonstrated, the development of burial sites in Chester and Preston was very different.

It was not only the growth of Church of England sites that differed between towns, the number of municipal cemeteries also varied considerably. For example, in 1856, Wigan was one of the first towns to get a municipal cemetery – It would be another decade before Manchester got a municipal cemetery. Notably, Wigan's cemetery was next to the neighbouring town of Ince's municipal cemetery. During the period of this study, there were more municipal cemeteries within the borough of Wigan than in Manchester,

²⁵³ Joseph Hemmingway, *History of the City of Chester*, (Chester: J Fletcher, 1831), p.128.

²⁵⁴ I. M. B. Pigott, *History of the City of Chester from its Foundation to the Present Time*, (Chester: T Poole, 1815), p.83.

²⁵⁵ Ibid., p.84.

²⁵⁶ See appendix 20.

even though Manchester had a much higher population and higher mortality figures. The control of creating a municipal cemetery, lay with the local governing authorities, thus demonstrating that the local government in Wigan were more proactive in providing a cemetery to bury their dead than Manchester's local government, who did not see it as a priority. The first town to open a municipal cemetery in this study was in Preston in 1855. This was followed by Toxteth Cemetery, Liverpool in 1856, Wigan (Lower Ince) Cemetery in 1856, and Ince Cemetery, Wigan in 1857 and, as mentioned, Manchester in 1866.²⁵⁷

However, not every town had a municipal cemetery. The residents of Chester were reliant on the privately-owned Overleigh Cemetery, opened by the Chester General Cemetery Company in 1850. This cemetery was owned by a private company based on the joint-stock model. However, by the time the privately-owned cemetery opened at Chester, the desire for the joint-stock model of cemetery was showing signs of slowing down. This was demonstrated by the lack of people buying shares. A cemetery company was set-up in 1848. However, by the November of 1850, only 740 out of a possible 1,000 shares had been sold.²⁵⁸ The shortfall meant the company had to suspend construction until it could raise more funds.²⁵⁹ Eventually, the money was found, and the cemetery opened.

As mentioned in the previous chapter, Manchester was the first town in the North West to get a joint-stock cemetery in 1821. Like Manchester, Liverpool also established a joint-stock cemetery in the 1820s, founded by Dissenters. Its privately-owned cemetery

²⁵⁷ See appendix 27.

²⁵⁸ Chester General Cemetery', *Chester Chronicle*, (23 November 1850), p.4.

²⁵⁹ Ibid.

opened in 1825 and was called the Liverpool Necropolis Cemetery. The cost of the new cemetery was £8,000.²⁶⁰ Before the Liverpool shareholders would see a return on their investment, the debt from the building of the cemetery had to be paid off. In 1828, it was estimated that there was just over £1,130 left to pay, which would take approximately two years.²⁶¹ In 1829, Liverpool opened a second joint-stock cemetery in a disused quarry. The cemetery was called St James's and was promoted to Anglicans.²⁶² Initially, joint-stock cemeteries proved to be a lucrative business for its investors. Curl argues that they could earn more for them than speculative housing or railway stock.²⁶³ By 1850, there were more joint-stock cemeteries in the towns studied than municipal cemeteries. This means that up to the mid-nineteenth century, groups of businessmen had more control over burials in the urban landscape than the local authorities.

This brief summary has suggested that there was no uniformity when it came to number and type of burial provisions in these towns during this period of study. The following section of this chapter will explain why towns in this study had such varied burial histories.

²⁶⁰ Ibid.

²⁶¹ 'New Cemetery, Low Hill', *Liverpool Mercury*, (1 February 1828), p.4.

²⁶² Curl, *Celebration of Death*, p.42.

²⁶³ Ibid.

The Development & Decline of Burial Provisions in the North West of England 1820-1870

The previous chapter argued that at the beginning of the nineteenth century, the creation of new places of burial were by-products of new places of worship. New places of worship were needed because of a rise in the population that led to a shortage of churches. It would be the government who drove this process by providing the financial structure to pay for these churches through the Million Churches Act.

In Sheffield, the Act was a significant piece of legislation that created more burial space than joint-stock cemeteries.²⁶⁴ In the North West, its effectiveness in creating new sites was extremely varied. In Manchester the Act created three new places of burial, however the space provided for burials was not as vast as the space provided by the three joint-stock cemeteries.²⁶⁵ In Liverpool, the Act provided no new places of burial and had no impact on the number of burial provisions.²⁶⁶ However, in Preston, a town that had no joint-stock cemeteries, the 'Million Churches Act' funded two churches that had burial sites attached to them. This had an impact on Preston's burial provisions because it provided much-needed burial space in two populous areas of the town.

The first church provided by the Act was St Peter's, which opened in 1824.²⁶⁷ The second was St Paul's, that opened in 1825 at a cost of £6,214, with £6,211 being paid for by the grant which the Act provided.²⁶⁸ Both churches were needed because of new

²⁶⁴ Rugg, Clayden and Stirling, 'Sheffield'.

²⁶⁵ See appendix 4d.

²⁶⁶ Port, *New Churches*.

²⁶⁷ See appendix 16.

²⁶⁸ Port, *New Churches*. p.327.

residential settlement patterns in Preston that left communities without a place of worship. At the start of the nineteenth century, the area where St Paul's church was situated was predominately fields, but by the 1820s, residential settlements were developing that needed a place of worship.²⁶⁹ The burial sites of St Paul and St Peter became the most popular places of burial in Preston. Between 1842 and 1848, burials in the two grounds accounted for 57 percent of all burials in the town.²⁷⁰

If this study was just focusing on Sheffield and Preston, it would be plausible to argue that the Million Churches Act made a significant impact on the development of burial provisions before 1850. However, taking into consideration the results from Liverpool, Wigan and Chester, where no sites that had places of burial were founded following the Act, the impact of such an Act on the broader history of burials is lessened. This reinforces the importance of not generalising about the national impact of its effects on new burial provisions and highlights the benefits of comparative local studies research in this field.

There are several reasons why some areas in the study did not benefit from the Million Churches Act in terms of it creating new burial sites. Firstly, there were enough Church of England churches for the local community. For example, is evident that Chester, who did not benefit from the Act, did not warrant the creation of a new church because there were enough churches. This is because in relative terms, Chester's population grew at a really slow rate. Between 1774 and 1801, the population had grown by only 9.4 percent.²⁷¹ Lewis and Thacker argue that growth was slow because people were

²⁶⁹ Ibid.

²⁷⁰ George Thomas Clark, *Report to the General Board of Health on a Preliminary Enquiry*, (London: W. Clowes & Sons, 1849), p.27.

²⁷¹ Lewis, Thacker, *Victoria History*, p.171.

migrating away from Chester.²⁷² They state that apart from between 1811 and 1821, more people left Chester in the first forty years of the nineteenth century than subsequently settled there.²⁷³ This ultimately did affect burial provisions because if fewer people were living in the town, then there would be fewer people dying in the town, and there would be less need to create new places of burial. This explains why there was only one new Church of England burial site constructed before 1850. Secondly, even though a church was needed, there was not enough physical space to build a churchyard next to the newly created church. Finally, Chester had been remarkably good at building churches that were still standing in the nineteenth century. Chester was relatively small in size but had ten Church of England churches, including the cathedral, to cater for the population. The oldest site, opened in 1820, was St Peter's Church, which was recorded as taking burials from 1559.²⁷⁴ The newest site operating in 1820 was the Cathedral, whose burial records date from 1688.²⁷⁵ Unlike Chester; Liverpool, Manchester and Preston, had fast-growing populations, which recent arguments suggest was due to a combination of births outweighing deaths and high levels of immigration, particularly from the Irish, in the first half of the nineteenth century.²⁷⁶

The impact of migration, particularly from the Irish, affected the burial history of Preston, Wigan, Liverpool and Chester in two ways. Firstly, as the number of Irish increased, so did the number of Roman Catholic churches catering to new and expanding

²⁷² Ibid.

²⁷³ Ibid.

²⁷⁴ See appendix 20.

²⁷⁵ Ibid.

²⁷⁶ See Robert Woods, *The Demography of Victorian England and Wales*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000); E. A. Wrigley, R. S. Schofield, *The Population History of England 1541-1871*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989); W. Farr and H. Ratcliffe, *Mortality in Mid 19th Century Britain*, (Heppenheim: Franz Wolf, 1974); Evans, *Modern State*.

congregations. Secondly, areas that had high rates of Irish migrants, also had high mortality rates.^d

Liverpool had the most Irish born residents in the North West. Walton states that during the mid-nineteenth century ‘a quarter of Liverpool population was Irish-born’. The Irish Catholic population had increased from six percent in 1800, to just over one in nine in 1830.²⁷⁷ The Catholic Diocese in Liverpool was far more proactive than Salford Diocese in creating a place to bury their dead. For example, when St Patrick’s closed, the Diocese of Salford waited ten years for a section in the newly created municipal cemetery. Whereas in Liverpool, the Diocese looked to itself rather than local government to fix the Catholic burial problem. The first ‘modern’ Roman Catholic cemetery in the North West, opened in Liverpool in 1859.²⁷⁸ The ground chosen for its new cemetery was a twenty-four-acre site in Ford, which was to the north of Liverpool.²⁷⁹

The cemetery was funded by Canon Newsham, the priest from St Anthony’s Church, who took up the position in 1844 and who worked in some of the worst areas of Liverpool, providing schools, places to hear Mass and founding St Albans Church. The cemetery he established in Ford was officially opened by Right Rev. Dr Goss.²⁸⁰ The first interment was that of twenty-seven-year-old Mary Ann Riley, which took place on 1st January 1859.²⁸¹ From 1859 to the end of this study in 1870, the Ford cemetery was one of the most popular burial sites in Liverpool, interring more than all the singular faith places of burial.²⁸²

²⁷⁷ Walton, *Lancashire*, p.183.

²⁷⁸ Thomas Burke, *The Catholic History of Liverpool*, (Liverpool: C. Tinling & Co. L.T.D., 1910) p.142.

²⁷⁹ Ibid.

²⁸⁰ Ibid.

²⁸¹ Ford Cemetery Burial Register, held by Liverpool Archives (282 FOR)

²⁸² See appendix 11e.

The Catholic community in Liverpool opened its own cemetery before Liverpool Corporation had provided a separate burial space for Catholics in their municipal cemetery.

Liverpool's municipal cemetery at Toxteth, founded by Toxteth Burial Board, opened in 1856 and only had two sections, consecrated and unconsecrated, with no separate Roman Catholic section. Possibly inspired by the commercial success of the Ford Cemetery, the Liverpool Corporation did provide a section for Roman Catholics in 1863 when they opened their new cemetery at Anfield, although Roman Catholics had already been interring in their own cemetery for four years before this opened. The opening of the municipal cemetery at Anfield did not affect burials at the Ford Cemetery during this study, and further work is needed to discover its long-term effects. The year after the Anfield Cemetery opened burials increased at the Ford Cemetery, from 963 to 2,922 per annum.²⁸³ Burials did dip slightly the following year, but then rose to a high of over 3,000 per annum in 1866, before dropping in 1867 to the same number of burials as there had been in 1863.²⁸⁴ By 1869, however, burials were on the rise again.²⁸⁵

Immigration did not only impact the burial history of large towns such as Manchester and Liverpool, it also affected the burial history of smaller town's such as Preston. Preston was particularly attractive to migrants because of cheap housing and the prospects of employment.²⁸⁶ Out of the 12,379 families recorded on the 1851 Census,

²⁸³ Ibid.

²⁸⁴ Ibid.

²⁸⁵ Ibid.

²⁸⁶ Mariclaire Langstaff, 'Irish Migrant Identity in Yorkshire and Lancashire', (Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Edinburgh, 2001), p.22.

over 9,000 heads of these households were born outside Preston.²⁸⁷ The 1851 Census gives some idea of when Irish migration to Preston occurred. In 1851, although just under three-quarters of Preston's population had heads of households born outside Preston, 47.5 percent of the population as a whole was born in the town, suggesting that people had migrated earlier and that their children made up the bulk of the population.²⁸⁸ It was estimated that in 1841 the number of Irish born people living in Preston was 1,703 (3.4 percent). By 1851, this had more than doubled to 5,122 (7.4 percent).²⁸⁹ In terms of employment, the Irish in Preston worked predominately as general labourers and on the railways.²⁹⁰ In Preston, as was also the case in Manchester, Liverpool and Chester, the Irish were 'strongly segregated' into distinct areas. Bristow argues that the main places of Irish settlement were Turks Head Court and the end of Friargate.²⁹¹

From 1830, linking patterns of Irish settlement in Preston and the growth of burial sites is difficult. The only burial site in operation between 1820 and 1830 was the churchyard of St Wilfrid's, which was situated near Fishergate.²⁹² The second site to open after 1820 was the churchyard attached to St Ignatius, which was situated to the north east of the town.²⁹³ The two areas identified by Bristow as being places of Irish settlement do not fit with the position of the Catholic chapel of St. Ignatius, which was opened in 1836 and had a place of burial attached. The third burial site to open was St Augustine's, which opened in 1840 to the south of Church Street. Although it is not clear when burials

²⁸⁷ B. R. Bristow, 'Residential differentiation in mid-19th century Preston', (Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Lancashire, 1982), p.288.

²⁸⁸ Ibid., p.292

²⁸⁹ Langstaff, 'Irish Migrant Identity', p.21.

²⁹⁰ Bristow, 'Residential differentiation', p.292.

²⁹¹ Ibid., p.326.

²⁹² See appendix 20.

²⁹³ See appendix 20.

started here, they were interring the dead from at least 1842.²⁹⁴ St Augustine's was near to the Irish settlement at Turks Head, suggesting that some sites developed near to growing settlements whereas others did not.

The picture is much clearer in Manchester, where the Roman Catholic sites were centred around emerging Catholic communities. Looking at the burial records for the three Catholic burial sites in Preston from 1842 to 1848, proves that they must have attracted Catholic burials, even if they were not situated in the heart of identifiable Catholic communities. For example, although Bristow does not identify the area of St Ignatius as a key area of Irish and therefore Catholic settlement, it was the most popular Roman Catholic place for burial interments, interring 1,550 people between 1842 and 1848.²⁹⁵ During the same period, St Wilfrid's in Preston conducted 922 burials and St Augustine's buried 596.²⁹⁶ The previous chapter suggested that people chose to be buried in a particular burial site because it was the churchyard where they worshipped, they had kinship ties with the ground, it was affordable and it was convenient to where they lived. However, another reason that was not evident in Manchester, is that people had a vested interest in the ground because they had helped pay for it. For example, The Roman Catholic churchyard of St Ignatius was paid for by public subscription. While funding buildings by public subscription was not unusual in the nineteenth century, what is unique to this study is that more than £1,000 raised by 1,500 subscribers was largely given by the 'poorer classes', who paid one of the 66 collectors a small weekly sum.²⁹⁷ Research into Manchester's burial history suggested that the 'poorer classes' had no

²⁹⁴ Ibid.

²⁹⁵ Nigel Morgan, *Deadly Dwellings: Health and Housing in a Lancashire Cotton Town Preston from 1840 to 1914*, (Preston: Mullion Books, 1993), p.27.

²⁹⁶ Ibid.

²⁹⁷ 'Opening of the New Roman Catholic Chapel', *Lancaster Gazette*, (07 May 1836), p.3.

agency when it came to creating new places of burial. However, work on Preston contests this notion, thus demonstrating that collectively they did have, and wanted, some control on the creation of new burial sites within the town.

Although Irish migration did occur in Chester, but out of all the places studied in this chapter, it could be argued that it had the least effect on burial provisions. In 1841, the official Census recorded 1,013 Irish immigrants living in Chester. By 1851 the number of Irish had doubled to 2,032.²⁹⁸ Annual Roman Catholic baptisms rose from 48 between 1824 and 1833 to 115 between 1854 and 1863. The majority (68.7 percent) of Irish born people living in Chester in 1851 resided in the parish of St John.²⁹⁹ Within this parish, Steven Street was the most popular place of residence, with 50.6 percent of Irish born residents living there.³⁰⁰

Before the opening of Chester's cemetery, there was one Roman Catholic place of burial, attached to the church of St. Werburgh's, which used to stand on Queen Street. The burial ground should have closed under the new Burial Act of 1853, however, burials continued there, although at a restricted rate. The ground, believed to have opened in 1799, was demolished in 1966, although its age is only an estimate as the records are incomplete. Chester Archives holds records from 1860, although newspaper reports suggest that burials were happening before that. For example, in 1847 when a railway bridge collapsed in the River Dee leading to several fatalities, the *Manchester Courier*

²⁹⁸ Sister Mary Winefride Sturman, *Catholicism in Chester*, (Chester: W. H. Evans & Sons, 1975), p.54.

²⁹⁹ Roger Swift, *Victorian Chester: Essays in Social History 1830-1900*, (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1996), p.88.

³⁰⁰ Ibid.

reported that some of the victims were buried in the burial ground of St Werburgh's church, which means that burials were occurring before the current records suggest.³⁰¹

The reason why St Werburgh's was the only Roman Catholic burial site in Chester prior to 1850 can be found in the town's burial records. The records state that between 1836 and 1847 there were on average per annum 627 burials in Church of England burial sites, but only 50 in the Catholic burial ground, meaning the site was not taking as many burials as other ones in the town.³⁰² In terms of residential settlement patterns and the development of burial sites, St Werburgh's was already established before Irish migration soared in the 1840s. Although migration did increase, there is evidence that this did not have a significant effect on burials, as the earlier figures suggest. It is possible that those buried by the parish (paupers) were not buried in Catholic ground, as will be discussed in the last chapter of this thesis.

However, putting that aside, the reason why burials were so low is because Irish migrants did not stay in Chester, but used it to pass through to other areas. The 1851 Census of England reveals that the majority of Irish migrants had been in Chester under ten years and by 1871 the number of Irish living on Steven Street has also declined to 23 percent of the Irish born population within St John's.³⁰³

As highlighted in the research conducted in Manchester, as well as leading to an increase in the number of Roman Catholic burial sites, the Irish were also blamed for the region's high mortality rates, thus increasing pressure on the town's burial provisions. This was because the Irish lived in some of the worst conditions and were

³⁰¹ 'Fearful Railway Accident at Chester', *Manchester Courier and Lancashire General Advertiser*, (29 May 1847), p.5.

³⁰² 'Chester General Cemetery', *Chester Chronicle*, (23 November 1850), p.4.

³⁰³ See 1851 and 1871 Census of England.

thus especially susceptible to illness and death. In Liverpool, the registrar stated that “A considerable portion of the increase [of deaths] arises from the great influx of poor from Ireland, most of whom are quite destitute when they arrive. Some have been only a few weeks, others a few days in the town previous to their death”.³⁰⁴ A government enquiry stated that ‘three of the most notoriously dirty streets in Liverpool’ were ‘inhabited by the lowest class of Irish’.³⁰⁵ Further, in 1840, it was stated that fever would never disappear from Liverpool and improved sanitary measures would be in vain as long as ‘numerous hordes of uneducated Irish’ were ‘spreading physical and moral contamination around them’.³⁰⁶ The Medical Officer of Health in Liverpool called for a stop to further immigration.³⁰⁷ In Wigan, the Medical Officer, when discussing problems with the town’s sanitation, listed ‘want of privies’, ‘confined yards and courts in a filthy state, with large dung heaps’ and the ‘filthy habits of the Irish inhabitants’ as causing the spread of disease.³⁰⁸ It was claimed in the press and by medical officers that the ‘highest rates of typhus were in the districts favoured by the Irish population’.³⁰⁹

Typhus, also known as the ‘Irish Fever’ in Liverpool, killed 5845 in 1847 following the arrival of 300,000 migrants fleeing the potato famine.³¹⁰ Typhus was spread by lice, and as the Irish were poor, it has been argued by Sheard, that they were less likely to

³⁰⁴ ‘Public Health, in December Quarter, 1846’, *Manchester Courier and Lancashire General Advertiser*, (10 February 1847), p.3.

³⁰⁵ Chadwick, *Sanitary Condition*, p.292.

³⁰⁶ W. H. Duncan, *On the Sanitary State of Liverpool* (1842), quoted in G. Kearns, P. Laxton and J. Campbell, ‘Duncan and the Cholera Test: Public Health in Mid Nineteenth-Century Liverpool’, *Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire*, Vol.143, (1994), pp.98-99.

³⁰⁷ Liverpool Corporation Health Committee Minutes (14 June 1847) (LRO 352 MIN/HEA) and Sally Sheard, ‘James Newlands and William Henry Duncan of Liverpool: a partnership in Public Health’, *Lancashire and Cheshire Antiquarian Society*, Vol. 87, (1993), p.119.

³⁰⁸ Charles Mott, On the state of the labouring classes in the manufacturing districts of Lancashire, Cheshire, Derbyshire and Staffordshire in Sanitary Enquiry into the Labouring Population of England, (London: W. Clowes and Sons, 1842), p.9.

³⁰⁹ Sheard, *Public Health*, p.81.

³¹⁰ Ibid., p.80.

frequently wash themselves or wash their clothes, as they did not have spare clothes to change into while their clothes were drying.³¹¹ The warm clothes would then provide a long term home for lice'.³¹²

All of the towns in the period of this study were facing a constant threat from epidemics and disease. The North West was gripped by four outbreaks of cholera. Liverpool had the largest number of cholera deaths, with 1,523 during the 1832 outbreak, 5,308 deaths during the 1849 outbreak, 1,290 deaths during the 1854 outbreak and 1,989 during the 1866 outbreak.³¹³ In Manchester, victims from the 1832 outbreak were buried in one place.³¹⁴ This was because medical experts believed that the disease remained on the body after death and therefore the corpse was still a risk to the living. By 1866, it was even recommended that disinfectant should be placed inside the coffin to kill any germs.³¹⁵ During the 1849 outbreak, cholera victims were being buried in sites across Manchester. For example, when Sarah Pass died at the Canal Street Hospital of cholera, she was buried in a public grave at the Manchester General Cemetery.³¹⁶ She was buried in this privately owned cemetery because there was no parish burial ground in Manchester at this time. As mentioned frequently throughout this chapter the local government did not see building a parish burial ground or cemetery as a priority – this will be discussed further in a later chapter. Unlike Sarah Pass's burial, in Liverpool by 1866, some sites had moved away from mass burial for cholera victims, fearing that more than three cholera victims in one grave was risking the health of those visiting the

³¹¹ Ibid., p.81.

³¹² Ibid.

³¹³ Ibid., p.75.

³¹⁴ It was widely believed that cholera victims were contagious even after death, see 'The Cholera Burial of the Dead', *Manchester Courier and General Advertiser*, (21 August 1866), p.6.

³¹⁵ Ibid.

³¹⁶ 'Cholera', *Manchester Times*, (18 August 1849), p.3, and Manchester General Cemetery Burial Register held by Manchester Archives (GB127.M451)

grave.³¹⁷ This meant that cholera burials restricted the number of available plots for non-cholera burials, thus impacting the profits of those who owned the burial site.

During the period of this study, diseases such as cholera and Typhus contributed to the high mortality rates witnessed in towns across the North West. Liverpool had the worst rate in the North West peaking at 46 deaths per thousand during the cholera epidemic of 1847.³¹⁸ The town also had high infant mortality rates, with 'more than half the children born alive in the 1830s failed to reach their fifth birthday'.³¹⁹ In the 1850s, deaths of children under five years old accounted for nearly half of all recorded deaths in Liverpool.³²⁰ High death rates inevitably gave the parochial authorities, and later local government, a problem in accommodating those who died in the parish.

High mortality figures, combined with a lack of new burial sites, and the poor management of existing burial sites, led to unsanitary and overcrowded burial sites in all of the town's consulted in this study. For example, in Chester, by 1819 there were reports of 'gross violations' occurring in the town's burial grounds.³²¹ In Manchester, in 1817, there were reports that the churchyard of the Colligate Church was 'crowded with corpses in every state of putridity and emitting the most offensive order'.³²²

However, looking at burial grounds across all the places studied, there was considerable variation, in the state of them. Even in the same town, not all burial grounds were

³¹⁷ 'The Cholera Burial of the Dead', *Manchester Courier and General Advertiser*, (21 August 1866), p.6.

³¹⁸ Sheard, 'partnership in Public Health', p.102; A. T. McCabe, 'The Standard of Living on Merseyside, 1850-1875', in *Victorian Lancashire*, (ed.) S. Peter Bell, (Newton Abbot: David & Charles, 1974), p.128.

³¹⁹ Evans, *Modern State*, p.196.

³²⁰ John K. Walton, Alastair Wilcox, *Low Life and Moral Improvement in Mid-Victorian Britain*, (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1991), p.14.

³²¹ 'Spittle Burial Ground', *Chester Chronicle*, (11 June 1819), p.3.

³²² 'State of the Old Church Yard', *Manchester Mercury* (11 November 1817), p.2.

overcrowded or were in a state that was a threat to human health. For example, in Liverpool, by 1849, there were 39 burial grounds of which twelve were either crowded or full. Those that were full were: St Nicholas's; St Peter's; St Paul's; St Thomas's; St Anne's; All Saint's'; St Peter's Catholic Chapel; St Nicholas's Catholic Chapel; St John's; St James's; St Trinity and a small cemetery on Everton Road.³²³ In Preston, the ground at St Ignatius was not full and it was remarked by G. T. Clark, who was a government inspector into the sanitary conditions of towns, that the ground was 'a great credit to the community who had bought it and laid it out'.³²⁴ However, this was not the case at St Wilfred's that was in an 'objectionable state'.³²⁵

Up till the 1830s, it has been argued that 'tolerance for poor burial conditions was remarkably high'.³²⁶ However, local studies of individual burial sites show that the 'tolerance' of poor burial conditions was extremely mixed. Within the North West, parish officials and members of the clergy were closing some burial sites that were deemed a danger to public health before 1830. For example, in Preston, burials ceased at St Michael's in 1819, and at Cannon Street in 1821, while Manchester's parish officials had been closing full and unsightly burial sites since the eighteenth century.³²⁷ In Liverpool, however, there was no evidence of sites closing in the early nineteenth century, with all the sites closing after 1830.

There are also conflicting reports as to how visibly overcrowded and a real nuisance churchyards and burial grounds were during this period. Although they may have been

³²³ 'Grave Yards of Liverpool', *Liverpool Standard and General Commercial Advertiser*, (25 September 1849), p.3. (It has not been possible to identify the name of this cemetery).

³²⁴ 'Enquiry into the Sanitary Condition of the Town', *Preston Chronicle*, (02 June 1849), p.7.

³²⁵ *Ibid.*

³²⁶ Rugg, 'reason to regulation', p.220.

³²⁷ 'Rough Church Notes', *The Manchester Guardian*, (19 November 1855), p.4 and appendix 16.

filled under the surface, it is debatable how much the public were aware of this. If the public were aware, they could have applied pressure on the ecclesial authorities or the local government to get the ground closed. Public pressure was regularly used during this period to ask for change from the authorities or to inform the public of a problem. This normally came in the form of a letter to the local press. For example, in 1827, a Manchester newspaper called on its readers to help ‘protect’ the churchyard of St George’s, that was susceptible to grave robbers.³²⁸ The money to enclose the graveyard was raised by public subscription, with a considerable contribution from the Bishop of the Diocese.³²⁹ In 1847, a ‘publican in the neighbourhood’, wrote to the *Liverpool Standard*, to complain about the state of St Mary’s Cemetery, that he described as a ‘nuisance of an alarming character, and forms an important ingredient in the unhealthy state’ of the town.³³⁰ The ground closed two years later to burials.³³¹ Although there were governmental departments that dealt with such issues, it is clear in order to get action, the resident felt he needed to highlight the problem to the public.

It is must be said that the motive behind some of the complaints that appeared in the local press were questionable. For example, as early as 1831, an article appeared in the *Chester Courant* arguing that the town’s burial grounds could not meet the needs of the growing population and that a ‘cemetery’ such as those in Liverpool and Paris were needed. It pointed out that attempts were being made to identify land in Overleigh for a new cemetery. This letter to the Editor of the *Chester Courant* was signed ‘A Friend to Improvements’.³³² Due to the nature and the content of the letter, it is possible that it

³²⁸ ‘St George’s Church-Yard’, *Manchester Courier and Lancashire General Advertiser*, (14 July 1827), p.2.

³²⁹ Ibid.

³³⁰ ‘St Mary’s Cemetery’, *Liverpool Standard*, (23 March 1847), p.11.

³³¹ See appendix 10.

³³² ‘Church Yards’, *Chester Courant* (27 December 1831), p.3.

was written by a member of a new cemetery company that was wanting to provide the only cemetery in Chester on a site in Overleigh.³³³

Like Manchester, it was not just overcrowded and unsanitary burial grounds that led to closures before 1850. Just as important was the proximity of burial sites to the living. In 1831, a major problem with Chester's burial sites was that they were 'mostly surrounded on every side by dense buildings'.³³⁴ After commentating of the state of the town's places of burial, Hemmingway suggested that the solution was to open cemeteries, like those that had been opened in Liverpool, which had provided 'suitable receptacles for the dead, equally sequestered from crowded graves, and the busy footsteps of men, and not less rural, than secure from the unhallowed approach of body snatchers'.³³⁵

Alongside calls for new cemeteries, there were also calls for regulations on burials. For example, in 1842, a visitor to Walton-on-the-Hill near Liverpool, wrote to the *Liverpool Mail* about the 'revolting site' he witnessed in the churchyard. He reported that he had 'slipped on a slimy human skull' and that his 'foot tripped against a thigh bone, which most likely belonged to the skull'.³³⁶ He called for stricter regulation on the burial of the dead, which would come a few years later through a series of public health and burial acts.

Regulation of burial places came under a wider scheme of public improvements that would improve the health of those living in towns. In Preston, improvements to burial sites came under the same scheme to improve slaughterhouses, the widening and

³³³ Ibid.

³³⁴ Joseph Hemmingway, *History of the City of Chester*, (Chester: J Fletcher, 1831), p.128.

³³⁵ Ibid.

³³⁶ 'Burials in Churchyards', *Liverpool Mail*, (27 August 1842), p.2.

straightening of roads; the regulation of lodging houses and provide places of recreation.³³⁷ Some towns, such as Liverpool, were investing in improvements to public health as early 1842. At the cost of £100,000, the town set out to provide baths for the poor, as well as creating public walks and places of recreation.³³⁸ Manchester had no public walks or parks in 1842. It was claimed that soaring land costs were making it even more unlikely that they would get one.³³⁹

Although the ecclesial authorities in towns such as Manchester were closing parish burial grounds that were overcrowded and unsanitary prior to 1830, the local and national government did not take decisive action to improve burial practices until the 1840s. The regulation to improve burial practices came through a series of local and national acts. The Cemetery Act of 1847, the Public Health Act of 1848 and the Burial Act 1853 all affected burial sites within the North West. However, it was the latter act that had the most significant impact. Alongside the closing of burial sites deemed a risk to human health, the Burial Act introduced the establishment of Burial Boards, which became responsible for setting up new cemeteries for the parish. The Burial Board was created by the vestry and was open to anyone who was a ratepayer. It comprised no less than three and no more than nine people from the parish. In Liverpool, the members of the new Burial Board were requested to be 'gentlemen known for their energy and aptitude for business – inspiring respect and securing public confidence.'³⁴⁰ If the parishioners did not appoint a Burial Board, the Home Office could force the Town Council to appoint one. In Liverpool, however, they did not want that kind of interference from the national government, as they wanted to remain in control of the expenditure

³³⁷ 'Public Health and Mortality', *Preston Chronicle*, (19 February 1848), p.4.

³³⁸ Mott, labouring classes, p.8.

³³⁹ Ibid.

³⁴⁰ 'The Proposed Burial Board', *Liverpool Daily Post*, (23 August 1856), p.3.

with the expectation that the Burial Board would have to explain to them how it had been spent.³⁴¹ In 1894, however, the Local Government Act brought the Burial Boards under the control of the local council, and by 1907, Liverpool Corporation had taken over the Kirkdale Burial Board, Toxteth Park Burial Board, Everton Burial Board and the Liverpool Burial Board.³⁴²

Although the Burial Act sought to improve burial practices, there were regional variations in attitudes towards its benefits. In Manchester, it was deemed to be an Act that would help to improve the state of burial grounds that were a danger to human health, whereas in Liverpool, attitudes were slightly different. For example, when the *Liverpool Daily Post* announced the process of the choosing members for the new Burial Board, it did not mention anything about the sanitary problems that the new acts were going to solve with the forced closure of burial grounds that were deemed a hazard to human health. Instead, it focused attention on the rights of Dissenters, which they argued would now improve, stating that before this time cemeteries were all consecrated and therefore only 'members of the Established Church, could be, properly speaking, interred in them'.³⁴³ The Acts could, according to the newspaper, now make sure that new cemeteries had un-consecrated sections as well as sections for Roman Catholics. This is significant because not only does it suggest that different areas prioritised the different benefits of the Acts, it also gives some insight into the religious grievances that none members of the established church were facing when it came to burial of their dead in Liverpool. It further suggests that the Board was hoping to attract members of these faiths onto the Board.

³⁴¹ Ibid.

³⁴² 1894 c.73 (56 and 57 Vict) and 'The absorption of the burial boards', *Liverpool Daily Post*, (06 October 1904), p.3.

³⁴³ Ibid.

Research conducted in the North West, has found there were several factors that led to the closure of burial sites. It is often assumed that it was a series of public health and burial acts that led to the closure of churchyards and burial grounds in favour of cemeteries. However, the impact the acts had on the closure of churchyards and burial grounds varied from substantial to very little. For example, the *London Gazette* reported that in Wigan, all the burial sites, excluding the cemeteries, had closure orders placed on them following the 1853 Burial Act.³⁴⁴ These ranged from two years to four years after the Act, leaving the town with effectively no Church of England churchyards – although one (St Catherine's) managed to set an extension.³⁴⁵

While the Acts did affect the burial provisions in Wigan, in Chester, the Burial Act 1853 had the least impact on the town's burial sites because the Cemetery Act of 1847 and the Public Health Act of 1848 were the most effective at regulating burials. In this town, the majority of sites were closed in the decade before at the request of the Bishop of Chester. The first to close was the ground at St Martin's which ceased burials in 1842, followed by St Peter's in 1846, St Michael's in 1848 and St Olave's in 1849. These churches were all closed by the Bishop of Chester for various reasons. St Olave's was closed because it was in a state of disrepair. Local residents described it as 'the most disgraceful burial ground in the city'. It was said to be 'very small and dirty' and in close proximity to the local neighbourhood.³⁴⁶ Concerned residents also stated that the churchyard was used as a brothel and was surrounded by brothels.³⁴⁷ The 1853 Act also had no effect on the town getting a municipal cemetery, as the town already had

³⁴⁴ See appendix 15.

³⁴⁵ Ibid.

³⁴⁶ 'Chester Cemetery Bill', *Chester Chronicle*, (18 February 1848), p.3.

³⁴⁷ Ibid.

the joint-stock Overleigh Cemetery. Overleigh Cemetery opened following the passing of a local Act in 1848 titled ‘An Act for establishing a general cemetery for the interment of the dead, in the parish of Saint Mary on the Hill, in the city of Chester’.³⁴⁸ It was owned by a group of shareholders who had purchased 1,000 shares at £5 each.³⁴⁹ The Act to open this new joint-stock cemetery did more than just give the people a new place of burial. It also gave the Bishop of Chester the power to suspend further interments in several of Chester’s churchyards, giving the cemetery and the shareholders and its directors a larger monopoly over burials.³⁵⁰ There is no evidence that the Bishop was a shareholder in the new cemetery, however members of the clergy were at the shareholders’ meetings.³⁵¹ The cemetery remained in their control until 1930, when it was taken over by Chester City Council.

Two types of Acts facilitated the opening of general cemeteries in this period. Local Acts, relating to a specific place or burial site, were used for joint-stock cemetery companies, whereas national acts such as the Burial Act 1853 and the Public Works (Manufacturing Districts) Act 1864 were primarily used for municipal cemeteries. By 1870, Preston, Wigan, Manchester and Liverpool all had municipal cemeteries, operated by local government, with the day-to-day running normally overseen by a cemetery committee or board – this will be discussed further in the following chapter. This meant that the monopoly on cemetery burials was taken away from private companies and went into the account of local authorities. Alongside national acts, local acts were just as influential at creating new cemeteries. The current historiography suggests that municipal

³⁴⁸ See, *The London Gazette* (26 July 1848) p.2761 and *The London Gazette* (10 December 1847), p.4559.

³⁴⁹ ‘Chester Cemetery’, *Chester Chronicle*, (02 February 1849), p.4.

³⁵⁰ Chester Cemetery Act, 11 & 12 Vic. C. 100.

³⁵¹ ‘Chester Cemetery’, *Chester Chronicle*, (02 February 1849), p.4.

cemeteries were funded by the raising of the poor rate, which was implemented following the 1853 Burial Act. However, local studies such as these suggest that this was happening much earlier through local burial acts passed through parliament. For example, in Stockport, which was in the county of Chester, an Act was passed as early as 1810 to build a cemetery for the parish, with the Act extended in 1815 the Act, when a further sum of money was needed to complete the works.³⁵²

By 1870, all the places which this study has examined had a cemetery, either owned by the local authority or by a private company. What is significant here is that the balance of power had shifted from parish burial grounds provided by the church to cemeteries provided by businessmen and local councils. Curl, relying heavily on the burial history of France, suggests that cemeteries became a 'desirable exemplar for burial of the dead compared with unsanitary urban churchyards'.³⁵³ This is, however, a very broad generalisation and while that might have been the case in France, it does not fit within the burial history of the North West, where burial grounds and churchyards were, in some towns, being chosen over new cemeteries. The opening of a cemetery did not necessarily mean that people were going to abandon their favoured churchyard or burial ground for the new burial provision. In Chester, for example, in 1852, there were 712 burials, out of which only 164 (23 percent) took place in the cemetery, with the remaining 548 (77 percent) burials taking place in churchyards and burial grounds.³⁵⁴ However, this was not the case in towns such as the borough of Wigan, who were heavily reliant on their two municipal cemeteries.³⁵⁵

³⁵² See; *The London Gazette*, (2 June 1810), p.806; *The London Gazette* (25 March 1815), p.55; 'Stockport Church', *The Chester Courant* (13 September 1814), p.1.

³⁵³ Curl, *Celebration of Death*, p.23.

³⁵⁴ See appendix 22a and 22b.

³⁵⁵ See appendix 13.

It is that by 1850 – three years before the 1853 Act - burials had changed, with people ‘increasingly being buried in a cemetery, rather than a churchyard’.³⁵⁶ In the North West, however, contrary to the current historiography, it is difficult to argue that the arrival of the cemetery led to the demise of churchyards and burial grounds. Writing in 1877, the Diocese of Manchester stated that since 1848, it had consecrated more churchyards and burial grounds than cemeteries. Of the 199 burial sites that had been consecrated, 134 were churchyards and burial grounds.³⁵⁷ In terms of burial space, cemeteries were providing more burial space by this time, but in Manchester, as the figures above suggest, churchyards and burial grounds remained popular and more were being opened than cemeteries.

In Liverpool, the 1853 Act had a more significant effect on the Church of England burial sites than on the Catholic burial sites, leading to the closure of four Church of England burial sites and directly affecting the number of burials in three more of them.³⁵⁸ Changes in the annual number of burials in the remaining grounds were only marginal. While for the Catholic community it did lead to the closure of Roman Catholic St Nicholas’s burial ground, burials in some RC churchyards and burial grounds actually increased following the Acts. At St Anthony’s, Liverpool, burials increased from 2,605 in 1855 to 3,472 in 1856, and only dropped off following the opening of the Catholic Ford Cemetery.³⁵⁹ A similar picture emerges with St Oswald’s Roman Catholic Burial Ground, where burials up to 1855 did not reach above 100. By 1863, however, they were at 1,926, and only

³⁵⁶ Rugg, ‘reason to regulation’, p.202.

³⁵⁷ ‘The Question of Churchyards’, *Manchester Courier and Lancashire General Advertiser*, (19 October 1877), p.5.

³⁵⁸ See appendix 12.

³⁵⁹ See appendix 11e.

slowed down following the opening of the Roman Catholic section at Anfield Cemetery.³⁶⁰

The 1853 Burial Act could close burial sites that were deemed full and also burial sites that were too close to the inhabitants of the town. The current historiography often over stresses the fact that churchyards and burial grounds were full and that is why they were closed. Not enough importance has been put on them closing because of their location. As this study shows, there are examples in both Manchester and Liverpool, where the number of burials did not warrant them being closed because they were full. For example, St John's churchyard, Liverpool, was approximately 15,000 square yards with the capacity to hold up to 8,000 burials. The burial site was 'kept in good order' and was not a threat to human health and arguments centred around its closure were based on the fact that it was now too close to an expanding population.³⁶¹

In all the areas that this study has examined, forced burial site closures seem to have been awarded very quickly, without a thorough investigation as to whether the site was really a danger to public health. This can best be demonstrated by the number of burial sites which were granted extensions following the date or the original closure order.³⁶² For example, in Wigan, all the town's burial provisions had restrictions placed on them or were set to close in 1854, but only one of them did. The rest were continually granted extensions throughout the period of this study. The churchyard at St Catherine's, due to close on the 1st July 1855, was granted at least three extensions after being informed that a date was set to cease burials, and was still interring people at the end of this

³⁶⁰ Ibid.

³⁶¹ 'The Burial Grounds of St Paul's and St John's', *Liverpool Mercury*, (11 April 1856), p.7.

³⁶² See appendixes 12, 15 and 23.

study, in 1870. In total, another 5,900 burials took place after the passing of the 1853 Burial Act.³⁶³ A similar picture emerges in Manchester, where the All Saints Burial Ground, which had been told to cease burials following the 1853 Burial Act due to it being overcrowded, however it was re-opened following a government enquiry which involved the Home Office's Burials Inspector. At the enquiry, it was stated that there were 1,042 graves with just over half of them filled. It was expected that if the ground were to be reopened, there would be no more than twelve burials per year. After a lengthy debate, the ground was reopened to anyone who had a family member buried in the site.³⁶⁴ However, in Liverpool, the picture is not as clear because a new burial ground opened in Toxteth in 1856, which would undoubtedly have affected burials.

As this section has argued, the effect the Burial Acts had on burial provisions ranged considerably, and this needs to be taken into account when considering arguments that the Acts were effective in closing burial grounds and churchyards and in facilitating the development of large cemeteries. Even after the implementation of the 1853 Act, unsanitary burials were still taking place even in cemeteries, as will be discussed further in the next chapter. The Act did not lead to the demise of churchyards and burial grounds, as is evident by the number of extensions that were granted, and the number of churchyards and burial grounds being built.

By the end of this period of study, graveyards that had previously been closed by the 1853 Burial Act, were still in situ and becoming neglected, causing a problem for urban authorities. In Chester, the churchyard of John's was open at all sides which led to

³⁶³ See appendix 14a.

³⁶⁴ 'The Re-opening of All Saints' Churchyard', *Manchester Courier and Lancashire General Advertiser*, (17 August 1869), p.6.

'ruthless invaders' such as 'half-naked street boys who find pleasure disporting themselves upon the gravestones and still less reputable characters'.³⁶⁵ In Manchester, by the end of the nineteenth century, most of the burial sites within the centre of town that were no longer in use were turned into public parks or buried under new buildings and infrastructure.

There is evidence that sites in some towns were closed to make way for new infrastructures, such as roads and railways. This occurred in Liverpool, Chester and Manchester, but not in Wigan, where burial sites did not interfere with wider construction plans.

By the middle of the nineteenth century, burial sites in towns that had once been surrounded by fields were now enclosed by residential and commercial buildings and were facing closure orders because they were on prime plots of building land. In Liverpool, Saint Matthew's was pulled down to make way for the Lancashire and Yorkshire Railway, with a new church being built on another site.³⁶⁶ In Chester, the churchyard of St Oswald's was closed to make way for an extension to the Cathedral. In Manchester, Walker's Croft was closed to make way for Victoria Station and St Ann's lost part of its churchyard when it was made into a footpath as part of a broader scheme to improve, by widening, St Ann's Street.³⁶⁷ Public improvements were not always welcomed, especially if they affected sacred sites such as burial grounds and churchyards. Although the section of St Ann's churchyard being turned into a path would not disturb the dead, members of the Improvements Committee were concerned the

³⁶⁵ 'A Correspondent', *Chester Chronicle*, (11 December 1869), p.8.

³⁶⁶ 'Church Extension in the Diocese of Chester', *Chester Chronicle*, (18 August 1855), p.8.

³⁶⁷ 'St Ann's Church: The Two-hundredth Anniversary', *Manchester Guardian*, (01 July 1912), p.16.

path, with the graves beneath it, might eventually be turned into a sewer. There was also concern about the rights of those who had paid for interments in the graves, although this was a financial concern rather than a concern for those who were sentimentally attached to the grave.³⁶⁸ Regardless of these grievances, the motion was passed, and a part of St Ann's graveyard was closed. Families which had relatives buried in the ground there were not impressed and expressed their anger by writing to the local newspaper. One father whose child was buried in the churchyard stated his anger at paying for the ground where his child was interred, only to find 'the grave deserted, the headstone removed, and huge stones put in its place'.³⁶⁹

Conclusion

Work in this chapter has shown how the practice of looking after the town's dead shifted from the church to local and national government, reflecting changing attitudes towards public health that were occurring outside of the field of death. The work conducted in the previous chapter suggested that creation of burial provisions was a top-down process and the working class no agency in the matter. However, using the example in Preston, where the poor paid a subscription, this chapter has demonstrated that this was not always the case.

Analysis of the burial provision history of Liverpool, Wigan, Preston and Chester, has demonstrated that the burial provision history of the North West is diverse and complex, with no standard historical narrative as to why burial provisions grew and declined.

³⁶⁸ 'Widening of St Ann's Street', *Manchester Courier and Lancashire General Advertiser*, (03 December 1842), p.2.

³⁶⁹ 'St Oswald's Churchyard', *Chester Chronicle*, (27 June 1868), p.6.

This chapter has argued that what affected burial sites in one town, did not necessarily affect the burial sites in another town. Individual characteristics of a town such as, mortality rates, population, size, immigrations levels, proactiveness of both local government and religious groups, shaped the burial history of towns in this study. It has offered a type of critical comparative study that has thus far been missing from this field of research. It has sought to bring the history of mortality in line with other urban histories, which now acknowledge the distinct histories of industrial towns during this period. The comparative element of this chapter has contested the limited historiography on the burial provision history of towns outside of London.

This chapter has challenged some generalisations in this field of research, such as Rugg's argument that by 1850 cemetery burials were the preferred mode of interment. This was not correct in towns such as Preston, Wigan and Chester, none of which had a cemetery before 1850. Further, the creation of a burial site did not necessarily mean that people were going to leave the local churchyard where their family might be buried in favour of cemeteries, as was proved in Chester, where burials were slow to start with at the new cemetery. Further, the arrival of a cemetery did not stop churchyards and burial grounds being built. In 1877, for example, the Diocese of Manchester stated that it had consecrated more churchyards and burial grounds than cemeteries. This chapter has argued that needing a burial site was not enough alone to get one, because some method of funding had to be in place, which came from a range of sources, such as the parochial authorities, local and national government, private enterprise, subscriptions, donations and through the burial acts.

Arguably, it was national public health and burial acts that created the biggest change to the landscape of death during this study. However, the way they were administered and their effectiveness in creating new burial space was extremely varied,

To date, this study has focused most of its attention on burial sites provided by the church and private companies. The next chapter will analyse what happens when local and national government introduce their own cemetery into the landscape of death.

Chapter Three: The Origins and Early Years of the Municipal Cemetery in North West England, 1850-70

Introduction

The previous chapter has highlighted the diverse nature of burial provisions in the North West by paying particular attention to sites controlled by the church and private companies. The aim was to bring the history of death studies in line with other urban histories, that argue there was no broad universal history of industrial towns during this period. A deliberate omission from the previous chapter was the control that local government gained post 1850, through the arrival of the municipal cemetery, which nationally has received little scholarly attention and has been largely neglected. This chapter seeks to fill this gap by adding a new understanding to the origins and early years of the municipal cemetery between 1850 and 1870. This will be achieved by examining a range of sources, such as burial board minute books, newspapers, maps and burial registers. This chapter also uses a record source that does not feature in the current historiography, which is burial receipts.³⁷⁰ These receipts shed new light on who paid for the grave and the actual real price of burials, providing new insights into the financial structure of the cemetery.

Municipal cemeteries have been the dominant form of intramural burial for the past 170 years. Generally, in the twenty-first century, when people die, they either choose cremation or burial in a municipal cemetery. Within the towns of Liverpool, Manchester,

³⁷⁰ A full description of burial receipts and their limitations can be found in the introduction.

Preston, Salford and Wigan, there are currently eighteen active municipal cemeteries. The origins of the municipal cemetery, as we know them today, can be traced back to the mid-nineteenth century. Its arrival was the final chapter in the evolution of nineteenth-century intramural interment, excluding the burial of cremated remains. Prior to the municipal cemetery, current research suggests that the landscape of death had seen a shift from conventional churchyards and burial grounds to joint-stock cemetery companies, and that these were replaced from the middle of the century by municipal cemeteries. However, research for this study, as demonstrated in the last chapter, has proved that this narrative is too simplistic.

Recent historiography suggests that the Burial Acts of the 1850s facilitated the creation of the municipal cemetery.³⁷¹ This chapter will advance the discussion of the burial acts from the previous chapter and look at their effectiveness in creating municipal cemeteries in the North West. In the previous chapter, it was argued that there was no linear transition from churchyard to cemetery. The chapter argued that the growth of municipal cemeteries was facilitated by a series of government acts, which allowed local authorities outside London to purchase land for the creation of new general cemeteries by raising the poor rate.³⁷² The first part the chapter will put forward the argument that the process of a place gaining a municipal cemetery was down to several interlinking factors and cannot solely be attributed to the Burial Acts of the 1850s.

The second part of this chapter will focus on design because historians such as Barnard, have often failed to observe their individuality and have ‘underrated’ their architectural

³⁷¹ An Act to amend the Laws concerning the Burial of the Dead in the Metropolis, cap.85, 15 & 16 Vic, 1852; Barnard, *To Prove*, p.18; Brooks, *Mortal Remains*, p.50.

³⁷² An Act to Amend the Laws concerning the Burial of the Dead in England beyond the limits of the Metropolis..., Cap. 134, 16 & 17 Vic. 1853; Barnard, *To Prove*, p.18.

value.³⁷³ Strange describes the municipal cemetery as combining ‘utility and hygiene with commerce’ – it could be argued that the ‘more interesting’ joint-stock ‘garden’ cemetery also shared these features.³⁷⁴ As discussed previously in this thesis, the major difference between joint-stock cemeteries and municipal cemeteries was that one was operated by a group of investors and the other was operated by the local council. However, while it is possible differentiate between the two cemeteries in terms of how they were funded and operated, this study will suggest that in terms of ‘utility, hygiene and commerce’, the joint-stock cemetery and the municipal cemetery shared many similarities. Furthermore, this section will argue that addressing the cemetery as ‘utilitarian’ is to suggest that aesthetics came second to the practical function of the cemetery, and that is not the case. This study will provide evidence that the appearance of the cemetery was just as important as designing a space for graves. Moreover, this section will argue that the design of these institutions went beyond what looked aesthetically pleasing; it will argue that the layout of the grounds reflected broader social and sectarian divides that were present in the urban landscape.

The third part of this chapter will assess to what extent the municipal cemetery achieved its purpose, which was to provide a hygienic place to bury the dead. Governed by new burial legislation, the cemetery was supposed to stop the irregularities that had occurred in the first half of the nineteenth century. However, this work will argue that it was not fully achieved.

³⁷³ Brooks, *Mortal Remains*, p.54.

³⁷⁴ Strange, *Death*, p.163.

Finally, the chapter will argue that, coupled with a play to bury the dead, seeking a profit was just as important to the management of the municipal cemetery as it was to the proprietors of joint-stock cemeteries. In Chapter One, it has been argued that one of the primary motivations for setting up a joint-stock cemetery company was for financial gain. It is worth noting that Rugg argues that other factors were also important, such as creating a place of burial for Dissenters, who wanted to free themselves from the grip of the established church. However, in Manchester from the 1830s, the need to make a profit seemed to be paramount to the investors of these cemeteries.³⁷⁵ While the joint-stock cemetery company model has often been portrayed as an enterprising business venue,³⁷⁶ the municipal cemetery has not faced this same sort of observation. However, this chapter will address this absence, by suggesting that both types of cemetery were profit-driven. In addition, it will look at the financial structure of the cemetery and will compare and contrast burial fees.

³⁷⁵ Rugg, ‘cemetery companies’.

³⁷⁶ Ibid.

Origins

On 14th January 1857, the funeral of Joseph Brotherton M.P. took place in Salford. The procession consisted of the police department, fire brigade, four mutes, 200 gentlemen on foot, the hearse with four horses and 120 mourning carriages. The entourage was heading for the new municipal cemetery in Weaste, that was not yet officially open to the public. This was the first municipal cemetery to serve the residents of Salford and for an extra cost, the residents of Manchester. Before the opening of Salford Cemetery in 1857, seven municipal cemeteries in the North West of England were already in operation. These were in Preston, Rochdale, Bolton, Burnley, Heywood, Liverpool and Wigan. By the end of the year, the number of municipal cemeteries in the North West had increased to thirteen.³⁷⁷

Prior to 1855, there were no municipal cemeteries in the North West.³⁷⁸ As mentioned in previous chapters, a person dying before this period would have been buried in a churchyard, burial ground or a privately-owned cemetery. However, by the middle of the nineteenth century, the government had started to take more of an active role in the public health of the urban inhabitants, which included legislation to keep the dead away from the living by closing burial sites close to dwellings and creating cemeteries on the outskirts of populous towns.

Within the North West of England, there was no universal method that led to the creation of the municipal cemetery. There were local variations in every aspect of the process,

³⁷⁷ See appendix 27.

³⁷⁸ Ibid.

starting with the body overseeing its completion. For example, it is widely understood that Burial Boards created municipal cemeteries. Barnard states that 'Acts of Parliament passed in the 1850s made it possible for parishes and towns to set up Burial Boards and establish municipal cemeteries'.³⁷⁹ Rugg argues that 'permissive legislation from the 1850s allowed the formation of local burial boards which set about the task of constructing substantial cemetery infrastructure'.³⁸⁰

Indeed, burial boards were the most popular organisation in forming municipal cemeteries within the North West. However, it would be incorrect to assume that only towns with burial boards opened municipal cemeteries. For example, in Preston, a Burial Board was not appointed until 28th July 1854, although, the search for a suitable site began on 6th March 1854 and land was purchased for the cemetery on 11th May 1854, all before the Board was in place.³⁸¹ In larger towns such as Manchester, specific cemetery committees were created, which had more influence than the burial board in creating the town's municipal cemetery. Typically, such committees were made up of parishioners and members of the local council.

The 1850s Burial Acts

Once the organisation was in place to oversee the construction of the work, its first role would have been to source the finances to fund the new venture. Harper argues that these men were 'anxious to advance the image of their organisation or their town through the prestige of a new and imposing edifice'.³⁸² The current work in this field

³⁷⁹ Barnard, *To Prove*, p.18.

³⁸⁰ Julie Rugg, 'Lawn Cemeteries: the emergence of a new landscape of death', *Urban History*, Vol.33, No.2, (2006), p.215.

³⁸¹ 'The New Cemetery', *Preston Chronicle*, (16 June 1855), p.5.

³⁸² Roger H. Harper, *Victorian Architectural Competitions*, (London: Mansell Publishing, 1983), p. xiii.

suggests that the Burial Acts of the 1850s created the municipal cemetery by providing the body to create the cemetery and also the financial framework to fund them through loans payable from local rates.³⁸³ Out of the twenty-four municipal cemeteries examined in this study that were constructed before 1870, fourteen were built in the 1850s and ten were built in the 1860s.³⁸⁴ Although the Acts did facilitate the creation of some cemeteries by providing a financial solution, notably those built in the 1850s, it could be argued that they had a limited, if any, effect on other towns in the North West. For example, in Liverpool, Toxteth Cemetery was created in 1857 by the Act, however, it had no impact on Anfield Cemetery which opened in 1863. The Act also helped to provide a much-needed cemetery for the residents of Salford, who had been arguing for a new burial ground during the 1840s.³⁸⁵ As we have seen, a cemetery was eventually opened at Weaste in 1857. However, in nearby Manchester, the idea that the introduction of the Burial Acts in the 1850s lay the foundations for the creation of its municipal cemetery can be disputed for several interconnecting reasons. First, the local churchwardens started to look for land for a municipal cemetery in 1848, five years prior to the Burial Acts, although they did not get a municipal cemetery until 1866. It took thirteen years after the passing of the Burial Acts for the council to open its first municipal cemetery. Forty-five towns were already operating municipal cemeteries by the time Manchester opened its cemetery in 1866. This initial delay occurred because the corporation, along with local landowners, vetoed attempts to purchase new land. Another obstacle appears to have come from members of the established church who

³⁸³ Curl, *Celebration of Death*, p.60; Morley, *Mortal Remains*, p.50.

³⁸⁴ Ashton-under-lyne 1866; Bebbington (Wirral) 1868; Bolton (Tonge) Cemetery 1856; Birkenhead 1864; Blackburn Cemetery (Whalley New Road) 1857; Burnley 1856; Bury Cemetery 1869; Chadderton 1857; Darwen 1861; Oldham (Greenacres) 1857; Heywood Cemetery 1856, Liverpool - Anfield – 1863; Liverpool (Toxteth) 1856; Manchester (Philips Park) 1866; Middleton Old Cemetery; Preston old cemetery 1855; Rochdale Cemetery 1855; Sale 1862; Salford 1857; St Helens (Windleshaw) Cemetery 1858; Warrington 1857; Wigan (lower Ince) 1856; Wigan (Ince in Makerfield) 1857.

³⁸⁵ Ibid.

did not want local government to take over something that had been previously under the church's control. This is evident not only in Manchester but in Bury, where local churchmen managed to block the opening of a municipal cemetery for twelve years, most likely because a new cemetery would have cut into the profits of those churchmen who still had operating churchyards.³⁸⁶

This leads on to the second point. Ultimately, local landowners and the corporation all had to want a new cemetery – the Burial Act did not force them to build a cemetery. Later, the council in Manchester blamed the delay on building a cemetery on a shortage of suitable land, and the failure for them to compulsory purchase the available land.³⁸⁷ Although Manchester made some tentative steps to build a cemetery for its people, it is evident that they did not see it as a priority. In Manchester, the Corporation was so reluctant to implement the Burial Act that petitions were placed in local newspapers to try and convince the churchwardens of Manchester to create a new parish cemetery for the parishioners to bury their dead.³⁸⁸

This later led to a group of churchwardens and overseers to threaten that they would have a vestry meeting and appoint their own burial board if no action was taken to start the process of building a cemetery. In Ashton, the council bitterly opposed to building a borough cemetery, even though the people of the town wanted one. Their precise reluctance is unclear, however, it is evident that they were concerned that the cemetery would not be profitable and would cost too much money to create.³⁸⁹ Their concerns seem to stem from data provided from Rochdale cemetery – the cemetery had not made

³⁸⁶ 'Cemetery for Bury', *Bury Times*, (9 July 1859), p.3.

³⁸⁷ 'The Burial Ground Question' *Manchester Guardian*, (29 October 1858), p.4.

³⁸⁸ 'Parish Burial Ground', *Manchester Guardian*, (22 April 1854), p.6.

³⁸⁹ 'The Opponents of the Cemetery', *The Ashton Weekly Reporter*, (4 May 1861), p.2.

enough money to pay back the interest on the loans that they had taken out to fund the construction of the cemetery.³⁹⁰ This demonstrates that even though there was pressure from the residents of the town for the Corporation to purchase land for a safe and hygienic place to bury the dead, research for this study has found that the creation of the cemetery was down to the will of the council to actually build the cemetery and not implementation of the Act itself.

The third matter is that, although the Act supported the closure of burial sites that were deemed full or close to dwellings, it did not force the closure of all grounds and in Manchester. There were still active cemeteries that remained open after the Act of 1853, so there was no need for a new ground. It has also been argued that the introduction of the municipal cemetery led to the demise of other cemeteries such as joint-stock cemetery companies, yet as this chapter will show this was not the case. In Manchester, joint-stock cemetery companies were still operating after the introduction of Burial Acts and also after the first municipal cemetery arrived in nearby Weaste.³⁹¹ Ardwick Cemetery and Rusholme Road Cemetery both took out advertisements in the local paper to state that they were open for business.³⁹² Also, the neighbouring borough of Salford had a municipal cemetery, and there is evidence to suggest that people from Manchester were going there. Salford officially opened Weaste Cemetery on the 1st September 1857. Since the closing of the local churchyards and burial grounds within Manchester, the *Manchester Guardian* reported that the new cemetery removed the ‘scandal resulting from the absence of a burial ground or grounds for the parish of

³⁹⁰ Ibid.

³⁹¹ See appendix 1.

³⁹² ‘Advertisements’, *Manchester Courier and Lancashire General Advertiser*, (23 July 1859), p.12 and ‘Advertisements’, *Manchester Courier and Lancashire General Advertiser*, (01 December 1860), p.1.

Manchester'.³⁹³ The creation of Weaste Cemetery, may explain why Manchester was in no immediate rush to open a municipal of their own. A study of Weaste's burial records shows that a considerable proportion of the burials were from Manchester.

Some towns never sought to build a municipal cemetery because there was no demand for it. Stockport, like Chester, never built a municipal cemetery during the period of this study because they had a private cemetery that was not under threat of closure and it could accommodate the predicted number of burials for that town.

The final point is that the rate raised from the new Act did cover the cost of the new municipal cemetery and it would take an American Civil War and another Parliamentary Act to secure the funds. Even if the council had found the land, a major stumbling block was that the Act did not adequately provide a financial solution to financing the new cemetery and in Manchester, there was a forecasted shortfall in the money raised from the rates. The Corporation eventually created a burial board, that was permitted to levy a rate to 'repay any expenses', although the amount was not stipulated. The Corporation decided not to set a figure, instead, the rate was to be 'levied from time to time would be so much as was necessary to meet the expenses, over and above the fees received'. The rate would be levied on every person in the city that owned and occupied property.³⁹⁴ However, it was forecast that it would not be enough to fund the new cemetery, even with the funds from the sale of Walker's Croft burial ground, which was sanctioned by a local act of parliament.³⁹⁵

³⁹³ 'The Loss of the Transit', *Manchester Guardian*, (1 September 1857), p.3.

³⁹⁴ 'The Cemetery Bill', *Manchester General*, (14 May 1857), p.4.

³⁹⁵ *Ibid.*

The search for a new cemetery in Manchester was put on hold until 1863, during which the town was suffering from the effects of a cotton famine. According to Peter Shapely, the cause of the famine was a mixture of ‘overproduction from the late 1850s and over speculation on the Exchange aggravated by the cuts in supply due to the American Civil War’.³⁹⁶ It was estimated that over three-quarters of cotton used in Lancashire factories came from America.³⁹⁷ The famine left thousands of cotton workers without employment. As early at the autumn of 1861, 49 factories had stopped working, and another 119 were not operating full-time in Lancashire.³⁹⁸ To help alleviate some of the suffering, the government introduced the 1863 Public Works (Manufacturing Districts) Act, which meant that local councils could apply for a loan to carry out public improvements, as long as they employed out-of-work cotton operatives.³⁹⁹ Redford makes the point that ‘the loan was made on the security of local rates that was repayable at 3.5 percent within 30 years’.⁴⁰⁰ This allowed the Corporation to secure a £25,000 loan to pay for the cemetery. Had it not been for the Civil War in America, the venture would have been postponed because the council was short of funds. Other towns in the North West also used the same Act to fund new public projects. Ashton and Dukinfield applied for an £18,000 loan for their cemetery, which was to pay for the purchasing and laying out of the ground, and the erecting of the chapels. Some local councils sought a private loan and not a loan from the government when it came to securing funds for a municipal cemetery. For example, when Liverpool Corporation looked to build their new cemetery

³⁹⁶ Peter Shapely, ‘Urban charity, class relations and social cohesion: charitable responses to the Cotton Famine’, *Urban History*, Vol. 28, No.1, (2001), p.49.

³⁹⁷ Arthur Redford, *The History of Local Government in Manchester*, Vol. II., (London: Longmans, 1950), p.244.

³⁹⁸ Ibid., p.246.

³⁹⁹ Public Works (Manufacturing Districts) Act 1863, 26 & 27 Vic, C. 70.

⁴⁰⁰ Redford, *Government in Manchester*, p.256.

at Anfield, they borrowed £75,000 from the Economic Insurance Company.⁴⁰¹ The loan was to be paid back by the town's ratepayers over a period of 40 years.⁴⁰²

As demonstrated at Anfield, the burial acts alone did not make municipal cemeteries an inevitability and the history of each cemetery needs to be judged on an individual basis. When a town looked to build a municipal cemetery, it often depended on the factors mentioned above: such as what existing burial provisions were available, was a cemetery needed, the availability of suitable lands upon which to place a cemetery, securing the funds to pay for it and finally the drive of the council to actively see the process through. Local studies outside of the North West, have further highlighted the varying nature of municipal cemetery development.

A recent study of Sheffield's burial provisions has found that the Burial Acts did not make cemeteries an inevitable development.⁴⁰³ Towns such as Leeds implemented their own Acts in the 1840s which facilitated the creation of a municipal cemetery.⁴⁰⁴ For example, they passed the Leeds Improvement Bill in 1842, which lead to a municipal cemetery opening three years later.⁴⁰⁵ In total, Leeds had two cemeteries that had opened before 1853. Municipal cemeteries also opened in Southampton, Coventry and Leicester, all of which were constructed before the Acts of the 1850s, before the emergence of Burial Boards and prior to the forced closure of overcrowded burial grounds and churchyards.

⁴⁰¹ *The Builder*, (17 March 1860), p.173.

⁴⁰² Ibid.

⁴⁰³ Clayden, Rugg, Stirling, 'Churchyard and Cemetery'.

⁴⁰⁴ Jalland, p.199.

⁴⁰⁵ Barnard, *To Prove*. p.18.

Land

Once the finances were in place, the next stage was to purchase the land for the new cemetery. The price of the land varied depending on the particular location in the town. Conditions such as the location, proximity to the town centre and the affluence of the area, could all affect the price. A clear indicator of the type of person the cemetery hoped to attract can be found in the situation and subsequent price of the land. If the municipal cemetery was in an affluent area, the prices reflected this and so did the wealth of the people who were buried there, thus pushing up the cemetery's income. An example of this was Toxteth, where the cemetery was situated on a prime piece of land in an upmarket area, reflected in the price of the land, which was £15,000.⁴⁰⁶ A study of the cemetery's burial registers combined with a physical study of the cemetery's impressive monuments, reveals that this was a relatively wealthy area. The land purchased for Philips Park Cemetery, in a working-class area was, however, considerably less at approximately £5,000.⁴⁰⁷ A study of Philips Park Cemetery's burial registers demonstrates that this was a lower-class area. Between 1866-1868, 94 percent of burials were in public graves (the cheapest plot in the cemetery), compared to only 6 percent private grave burials.⁴⁰⁸

Design

The design of municipal cemeteries varied considerably. Out of all the cemeteries consulted in this study, no two were the same - they were all individual. Local case studies contest the historiography that has described the municipal cemetery as

⁴⁰⁶ 'Consecration of Toxteth Park Cemetery', *Liverpool Daily Post*, (10 June 1856), p.3.

⁴⁰⁷ Manchester City Council Cemetery Committee Minute Book, Vol. 1 (1863-1868) held by Manchester Archives, (GB127.M901/12178)

⁴⁰⁸ See appendix 30a

'utilitarian and 'uninteresting' and lacking individuality.⁴⁰⁹ Like joint-stock cemeteries before them, municipal cemeteries also incorporated functionality and aesthetics into their design. Rather than 'uninteresting', they employed some of the best architects and followed the architectural styles of the period.

Municipal cemeteries, like other municipal ventures of the period, were designed by competition. This meant that the committee 'did not have to make any immediate decision about appointing an architect, only to find him later incompatible with their wishes'.⁴¹⁰ The stipulations around the design, layout and budget varied from council to council. When the residents of Burnley began planning for their municipal cemetery, they certainly had aspirations, taking Père Lachaise in Paris as their model:

In that vast grove of the dead, each has his own grave, and each his own mausoleum. In place of the clumsy mound or large white stone that so generally covers the ashes of our countrymen, it is to be found a little flower garden surrounded by cedar, spruce, cypress, and yew trees, round which the rose and the honeysuckle are seen entwining; while, 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. ⁴¹¹

The focus of the design would centre around being a place of 'resort for the town's people'.⁴¹² They requested that it have a dual purpose... 'Such beautiful and fitting

⁴⁰⁹ Curl, *Celebration of Death*, p.295.

⁴¹⁰ Harper, *Architectural Competitions*, p.xiii.

⁴¹¹ 'The Advertiser', *Burnley Advertiser*, (26 January 1856), p.3.

⁴¹² Ibid.

receptacles for the dead are admirably calculated for the living'... 'We can imagine no single scene equal to a well-designed cemetery, enriched alike with the choicest beauties of nature and art, and surrounded with such impressive associations'.⁴¹³

This may seem like a fair process, but this study has revealed that the councils across the North West, had far more control over the design process than was publicly acknowledged. Further, local differences in the planning and design of the cemeteries, including the religious apportionment of the cemetery, were influenced not only by the architect but by the council itself. An example of this was the municipal cemetery in Wigan. The local press reported on a meeting held on the 9th July 1855, revealing that the Ince Burial Board planned the religious apportionment of the cemetery and the design of the chapels, prior to any plans from prospective architects being submitted.⁴¹⁴ The Burial Board stated that there were 4797 residents in the township of Ince of whom 3434 were Church of England, 731 were Catholics, and 632 were Dissenters.⁴¹⁵ Two-thirds of the ground was to be set out for Church of England interments, with the remaining third split between Dissenters and Catholics. The report also shows that the council decided on the number of chapels and the basic design – two chapels that would hold 60 people. One chapel was to be devoted solely to the Church of England, with the second divided by a partition into two sections, each holding 30 people. In effect, Catholics and Dissenters would share a chapel, with one side for Dissenters and the other for Catholics.⁴¹⁶

⁴¹³ Ibid.

⁴¹⁴ 'Ince Burial Board', *Manchester Guardian*, (9 July 1855), p.4.

⁴¹⁵ Ibid.

⁴¹⁶ Ibid.

Religious Divisions

When it came to the division of the land, the Secretary of State had to approve how many grave spaces each religious denomination was awarded, which had been set by the local council or Burial Board. In every cemetery studied in this thesis, most land was portioned to Church of England graves, followed by Nonconformists and then Roman Catholics. There were a few instances where only two religious sects were listed. In their cases, the ground was divided into 'consecrated' or Church of England and 'general', as was evident in Oldham cemetery and at Toxteth Cemetery, Liverpool.⁴¹⁷

The allocation of grave space was a highly contentious issue and often did not reflect feelings of the wider community. For example, when the residents of Mottram, Dukinfield, discovered that out of 1,200 graves, only 171 would be allocated for Dissenters, they stated that the 'inequality is monstrous' and refused to support the new burial provision.⁴¹⁸

Research conducted for this study has found there was no set size for the division of the land. In Liverpool, the Anfield Cemetery, apportioned 35 acres to the Church of England, 20 acres for the Roman Catholics and 15 acres for general interments (Dissenters).⁴¹⁹ Salford's cemetery, which opened in 1857, consisted of 21.5 acres, with 11.5 acres consecrated by the Bishop of Manchester, six acres for the 'Dissenters' and four acres for the Roman Catholics.⁴²⁰ Philips Park Cemetery was situated on 40.5 acres of land, with 20 acres dedicated to consecrated land, 12.5 acres for Protestant Dissenters and

⁴¹⁷ See appendix 29e and 29a.

⁴¹⁸ 'Mottram Cemetery Again', *Ashton Weekly Reporter, and Stalybridge and Dukinfield Chronicle*, (2 July 1859), p.3.

⁴¹⁹ 'Advertisements & Notices', *Liverpool Mercury*, (5 May 1863), p.6.

⁴²⁰ 'Consecration of the Salford Cemetery, *Manchester Guardian*, (7 September 1857), p.3.

8.5 acres for Roman Catholics. It is also evident that some cemeteries, such as Philips Park and Toxteth underestimated the number of Roman Catholic burials within the planning of the cemetery. This led to a series of extensions and amendments to the laying out of the grounds. The plan for Philips Park Cemetery changed in 1868, to allow for more public graves in the Roman Catholic section – divisional walks between sections E and I were erased to accommodate more burials.⁴²¹ This was significant, as not only had the Burial Board underestimated the amount of burials, it also shows the importance to the Catholic community of having their own space to bury the dead, something that had been lost following the closure of St Patrick's.

There is evidence to suggest that some cemetery boards did try and create a fair system of partitioning the land. When the Burial Board at Preston came to apportion the land of the new cemetery, they used various methods, all of which had their limitations. Firstly, they looked at the numbers of burials in the years prior to the opening of the cemetery.⁴²² However, out of the sixteen dissenting churches, only five had churchyards, meaning.⁴²³ that a large proportion of the community had to be buried in parish burial grounds. Secondly, they looked at the 1851 Religious Census, although this did not give an accurate indication of religious preference because not everyone attended church.⁴²⁴

Most of the councils (except Liverpool which had a dedicated municipal Roman Catholic Cemetery in the area) under-estimated the number of Catholic burials. In all of the municipal cemeteries researched in this thesis, the Roman Catholics were awarded the smallest section of the cemetery. In Manchester, Roman Catholics were allocated the

⁴²¹ 'Cemetery Committee Books', *Manchester City Council*, (29 April 1868), p.209, GB127.M901/12178.

⁴²² 'The Cemetery', *Preston Chronicle*, (09 September 1854), p.6.

⁴²³ Ibid.

⁴²⁴ Ibid.

smallest proportion of land (21 percent) although the number of their burials far exceeded the numbers expected from the council.⁴²⁵ From 1866 to 1870, the number of Catholic burials was 6,932 (66 percent), the number of Church of England burials was 2,099 (19 percent) and the number of Dissenters was 1,354 (13 percent).⁴²⁶ The primary reason for these figures is that, as mentioned above, there was a lack of Roman Catholic burial sites at this time in Manchester, meaning that Philips Park would be the primary place of burial, whereas other Church of England burial grounds were still in operation during this period.

Although the religious apportionment may have been decided before the architects were in place, it was common practice for a landscape gardener to design the layout of the grounds and not the architect, however, it was usually all part of the same tender. It was also common practice to use both architects and landscapers that had designed other cemeteries. For example, within the North West, William Gay (1814-1893) designed the grounds at Toxteth Cemetery, Runcorn Cemetery and Philips Park Cemetery.⁴²⁷ By the time Gay got the commission for Toxteth in 1855, he had already designed the layout of Bradford Cemetery, where he was the first Registrar.⁴²⁸

All municipal cemeteries were laid out differently, demonstrating their individuality. Even cemeteries that had the same landscape designer were dissimilar. A clear example is the work of N. G. Pennington who designed the layout for both Chadderton Cemetery and Oldham Cemetery. He designed the layout of latter using straight lines, whereas the design of Chadderton Cemetery was far more elaborate with curved walkways,

⁴²⁵ 'The New Cemetery', *The Manchester Times*, (27 February 1864), p.7.

⁴²⁶ See appendix 6.

⁴²⁷ See appendix 27.

⁴²⁸ Ibid.

triangular and irregular sections.⁴²⁹ There are primarily four reasons for the differing designs in layout. The first was that the architects and designers had to work within a budget and within the natural landscape, taking into account the curves of existing roads, streams etc. The second was profitability. If cemeteries wanted to attract a better clientele and sell premium first-class graves, they needed more walkways and larger plots to accommodate vaults, generally the most expensive plots which lined the walkways. The third was the socio-economic climate of the area where the cemetery was situated – if the cemetery was in a working-class area, it made sense to have a large amount of lower-class private graves and a large proportion of public graves with less space for walkways and more space for graves. The fourth was a need to manage social problems that were evident within the local community.

When it came to the laying out of the grounds, evidence from North West of England suggests that the design reflected social divisions that were occurring within the wider community. This area of investigation has been under-researched, with most of the current work dominated by the hygienic and aesthetic ideas that were behind the laying out of the grounds and not the broader social issues. An example of a cemetery landscape that reflects broader social problems is Philips Park Cemetery, Manchester. During the 1860s, when the design process was underway, Manchester had a powerful Nonconformist community, whose significance was reflected in the cemetery, where the Church of England burials share the same ground as Nonconformists, separated only by grass pathways.⁴³⁰ However, during this period, there was a strong anti-Irish sentiment which manifested itself in disagreements between the Catholic community

⁴²⁹ See appendix 27.

⁴³⁰ See appendix 29b.

and the Corporation. These tensions were also represented in the design of the cemetery. Unlike the Nonconformist and the Church of England sections, access to the Catholic portion of the cemetery was gained by leaving the main cemetery, crossing a small road and entering a separate ground via some large gates. The Catholic section was entirely enclosed by a wall. Unlike the Church of England and the Nonconformist (Dissenters) section where flat pathways created subtle guides between the denominations, the Roman Catholic section was enclosed by a wall with imposing large gates which acted as a barrier,⁴³¹ reflecting the anti-Irish sentiment that was present in Manchester at this time.

Although feelings of anti-Catholicism had been present in English society since the sixteenth century, Tuathaigh argues that there was a revival in urban towns the 1860s, due to an increase in Irish migration following the potato famine. This influx heightened divisions. Often these differences were rooted in the fact that the religion was associated with being Irish.⁴³² Roger Swift confirms this by arguing that the ‘terms ‘Irish’ and ‘Catholic’ were virtually synonymous in English eyes’.⁴³³ Tensions often ran high between the Catholic community and the English population of urban towns. Anti-Irish feeling was prominent in areas such as Manchester and Liverpool. Hostilities were aimed at four fronts. The first was that the Irish contributed to wider social problems such as the spread of disease. Secondly, they were seen as defrauding the relief system. Thirdly, to their fellow working-class counterparts, they were seen as

⁴³¹ ‘The Manchester New Cemetery’, *Manchester Courier and Lancashire General Advertiser*, (04 February 1864), p.4.

⁴³² M. A. O. Tuathaigh, ‘The Irish in the Nineteenth Century Britain: Problems of integration’, *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, Vol.31, (1981), pp.149-173.

⁴³³ Roger Swift, ‘The Outcast Irish in the British Victorian City: Problems and Perspectives’, *Irish Historical Studies*, Vol 25, No 99, (1987), p.273.

strikebreakers.⁴³⁴ Fourthly, they had different political views, especially when it came to supporting Fenian organisations, such as the Irish Republican Brotherhood. In 1861, the Irish population in Manchester was at 16.6 percent.⁴³⁵ As Busteed argues, in Manchester, the working-class Irish were 'residentially segregated from their fellow workers', which, as discussed earlier, was also reflected in the cemetery.⁴³⁶

So far, this part of the chapter has argued that a deeper level of 'segregation', that stretched beyond walkways and natural barriers such as plants, occurred in the municipal cemetery. Although this was not a new development, historians such as Strange have argued that the urban landscape was mirrored in the cemetery, where affluent areas of the town were represented by the expensive graves, and the public graves represented the slum areas⁴³⁷. A significant finding of this thesis is that it was more prevalent in places that had a particular anti-Irish sentiment.

Having a separate Roman Catholic section was also evident at other cemeteries in the North-West, such as Birkenhead Cemetery, where there was some symmetry in the layout of the Church of England and Dissenters sections. However, the Catholic portion was 'almost severed from the rest', being situated 'on the western side of the quarry'.⁴³⁸ This decision coincided with earlier disturbances between Roman Catholics and the governing authorities in Birkenhead.

⁴³⁴ Busteed, *The Irish*; Suzanne S. Cammack, 'You Have Made Him What He Is: Irish Laborers and the Preston strike in Elizabeth Gaskell's North and South', *New Hibernia Review*, Vol.20, No.4, (2016), pp.113-127.

⁴³⁵ Busteed, *The Irish*, p.46.

⁴³⁶ Ibid.

⁴³⁷ Strange, *Death*.

⁴³⁸ 'Birkenhead New Cemetery', *Liverpool Mercury*, (6 August 1864), p.5.

When the Birkenhead authorities took the decision to poll its people as to whether they wanted a burial board or a group of commissions to seek about building a new municipal cemetery, the Catholic community came out in force. Catholics preferred a burial board because they felt that commissioners would not treat them fairly in the planning of the cemetery. It was reported in the *Liverpool Mercury* that thousands turned out at the polling station, mostly dock labourers and ‘navvies’. Such was the resentment towards the governing authorities, local shops closed because of fear of violence. It was later announced that the commissioners had won, and the news was met by an angry crowd outside the commissioner’s office. To try and disperse the angry crowd, a speaker for the commissioners stated that ‘Roman Catholic, Dissenters and Churchmen should be placed on equal footing’.⁴³⁹ The Rev. Canon Chapman further commented that ‘the Catholics had obtained all they wanted’ and he encouraged the men to go home.⁴⁴⁰ When the cemetery was built, the Roman Catholic graves were in a separate part of the cemetery away from the other religious denominations. Of all of the municipal cemeteries researched in this study, only the Roman Catholics were physically separated from the other religions by a solid wall or road. However, although sectarian tensions were worse in Liverpool, the Roman Catholic graves at Anfield Cemetery, Liverpool, were not separated from other religions.⁴⁴¹ This was because Liverpool already had a large Catholic cemetery that opened in 1859. Therefore, the cemetery at Anfield was never the main Catholic burial ground in Liverpool and therefore did not attract the same level of interments as other municipal cemeteries with a large Roman Catholic population.⁴⁴²

⁴³⁹ ‘The Cemetery Question at Birkenhead’, *Liverpool Mercury*, (1 June 1859), p.3.

⁴⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴⁴¹ Kidd, *Manchester*, p.122.

⁴⁴² See appendix 10 and 11b.

Although Roman Catholic burials were separated in Manchester's Philips Park Cemetery, it did not stop the Roman Catholic community from being dissatisfied with the portion of the cemetery that they had been assigned. They argued that they had been given the most undesirable piece of land that was prone to flooding.⁴⁴³ The Catholics were later proved right when the ground flooded twice in the space of three years and on both occasions, bodies were washed from their graves.⁴⁴⁴ This led the Roman Catholic diocese to follow in Liverpool footsteps and open their own cemetery; St Joseph's Roman Catholic Cemetery was consecrated in 1875 in Moston.

Architects

Cemetery design largely depended on four factors: budget; location and area of the land; the taste of the architect; and any pre-existing stipulations set by the council. So far, this chapter has argued that within the North West local councils took on the responsibility for providing new cemeteries. This meant they had to source the land, find funding and also determine the stipulations of the design competition, which included deciding who could apply. When these competitions were advertised in the local paper, some councils specified only local architects could apply. For example, only architects from Bolton could send in designs for their new cemetery. Not surprisingly, only four tenders were received, and they were displayed in detail in the local paper.⁴⁴⁵

⁴⁴³ 'The Flooding of Philips Park Cemetery', *Manchester Times*, (27 July 1872), p.6.

⁴⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁴⁵ 'The Design for the Proposed Cemetery Buildings', *Bolton Chronicle*, (15 March 1856), p.7.

Competition

It was common practice for the design of municipal cemeteries to be chosen by way of a public competition.⁴⁴⁶ Usually, the two best designs received a premium, and again there were variations in the premiums awarded. For example, the premium awarded for the winning design at Toxteth Cemetery, Liverpool was £25 with a second-place award receiving £10.⁴⁴⁷ In 1862, the premium offered at Anfield Cemetery, Liverpool, was £100 for the first prize, £50 for the second and £30 for the third prize.⁴⁴⁸ An award of this size attracted a lot of attention from architects from across the country. In total 30 designs were submitted to Liverpool Corporation and the winner was named as esteemed architect Thomas Barry of London. Applications tenders such as these were submitted by some of the best architects of the period. However, not all tenders were so high. Macclesfield, which was less concerned with architecturally competing with the likes of Manchester and Liverpool, only offered three guineas for the winner of their design competition. Working to a tight budget, the burial committee stated that they 'did like some of the other competitions', however 'the estimates were high'.⁴⁴⁹ Competing for smaller tenders also gave young architects the experience to apply for larger, more profitable, municipal projects. For example, the chapels at Wigan Cemetery were designed by Alfred Waterhouse, (later responsible for designing the Manchester Assize Courts and Manchester Town Hall). Taking inspiration from John Ruskin, Waterhouse designed the chapels in the neo-gothic style.⁴⁵⁰ A young Thomas Worthington, another influential Victorian architect, beat 22 competitors to win the commission to design the lodges and chapels at Burnley Cemetery. Worthington, who was awarded a £25 prize

⁴⁴⁶ See appendix 28.

⁴⁴⁷ 'To Architects', *Liverpool Mail*, (2 December 1854), p.4.

⁴⁴⁸ 'To Correspondents', *Liverpool Mercury*, (24 November 1862), p.6.

⁴⁴⁹ *The Builder*, (22 February 1862), p.132.

⁴⁵⁰ M. W. Brooks, *John Ruskin and Victorian Architecture*, (London: Thames and Hudson, 1989), p.143.

for securing the commission,⁴⁵¹ went on to design the Prince Albert Memorial in Manchester and was later appointed Vice-President of the Royal Institute of British Architecture.⁴⁵² Winning a design competition was no guarantee that the architect would carry out the project. This chapter has already discussed the control that the local authorities had over the cemetery design process, but this study based in the North-West of England has found that they were also demanding in what they expected from their architects. For example, Barry did not end up being the architect on Anfield Cemetery; he quit after his first meeting with the Burial Board. In a letter to *The Builder*, Barry stated that the Board enforced conditions that were unreasonable:

I fully expected that the Burial Board would have appointed me to carry out my design in the usual manner; but through one member of the Board, the appointment of last Monday was made, on conditions to which no professional man could accede, namely, a small salary and a most unexampled sacrifice of times.⁴⁵³

In a later article in 1862, the Burial Board stated that there would be a £5 per day fine if the cemetery construction was not completed by the date stated in the contract.⁴⁵⁴ Despite these strict conditions, they did not stop other architects applying for Barry's contract, which in Liverpool was eventually awarded to Lucy & Littler.

⁴⁵¹ 'Notes of the Month', *The Civil Engineer & Architect's Journal*, (1855), Vol.18, p.216.

⁴⁵² Anthony Pass, *Thomas Worthington: Victorian Architecture and Social Purpose*, (Manchester: Manchester Literary and Philosophical Publications, 1988), p.166.

⁴⁵³ *The Builder*, (23 June 1860), p.402.

⁴⁵⁴ *The Builder*, (15 February 1862), p.118-119.

The timescale in completing municipal cemeteries varied for each cemetery, taking anywhere from one to three years. For example, plans for a municipal cemetery in Salford came not long after the Burial Acts were introduced in 1853. By 1855, the Corporation of Salford had secured the sum to fund the project, although the cemetery did not open until 1857. In Preston, the search for land began on the 6th March 1854, and it was purchased on 11th May 1854, with the first burial taking place on 1st July 1855.⁴⁵⁵ Keeping the construction on time was a problem across the North West. This was in part because every aspect of the construction was tendered, down to who provided the grass and who would fit the drains, meaning that the architects had the problem of keeping all the separate tradesmen to time.⁴⁵⁶

Style

The cemetery was one of many municipal projects developed during this period. These new projects were a form of urban improvement that were meant to inspire the residents of the urban landscape as well as being practical. As Barnard states, 'The patriotic pride and high-spirited rivalry of provincial cities in the nineteenth century were manifested in a crop of remarkable public buildings'.⁴⁵⁷ Like a public library or town hall, the municipal cemetery was part of a wave of public buildings constructed at this time in the gothic architectural style. The chapels at Philips Park Cemetery were described as 'beautiful specimens of early Gothic architecture, but the Dissenters' is without doubt the prettiest'.⁴⁵⁸ The cemetery chapels were designed in the style 'middle pointed gothic', the *Manchester Guardian* describing them as 'free and unfettered'. The face of the

⁴⁵⁵ 'The New Cemetery', *Preston Chronicle*, (16 June 1855), p.5.

⁴⁵⁶ 'Salford Cemetery', *Manchester Courier and General Advertiser*, (22 September 1855), p.1.

⁴⁵⁷ Barnard, *To Prove*, p.175.

⁴⁵⁸ 'The New Cemetery', *The Manchester Times*, (27 February 1864), p.7.

buildings was designed in Yorkshire stone, a popular style of the period.⁴⁵⁹ During the 1850s, there was a ‘battle of the styles’ between those favouring the classical styles and others who supported Gothic styles of architecture.⁴⁶⁰ From 1857, it is evident from architectural designs submitted for the cemetery commissions within the North West of England, that Gothic styles were winning the battle. Anthony Pass argues that the turning point for this was led by George Gilbert Scott, a ‘leading figure on the national scene’ and in 1857, who ‘offered powerful arguments in favour of the use of gothic for all modern purposes’.⁴⁶¹ Frederick Gibberd argues that the Gothic revival style that dominated this period was a conscious decision by architects to avoid using modern materials that were used by industry because they ‘associated them with ugliness’. He states that ‘they turned with longing to the past, when architecture was a part of everyday living’.⁴⁶²

On the whole, the designs for new municipal cemeteries received public approval.⁴⁶³ The cemetery at Preston opened in 1855 and was designed by Thomas Barry. The architecture was described as ‘Early English, and one of the best examples of that style in the neighbourhood’. This contests the notion that the municipal cemetery was ‘utilitarian’ and ‘uninteresting’ and argues that the design was a product of the time. It is worth noting here that in a later edition of *Celebration of Death*, Curl seems to have changed his mind on the public (municipal) cemetery, stating that ‘some, at least, are very fine in terms of landscape, architecture, planning, and monuments’.⁴⁶⁴ This U-turn

⁴⁵⁹ ‘The Plans for the New Cemetery’, *Manchester Guardian*, (24 February 1864), p.3.

⁴⁶⁰ Anthony Pass, *Thomas Worthington: Victorian Architecture and Social Purpose*, (Manchester: Manchester Literary and Philosophical Publications, 1988), p.36.

⁴⁶¹ Ibid.

⁴⁶² F. Gibberd, *The Architecture of England*, (Surrey: The Architectural Press, 1940), p.36.

⁴⁶³ Information provided here is taken from local newspapers, therefore it is limited. It is by no means representative of all the residents within the locality of the cemetery.

⁴⁶⁴ Curl, *Celebration*, p.142.

appears to be because he had done some research into the municipal cemeteries in London, paying particular attention to the architecture of the buildings and the layout of the grounds.⁴⁶⁵

All the municipal cemeteries in the North West had similar design characteristics. For example, they all had at least two chapels (one being for those of the Church of England faith and another for Nonconformist/ Roman Catholic faith; for those that had a bigger budget, the Nonconformist and Roman Catholic chapels were separate), gates, a boundary wall and walkways. However, the design of the chapels often depended on the size of the land and the budget. In the North West, no two cemeteries had the same budget. In Wigan, the total cost of the buildings was approximately £2,500, which included a lodge and three chapels. At Philips Park Cemetery, the budget for the three chapels was £4,000 and at Toxteth Park Cemetery – built nearly decade before Philips Park – the budget was £5,000 for two chapels, one for Dissenters and one for the established church.

Research for this study has also discovered that many of the ‘grand’ cemetery designs that were presented to the public through public displays and articles in the newspaper, were not necessarily the ones that were built. For example, at Philips Park cemetery, once the construction had started, the two lodges and the Registrar’s house had to be re-designed to reduce the cost by £900. In the original plans, there was also an arcade suggested as the centrepiece of the cemetery, however, this was absent in the finished design.⁴⁶⁶

⁴⁶⁵ Curl, *Celebration*, pp.150-168.

⁴⁶⁶ ‘The Plans for the New Cemetery’, *Manchester Guardian*, (24 Feb 1864), p.3.

Finances

It is asserted by historians, such as Julie Rugg, that one of the motivations in setting up joint-stock cemetery companies was to make a profit.⁴⁶⁷ However, there has been no work on the motivations of municipal cemeteries. With large loans to pay back, running a profitable business was a critical concern for municipal cemeteries. As mentioned earlier in this chapter, all the cemeteries in this study were provided by a loan, either from the government or from private enterprise. The period of the loan and the interest varied from cemetery to cemetery. To create the Anfield Cemetery, the Burial Board secured a large loan of £75,000 at four percent (£3,000) interest per annum. The loan was to be paid over a 40-year-period, however, the likelihood is that they expected to pay it off sooner. Excluding the interest, if the cemetery was paying the loan off over 40 years, they would need to be making at least £1,875 per annum before they made a profit. However, as a commercial business, well-managed cemeteries in the right area could make a profit. For example, the Liverpool Corporation began planning for a second municipal cemetery only three years after the opening of its first, in Toxteth. It is evident that part of the motivation for the new cemetery was because its predecessor had set a 'precedent' in making a successful business. A report in the *Liverpool Mercury* stated that within the first two years, the cemetery had paid back the 'interest on the whole amount borrowed' and had made a profit – the money was put back in the poor-rate.⁴⁶⁸ Furthermore, by 1866, Toxteth Park Cemetery was doing so well that it needed to extend, purchasing sixteen acres of land on Smithdown Lane, of which 8.5 acres were consecrated with the remainder left for Dissenters. There seems to be some

⁴⁶⁷ Rugg, 'cemetery companies'.

⁴⁶⁸ 'The New Cemetery for Liverpool', *Liverpool Mercury*, (31 August 1859), p.3.

consistency in those cemeteries that made a profit – they had a competitive price structure and most importantly, they had a high number of burials. The cemetery as a business has not been explored in the current historiography, although the research on which this thesis is based has found that this was an essential factor in the setting up of cemeteries. Burial Boards were reluctant to create municipal cemeteries if other local municipal cemeteries were not making a profit.

In order to pay back the loan and make a profit, every cemetery had an idea of the number and type of grave they needed to sell, and this was reflected in the design of the cemetery. For example, in Wigan, the cemetery relied on the burial of the wealthier classes to provide the revenue to keep the new cemetery in profit. This was demonstrated in 1856, when several influential residents of Wigan requested a meeting with the Burials Inspector Peter Holland, to protest at the closing of churchyards where they owned vaults. The council had not counted on such a protest, as they had forecast that the owners of the town's 120 vaults in closed churchyards, would purchase new vaults in the new cemetery. The council stated that the cost of the new cemetery was £14,000 and the interest was £700 per annum. The management of the cemetery stated that if the wealthy did not purchase the vaults, 'an augmented burden would be laid upon the ratepayers, especially those of the middle class'.⁴⁶⁹ The council had calculated the grave receipts from the town's churchyards and burial grounds for the previous three years and estimated that they could barely cover the interest and general expenses. The fees would not be enough to cover the interest.⁴⁷⁰ After much deliberation it was agreed that burials would be permitted in vaults and brick graves, so long at the person

⁴⁶⁹ 'The New Cemetery', *Manchester Guardian*, (23 June 1856), p.4.

⁴⁷⁰ Ibid.

being interred was an immediate family member, and the coffin was embedded in charcoal and placed inside an airtight grave or vault.⁴⁷¹

Selling Grave Space

The selling of grave space was of primary concern to the management of the cemetery. There were, however, variations in what type of grave space that needed to be sold in order to make a profit. Some municipal cemeteries were reliant on single interments in public graves – they could accommodate more burials than a private grave, however, the individual graves were a lot cheaper. In other cemeteries, the ground was laid out such that the emphasis was on selling private grave space – not as deep as public graves but situated in a better position in the cemetery. As mentioned previously, the most expensive graves were usually the ones lining the walkways and closest to the chapel.

Before the cemetery was even built, the management had some idea of the socio-economic status of the people that would use the cemetery, and this is reflected in the type of graves that the cemetery forecasted to sell. For example, at Philips Park Cemetery there were 3854 eight guinea graves, of which 2016 were in the Church of England section and only 610 were in the Roman Catholic section, providing evidence that they thought there were more wealthy Church of England residents than Roman Catholic residents. During the period of this study, the six-tier pricing structure and the reliance on selling private graves, coupled with the under-estimating of grave space in the Roman Catholic section, proved to be the wrong business model. This is demonstrated in the grave receipts for 1868, when there were 3,866 interments of which

⁴⁷¹ 'The Vaults in Graveyards', *Manchester Guardian*, (11 July 1856), p.4.

3,706 were in public graves and 160 were in private plots.⁴⁷² The Roman Catholic burials (the religious denomination with the least grave space) generated £1206 17s 6s, whereas the Church of England burials (they had the most allotted grave space) made the least money with £638 2s 5d.⁴⁷³ In order to sell these spaces, cemeteries offered a competitive price structure. However, there were variations in the price and type of graves available to the public. In Wigan, the list of cemetery fees and charges advertised two types of graves: private family graves and single interments in public graves. There were also two sets of fees, one for residents or ratepayers and another for everyone else. The private family graves were split into three classes of graves. The fees of the common graves were split into age groups.⁴⁷⁴ In Bolton, a first-class grave (the best grave in the cemetery, possibly along a walkway) was three breadths apart and cost £9.⁴⁷⁵ In Salford, a first-class grave was £3 3s, and in Ashton Cemetery, a first-class grave next to the walkways was £1. There were also variations in the cost of public graves. At Salford Cemetery, burial for an adult in a public grave cost 8s, in Preston, it was 6s and in Bolton it was 6s. During the 1860s, all the cemeteries seemed to operate a similar competitive price structure with both Philips Park Cemetery and the cemetery at Ashton-under-Lyne charging 8s. for residents buried in single interments.⁴⁷⁶

Julie Rugg has argued that the private grave was the most popular in the cemetery. The argument put forward is that it fitted the idea of respectable burial – it was a private space where the deceased could be memorialised and remembered. The grave was also affordable – the middle-classes could afford it and the working-classes saved with

⁴⁷² Manchester City Council Cemetery Committee Minute Book, Vol. 1 (1863-1868) held by Manchester Archives, (GB127.M901/12178).

⁴⁷³ Ibid.

⁴⁷⁴ ‘Salford Council’, *Manchester Guardian*, (20 August 1857), p.4.

⁴⁷⁵ ‘Borough of Bolton Cemetery’, *Bolton Chronicle*, (03 January 1857), p.1.

⁴⁷⁶ ‘Ashton-under-Lyne Borough Cemetery’, *The Ashton Weekly Reporter*, (10 August 1867), p.1.

burial clubs to pay for it. However, research in this thesis has discovered that single interments in public graves were the most popular in the municipal cemetery. In Manchester, the cemetery management employed ‘agents’ (undertakers) to go into working-class areas to promote the cemetery. The Ashton-under-Lyne cemetery, which opened in 1867, also sought to actively promote single interments in the municipal cemetery by stating that ‘single interments in excellent situations the charges are very low’. Charges were 8s for a burial in a public grave and 6s for children under 12 years old.⁴⁷⁷ In Salford, during the first month of opening, the total number of burials was 241. Of those burials 220 were in public graves, earning the cemetery £73 in fees. This was considerably more than the revenue derived from the private cemeteries and the vaults.⁴⁷⁸ Research suggests that Toxteth Park cemetery had not planned for the large numbers of single interments in third class freehold and common graves. This is evident in 1861, as the cemetery had to take out an advertisement in the newspaper stating that all single interments were reserved for people who died in Toxteth Park.⁴⁷⁹ As mentioned previously, Philips Park Cemetery had to get rid of walkways to accommodate more single (public) interments.⁴⁸⁰ This is somewhat at odds with historians who assume – working on Curl’s ‘celebration of death’ notion – that the private or freehold grave was the preferred method of burial in the Victorian Cemetery. See the proceeding chapter for an extensive examination of the public grave in the municipal cemetery.

Interments fluctuated in all of the municipal cemeteries in the North West. Factors such as outbreaks of disease, burial fees and new places of interment opening, could all affect the number of burials in a cemetery. At Liverpool’s Anfield Cemetery between the 28th March and the 2nd May 1868, the number of interments was 470, which was lower than

⁴⁷⁷ ‘Ashton-Under-Lyne Borough Cemetery’, *The Ashton Weekly Reporter*, (7 September 1867), p.1.

⁴⁷⁸ ‘Salford Reports 1857-58’, Salford Archives, p.231.

⁴⁷⁹ ‘Toxteth Park Cemetery’, *Liverpool Mercury*, (23 August 1861), p.1.

⁴⁸⁰ ‘Cemetery Committee Books’, *Manchester City Council*, (29 April 1868), p.209, GB127.M901/12178.

in the four previous years – the highest number of burials was in 1866, when it was 605.⁴⁸¹ Four months after the opening of the cemetery, there had been 302 interments – 50 of these interments were in freehold graves, and 30 were in half-freehold graves, which suggests that the remaining 222 interments were in public graves.⁴⁸²

The municipal cemetery was the final stage in the history of the nineteenth-century intramural burial provisions, after this follows cremation. It is widely believed that following the Burial Act 1853, which facilitated the closure of churchyards, burial grounds and joint-stock cemeteries deemed hazardous to human health, that the municipal cemetery seamlessly took over as the principal place of burial in the urban landscape. However, it is clear that just because the Corporation opened these new ‘sanitary and hygienic’ municipal cemeteries, which were supposed to instil some form of civic pride, their creation did not necessarily lead to an influx of burials. There was no linear transition, and there was no guarantee of burials. This is especially evident in Manchester where burials still continued in other cemeteries such as the Manchester General Cemetery, as the Poor Law Guardians continued to bury a large number of workhouse dead there, rather than in Philips Park.

Regional differences are also discernible when it comes to the popularity and subsequent profit derived from municipal cemetery burials. As mentioned above, Toxteth Cemetery was extremely popular and made a profit within the first two years of opening. However, this was not the case in Salford’s Weaste Cemetery, whereby 1857, the local paper was reporting that it was failing to attract large numbers of the working

⁴⁸¹ ‘News of the day’, *Liverpool Daily Post*, (8 May 1868), p.5.

⁴⁸² ‘Burial Board’, *Liverpool Daily Post*, (7 August 1863), p.4.

classes, who were burying their dead in the church burial grounds of surrounding villages because of the high burial fees.⁴⁸³ Several factors could explain these regional differences in the popularity of the municipal cemetery. The first is that the arrival of the municipal cemetery did not mean that it had a monopoly on burials. As mentioned above, active burial grounds and cemeteries were still operating and, therefore, people had choices as to where to bury their dead. The existing burial provisions also sought to defeat the competition by taking out advertisements next to those for municipal cemeteries, saying they were still open for business. In 1863, the Registrar of the joint-stock Manchester General Cemetery advertised in local newspapers inviting the public to visit the cemetery, in the hope that it would 'satisfy anyone as to their singular beauty and adaptation to the purposes of a place of interment and the care and attention bestowed in keeping them in order'.⁴⁸⁴

The price of fees inevitably affected the popularity of some municipal cemeteries. As discussed above, most of the cemeteries had different price structures, and it made sense that people at the lower end of the social scale would bury their loved ones in the cheapest cemetery. Some municipal cemeteries even lowered their fees to attract more burials - Oldham Cemetery reduced its fees by nearly 30 percent after the Burial Board became concerned with the lack of burials. It was hoped that the lower fees would stop a large number of burials occurring in neighbouring burial grounds and churchyards.⁴⁸⁵ Rather than lowering fees, the Registrar at Philips Park Cemetery lowered those for ministers because they were higher than at other cemeteries and Philips Park was not

⁴⁸³ 'The New Cemetery', *Manchester Guardian*, (23 February 1857), p.4.

⁴⁸⁴ 'Harpurhey General Cemetery', *Manchester Courier*, (5 December 1863) p.1.

⁴⁸⁵ 'Reduced Cemetery Charges in Oldham', *Manchester Guardian*, (3 May 1858), p.2.

making the profit as had been hoped.⁴⁸⁶ Another factor that affected the desire to be buried in a particular cemetery was friendship and kinship ties. Generally, people who already had family members in a particular churchyard, burial ground or cemetery, would want to be buried in an existing private grave, or if they were in a public grave, would want to be in the same cemetery. As the last chapter demonstrated, burials also increased in cemeteries during epidemics, such as cholera. Finally, the popularity of a particular cemetery also depended on public perception. For example, irregularities (see below) and community fallouts could lead to a decrease in burial numbers. Following a disagreement with the Roman Catholic community, the burials in Philips Park Cemetery fell from a peak of 2,445 burials in 1868 to 900 in 1894.⁴⁸⁷ This was in contrast to the Church of England burials, that increased from 1,918 burials in 1868 to 3,395 in 1899.⁴⁸⁸

It was commonplace for municipal cemeteries to use innovative techniques to get custom. The most common method was to run PR campaigns in local newspapers. These were usually completed by taking out advertisements and positive promotional articles that generally boasted of the aesthetics of the cemetery, as well as its key features. In 1856, an article published in the *Manchester Guardian* to promote the new cemetery in Wigan discussed its design, which emphasised its high wall to give the deceased some security, and the fact that the three chapels were similar in design, implying that there was no difference in the eyes of the council between the religious denominations.⁴⁸⁹ In 1857, a similar article appeared promoting the new cemetery at Ince, which was described as having a ‘picturesque and very pleasing appearance’. The

⁴⁸⁶ Manchester City Council Cemetery Committee Minute Book, Vol. 1, (1863-1868), GB127.M901/12178.

⁴⁸⁷ See appendix 6.

⁴⁸⁸ *Ibid.*

⁴⁸⁹ ‘The New Cemetery’, *Manchester Guardian*, (21 August 1856), p.4.

article proceeded to describe how the cemetery was situated away from the ‘mining operations’, and the wind blew towards the collieries and therefore it was not ‘apprehended that any annoyance will be experienced in consequence of the smoke’.⁴⁹⁰

The Early Years

This section aims to challenge two key areas in relation to the early years of the municipal cemetery. The first point concerns the municipal cemetery as a new mode of burial provision created in response to a burial crisis, constructed to the rules and regulations of the new Burial Acts and intended to provide a hygienic and respectable place to bury the dead. The second concerns how, after the closure of churchyards and burial grounds between 1853 and 1860, the municipal cemetery became the principal place of burial in the industrial landscape.

The arrival of municipal cemeteries did not stop some of the unsanitary and irregular burial practices that had occurred before the introduction of the Burial Acts. In St Helens, there were reports that the rector of the new cemetery was charging an extra fee, that he collected on arrival, alongside the burial board fees.⁴⁹¹ There were also reports in several cemeteries of bodies being transferred from one public grave to another. This occurred in both Philips Park Cemetery and at Rochdale Cemetery.⁴⁹² A grave digger stated that ‘it had been the practice ever since I worked there to remove bodies from one public grave to another public grave’.⁴⁹³ The extent to which such irregularities occurred in the municipal cemetery has often been overlooked, although evidence

⁴⁹⁰ ‘The Ince Cemetery’, *Manchester Guardian*, (7 September 1857), p.4.

⁴⁹¹ ‘Cemetery Question at St Helens’, *Manchester Guardian*, (29 July 1858), p.2.

⁴⁹² ‘The Philips Park Cemetery’, *Manchester Times*, (23 October 1869), p.3.; ‘The Alleged Removal of Bodies’, *Rochdale Observer*, (29 November 1862), p.7.

⁴⁹³ ‘Removal of Bodies’, p.7.

uncovered for this thesis suggests that potentially thousands of bodies might have been interred in the wrong graves, with far-reaching effects for the descendants of the deceased. Furthermore, in some cemeteries grave numbers appear to have been incorrectly recorded, meaning that descendants may be identifying the wrong place of burial for their loved one.⁴⁹⁴ In Preston, for example, there were several instances where the nameplate attached to the coffin did not match the recorded burial plot for that person.⁴⁹⁵

During the duration of this study, the municipal cemetery was not the immediate solution to the burial crisis. In Wigan, two relieving officers reported to the burial board that irregularities were taking place in the town's municipal cemetery, the coffins of paupers left uncovered and multiple burials occurring in a grave space intended for one burial. Although the burial board denied some of the claims put to them, it did admit that some of its own regulations had been violated.⁴⁹⁶ Similar irregularities were also noted in the corporation cemetery at Rochdale, where the Registrar, Norris Taylor, was found guilty of removing bodies from their graves and placing them in other plots. Taylor had used coffins interred in public graves to 'pack out' the hole of a private grave that had been dug deeper than the standard depth as it was being used to drain water from a vault. The Registrar also admitted that the public graves regularly filled with water.⁴⁹⁷ At the corporation cemetery in Preston, bodies had been placed in the wrong graves due to poor bookkeeping, which led to a number of coffins being removed so the nameplates could be read, and they could be interred in the correct plot.⁴⁹⁸ In 1869, for example, Dr

⁴⁹⁴ 'Enquiry into the Management of the Cemetery', *Preston Chronicle*, (19 May 1866), p.5.

⁴⁹⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁹⁶ 'Board of Guardians', *Manchester Guardian*, (24 November 1856), p.4.

⁴⁹⁷ 'Desecration of the Rochdale Cemetery', *Manchester Times*, (20 December 1862), p.7.

⁴⁹⁸ 'Preston Cemetery', *Preston Herald*, (19 May 1866), p.5.

Holland, the Home Office Burial Inspector, was called to Philips Park Cemetery after it was alleged that up to 60 bodies had been ‘thrown’ into one mass grave and then removed to other parts of the cemetery when the mourners had left, an allegation which was found to be correct. The incident was blamed on the Registrar of the cemetery, Albert Jarratt, who had given the instructions, although he was not held accountable on the grounds that, as a former music critic of the *Manchester Courier*, he did not know better.⁴⁹⁹

Fees paid to Registrars were largely standard across the board. In 1866, they were between £150-£200 per annum. With such a large salary, this was a position in demand. When Salford council advertised the post in the local paper, they received 90 applicants. The council recommended that it should be filled by the Rev W. H. Walker, who had experience, as he was Registrar at Rochdale Cemetery when offered the post at Salford. Walker was on a salary of £120 per autumn, which included a ‘house, coals, gas and water’.⁵⁰⁰ Not only did the municipal cemetery provide a respectable salary for Registrars, it also continued to earn the clergy money - potentially more than what they are getting before the cemetery opened. In the first financial year of the Philips Park Cemetery opening, the ministers earned upwards of £180. It was estimated that in the following year they would make £220.⁵⁰¹ Wigan Cemetery (Lower Ince) opened for interments on 1st September 1856, and less than a year after its opening, disagreements occurred over the price paid to ministers, who requested a fee of 2s 6d for the burial of

⁴⁹⁹ ‘Irregular ties at Philips Park Cemetery’, *Manchester Guardian*, (21 Oct 1869), p.4.

⁵⁰⁰ ‘Registrar of the new cemetery’, *Manchester Guardian*, (9 July 1856), p.4.

⁵⁰¹ Manchester City Council Cemetery Committee Minute Book, Vol.1 (1 November 1867) GB127.M901/12178.

paupers, which would be higher for the Church of England clergy. The Guardians of Wigan stated that all ministers, regardless of denomination, would be paid 1s 5d.⁵⁰²

Conclusion

This chapter has highlighted that even after local government took control of the burial provisions, the cemetery was still interring people in an unsanitary manner. It has contested the notion that the municipal cemetery an inevitability in a region such as the North West. It has argued that the Public Works Manufacturing Act introduced a decade later was just as influential in the creation of the municipal cemetery by providing government loans that would pay for new municipal projects. It has suggested that burial boards were not the only organisation in charge of creating and managing municipal cemeteries, because some cemeteries were created before a Burial Board was in place.

The chapter has also argued that not every town wanted a municipal cemetery because adequate burial provisions were already in place, and it was considered that a municipal cemetery would have a negative impact on those that had existing burial sites. Further, it has challenged the view of some historians that municipal cemeteries were uninteresting in their design and lacked the grandeur of earlier joint-stock cemeteries. It has argued that they were often designed in an innovative style by some of the best architects in the country and revealed the complex nature of the design process, which extended beyond just laying out the grounds for aesthetic pleasure. Landscapers also had to take into consideration, for example, the wider sectarian tensions that were present in urban areas with large Roman Catholic populations.

⁵⁰² 'Board of Guardians', *Manchester Guardian*, (23 February 1857), p.4.

This chapter has suggested that Corporations, burial boards and cemetery committees were just as motivated by profit as the shareholders of joint-stock cemetery companies, taking out advertising campaigns in local newspapers to try and get more custom. It has contested the notion that prior to 1870, the municipal cemetery stopped the irregular and unsanitary burials that had been a major problem in the first half of the nineteenth century. Contrary to the current research, this chapter has argued that selling public graves was just, and if not more, important to some cemeteries than selling private graves. Cemeteries such as Philips Park, for example, employed agents (undertakers) in working-class areas to try and sell more public graves. The following chapter will now expand on this by looking at the public grave as a place of burial within the context of the municipal cemetery, paying particular attention to those who were buried in it and how burials such as these have been interpreted by historians.

Chapter Four: Poor, Pauper or Pragmatic? Public Grave Burials in the Municipal Cemetery 1850-1870

Introduction

The previous chapters have suggested that the poorer classes in society lacked agency when it came to the creation of burial sites within the North West. However, this chapter will expand on the research conducted on the municipal cemetery in Chapter three and will demonstrate that they were able to exercise some control over the burial of their dead within the municipal cemetery.

Within the landscape of the nineteenth-century municipal cemetery, there were predominately two types of burial plot: the ‘freehold grave’ and the ‘public grave’. The freehold grave, often referred to as a private grave, was a grave space within the cemetery that was typically owned by the family of the deceased. The price of the freehold grave varied depending on where the grave was situated within the cemetery - the most expensive freehold graves usually lined the walkways or were close to the cemetery chapel. The owner of the freehold grave could decide who was interred in the plot and also what type of memorial would stand over the grave, although some cemeteries had stipulations on design and size.

The public grave has been portrayed by historians as a grave that only paupers and the very poor were buried in. In contrast, the freehold grave has come to signify the Victorian

standard of the ideal burial, frequently presented as the most common and sought-after mode of interment, attracting both the middle-classes and the working-classes, who saved in burial clubs to afford it.⁵⁰³ These views have also been demonstrated in the popular media and by members of the public.⁵⁰⁴

This chapter aims to challenge current definitions and interpretations of the public grave and contribute a new understanding of working-class attitudes towards death and burials. Based on a detailed analysis of new source material such as grave receipts, it investigates, for the first time in the history of Victorian mortality, those who were actually interred in the public grave. This analysis will challenge assumptions and generalisations, such as those who have linked it with pauperism and have incorrectly labelled those interred in this type of grave as paupers. The public grave's association with pauperism has tarred it with negativity which many historians have argued made it something to be avoided in respectable Victorian society and yet, contrary to popular belief, this was the most popular grave in Victorian towns and cities of the North West.⁵⁰⁵ This chapter challenges the consensus that such graves did not fit with the Victorian ideal of a 'respectable' burial and that the public grave was the only one used by the state to bury paupers.

Contrary to the current historiography, the evidence from municipal cemeteries on which this chapter is primarily based, Philips Park Cemetery, Manchester and Toxteth Cemetery, Liverpool, suggests that during the 1850s and 1860s, the 'pauper' grave did

⁵⁰³ Strange, *Death*; Laqueur, 'Bodies Death', pp.109-131.

⁵⁰⁴ Based on the data gathered from 100 people who had relatives buried in Philips Park Cemetery. See appendix 39.

⁵⁰⁵ Strange, *Death, Grief*; Laqueur, 'Bodies', pp.109-131; Curl, *Victorian Celebration of Death*, (1972); Laqueur, *The Work of the Dead*, (Oxfordshire: Princeton University Press, 2015); Hotz, 'Dawn', pp.21-38.

not exist, because no plots were put aside solely for the burial of paupers. Furthermore, this chapter will argue that paupers had some say on where they were buried and were not confined to one cemetery. The nature of the public grave has often been misunderstood, and this chapter argues that the public grave has been incorrectly stigmatised by historians and the general public, who have misjudged the range of interments that took place in public graves by failing to investigate those who were actually interred in them. In fact, in the cemeteries examined in this chapter, the public grave contained more private paying interments than state-paid interments, a difference which highlights the importance of addressing regional variations in attitudes towards death and the burial of the dead. The public grave was vital to the survival of municipal cemeteries in the North West of England and should be seen as a key mode of burial which challenges many aspects of the current historiography of Victorian attitudes towards death.

This chapter draws on an analysis of 2,500 individuals who were buried in public graves in municipal cemeteries in Liverpool and Manchester during the 1860s. This pioneering research provides a new understanding of working-class burials by combining genealogical records with records that have not previously been used before in the field, such as burial receipts. It contests the notion that the public grave largely comprised of pauper burials by revealing who paid for the grave - the state or the individual. It contributes a new understanding of the attitudes and sentiments which surrounded child deaths by arguing that the public grave was the dominant form of burial for working-class children and offers new insights into how women were involved in the burial process. Their contribution to the social rituals which surrounded death has received attention from historians. What has received less attention is the part that working-class

women played in the financial aspects of such burials and the role that middle-class women played in the death business, particularly in relation to undertaking and burial club societies, which is examined here.

Perception of the Public Grave

Scholars

On the 23rd April 1866, cigar manufacturer James Bradford was buried at Toxteth Cemetery, Liverpool. His interment cost £10 5.s. Bradford was a wealthy man who lived at the prestigious Starfield House.⁵⁰⁶ A stark contrast to this interment was the ‘pauper’ burial of William Bromley, who lived in a court on Henderson Street, Liverpool.⁵⁰⁷ The state buried him in a public grave in the same cemetery.

Laqueur, has suggested that there was a direct link between the cost of a burial and the social standing of the deceased. Those who sought respectability in death had to pay for it.⁵⁰⁸ Morley states that ‘Wealth was intimately linked with respectability and salvation’. He argues that there is enough evidence to suggest that death itself could become ‘a means of further social advancement.’⁵⁰⁹

Therefore, according to the current historiography, Bromley’s interment should have been a source of shame because an individual’s social status defined them even after

⁵⁰⁶ Toxteth Park Burial Registers, held by Liverpool Archives (352 CEM/9/1/1-25 and 9/2/1-9)

⁵⁰⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁰⁸ Laqueur, ‘Bodies, Death’.

⁵⁰⁹ Morley, *Death, Heaven*, p.11.

their death.⁵¹⁰ The consensus view has been that burial in a private grave with a memorial stone represented respectability, whereas the public grave, because of its association with pauperism, was a symbol of failure as a grave in which only the very poor and the pauper were interred.⁵¹¹ For example, in 2005, Julie-Marie Strange argued that the pauper grave and the grand funerals of the wealthy were ‘notorious symbols of death in the long nineteenth century’.⁵¹² Her statement highlights the class-conscious framework that dominates the current historiography, and that focuses on the burial customs of the extremes - wealthy and the pauper.

Celebration of Death?

As mentioned in the introduction of this thesis, this ‘class conscious’ approach originated in the 1970s with the work of James Stevens Curl, a pioneer in the field of Victorian burial history who, in 1972, released his critically acclaimed thesis, *The Victorian Celebration of Death*, which was mainly based on burial data from London cemeteries.⁵¹³ Curl proposed that social aspiration and social mobility occurred not only in life, but also in death, arguing that the wealthy celebrated death with grand materialistic gestures, such as pompous funerals and grandiose monuments.⁵¹⁴ Further, he suggested that these expressions of social aspiration filtered down through to the lower classes, who believed they could elevate themselves socially by adhering to the middle-class ideal of a ‘respectable’ burial.⁵¹⁵ Curl’s research was focused heavily on

⁵¹⁰ Hotz, ‘Dawn’, p.22; Laqueur, ‘Bodies’.

⁵¹¹ Strange, *Death*; Herman, ‘touch of class; G. Nash, ‘Pomp and Circumstance: archaeology, modernity and the corporation of death: early social and political attitudes towards burial practice’ in *Matter, Materiality and Culture*, (ed.) P.M. Graves Brown, (London, 2000); M Parker Pearson, ‘Mortuary practices, society and ideology: an ethnoarchaeological study’ in *Symbolic and Structural Archaeology*, (ed.), I. Hodder, (Cambridge, 1982); Laqueur, ‘Bodies, Death’.

⁵¹² Strange, *Death*, p.1.

⁵¹³ Curl, *Celebration*.

⁵¹⁴ Ibid.

⁵¹⁵ Also see Morley, *Death*, p.11.

the privately-owned grand cemeteries in London.⁵¹⁶ A physical observation of the cemeteries used in Curl's study would seem to confirm his theory that the Victorians celebrated death with grand memorials – all the cemeteries used in Curl's study have an array of large monuments including vaults and mausoleums, whereas the 'poor' burials are not immediately visible to those visiting the cemetery, possibly because they are in nameless graves. Ruth Richardson, whose work was published ten years after Curl's, followed a similar argument by suggesting that wealth equalled respectability and therefore a pauper burial, a burial paid for by the state, denied the deceased a respectable send-off.⁵¹⁷ Her work on pauper burials suggests that paupers were denied an identity in death and were buried on the outskirts of society, in large, nameless mass graves. Thomas Laqueur made a similar argument when he suggested that the pauper burial was feared by all in society including those who were at the lower end of the social scale, who would do anything to avoid a shameful burial by the state. He stated that 'if the Victorian working class saved for anything, it saved for death'.⁵¹⁸ This idea was echoed by historians such as John Morley, who argued that 'the desire for a good funeral was the strongest feeling amongst the working classes'.⁵¹⁹ Julie-Marie quotes Paul Johnson when she states that the 'celebration of death was as popular in the slums of the East End as in the Royal Household'.⁵²⁰

Revisionists

More recently, these views have been revised by a new generation of historians, who have challenged the 'socially conscious' framework of Victorian mortality history, by

⁵¹⁶ Curl, *Celebration*.

⁵¹⁷ Richardson, *Death*.

⁵¹⁸ Laqueur, *Work of the Dead*, p.315.

⁵¹⁹ Morley, *Death, Heaven*, p.11.

⁵²⁰ Strange, *Death*, p.5 and Paul Johnson, *Saving and Spending: The Working-class Economy in Britain, 1870-1939*, (Oxford: Clarendon, 1995), p.11.

questioning the extent to which social aspiration was actually present in death. Herman, who conducted a study into the relationship between a person's social class and interment at Brookwood Cemetery, London, argued that the idea has been exaggerated, especially any notion that the middle classes wanted to emulate the upper classes through their burial practices.⁵²¹ Another aspect of the historiography that has been challenged recently is the negative stigma that has been assumed to surround pauperism. Using Poor Law correspondence, Hurren and King, for example, suggest that the pauper burial was 'not necessarily stark, nor were they 'universally abhorred'.⁵²² Highlighting regional variations in the treatment of paupers, their research, centred around studies conducted in Hulme, Manchester and Northampton, has contested the notion that the pauper grave was an unrespectable and a feared mode of burial, arguing that there was no such thing as a 'standard' pauper interment. In their case studies, paupers were afforded similar burial customs to those who were even buried in freehold graves.⁵²³

Analysis of the current historiography, such as Curl's notion of celebration, Lacquer's idea of respectability and Herman's work on class consciousness in Brookwood Cemetery, London, has revealed conflicting ideas and broad generalisations when it comes to the burial of the dead in the Victorian period, especially those at the lower end of social scale. These differences are due in part to regional differences in attitudes towards death and burial, and to the availability of primary evidence. There has also been a distinct lack of research into the burial practices of working-class residents of industrial towns; those who were not buried as paupers, yet who were not wealthy

⁵²¹ Elizabeth Hurren and Steve King, 'Begging for a Burial: Form, function and conflict in nineteenth-century pauper burial, *Social History*, Vol. 30, No.3, pp.321-341; Herman, 'Touch of Class'.

⁵²² Hurren and King, 'Begging for Burial', p.330.

⁵²³ Hurren and King, 'Begging for a Burial'.

enough to fit into the Victorian ideal of the respectable burial. Again, this appears to be because of a lack of working-class source material and the heavy reliance of middle-class sources. This is highlighted in Pat Jalland's work titled *Death in the Victorian Family*, which is reliant on diaries and memoirs, which focus on the middle-class experience of death. The title of the book implies that the study encompasses a broad overview of the experience of death within the Victorian family. However, this is not the case. Jalland's use of source material affected the narrative of her study has caused her to overlook the largest social group within the North West – those buried in public graves.⁵²⁴

The overwhelming consensus in the field of mortality is that the working classes wanted respectability that came from their social superiors. Only a few scholars have disputed this view. Both Pat Jalland and David Cannadine, for example, have questioned the extent to which the ideas and beliefs of the middle and upper classes filtered down the social ladder, arguing that caution needs to be taken in making this assumption.⁵²⁵ The middle classes set their own bar of 'respectability', and it is problematic to assume that the working classes wanted to be buried in the same manner as the wealthy. Historians of Victorian society more generally have also argued that an 'over-reliance on metropolitan' and 'elitist' records have done a 'disservice to the field'.⁵²⁶ The same could be said of the history of mortality during this period. Rather than judging working-class attitudes to death and burial through the eyes of the middle-classes, it is important is to look at 'respectability' in terms of what the working classes themselves perceived to be

⁵²⁴ Jalland, *Victorian Family*.

⁵²⁵ David Cannadine, 'War and Death, Grief and Mourning in Modern Britain' in *Mirrors of Mortality: Studies in Social History of Death*, (ed.), J. Whaley, (London: Europa, 1981), p.241 and Jalland, *Victorian Family*, p.1.

⁵²⁶ Mike Higgins, 'Exploring the Backstage of Victorian Respectability', *Journal of Victorian Culture*, Vol.22, No.1, (2017), pp.81-88.

a ‘respectable’ send-off.⁵²⁷ How to define respectability within the social class structure has often been debated. Andrew August argued that ‘respectable standards varied greatly, and individuals embraced and disregarded respectable norms in different contexts’.⁵²⁸ For example, working-class respectability to one family might be having a clean step or sending their children to bed at a suitable time; for their neighbour, it could have been attending church or owning their own home.⁵²⁹ Higgins suggests that respectability had no universal meaning amongst the working classes. Rather, the meaning of the term was based on the individual’s interpretation, which was influenced by ‘other forms of identity such as gender, race, age, family, or community, as well as context.’⁵³⁰ Therefore, when using ‘respectability’ as a term of analysis, this chapter will compare and contrast ideas of respectability that have been laid out in the field of death studies.

Class Divide

In order to argue that middle-class aspirations and ideas about respectability filtered down to the lower classes, there would need to be evidence of class interaction. However, just how much the middle-classes and the lower classes came into contact in the nineteenth century is questionable. During the 1850s and 1860s, in industrial towns such as Liverpool and Manchester, class segregation was becoming more acute, and integration between the classes has been seen as minimal, as the middle-classes

⁵²⁷ Like Rugg, Morley relies on middle-class sources who looked respectability through their eyes and not through the eyes of the working classes.

⁵²⁸ Andrew August, *The British Working Class 1832-1940*, (Harlow: Pearson Education Limited, 2007), p.67.

⁵²⁹ Anna Davin, *Growing up Poor*, (London: Rivers Oram Press, 1996), p.53 and Benson, *Working-class in Britain*, p.76.

⁵³⁰ Mike Higgins, ‘Exploring the Backstage of Victorian Respectability’, *Journal of Victorian Culture*, Vol.22, No.1, (2017), pp.81-88.

started to retreat to the suburbs.⁵³¹ Stedman Jones, writing about London, states that 'In the course of the nineteenth century the social distance between the rich and the poor expressed itself in an ever sharper geographical segregation of the city'.⁵³² He further states that large amounts of working-class districts were 'left to themselves, virtually bereft of any contact with authority except in the form of a policeman or the bailiff'. Working-class districts were an 'immense *terra incognita* periodically mapped out by intrepid missionaries and explorers who catered to an insatiable middle-class demand for travellers' tales'.⁵³³ When writing about Manchester, Tristram Hunt has commented that the 'bourgeoisie rarely came face to face with the horrors of the proletariat existence. The divide between the two nations was more than financial. It was physical'.⁵³⁴

If the working classes were not interacting with the middle-classes, it would be logical argument that if they wanted to emulate anyone, it would be within their own kinship or community groups. August has propounded the view that the working classes did not necessarily look to another social group's expectation of 'respectability'. The working classes 'did not think about their worlds exclusively in terms of class'; they also shared identities with 'others on the basis of craft, locality, religion and gender'.⁵³⁵ Kinship and community were the basis of social relationships in working-class districts throughout the North West.⁵³⁶ Due to high travel costs, most working-class people lived near to where they worked in communities, away from their social superiors. Similarly, it is

⁵³¹ Gareth Stedman Jones, *Outcast London: A study in the relationship between classes in Victorian society*, (London: Verso, 2013) and Tristram Hunt, *Building Jerusalem: The rise and fall of the Victorian city*, (London: Phoenix, 2005), pp.40-41.

⁵³² Jones, *Outcast London*.

⁵³³ Ibid.

⁵³⁴ Tristram Hunt, *Building Jerusalem: The rise and fall of the Victorian city*, (London: Phoenix, 2005), p.40.

⁵³⁵ August, *British Working Class*, p.2.

⁵³⁶ Benson, *Working Class in Britain*, p.129.

questionable just how much working-classes burials in cemeteries were mixed with their class superiors. In those like Weaste or Toxteth, where both the wealthy and the lower classes were buried in the same cemetery, the chance of class-mixing was higher than in cemeteries like Philips Park, which was predominately a working-class cemetery.

A study of burial registers and grave receipts from Philips Park Cemetery shows that clusters of burials came from specific working-class areas of Manchester. This suggests that people actually chose to be buried there because they wanted to be buried with members of their community, and even their neighbours; when they visited the cemetery, they would be mixing with friends and people from their community. For example, between 1867 and 1868, 25 people who lived on Bradford Road were interred in Philips Park Cemetery, and 18 people who lived on Cobden Street were interred in public graves there.⁵³⁷ It is possible that these people knew each other and saw it as quite respectable to be buried in a public grave, like their neighbours. This is also evident in the burial statistics for the municipal cemeteries in Manchester, Salford and Liverpool. For example, 94 percent of interments in Philips Park Cemetery, Manchester, 85 percent in Weaste, Salford and 72 percent at Toxteth Cemetery, did not have 'respectable' burials, because these all took place in public graves, alongside paupers, the opposite of the 'respectable' Victorian middle-class burial.⁵³⁸ These statistics go against historians who have argued that this type of burial was avoided because of its associations with pauperism, a nameless mass grave with no memorialisation, with people who were not kin. Although the people interred in public graves may not have been related by blood, they often shared the grave with people from the same

⁵³⁷ Data based on Philips Park Cemetery grave receipts held at Manchester Archives, MFPR 767-784, MFPR 917-934 & MFPR 758-766.

⁵³⁸ See appendixes 30a, 32 and 34a.

community and neighbourhood; those with whom they worked and socialized, sharing bonds which could be as strong as kinship ties. John Benson argues that 'in poor districts neighbours, like relatives, provided one another with a wide range of emotional and material support'. Communities were forged from 'people sharing the same attitudes, beliefs and interests, and expressing their communalism of interest through social interaction'.⁵³⁹

Part of the negativity surrounding the public grave is the lack of memorialisation. Although it is true that some cemeteries did not allow headstones on public graves, burial in a private grave did not guarantee a memorial stone. Indeed, some families shunned a stone altogether. In the first year that Philips Park Cemetery opened, for example, there were of 2,119 interments. Of these, 157 were in private graves, and yet only 15 memorials had been erected.⁵⁴⁰

The public

A survey of 100 people who visited Philips Park Cemetery during the summer of 2016, revealed that the majority of them (86 percent) called a public grave a pauper grave and believed that all the people buried in them were paupers.⁵⁴¹ When asked why they believed this, 54 percent said that is what they thought because of the number of people buried in the grave.⁵⁴² Interestingly, 15 percent of people said that they read it in the media.⁵⁴³

⁵³⁹ Benson, *Working Class in Britain*, p.119 and p.129.

⁵⁴⁰ Manchester City Council Cemetery Committee Minute Book, Vol.1, (1868). GB127.M901/12178.

⁵⁴¹ See appendix 39.

⁵⁴² Ibid.

⁵⁴³ Ibid.

Two of those surveyed were the descendants of a man named George Hughes who was buried in Philips Park Cemetery, Manchester. When they arrived at the cemetery, they were told that he was buried in a ‘pauper’s grave’. Dying a pauper in the class-conscious nineteenth century represented ‘the final stamp of failure’ for those at the lower end of society as it was the polar opposite of the Victorian ideal of a ‘respectable’ burial.⁵⁴⁴ Laqueur states that it exposed the ‘humiliating residue left when decency is stripped away’.⁵⁴⁵ This was because it was widely assumed that ‘wealth was intimately linked with respectability and salvation’ and death could be ‘a means of further social advancement’.⁵⁴⁶ Morley argues that ‘this feeling was present with the lowest classes’.⁵⁴⁷

The descendants of George Hughes were saddened and surprised to learn that he died a pauper because, according to descendants, Hughes was financially secure. He was employed, he owned his own home (which was rare at the time), his children were well dressed, and his wife always kept a clean step - a mark of respectability within their social class. When asked who told them he was buried in a ‘paupers grave’, they replied that someone working in the cemetery had told them that ‘Section D were all paupers graves’. The descendants of Hughes left the cemetery thinking that their ancestor must have hit hard times, both financially and socially.⁵⁴⁸

Another person surveyed was the descendant of Richard Potter. Again, the family believed that he must have died a pauper because of where he was buried. Potter, an

⁵⁴⁴ Laqueur, Thomas W., *The Work of the Dead*, (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2015), p.325.

⁵⁴⁵ Ibid, p.138.

⁵⁴⁶ Morley, *Death, Heaven*, p.11.

⁵⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁴⁸ See appendix 39.

infant who lived with his parents on Crook Street, Ardwick, was buried in public grave I 834 in the Consecrated section of the cemetery. His family believed he was a pauper because he was buried with ‘lots of other people’.⁵⁴⁹ Yet grave receipts for Hughes’s and Potter’s burials have revealed that they were not paupers at all. Hughes’s interment was paid for by his wife, who had instructed a local undertaker to arrange the burial and Potter’s burial was paid for by his father. Both Hughes and Potter were incorrectly branded ‘paupers’ because of where they were buried and whom they were buried with. The official name for the grave in which they were buried in is a ‘public grave’, although Potter’s and Hughes’s descendants were not alone in assuming that the public grave was a grave only for paupers.

Popular media

The media has a part to play in the current perception of the public grave, especially when it is incorrectly identified. In 1993, the *Guardian* wrote an article on England’s exit from the World Cup which was headlined ‘England buried in a pauper’s grave’. The article spoke about what a failure the team were using words such as ‘inadequate’ and a ‘gross embarrassment’, implying that it was the same shame faced by those being buried in a pauper’s grave’.⁵⁵⁰ In 1997, Maev Kennedy wrote in the *Guardian*, how ‘the terror of being laid to rest in a pauper’s grave drove our ancestors into funeral clubs’ and referred to ‘millions’ of these graves ‘scattered across the country’. The grave the author describes in her article is the public grave, often referred to as the pauper grave. Kennedy made a common mistake in assuming that these graves were only filled by burials paid for by the state and that people saved in burial clubs to avoid being buried

⁵⁴⁹ Data taken from Philips Park Cemetery burial receipts held by Manchester Archives, MFPR 767-784, MFPR 917-934 & MFPR 758-766.

⁵⁵⁰ David Lacay, ‘England buried in a pauper’s grave’, *The Guardian*, (18 November 1993), p.22.

in a public grave, which was the ‘ultimate terror to the poor’.⁵⁵¹ Kennedy was mistaken in assuming that there were two types of burial – a private family grave and a pauper’s grave on the outskirts of the cemetery. She failed to consider that those buried in a public grave may have been placed there because of reluctance to spend money on a private plot.

Maev Kennedy and the families of George Hughes and Richard Potter are not alone in assuming that only paupers were buried in the public grave. Historians also make the same assumption. The current historiography argues that as the public grave was the cheapest form of burial, it would predominately contain the very poor and paupers, with the better-off classes being buried in family plots. Supporting evidence for this theory is often frequently provided by burial club statistics.⁵⁵² By 1874, it was estimated that over two million people belonged to burial and sickness societies - it is not clear if this figure covered all members of the family or if it was age-specific. Some of these burial clubs – estimated at 650,000 - were registered with the government, thousands more people were paying into unlicensed societies.⁵⁵³ With such high numbers paying into burial clubs, it is difficult to provide a counter-argument that the working classes did not want to spend money on a burial which would help them to avoid a pauper grave. As Laqueur writes in *The Work of The Dead*, ‘if the working class saved for anything, it saved for death’.⁵⁵⁴ However, clarification is needed as to what part of the pauper burial the working classes were trying to avoid.

⁵⁵¹ Maev Kennedy, ‘Price of a happy ending: Maev Kennedy on how the terror of being laid to rest in a pauper’s grave drove our ancestors into funeral clubs’, *The Guardian*, (05 March 1997), p.2.

⁵⁵² Laqueur, ‘Bodies, Death’.

⁵⁵³ Laqueur, *Work of the Dead*, p.315.

⁵⁵⁴ Ibid.

The public grave being the most popular mode of interment in urban areas, it would be incorrect to suggest that payment into a burial club guaranteed that the working classes avoided a public grave burial. Neither does it suggest that they were looking to avoid a burial in a public grave, contrary to Strange's argument that an 'initial burial in a common grave had advertised to the community the family's lack of finance at the time of the funeral', and that the family would have 'suffered the stigma associated with the pauper or public grave'.⁵⁵⁵ Burial clubs provided reassurance that the interment was paid for by the family and that the deceased was not a pauper. However, it did not stop the deceased being buried alongside paupers in a public grave. Rather than using burial statistics as a means of confirmation that the working classes sought to alleviate themselves with a 'respectable' send-off in a private grave, the evidence on which this study is based has found that the actual physical grave space was less important to the working classes than who paid for the burial. This is demonstrated by the popularity of the public grave as a mode of interment.⁵⁵⁶

The reasons why Hughes and Potter were buried in public graves are not known. It could have been that the families could not afford a private grave or perhaps they were quite pragmatic about death and preferred spending money on the living. Although an observer can only speculate on the reasons, the fact remains that Hughes and Potter were not paupers. Their examples demonstrate that it is not only historians who need to consider the interpretation of the public grave, but also the wider public. For generations, people may have been incorrectly told that their family members were paupers because they were interred in a public grave when this might not have been the case.

⁵⁵⁵ Strange, *Death*, p.143.

⁵⁵⁶ See appendix 30, 32 and 34a.

Although Hughes and Potter were not ‘paupers’, the fact that they were buried in a public grave still left them open to criticism because both historians and the wider public have incorrectly assumed that this was a pauper grave at worse and that at best it was a grave to be avoided by those who did not want to be associated with pauperism. Strange, Hurren and King, have intrinsically linked pauperism and the public grave. Calling it the ‘common grave’, Hurren and King quote Strange when they argue that ‘pauper burials became synonymous with crushed dreams’.⁵⁵⁷ Strange herself argues that the working classes shunned the public grave.⁵⁵⁸ She argues that this type of burial carried an ‘insidious stigma’ because it made no distinction between those who were buried by the state and those whose families paid for burials. This meant that families who paid for interments in public graves were penalised with the negative stigma of pauperism.⁵⁵⁹ Barnard also carelessly links pauper burials with the common (public) grave. She states that the pauper funeral is ‘a source of shame to the families of those who cannot afford better...a source of ‘apprehension and fear throughout their lives to millions of working people’. She went on ‘nowadays the common grave is still dug’ and ‘it is still regarded with dislike and perhaps even shame’, although ‘it can be nothing like as horrific and humiliating as in Victorian times’.⁵⁶⁰ If Strange’s and Barnard’s argument is correct, this type of burial plot would have been the least popular with the working classes. However, evidence in this study has found that although it contained paupers, it was still the most popular grave in the municipal cemetery.⁵⁶¹ Using burial registers, Strange further argues that the working classes attempted to avoid the public grave even

⁵⁵⁷ Hurren, King, ‘Begging for a Burial; Julie Marie Strange, ‘She cried a very little’: Death, Grief and Mourning in working-class culture 1880-1914’, *Social History*, No.27, Vol.2, (2002), p.150.

⁵⁵⁸ Strange, p.135.

⁵⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

⁵⁶⁰ Barnard, *To Prove*, p.52.

⁵⁶¹ See appendix 30, 32 and 34a.

after death by, where possible, having the bodies of their relatives removed and placed in private graves. Although this did occur, the research on which thesis is based has found that such removal was minimal, and the numbers were not enough to provide evidence that the working classes looked to avoid this type of burial. For example, at Philips Park Cemetery, out of the thousands of burials that occurred annually, the number of reburials averaged between two and four per annum.⁵⁶²

The grave receipts for both Philips Park and Toxteth cemeteries have revealed that there were no pauper graves, i.e. no graves devoted solely to paupers and this study indicates that the line between rich and poor was far more blurred in municipal cemeteries in North West England than previous studies conducted by Curl, Laqueur, Strange and Morley, which were in a different part of the country and had grand memorials for the wealthy and unmarked graves for the poor. Although visually these two cemeteries of Toxteth and Philips Park – in particular, Toxteth - contain a number of large memorials, their real story is in the graves where the flat stone memorials have now been grassed over – the public graves. Research into these graves has cast doubt on historians such as Strange who claim that they were ‘avoided’ because they were shared with paupers. As previously mentioned, the public grave was the most popular grave in the cemetery. Furthermore, this study also suggests that the number of pauper burials in these graves has been based on estimations and assumptions rather than thorough research. The chapter now turns to grave receipts to argue that the public grave was not a grave where only paupers were buried and that there is no evidence to suggest that the lower classes avoided it because of the limited number of paupers who were buried in there.

⁵⁶² ‘Cemetery Committee Books’, held by Manchester City Council, (GB127.M901/12178)

Paying for a Public Grave Burial: A Study of Grave Receipts

Analysis of the grave receipts for Philips Park Cemetery shows that out of the 1,500 public graves, 1,215 (81 percent) were paid for by a family member, burial club or undertaker.⁵⁶³ Further research into the non-state paying records has helped determine who paid for the grave. When the purchaser shares the same surname of the deceased, it has been easier to establish if they were related. However, as mentioned above, further research has been necessary to determine the relationship where names do not match.

By using census records and trade directories, it has been possible to identify who the undertakers or ‘drapers’ were as their business or occupation was listed in these records. It is worth noting that most undertakers were also drapers. For example, as in the case of Elias Leigh, who was listed in the local trade directory as both an undertaker and a draper. It has also been easy to establish through census records that Ellen Fox, who paid for 15 burials in the Roman Catholic section, was the wife of a draper/undertaker.⁵⁶⁴

Studying the payees in this way has revealed a new understanding of how the working classes buried their dead and in particular, the role of the undertaker, who has often been perceived as distrusted and unpopular with the working-classes. Sources that are used to confirm the character of the undertaker are typically limited to Edwin Chadwick’s report on interments in towns and the work of Charles Dickens.⁵⁶⁵ Writing in 1843,

⁵⁶³ See appendix 31a.

⁵⁶⁴ See 1871 Census of England.

⁵⁶⁵ Chadwick, *Practice of Interment in Towns* (1843).

Charles Dickens portrayed the undertaker ‘Mr Mould’, in *Martin Chuzzlewit*, as a man who was motivated by money, with a ‘massive gold watch-chain dangling from his fob, and a face in which a queer attempt at melancholy was at odds with a smirk of satisfaction’.⁵⁶⁶ There is a lack of research into how the working-classes regarded the undertaker. Despite a lack of personal testimony, grave receipts reveal a pattern as to whom the working-classes trusted to bury their loved ones. The Catholic community in Manchester, for example, relied heavily on the services of Thomas Patrick Fyans whose firm Fyans and Gordon Ltd., organised just over one-fifth of all burials in the Catholic section.⁵⁶⁷ Fyans and Gordon Ltd. operated out of a property on Great Ancoats Street and catered for the residents of the working-class districts of Ancoats and Market Street.⁵⁶⁸ Fyans, a well-respected Irish member of the Catholic community, was involved with local charities connected to the Catholic Church. When it came to burying the dead, it appears that Catholics, from a policeman named Patrick Rafter to those who died in the workhouse, trusted Fyans with their relatives.⁵⁶⁹ As there is a lack of working-class testimony in relation to the decisions surrounding the undertaker, it is difficult to know why people chose a particular person or company to bury their dead. However, logically cost must have been a deciding factor, along with the fact they trusted Fyans with their loved ones because he was Irish and lived in the district of the Irish community.

⁵⁶⁶ Charles Dickens, *Martin Chuzzlewit*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1981), first published 1843, p. 314.

⁵⁶⁷ Data is based on 1500 grave receipts from Philips Park Cemetery 1866-68, held by Manchester Archives, MFPR 767-784, MFPR 917-934 & MFPR 758-766.

⁵⁶⁸ ‘Joseph Fyans’, 1851 *Census of England & Wales*.

⁵⁶⁹ Data is based on 1500 grave receipts from Philips Park Cemetery 1866-68, held by Manchester Archives, MFPR 767-784, MFPR 917-934 & MFPR 758-766.

The role of women in paying for the dead

Looking into who paid for the grave has also revealed new information about the role of women in the burial process and the world of work. Out of the 1500 grave receipts researched in this study, 367 burials have been identified as being paid for by women, who tended to be a family member, secretary of a burial club or the wife of an undertaker.⁵⁷⁰ Female family members who share the same surname as the deceased have been easy to identify. Other female payees have, however, been more challenging and have required the use of census records and trade directories to determine their relationship with the deceased. It is worth noting that the census records have not been overly helpful in discovering the professions of the female payee, as they under-recorded the extent to which women, particularly middle-class women, were working at this time.⁵⁷¹ Gordon and Nair suggest, for example, that only three and four percent of married women up to 1891 were recorded as having a source of income.⁵⁷² This is because part-time work or assisting the husband with his business might not have been recorded at all.⁵⁷³ However, census records have provided the profession of the husband, which can give some indication of the occupation of the wife in a family business. This is evident with 'Mrs E MacDonald' who paid for five burials in the Catholic section of Philips Park Cemetery. Further research has found that 'Mrs E Macdonald' was Ellen MacDonald, wife of insurance manager Thomas MacDonald.⁵⁷⁴ The census does not record an occupation for Ellen, although it is evident that she was involved in

⁵⁷⁰ It has been impossible to identify all of the women who paid for burials because some of the payees did not state if they were a female or male and they have given their first name as just an initial. Data is based on 1500 grave receipts from Philips Park Cemetery 1866-68, held by Manchester Archives, MFPR 767-784, MFPR 917-934 & MFPR 758-766.

⁵⁷¹ Jane Humphries, 'Women and paid work', in *Women's History: Britain, 1850-1945*, (ed.) June Purvis, (London: Routledge, 1995), pp.90-92.

⁵⁷² Eleanor Gordon & Gwyneth Nair, 'The economic role of middle-class women in Victorian Glasgow', *Women's History Review*, (2000), Vol.9, No.4, p.792.

⁵⁷³ Humphries, 'Women and paid work'.

⁵⁷⁴ 1871 Census of England.

the family business and must have had some control over the finances. It is likely that Ellen paid for the burials because the deceased or family of the deceased had policies with her husband. Notably, she only paid for burials in the Catholic section of the cemetery, and a suggested reason for this could be that she was the only one in the family who was of Irish descent, and therefore had a liaison role between the Catholic community and the insurance company because she was someone that they could trust. Whatever Ellen's official title was, it is clear that she had some role in the family business. Alongside women helping their husbands in the insurance trade, it was also evident in the burial business. Margaret Harland assisted her husband, John, who was a 'joiner and coffin maker, in the family business.⁵⁷⁵ It is clear from the burial receipts that Margaret paid the cemetery for several interments, which again suggests that like Ellen Macdonald, Margaret was in charge of the business finances. These examples are contrary to the work of Gordon and Nair, who argue that the 'separate spheres' ideology meant that 'women were increasingly excluded from the family businesses'.⁵⁷⁶ Davidoff and Hall similarly argue that women were withdrawn from family businesses and 'restrictions placed on them intensified further in the second half of the nineteenth century'.⁵⁷⁷ This is not evident in the grave receipts for Philips Park Cemetery, where women played a key role in having control of the finances for the undertaking business. Alongside the women who were employed in undertaking businesses, this research also suggests that working-class women regularly paid the cemetery for burials of their loved ones. The role of working-class women following the death of a family member is still largely absent for the current historiography. The little attention it receives mostly focuses

⁵⁷⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁷⁶ Gordon, Nair, 'middle-class women', p.791.

⁵⁷⁷ Ibid; L. Davidoff, M. Doolittle, J. Fink, K. Holden, *The Family Story: Blood, Contract and Intimacy, 1830-1960*, (London: Longman, 1998); L. Davidoff & C. Hall, *Family Fortunes, Men and Women of the English Middle Classes*, (London: Routledge, 1987), Chapter 6.

on the rituals of mourning and not the organising and paying of the funeral itself.⁵⁷⁸ However, this study has found that working-class women also organised the burial with the cemetery. For example, when infant John Edward Osgood died in 1867, it was his mother Ann, and not his father John, that organised and paid for the burial at Phillips Park Cemetery.⁵⁷⁹ When butcher Thomas Priddon died in Liverpool in 1866, it was his wife Sarah that organised and paid for his burial at the Toxteth Park Cemetery, thus demonstrating the important role that women played in the burial process.⁵⁸⁰

Inside the Public Grave: The grave of the working class

Besides looking at those who paid for the grave and examining the role that women played in this process, further research has found that not only were these people not paupers, but some of them were lower middle class and upper working class. A study of the occupations of those buried in Philips Park Cemetery has revealed a mixture of working-class people buried in these graves, from a watchman named Henry Brown, a housekeeper, Mary Ruddy, from Ancoats to William Henry, a marine store dealer from Newton. There were newsagents, clerks, teachers, postmen, a schoolmaster and even a policeman, whose 10s grave was paid for by the police. There were skilled workers, such as French polishers, cabinet makers, tailors and mechanics. There were also labourers, porters and factory operatives.⁵⁸¹ It is worth noting that there were no people buried in the public grave who would be described as 'wealthy'. A possible explanation for this is that Philips Park Cemetery was never a cemetery that attracted the wealthy;

⁵⁷⁸ The historiography tends to focus on the role of middle-class and upper-class women see Jalland, pp.221.

⁵⁷⁹ Philips Park Cemetery grave receipts, Philips Park Cemetery 1866-68, held by Manchester Archives, MFPR 767-784, MFPR 917-934 & MFPR 758-766.

⁵⁸⁰ Toxteth Park Burial Registers, held by Liverpool Archives (352 CEM/9/1/1-25 and 9/2/1-9)

⁵⁸¹ Data is based on 1500 grave receipts from Philips Park Cemetery 1866-68, held by Manchester Archives, MFPR 767-784, MFPR 917-934 & MFPR 758-766.

it was in a working-class area of Manchester, and other cemeteries situated in more affluent areas of Manchester were still accepting burials at this time.

A detailed analysis of 1500 public burials at Philips Park Cemetery has revealed very little in terms of working-class hierarchy between those buried in private graves and those buried in public graves.⁵⁸² For example, there were brick makers in both the public and the private graves and also labourers in both types of graves.⁵⁸³ There was also little difference in addresses between where those private and public deceased had lived. Ann Parker, who lived on Cobden Street, was buried in a private grave.⁵⁸⁴ Eighteen other people who also lived on Cobden Street were buried in public graves, evidence that there was little in terms of social class between those buried in private and public graves.⁵⁸⁵

Geography of public grave burials

In examining the social classes of those buried in the public grave, this work has highlighted the geography of where the people who were buried in these graves lived and how they travelled to be buried, which raises interesting questions about the choices that working-class people made in picking a place of interment. In an early chapter, this thesis argued that, prior to 1850, those that were buried in churchyards and burial grounds, tended to be buried near to where they lived. However, by 1866 and the forced closure of local churchyards and burial grounds, residents were forced to travel to open burial sites. By 1870, residents in Manchester could be buried in the municipal cemetery,

⁵⁸² 'Philips Park Cemetery Grave Receipts' held by Manchester Archives, (MFPR 767-784, MFPR 917-934 & MFPR 758-766)

⁵⁸³ Ibid.

⁵⁸⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁸⁵ Ibid.

or one of two joint-stock cemeteries that were still open for burials. Burial registers for both the Ardwick Cemetery, reveal that for the duration of this study, burials continued to rise.⁵⁸⁶

A study of addresses of those buried in public graves in Philips Park Cemetery seems to confirm that a large proportion of the burials were from more deprived areas of Manchester. Over a third of all burials came from Ancoats, a large working-class district two miles from the cemetery.⁵⁸⁷ This was followed by the district of Market Street, which is where Bridge Street Workhouse was situated. There were also some burials from wealthier areas such as Ardwick and Prestwich. Philips Park cemetery is situated in Bradford, yet there were only nine interments from here, compared with 62 from the district of Deansgate, approximately four miles away.⁵⁸⁸ These figures highlight the distance the working classes travelled to bury their dead. Although other cemeteries may have been closer, poorer members of society still had a choice as to where they were buried. Although they were often buried with people who were not kin, a cemetery might have been chosen because it was where family members were buried or in proximity to members of the community. Further, although this is speculative due to a lack of evidence, some people may not have wanted to be buried in Philips Park Cemetery because they perceived it as a working-class cemetery due to the area in which it is situated. A more practical reason may have been early management mistakes concerning the unsanitary nature of public grave burials and a fear of flooding in the public grave section of the cemetery, which will be discussed later.

⁵⁸⁶ See appendix 4a.

⁵⁸⁷ See appendix 38.

⁵⁸⁸ Ibid.

The burial of working-class children

This research into the public grave has also shed new light on the burial of children, with the discovery that the public grave predominately contained children.⁵⁸⁹ A study of 1,500 grave receipts from Philips Park Cemetery has revealed that 57 percent of burials in the public grave were of children aged twelve and under.⁵⁹⁰ Due to a lack of working-class narratives on this subject matter during this period, it is impossible to know with any certainty why working-class parents chose to bury their children in public graves. The results could indicate a pragmatic approach from the parents to death, in particular, child deaths, and therefore they did not want to spend a vast amount of money on the burial, or it might be that is the only grave plot that they could afford.

Infant mortality statistics for this period reflect the harsh reality of living in the industrial city. In 1861, the infant mortality rate in Lancashire (which included Manchester and Liverpool) was the highest in England, even worse than London.⁵⁹¹ With such high infant mortality rates, it could be argued that parents were used to death and did not want to pay to put their child in a private 'family' grave, especially if it was the first body to be interred in the plot. This is reflected in the burial data of private burials. A study of burials in private 'family' graves in Philips Park Cemetery has found that it contained a large number of adults. Between 1866 and 1868, 72 percent of interments were adults, whereas the number of child burials in private family graves was 28 percent.⁵⁹² There

⁵⁸⁹ For clarity 'children' refers to those 12 years and under – still-born children have been counted separately.

⁵⁹⁰ See appendix 36a.

⁵⁹¹ The mortality rate in 1861 in Lancashire was 174 per 1000 live births and in London it was 150 per 1000 live births see C. H. Lee, 'Regional Inequalities in Infant Mortality in Britain, 1861-1971: Patterns and Hypotheses', *Population Studies*, (1991) Vol. 45, No.1, p.55-65.

⁵⁹² Data obtained from Philips Park Burial Registers held by Manchester Archives, MFPR 758-802.

were no still-born children in private family graves, unlike in the public grave, where five percent of burials were of stillborn children.⁵⁹³

This study will now put forward some suggested arguments as to why the public grave - the cheapest grave in the cemetery - predominately contained children, and the private family grave did not – it contained mostly adults. Firstly, there were fewer children in private graves because the children of those who owned private graves did not die young due a better standard of living. This is problematic to argue, because Philips Park Cemetery is in a working-class area and, as will be discussed later, there were little differences between the occupations and residences of those buried in private graves and those in public graves. This means that children in private graves may have been susceptible to similar illnesses because they lived in the same socio-economic areas as the children who were buried in public graves. Hugh Brierley and Leah Plant, for example, lived five houses apart on Chapman Street, but when Brierley died, he was buried in a public grave, whereas when Plant died, she was buried in a private family plot.⁵⁹⁴ More research is needed to see if family members who died later than children buried in public graves, were interred in private plots or public graves. Another suggestion as to why so few children were buried in private family graves, is a possible correlation between the high number of infant deaths during this period and a pragmatic approach to death. Stone has tried to link the high number of deaths and the feelings of the parent towards the deceased child. He has argued that parents did not invest as much emotional feeling into infants ‘because of high infant mortality, which allowed them

⁵⁹³ Philips Park Cemetery Grave Receipts (1866-1870), MFPR 767-784, MFPR 917-934 & MFPR 758-766.

⁵⁹⁴ Ibid.

to accept their losses more easily than we do today'.⁵⁹⁵ However, Pollock and Jalland have contested this idea by arguing that the high level of mortality did not 'result in reduced parental affection'.⁵⁹⁶ Jalland states that her research in family archives 'supports the argument that the parents were distressed and anxious at the illnesses and deaths of their children'.⁵⁹⁷ She does not state, however, to which records she is referring; They may well have been middle-class records because working-class sources are limited at this time. Further, although the parents were 'distressed' at the child death, there is nothing to suggest that this was reflected in the burial of the child because they took a pragmatic approach to burials. Notably, stillbirths were not given a name on the burial register and were denied their own identity; they were just referred to as the still born child of the parent. For example, when servant Sarah Marsh buried her stillborn daughter in 1867, the child's name was given as 'Mrs Sarah Marsh's female child'.⁵⁹⁸ This implies that the Victorians were far more pragmatic about life and death, and because the child was not born alive, there was no need to name them. Notably, the registration of stillborn children was not required until 1926 (1939 in Scotland).⁵⁹⁹ Registration of live births had been required since 1836.⁶⁰⁰

⁵⁹⁵ Lawrence Stone, *The Family, Sex and Marriage in England 1500-1800*, 2nd ed., (New York: Harper & Rowe, 1977), pp.651-2; Gittings, Jupp, *Death in England*, p.237.

⁵⁹⁶ Pat Jalland, 'Victorian death and its decline: 1850-1918' in Gittings, Jupp, *Death*, p.237 and Linda A. Pollock, *Forgotten Children: Parent-Child Relations from 1500 to 1900*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983).

⁵⁹⁷ Jalland, 'Victorian death', p.237.

⁵⁹⁸ Philips Park Cemetery Grave Receipts (1866-1870) held by Manchester Archives, MFPR 767-784, MFPR 917-934 & MFPR 758-766.

⁵⁹⁹ Nadja Durbach, 'Dead or Alive? Stillborn Registration, premature Babies, and the Definition of Life in England and Wales, 1836-1960', *Bulletin History of Medicine*, Vol. 94, No.1, (2020), pp.64-90; Gayle Davis, 'Stillbirth Registration and Perceptions of Infant Death, 1900-1960: The Scottish Case in National Context', *The Economic History Review*, Vol. 62, No.3, (2009), pp.629-654.

⁶⁰⁰ Registration of Births and Deaths Act, 1836, (37 & 38 VICT. CH.88).

The working-class and religion

Alongside revealing the age of those buried in the public grave, examining interments also has highlighted the religious beliefs of the working-classes. Most public grave burials took place in the Roman Catholic section of the cemetery. In fact, during the period this study covers, the Roman Catholic section of Philips Park cemetery had over double the annual burials of the Church of England section and four times more than the Nonconformist section.⁶⁰¹ This is possibly because the layout of the cemetery was such that the Roman Catholic part was attractive for interments because it was like they had their own cemetery, without sharing the land with other religious dominations. Further, a large number of poor and working-class Irish residents lived in the vicinity of the cemetery. The Catholic community appears to have trusted Joseph Fyans, who was on commission from the cemetery committee to get in more burials.⁶⁰² Studying the grave receipts has also revealed that the religious beliefs of those that came from the workhouse and were buried in the public grave should be studied with some caution, as it appears that the cemetery did not always bury the workhouse poor in the correct part of the cemetery for their religion. The number of workhouse burials was really low at less than 1% in the Church of England section, whereas, the number of workhouse poor in the Nonconformist section was just over a quarter of the recorded public grave burials, at 28 percent.⁶⁰³ Both these figures are, however, incorrect, because the number of paupers who belonged to the Church of England faith has been under-recorded. This study has found Church of England paupers were buried in the Nonconformist section of the cemetery because of a disagreement between the cemetery committee and the

⁶⁰¹ See appendix 6.

⁶⁰² Manchester City Council Cemetery Committee Minute Book, Vol. 1 (1863-1868) held by Manchester Archives, (GB127.M901/12178)

⁶⁰³ Data based on Philips Park Cemetery Grave Receipts (1866-1870) held by Manchester Archives, MFPR 767-784, MFPR 917-934 & MFPR 758-766.

Church of England clergy, who refused to inter paupers in a dispute over fees.⁶⁰⁴ This disagreement was later rectified, but it highlights the inconsistency of burial registers as a source and also the wider impact that this had on burials, with hundreds of people being interred in the wrong section of the cemetery because they were paupers.

The ‘Pauper’ Grave?

At Philips Park Cemetery, the most straightforward records to identify are burials that have been paid for by the state. These are the most straightforward records to identify because the payment clearly states ‘poorhouse’, for those in the workhouse. For those who required outdoor relief, the payment was usually made by J. Higgins who was the overseer officer for Manchester, or as in the case of infant Catherine Dixon, it says ‘Poor Law order for burial’.⁶⁰⁵ This thesis has found that the number of state paid burials was very low at less than a quarter of all recorded burials. Only 258 (17 percent) of burials were paid for by the workhouse or the overseer officer, and these were mostly concentrated in the Nonconformist section.⁶⁰⁶ Twenty-seven burials (2 percent) were a mixed payment between the overseer and the family of the deceased.⁶⁰⁷ Potential reasons for these results will be discussed shortly, however, what is clear is that the majority of these people were not paupers.

Part of the reason for the negative stigma surrounding the public grave is the fact that it has become intrinsically linked to the workhouse and pauperism. Strange states that

⁶⁰⁴ Manchester City Council Cemetery Committee Minute Book, Vol. 1 (1863-1868) held by Manchester Archives, (GB127.M901/12178)

⁶⁰⁵ Data based on Philips Park Cemetery Grave Receipts (1866-1870) held by Manchester Archives, MFPR 767-784, MFPR 917-934 & MFPR 758-766.

⁶⁰⁶ See appendix 31a.

⁶⁰⁷ Ibid.

dying a pauper ‘carried a taint of the workhouse. The pauper corpse was tossed unlovingly into a pit to rot in anonymity, and should anyone mourn this creature, they should be pitted’.⁶⁰⁸ As mentioned previously, Hurren and King, who focus their work during the period 1801-1831 and 1870-1900, have challenged the theory that a pauper burial was not ‘respectable’, arguing that there were many variations of a pauper burial.⁶⁰⁹ In their case studies, they found evidence that a burial provided by the state did not necessarily lead to a ‘pauper grave’ and an anonymous death. They argue that there were ‘subtle grades of a pauper funeral’, with the deceased and family of deceased having a more significant influence on the funeral and final resting place of the pauper than is currently suggested in the historiography of mortality.⁶¹⁰

Pauper burials in Manchester

This thesis has argued that the number of pauper burials was surprisingly low in Philips Park Cemetery, Manchester. There are three possible explanations to explain these figures. The first is that there were regional variations in where the local poor law unions sent their paupers to be buried, which was not always the local municipal cemetery. For example, although Manchester had a municipal cemetery built by the council, the council did not stop paying for pauper burials in other cemeteries. This is one reason why Philips Park Cemetery had such a small number of paupers. Further, the town’s private cemetery had a contract since 1848 with the Manchester Board of Guardians to bury paupers.⁶¹¹ A practical explanation for this could be the distance between the workhouse and the municipal cemetery. In Manchester, the distance between the Manchester

⁶⁰⁸ Strange, *Death*, p.2.

⁶⁰⁹ Hurren and King’s work focuses on Hulme, Manchester 1801-1831 and Northamptonshire 1870-1900. Hurren, King, ‘Begging for a Burial’.

⁶¹⁰ *Ibid.*

⁶¹¹ ‘Manchester Board of Guardians’, *Manchester Courier and Lancashire General Advertiser*, (19 January 1848), p.6. and *Manchester Guardian*, (14 August 1856), p.3.

General Cemetery, which was privately owned, and the town's municipal cemetery, Philips Park, was 1.4 miles. However, from the Manchester Workhouse and the Prestwich Union Workhouse to the General Cemetery, the distance was less than one mile. The distance from the Workhouses to Philips Park Cemetery was approx. 2.3 miles. Therefore, in practical terms, it would have cost less to send paupers to the General Cemetery. Some municipal cemeteries, like Toxteth in Liverpool, did manage to secure the Poor Law Union contract for the burial of paupers who died in the southern part of the union district.⁶¹² However, there is nothing to suggest that they managed to secure the contract from the other areas of the union.

Secondly, pauper burials might also have been low because some workhouses in the area also had cemeteries attached that were specifically designed to bury workhouse paupers and this is particularly evident in Manchester. In the 1850s, several of the workhouses in the vicinity of Manchester built cemeteries. The Withington Workhouse Cemetery was opened in 1857. By the end of the 1860s, Bolton, Bury and Chorlton all had workhouse cemeteries. Unlike the municipal cemeteries built in the same period, these cemeteries were smaller in size, averaging just over an acre. They also cost a lot less, at £300, which included a mortuary chapel.⁶¹³ Further, in some of the workhouse cemeteries, both the Protestants and the Catholics shared a chapel. Bolton was the first cemetery to allow this, and later Unions wanted reassurance that they could share a chapel without any trouble.⁶¹⁴ The motive behind setting up these cemeteries was predominately financial – their own cemetery would save money that would otherwise be spent on a grave plot. There is no evidence that these cemeteries were being built

⁶¹² 'West Derby Board of Guardians', *Liverpool Daily Post*, (12 December 1856), p.8.

⁶¹³ 'Preston Board of Guardians', *Preston Chronicle*, (13 June 1868), p.5.

⁶¹⁴ *Ibid.*

because of hygienic or sanitary reasons. For example, in 1869, the Preston Board of Guardians met to discuss how to get the biggest return on a piece of land that they had acquired. It had previously been suggested that a pauper cemetery would be a great investment. The argument put forward for the new cemetery was that it would save money for the ratepayers. However, it was suggested that it might be better used to grow crops, and the workhouse could employ inmates to cultivate the land. This would have two advantages, the first being the employment of inmates and the second that they could sell the crops and make a profit.⁶¹⁵ The Guardians did not believe that the number of pauper burials would be that high because the

Act that referred to the grounds permitted to be made in connection with the workhouse contained a clause that stated that any pauper in prospect of death to state, if he pleased, that he objected to having his body buried in that ground and the Master of the workhouse was prohibited from burying him in the pauper burial ground if such an expression of objection was made before death. It also provided that the near relatives of the deceased pauper might also, if they pleased, after his death, by a written objection made to the master, prohibit the same thing.⁶¹⁶

As previously suggested, paupers were interred in both municipal cemeteries and in pauper burial grounds attached to workhouses. However, this study has also found parish burials that were funded both by the local corporation and the Union. In Prescot, where the Union contributed £100 to the construction of the new parish burial ground,

⁶¹⁵ Ibid., p.6.

⁶¹⁶ Ibid.

the Guardians argued that the donation guaranteed them the right to bury paupers from the workhouse in the burial ground. It appears, however, that this was not a long-term solution because for small parishes like Prescot, the number of workhouse burials combined with the town's burials were filling up the only burial ground. It was estimated that if the workhouse stopped burying their paupers in the burial ground, it could last for another 25 years.⁶¹⁷

The final reason why burials were low is that dying in the workhouse did not mean that an individual would be buried in a workhouse cemetery or even as a pauper. From August 1870, Withington Workhouse Death Register recorded where their workhouse paupers were buried. In the period from 23rd August 1870 to 31st December 1870, there were 151 deaths in the Withington Workhouse.⁶¹⁸ Fifty-one percent of these recorded deaths were buried in the workhouse cemetery and twenty-four percent did not state where they were buried. Notably, the others were buried in cemeteries and churchyards. Only three were buried in the new municipal cemetery Philips Park, whereas the privately-owned Ardwick Cemetery received 21 burials. Burials also occurred in churches such as St James's Church, Didsbury and Christ Church, Stockport.⁶¹⁹

Dying in the workhouse

This chapter's findings have filled in the gap of the missing burial provision historiography in the nineteenth century. It has added a new argument by suggesting that although people were admitted into the workhouse paupers, that did not automatically lead to a pauper burial. Equally, deaths occurring outside the workhouse

⁶¹⁷ 'Local and General Notes', *Prescot Reporter, and St Helens General Advertiser*, (2 March 1889), p.4.

⁶¹⁸ Withington Workhouse Admission Registers (1870-72), held by Manchester Archives, (GB127.M327)

⁶¹⁹ Ibid.

could also result in a pauper burial. Anne Crowther implies in her study that the pauper burial was one of the key characteristics of the workhouse that many people loathed.⁶²⁰ However, as stated above, this study has found that death in the workhouse did not always mean a pauper burial. For example, in Wigan on 12th March 1863, Robert Hampson – whose mother was in the workhouse – paid for his mother’s burial, so she was not buried a pauper.⁶²¹ Another example would be the death of mechanic John Hartley, who died in the ‘poorhouse’, however, his burial was paid for by his wife Elizabeth.⁶²² Despite dying a pauper, a family member, friend, or burial society, could still spare the deceased a pauper burial. As Crowther comments, the ‘pauper’ burial added to the hostility towards the workhouse, a point that this study has reinforced, by illustrating how a pauper burial could also take place outside the workhouse.⁶²³ Another example of such a burial was Mary Ann Pettitt, who was admitted as a pauper in Withington Workhouse on 8th April 1870 and died in the workhouse on 31st October 1870.⁶²⁴ Pettit was not buried in the workhouse cemetery, nor was she buried as a pauper. Her family paid for her to be buried in family grave 1441 in Ardwick Cemetery.⁶²⁵ A further example would be that of 64-year-old Samuel Robinson, who was admitted as a pauper in the workhouse on 25th April 1870. After dying in the workhouse, some six months later he was also buried in a family grave in Ardwick Cemetery.⁶²⁶ Considering these examples, it is not surprising that the union officials in Preston decided not to build a workhouse cemetery on the rationale that out of the 107 workhouse deaths per annum,

⁶²⁰ Margaret Anne Crowther, *Workhouse System 1834-1929: The History of an English Social Institution*, (London: Routledge, 2016) p.241.

⁶²¹ Leigh Cemetery Committee Books (12/03/1863) held by Leigh Archives.

⁶²² Philips Park Cemetery Consecrated grave receipts (1866-69) held by Manchester Archives, MFPR 767-784.

⁶²³ Crowther, *Workhouse*

⁶²⁴ Withington Workhouse Admission Registers (1870-72), held by Manchester Archives, (GB127.M327)

⁶²⁵ Ardwick Cemetery Burial Records, held by Manchester Archives Ardwick Cemetery, (MFPR 1947-1948)

⁶²⁶ Withington Workhouse Admission Registers (1870-72), held by Manchester Archives, GB127.M327; Ardwick Cemetery Burial Registers 1870, held by Manchester Archives, MFPR 1947-1948.

one person per month would be buried in the workhouse cemetery, suggesting that family members or friends might pay for interments in other grounds in public or family (private) graves.⁶²⁷

Just as dying in a workhouse did not always lead to a pauper burial, neither did dying in the family home guarantee the deceased a burial in a private grave. There are several instances of individuals who died at home and received union assistance, meaning they were buried as paupers. Thomas Beckett, a new-born child who lived with his parents in a two-up two-down house on Nelson Street, was buried a pauper when his parents sought the assistance of the overseer to pay for his burial.⁶²⁸ Similarly, twelve-year-old Mary Cuddy from Ancoats was buried a pauper when she died in 1868. Although her family were not in the workhouse, they still needed assistance from Mr Higgins, the Poor Law Officer.⁶²⁹

Besides those who were buried as paupers and those who were not buried as paupers, there is another group of interments which does not fit into the current historiography of mortality. There has been much debate surrounding the growth of consumer culture in the nineteenth century and how this has become intrinsically linked with 'respectability'. However, what about those people whose burials were not fully paid for by the state, or by the family of the deceased. This was the case with the burial of 49-year-old Ellen Sewell, which was partly funded by her husband and the local Poor Law Officer.⁶³⁰ This type of joint payment was evident in both of the cemeteries where burial receipts are

⁶²⁷ 'Preston Board of Guardians', *Preston Chronicle*, (08 May 1869), p.6.

⁶²⁸ Data based on Philips Park Cemetery Grave Receipts (1866-1870) held by Manchester Archives, MFPR 767-784, MFPR 917-934 & MFPR 758-766.

⁶²⁹ Ibid.

⁶³⁰ Ibid.

available – Philips Park Cemetery, Manchester and Toxteth Cemetery, Liverpool. This is where the line between being ‘respectable’ and facing the ‘final stamp of failure’ becomes slightly blurred.⁶³¹ There is no evidence of how much the family financially contributed to these burials. It could be that they paid the majority of the bill and that the state covered the cost of the minister. However, it might have been that the state paid the majority of the bill. Regardless of who paid what, it is problematic to argue that these families were not respectable without knowing the individual’s idea of a ‘respectable’ burial.

Trappings of a Pauper Burial

Dying a pauper did not deny the individual some of the trappings of a respectable funeral. This study has found that there were variations in what was included in a pauper burial. For example, in Preston, a pauper funeral included hearses and horses and the ringing of the church bells.⁶³² There is evidence that paupers got headstones and a coffin with a nameplate with their age on it, giving the deceased an identity in death.⁶³³ Although paupers, particularly outdoor paupers in Preston and Withington, had some say in where they were buried, in some areas such as Bolton, it was recommended that both outdoor and indoor paupers should be buried in the workhouse cemetery, as the cemetery had everything that was ‘required for decency: a clergyman and the interments are conducted in a becoming and orderly manner’.⁶³⁴ It was not just workhouse paupers who were buried in the cemetery. When nurse Sister Martha died of typhus fever, she was buried in the workhouse cemetery in a plot she had chosen when she was alive.⁶³⁵

⁶³¹ Laqueur, ‘Bodies, Death’.

⁶³² ‘Preston Board of Guardians’, *Preston Chronicle*, (13 June 1868), p.5.

⁶³³ ‘Bolton Union – Workhouse Supplies’, *Bolton Chronicle*, (16 June 1870), p.4.

⁶³⁴ ‘Board of Guardians’, *Bolton Chronicle*, (17 December 1864), p.7.

⁶³⁵ ‘Funeral of a Sister of Mercy’, *London Evening Standard*, (22 February 1868), p.5.

The Public Grave and the Municipal Cemetery

So far, this chapter has primarily focused on what historians, the wider public, the media and the contemporary working-classes thought about the public grave. The final part of this chapter turns to look at how the municipal cemetery management viewed the public grave, both economically and as a space to bury the dead. If the historian relies on the current historiography on the consumer culture of the nineteenth century, it would be right to think that the public grave, being the cheapest mode of interment, was the least desirable because it was not part of a ‘respectable’ burial. This would mean, therefore, that in the eyes of the cemetery management, the private grave would be the favoured grave because they would sell more of them, especially if the lowest grade of private grave was at a price attainable by the working-classes. Rugg has stated that ‘The family grave became the dominant burial form during the nineteenth century’, and argues that the ‘importance of the concept of the family grave, and respect for the desire to achieve it, was deeply embedded in the Victorian Cemetery management.⁶³⁶ She further states that as the nineteenth-century progressed, cemeteries lowered the price of private grave burials to attract more burials.⁶³⁷ A fundamental problem with Rugg’s work is over-generalisation. She fails to state which cemeteries were researched or over what time period. This highlights a problem common to much current research into the role of the public grave, which is largely based on ‘assumptions and generalisations,’ suggesting that if one cemetery or person felt a particular way about the public grave, it must have been indicative that this was the norm in cemeteries across the country.⁶³⁸ Rugg’s work relies heavily on government enquires, such as select committees and reports made to

⁶³⁶ Rugg, ‘Constructing the grave’, p.345.

⁶³⁷ Ibid.

⁶³⁸ Ibid.

the Secretary of State, most of which were initiated by a middle-class that widely thought that the burials of the poor were affecting their health. Further, her source material is mostly based on the South, such as the Minute Book of the St Giles Camberwell Burial Board.⁶³⁹

Popularity

The results in this study, which uses evidence from outside London has already contested the notion that the ‘family’ plot was the dominant burial form; in this study, the ‘public’ grave was the most popular form of burial. This is demonstrated by the burial statistics for Philips Park Cemetery, which state that in the year ending October 1867, there were 2,119 interments, 2,036 of which were in public graves.⁶⁴⁰ There was also no ‘cheapening’ of family graves, which is at odds with Rugg’s work. There is evidence to suggest that Victorian cemetery management welcomed interments in public graves because commercially they were vital to the cemetery’s survival. Although private grave burials cost more to the person purchasing them, in working-class areas such as Manchester, the cemetery made more money from public graves because of the high number of interments in them. For example, George Ingham was the first person interred in private grave K1107 in the consecrated part of Philips Park Cemetery. His wife had bought him a third-class private grave. (The lowest class of private grave was fourth, which was the furthest away from the chapel and not bordering any of the walkways.) As he was the first person interred in the grave, Ingham’s burial was the most expensive at £2 18s 8d – this included paying for the freehold grave, excavating, the minister, the

⁶³⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁴⁰ Manchester City Council Cemetery Committee Minute Book, Vol. 1 (1868) held by Manchester Archives, GB127.M901/12178.

clerk, and grant and stamp.⁶⁴¹ Between 1868 and 1891, another five members of his family were buried in the same plot. These burials were at a cheaper rate because the freehold had already been purchased.

The same week that Ingham was buried, William Hind was buried in public grave I 835. During the lifespan of this grave plot, 57 people were interred in it, with the last burial being of Roland Carr, in 1931.⁶⁴² Unlike public graves, which were reused, the private grave was the property of the owner, and there is no evidence of these plots being reused with new interments. Working on the assumption that those buried in a public grave paid the lowest burial fee, based on the 1866 prices, grave I835 would earn the cemetery a minimum of £19.⁶⁴³ Therefore, in working-class areas where the chance of a considerable number of private graves being bought was low, it is understandable why these plots were promoted by the cemetery over the private grave. As mentioned earlier, the number of public grave sales were high in municipal cemeteries. Regional evidence from places such as Manchester, Salford and Liverpool, suggests that cemetery committees looked primarily to attract more public burials by trying to promote their cemeteries in working-class districts which commonly used other cemeteries. As mentioned in the previous chapter, in Manchester, the management of Philips Park cemetery hired agents (undertakers) to promote their cemetery to the ‘poorer classes’, as they felt that they were unaware of its existence.⁶⁴⁴ In the cemeteries researched in this study, the numbers buried in private plots were relatively low, therefore, it seems

⁶⁴¹ Philips Park Cemetery Burial Registers, held by Manchester Archives, MFPR 767-784, MFPR 785-802 & MFPR 758-766) and Philips Park Cemetery Grave Receipts (1866-1870) held by Manchester Archives, MFPR 767-784, MFPR 917-934 & MFPR 758-766

⁶⁴² Ibid.

⁶⁴³ Estimate is based on 7s per interment, which is the price of the average interment in 1866. Data based on Philips Park Cemetery Grave Receipts (1866-1870) held by Manchester Archives, MFPR 767-784, MFPR 917-934 & MFPR 758-766.

⁶⁴⁴ Manchester City Council Cemetery Committee Minute Book, Vol. 1 (1863-1868) held by Manchester Archives, GB127.M901/12178, p.187.

logical that the cemetery's management would not want to lose this revenue to other cemeteries by not accommodating the demand for public grave burials.⁶⁴⁵ This is evidenced by later municipal cemetery extensions, which increased the number of public graves rather than family graves.

In addition to employing undertakers as 'agents' for the cemetery, Philips Park Cemetery actively encouraged public burials by marketing directly to working-class areas and by offering such trappings as a flat stone memorial for those who wished to pay to have their relatives name memorialised. The vast majority of public graves in the Church of England and Dissenters sections at Philips Park Cemetery, are still covered by a flat memorial stone with an inscription for the deceased. However, in the Roman Catholic section of the same cemetery, the memorial stones are vertical with inscriptions. By 1870, most cemeteries in Manchester – including private cemeteries – provided a headstone for public graves.⁶⁴⁶ At Salford's Weaste Cemetery, for example, public graves had the option of adding an inscription to a headstone, which included name, date of death and the age of the deceased, for 5s.⁶⁴⁷ In terms of a 'respectable' burial, having a memorial stone for those who could afford the inscription was important, as for the relative's family it meant that they did not have anonymous death – one of the prominent fears of a pauper burial. Although this would have potentially attracted more working-class burials, it was not universal throughout every cemetery, and the trappings offered with the public grave burial differed from cemetery to cemetery. For example, at Toxteth Cemetery, the public graves contain no memorial stones and there are no plot numbers for those looking to identify the final resting place of their relatives. Other

⁶⁴⁵ See appendixes 30a, 32 and 34a.

⁶⁴⁶ 'Harpurhey Cemetery', *Manchester Guardian*, (25 July 1868), p.5.

⁶⁴⁷ 'Salford Council', *Manchester Guardian*, (20 August 1857), p.4.

trappings offered included limiting the number of burials in public graves. When three-year-old Ada Smith was interred into a consecrated public grave in Philips Park Cemetery, in 1868, she was one of four people interred into that plot – another six would be added by 1916. When mill-hand Jane Frances Durham died in 1868, she was one of 23 people interred in a public grave within the Roman Catholic section of the cemetery.⁶⁴⁸ However, at the municipal cemetery in Ashton-under-Lyne, interments were limited to one per grave, copying a model similar to a family plot where burials were small, which suggests that more broadly, there were variations in how the cemetery viewed this type of interments.⁶⁴⁹

The management of the cemetery and the public grave

The position of public graves within the landscape of the cemetery also gives some idea of how the cemetery management regarded this type of burial plot. A study of cemetery maps reveals considerable variation in the layout of public graves. In Philips Park Cemetery, the public grave, as the cheapest, was positioned the furthest away from the chapel – a penalty for paying less. However, this was not the case in Weaste Cemetery, where the public graves were in closer proximity to the private graves and situated towards the centre of the cemetery.⁶⁵⁰ The position of the public graves in the Roman Catholic portion of the cemetery did come under fire from the local Catholic community as the area was prone to flooding because it ran parallel with the River Medlock. The cemetery did eventually stop burying people in those low-lying graves.

⁶⁴⁸ Philips Park Cemetery Burial Register, (1868), held by Manchester Archives, MFPR 785-802.

⁶⁴⁹ 'Alleged Improper Interments at Ashton', *Manchester Guardian*, (07 May 1861), p.3.

⁶⁵⁰ See appendix 29b and 29d.

So far, this chapter has discussed how the cemetery management felt about this mode of interment in terms of its value as a grave space. However, how the management treated those who were buried is questionable. In 1869, burial workers from Philips Park Cemetery wrote to the management to stress that they were not happy with the treatment of those buried in public graves because it was estimated that 60 or 70 burials were being removed from public graves and placed in 'large pits', which led the local community to bury their dead elsewhere. The Cemetery Committee acknowledged that 'a proper consideration has not always been shown for the feelings of the friends and relatives of the dead in this mode of interment'.⁶⁵¹ The statement demonstrates that the motivation was profit - moving the interred coffins into large pits to free up more grave space – and not the feelings of the families who had people interred in the graves. The fact that burials decreased in the cemetery after the scandal broke demonstrates that even though these people were interred in a public grave, the families still demanded a respectable and dignified burial.

Conclusion

Research into the public grave has contributed a new understanding of working-class attitudes towards death and burial. Conclusions formed in this chapter have challenged ideas of Victorian respectability that suggest the working classes actively avoided burial in a public grave because it denied their loved ones of a respectable burial. This study has argued that in the second half of the nineteenth century in the North West, the public grave was overwhelmingly the most popular grave in the municipal cemetery and should be thought of as a standard burial in this field. Research into the occupations of the

⁶⁵¹ Manchester City Council Cemetery Committee Minute Book, Vol. 1 (1863-1868), held by Manchester Archives, (GB127.M901/12178).

deceased and their last residences, have revealed that there was no class divide between those buried in private graves and those buried in public graves.

Again, using such records as grave receipts, this study has also sought to disassociate this type of grave from a ‘pauper’ grave, arguing that the vast majority of people buried in it were not paupers, with their burial being paid for by a family member, burial club or undertaker. Grave receipts have also revealed that women had a vital role in the burial process by organising the payment of burials. The women who purchased the graves tended to be family, wife of the undertaker or secretary of a burial club. This has added a new understanding of the role of working-class women in managing the family’s finances and also the role of women in family businesses. As mentioned in the chapter, this challenges the work of scholars such as Gordon and Nair, who argue that the ‘separate spheres’ ideology meant that ‘women were increasingly excluded from the family businesses’.⁶⁵²

This work has also argued that the public grave was predominately filled with children aged 12 and under. Reasons for such a high number of child burials in public graves included factors such as cost, as it was the cheapest grave in the cemetery.

The chapter has also discussed what it was like to die a pauper during this period. It has suggested that dying on a workhouse did not mean that the deceased would receive a pauper burial. It has also argued that the trappings of a pauper burial varied between cemeteries, with some offering a memorial stone with an inscription for an extra cost. However, this chapter has found there was still hostility and anguish from the working

⁶⁵² Gordon, Nair, ‘economic role of middle-class women’, p.791.

classes regarding state burials. However, this feeling was not directed towards the type of grave they were buried in but was instead aimed at losing control over the funeral and burial rituals. The evidence upon which this conclusion is based is provided by the amount of people who paid into burial clubs and were still buried in the public grave. In Philips Park Cemetery, out of the 1500 burials studied, only four in the private grave section could be identified as being paid for by a burial club; the rest were interments in public graves. A limitation with this study is that it is impossible to correctly identify those that paid the undertaker as an individual and payments made to the undertaker by a burial club.

Examining the religious beliefs of those buried in public graves in Philips Park Cemetery has found that most of the burials took place in the Roman Catholic section of the cemetery. The study has suggested the reason for this is because Roman Catholics did not have their own place of burial following the closure of St Patricks in 1858. Work into the religious beliefs of paupers buried in Philips Park Cemetery has found that there was no guarantee of being buried by the person's faith. There were instances where it was the cemetery that decided which religious section the person would be buried in.

Finally, this study has found that the public grave was a valuable commodity to the management of the cemetery, especially in terms of bringing in much needed financial revenue. For example, even though Manchester's municipal cemetery was predominately made up of public grave burials, the management employed undertakers to promote the cemetery in working-class areas.

Conclusion

The purpose of this research was to add a new dimension to field of nineteenth-century urban history by conducting a thorough study of death and burial practices within a specific region of England, the North West. The aim was to complicate well-established narratives by arguing that existing scholarship in the field of death studies, still largely focused in the south of England, needs to complement the emphases of urban history on the diversity of the urban landscape in the nineteenth century. This in-depth study of burial sites in Manchester, Liverpool, Preston, Chester and Wigan has highlighted the diversity of urban burial provisions in NW England, where each town examined had a different number of cemeteries and different types of burial. These included workhouse burial grounds for paupers, a burial ground for Jewish children, a cemetery for Roman Catholics. Indeed, the religious composition of the towns was broadly reflected in the design of new cemeteries although research has illustrated that wanting a place of burial was no guarantee that a burial site would be built.

The thesis has shown how, during the first half of the nineteenth century, a new topography for disposing of and memorialising the dead emerged whose development was closely tied to urbanisation and emerging market forces, with the growth and development of new townships, the emergence of a new middling class, entrepreneurial activity, the expanding role of local and national government and the decreasing power of the church in local government. Amidst growing public health concerns, new burial spaces had to be found for expanding urban communities whose development over time contributed to civic and place identity. This top-down process was dominated by ecclesial authorities and groups of dissenting businessmen, who provided more burial space than the local government. Broader national drives around

improved public health practices led to the creation of a centralised department to oversee burial provisions. Burial acts were used to close burial sites deemed unsanitary and a financial structure was provided to create municipal cemeteries. The impact of these measures on different urban communities varied from significant to non-existent. Indeed, the closure of burial sites in some areas happened much earlier than current scholarship suggests, with towns such as Chester, Manchester and Preston ceasing interments in sites decades before the forced governmental closures.

Prior to 1850, control of providing burial space fell to the ecclesiastical authorities and businessmen, with the latter providing the most space. After 1850, this shifted to the municipal authorities, reflecting broader social changes as the church seceded authority to local and central government. The municipal cemetery was part of a wider drive to improve public health and cemeteries became part of the municipal portfolio, although its introduction was not inevitable across towns in the North West. There were variations in this history. Not every town established a municipal cemetery. The effectiveness of the Burial Acts in creating these new municipal institutions was varied. They helped to create a cemetery in Wigan, for example, yet had no bearing on the municipal cemetery in Manchester.

Municipal cemeteries have been under researched compared to other cemeteries such as those based on the joint-stock model, and researching the varied ways in which they became established has redressed an important gap in the history of burial provisions. It has also contributed new understanding of their spatial development. This includes contesting the notion that municipal burial sites lacked individuality and were 'uninteresting'. Like the majority of public buildings, the municipal cemetery was

designed by competition. Local government had control over this process, including controlled the design and apportionment of land. As with other cemeteries, municipal cemeteries had a significant spatial role within the broader urban landscape. They contributed to civic identity and to a sense of place identity, although unlike other municipal buildings, such as the town hall, the municipal cemetery had received very little scholarly attention until this research.

Working class culture

Besides examining how burial sites were created, this thesis also aimed to investigate those who were buried in the municipal cemetery, with a particular focus on working-class people who had the least agency in the creation of burial sites, despite the importance of their custom when it came to the revenue derived from their burials. This has led to one of this study's most important contributions has been in distinguishing the public grave from the pauper grave in findings which highlight the benefit of researching those who were actually buried in such graves, rather than relying on generalisations or research conducted in wealthy areas of London. To do this, the study used sources that have been rarely used in this field, grave receipts. These have helped to reveal that the vast majority of people buried in the public graves examined were not paupers because their burial was not paid for by the state. There were three ways in which burials were paid for: paupers' burials were paid for by the state; non-pauper burials were paid for by family members, friends, undertakers or burial clubs; and some burials were partly paid by both the state and the family of the deceased, a practice revealed by this thesis which has not until now featured in the historiography.

The study of burial receipts has been invaluable in contesting the notion that only paupers and the really poor were buried in public graves. It has also shed new light on the burial of working-class children who were overwhelmingly interred in public graves and on the role of women in the burial process. Where existing scholarship has largely focused on the part working-class women played in the ritualistic side of the funeral, such as laying out and dressing the corpse, what this study has shown is that they also made key decisions in relation to actual burial in the cemetery and were in some cases responsible for paying for the interment.

The cemetery was a place for private and public mourning where it has often been assumed that those with social status had the financial resources to ensure they would be remembered after they died. This work on the burial practices of the poor and working classes challenges, however, prideas surrounding the notion that in a class-conscious society money could buy respectability, not only for the living, but for the dead in the form of large monuments and burial in a private grave. Many scholars have argued that the private grave was the most popular grave in the Victorian cemetery but this was not what was found in this study. While it may have been true in London, there is little evidence of this in working-class districts in the North West, where the most popular grave in the municipal cemetery was the public grave, because it was the cheapest burial plot. These findings challenge work by historians who have suggested that people actively avoided the public grave because it was shared with paupers and also lacked a form of memorialisation. Indeed, this thesis has demonstrated that most municipal cemeteries offered a memorial with an inscription for an extra cost, while it has also found that burial in a private grave did not guarantee a memorial.

It is correct to say that the working classes did not want to die a pauper, but this evidence suggests they had no fear of being buried with paupers, raising questions about the nuanced nature of respectability in working class communities such as in Manchester, where by the middle of the nineteenth century, middle-class residents had started to retreat to the suburbs. The thesis has questioned the very nature of pauper graves, on the basis of the municipal cemeteries examined in the final chapter, arguing that although paupers were buried in these cemeteries no graves were put aside solely for their burial. This is not to argue against the clear evidence that the working classes did not want to be buried a pauper, as is evidenced by the number of people who saved in burial clubs to avoid such a fate. Burial clubs gave them more control over how they were buried and the emphasis was less on where they were buried and more on who paid for the funeral.

Even dying in the workhouse did not mean that the deceased would be buried a pauper as a family member, friend or charity could spare them a pauper burial by paying for the interment. Neither did they have to be buried in the workhouse burial ground. They could be buried in another ground if the 'Master' of the workhouse received a letter to state they could be buried elsewhere. It is worth noting that those who died in the workhouse were not always buried by their religion in the municipal cemetery in Manchester.

Areas for Further Research

This study of burial practices and provisions has been purposely focused on towns in the North West England. Its findings suggest there would be considerable benefit in comparing these results with other parts of Great Britain, to develop a much broader analysis of the diversity of burial provision histories. Such research could also be extended to rural districts to assess what factors led to the development and decline of burial sites in those areas.

The time period of this study has been from 1820 to 1870, and there would be benefit in expanding this to investigate the impact that other factors, such as cremations and the two world wars had on burial provisions in different regions. By the end of the nineteenth century, the real wages of the working classes had increased. Extending the study to the start of the twentieth century would enable further investigation to see whether greater disposable income led the public grave to be shunned.

Further, extending the time frame would also enable exploration into what happened to active burial sites from the end of the nineteenth century and up to the middle of the twentieth century. As during this period, it is evident that some burial sites were turned into public parks, providing much needed green space in densely populated areas.

Research into the municipal cemetery could also be expanded to look at the management, design and layout of more municipal cemeteries, work which is long overdue and much needed. The broader development of the municipal cemetery has been largely neglected and neither joint-stock nor municipal cemeteries have been studied as commercial businesses. The finances of municipal cemeteries have been

mentioned when discussing the public grave, but more work is needed to determine if they were profitable and how they were managed financially.

The final chapter in this thesis relied heavily on burial receipts to get an understanding of those buried in the cemetery. Its conclusions are largely reliant on the receipts from two municipal cemeteries in Manchester and Liverpool. Further work needs to be done to establish the extent to which cemeteries outside the North West hold accessible and usable burial receipts so that a more comprehensive comparative study can be undertaken. The time-consuming nature of this kind of research meant it was only possible to study 500 receipts from each religious denomination. In order to develop a more comprehensive study, more receipts need to be examined for both private and public graves. Similarly, the records on which this thesis is based were only available for Church of England, Nonconformist and Roman Catholic cemetery sections. A notable omission is burial records from the Jewish sections of cemeteries, which were not introduced until after the end of this study, in 1870. Broadening the scope of records used when studying burials would allow for a more in-depth examination of those who were buried in cemeteries, which would help give a more extensive understanding of attitudes towards death and burials.

In conclusion, this study of burial sites in Manchester, Liverpool, Preston, Chester and Wigan has contributed new knowledge and understanding of the history of burial and burial provisions in the nineteenth century. It has illustrated the diverse nature of urban burial provisions in North West England and raised questions which could usefully be applied to other regions. Its findings, based on these local case studies, complement

and contest current work in the field of burial practices, which has failed to consider the individuality of each town and how such differences were reflected in local burial provisions. Most significantly, it has demonstrated how historians have misunderstood important aspects of working-class attitudes towards death and burials, especially in relation to pauper burials.

Appendices

Appendix 1: Burial sites in Manchester 1820-1870

<i>Description</i>	<i>Place of Burial</i>	<i>Date in operation</i>
<i>Parish Burial Grounds</i>	Collegiate Church (Cathedral)	1573 -1820
	Walkers Croft	1815 -1848
<i>Church of England Burial Sites</i>	St Ann	1712 - 1854
	St Thomas, Ardwick	1741 – 1854
	St Mary Parsonage	1754 – 1871
	St John, Deansgate	1769 - 1900
	St James, George Street	1788 - 1854
	St Michael's, Angel Meadow	1789 – 1897
	St Mark, Cheetham	1794 – 1855
	St Peter, St Peter's Square	1796 – 1866
	St George, Oldham Road	1798 – 1853
	All Saints, Newton Heath	1814 – 1854
	St Luke, Chorlton-on-Medlock	1819 – 1871
	All Saints, Chorlton-on-Medlock	1820 – 1881
	St Matthew, Campfield	1825 – 1854
	St George, Hulme	1829 – 1920
	St Andrew, Ancoats	1831 – 1855
	St Saviour, Chorlton upon Medlock	1836 – 1932
	Christ Church, Harpurhey	1838 – 1963
	St Luke, Cheetham	1840 – 1932
	St John, Failsworth	1846 – 1976
	Newton Heath Cemetery, Briscoe Lane	1850 – 1950
	Christchurch, Bradford	1862 – 1943
<i>Nonconformist Burial Sites</i>	Quaker Burial Ground, Jacksons Row	1682 – 1847
	Cross Street Chapel	1694 – 1840
	Platt Chapel, Fallowfield	1700 – 1970
	Brookfield Unitarian (formally Gorton)	1785 – 1881
	Rochdale Road Chapel (Baptist)	1789 – 1837
	New Jerusalem Chapel (Swedenborgian)	1793 – 1855

	Great Bridgewater Street Chapel	1800 – 1854
	Mosley Street Chapel	1806 – 1834
	Grosvenor Street Chapel	1807 – 1853
	Bible Christian, Hulme	1811 – 1869
	Cheetham Hill Wesleyan Cemetery	1815 – 1968
	Every Street Bible Christian	1822 – 1867
	Quaker Friends Meeting House	1830 – 1856
	Upper Brook Street Chapel	1840 – 1882
	Oldham Road Congregational	1854 – 1894
<i>Roman Catholic Burial Sites</i>	St Mary, Mulberry Street	1816 – 1837
	St Augustine, Granby Row	1820 – 1860
	St Patrick, Livesey Street	1831 – 1858
	St Wilfred, Hulme	1842 – 1858
	St Chad, York Street	1847 – 1856
	St Mary, Failsworth	1852 – 1941
<i>Jewish Burial Sites</i>	Jewish Burial Ground, Pendleton	1794 – 1840
	Miles Platting Jewish Cemetery	1841 – 1872
	Prestwich Village Jewish Burial Ground	1841 – 1914
	Collyhurst Jewish Cemetery	1844 – 1872
	Manchester Reform Jewish Old Cemetery, Prestwich	1857 – 1992
<i>Joint-stock Cemeteries</i>	Rusholme Road Cemetery	1821 – 1933
	Manchester General Cemetery	1837 – 1990
	Ardwick Cemetery	1838 – 1950
<i>Municipal Cemetery</i>	Philips Park Cemetery	1866 – ongoing
<i>Other Burial Sites</i>	Chorlton Workhouse Cemetery	1859 – 1917
	Strangeways Prison	1869 – 1964

The Municipal Code Vol. IV., (1898), pp. 885-891; John Marsden, *Forgotten Fields: Looking for Manchester's Old Burial Grounds*, (Bedfordshire: Bright Pen, 2014); 'Burial Grounds of Manchester and Salford', M&L Family History Society, <https://www.mlfhs.org.uk/data/BurialGrounds-Mar18-1.pdf> {16 June 2019}

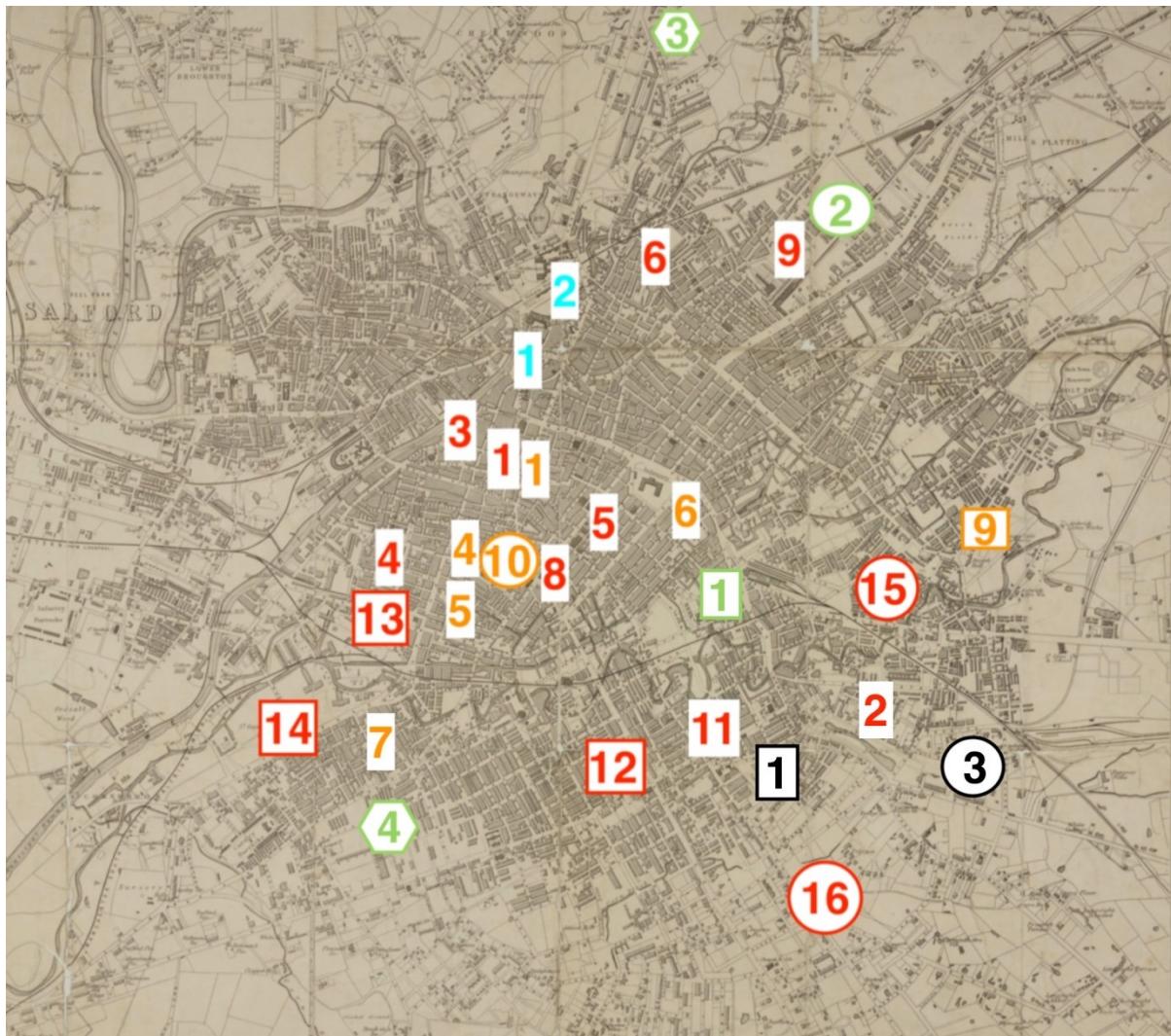
Appendix 2: Map of active burial sites in the township of Manchester 1820



Pigot (1821) Map of Manchester held by Manchester Archives, ref: GB127.Local Studies Street Map Collection/1821 Pigot.

Parish	1	Collegiate Church	Roman Catholic	1	St Mary, Mulberry Street
Burial Grounds	2	Walker's Croft		2	St Augustine, Granby Row
Church of England	1	St Ann	Nonconformist	1	Quaker Burial Ground
	2	St Mary		2	Cross Street Chapel
	3	St John		3	Rochdale Road Chapel
	4	St James		4	New Jerusalem Chapel
	5	St Michael's		5	Great Bridgewater Street Chapel
	6	St Peter		6	Mosley Street Chapel
	7	St George		7	Grosvenor Street Chapel

Appendix 3: Map of active burial sites in Manchester 1850



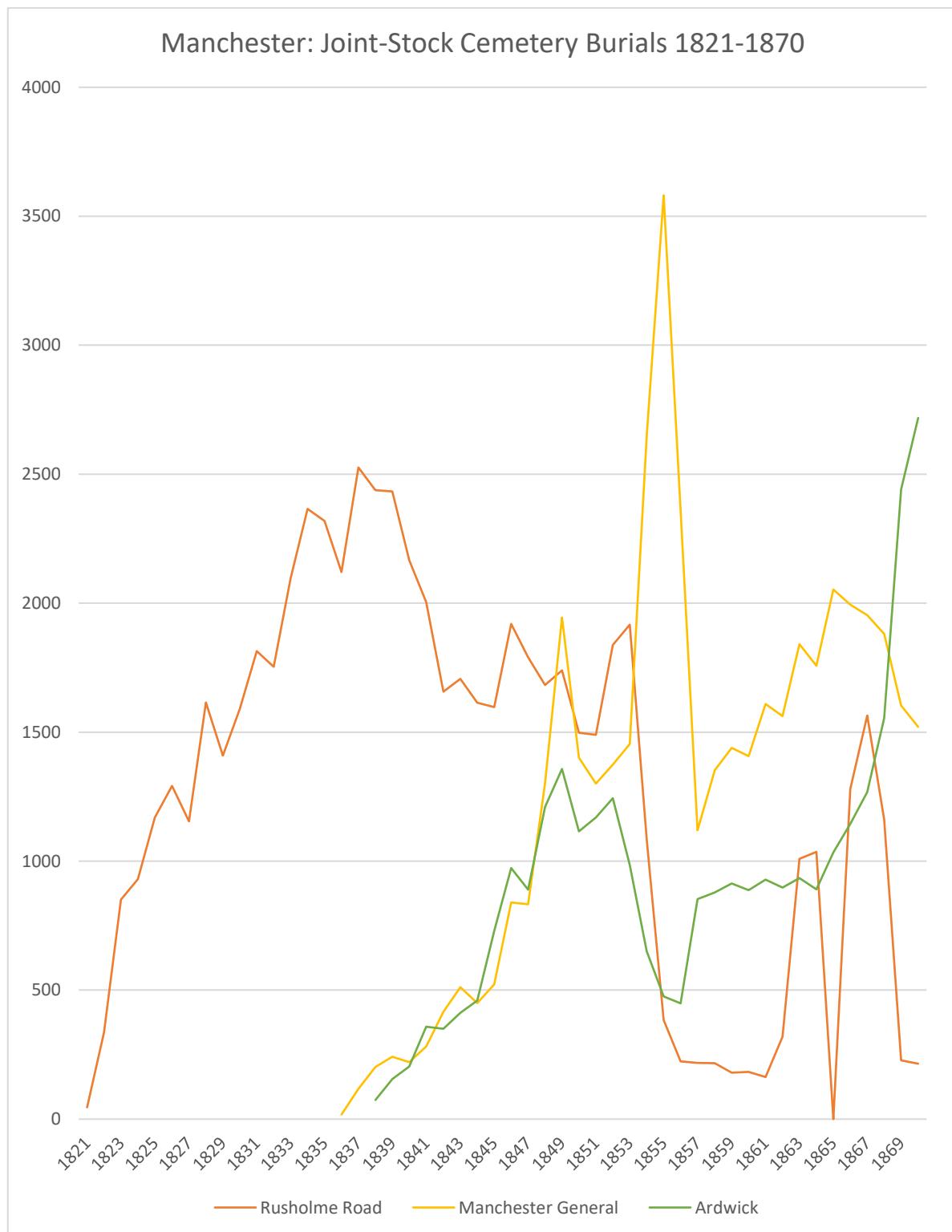
Cornish (1857) Map of Manchester held by Manchester Archives, ref: GB127.Local Studies Street Map Collection/1857 Cornish

Parish	1	Collegiate Church		1	Cross Street Chapel
Burial Ground	2	Walker's Croft		2	Platt Chapel, Fallowfield. *
Church of England	1	St Ann	Dissenters	3	Brookfield Unitarian *
	2	St Thomas, Ardwick		4	New Jerusalem Chapel
	3	St Mary		5	Great Bridgewater Street
	4	St John		6	Grosvenor Street Chapel
	5	St James		7	Bible Christian, Hulme
	6	St Michael		8	Cheetham Hill Wesleyan *
	7	St Mark, Cheetham *		9	Every Street Bible Christian

	8	St Peter		10	Quaker Friends Meeting House
	9	St George, Oldham Road		11	Upper Brook St Chapel *
	10	All Saints, Newton Heath *		1	St Augustine, Granby Row
	11	St Luke, C.o.M	Roman Catholic	2	St Patrick, Livesey Street
	12	All Saints, C.o.M		3	St Chad's, Cheetham Hill
	13	St Matthew, Campfield		4	St Wilfred, Hulme
	14	St George, Hulme		1	Rusholme Road Cemetery
	15	St Andrew, Ancoats		2	Manchester General Cemetery *
	16	St Saviour, C.o.M		3	Ardwick Cemetery
	17	Christ Church, Harphurhey *	Jewish	1	Miles Platting Jewish Burial Ground *
	18	St Luke, Cheetham *		2	Prestwich Cemetery *
	19	St John, Failsworth *		3	Collyhurst Jewish Cemetery *

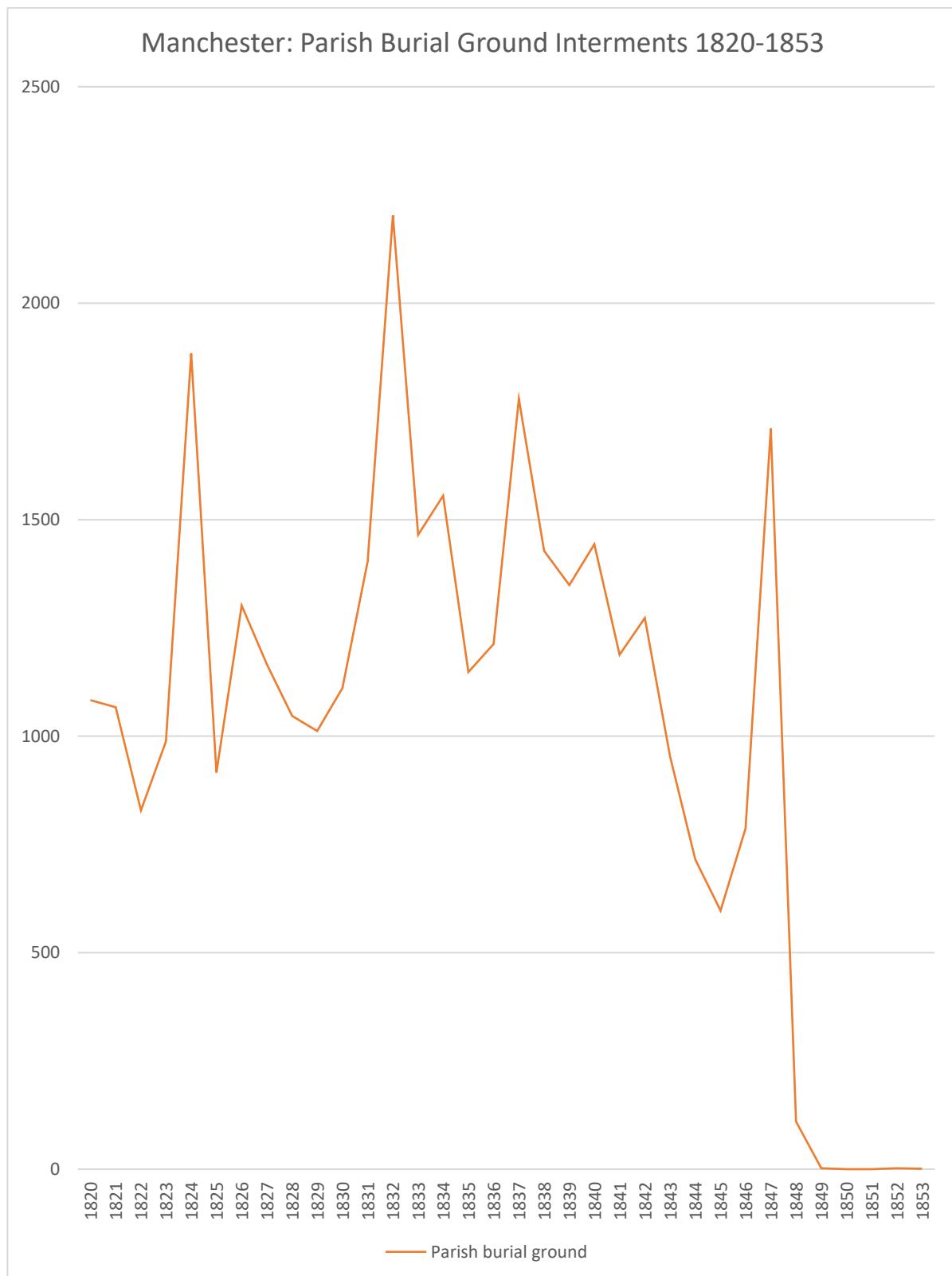
The symbols represent the decade that the burial site was founded; no symbol before 1820; square 1820-30; circle 1831-1840; hexagon 1841-1850. * means that the burial site is not showing on the map.

Appendix 4a: Joint-Stock Cemetery Company Burials in Manchester 1821-1870



Data collected from the burial registers of Rusholme Road Cemetery (MFPR 1945-46), Manchester General Cemetery (MFPR 1947) and Ardwick Cemetery (MFPR 1947-48) held at Manchester Archives.

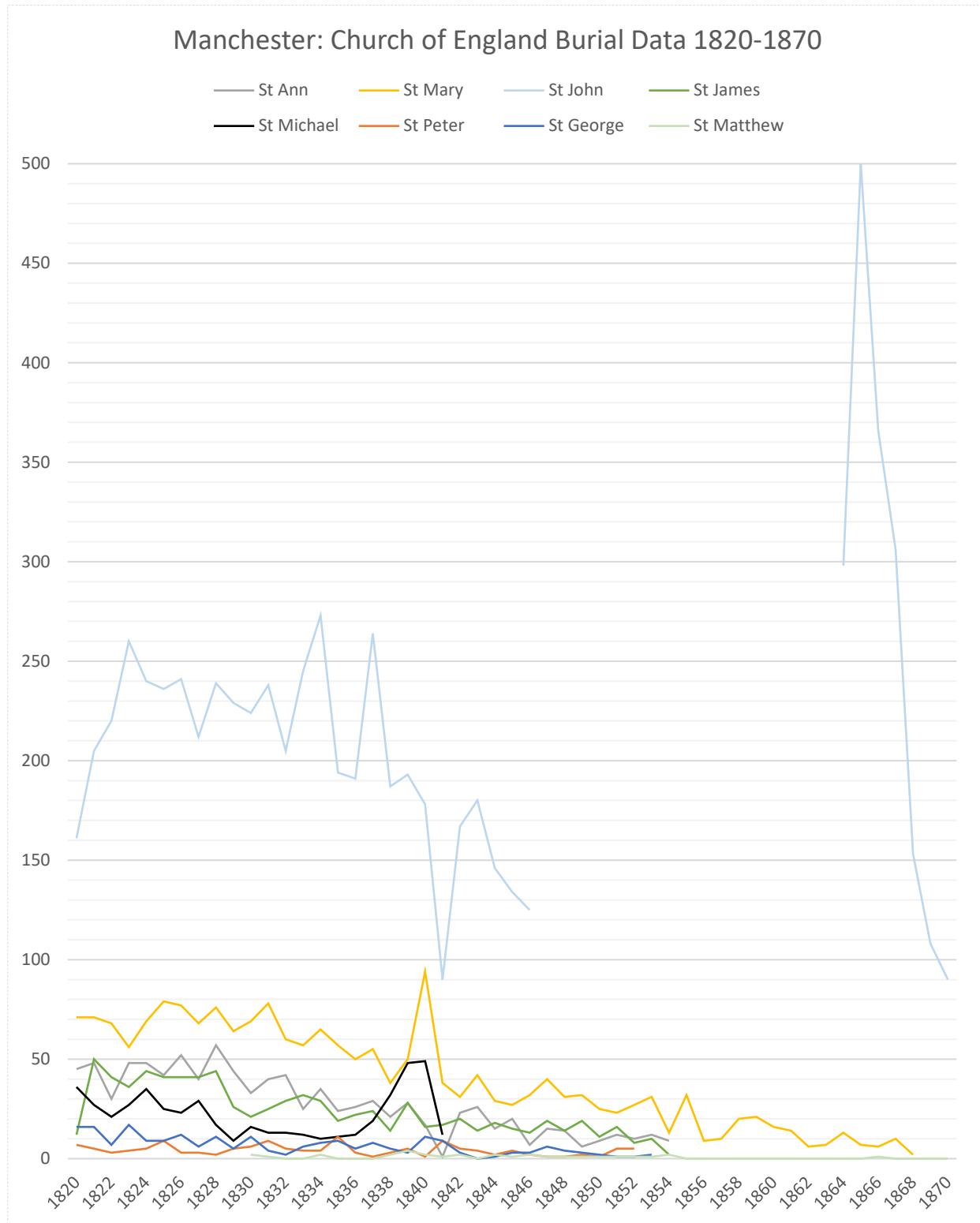
Appendix 4b: Parish burial ground interments in Manchester 1820-1853



Includes burials inside the Colligate Church and at Walker's Croft Burial Ground

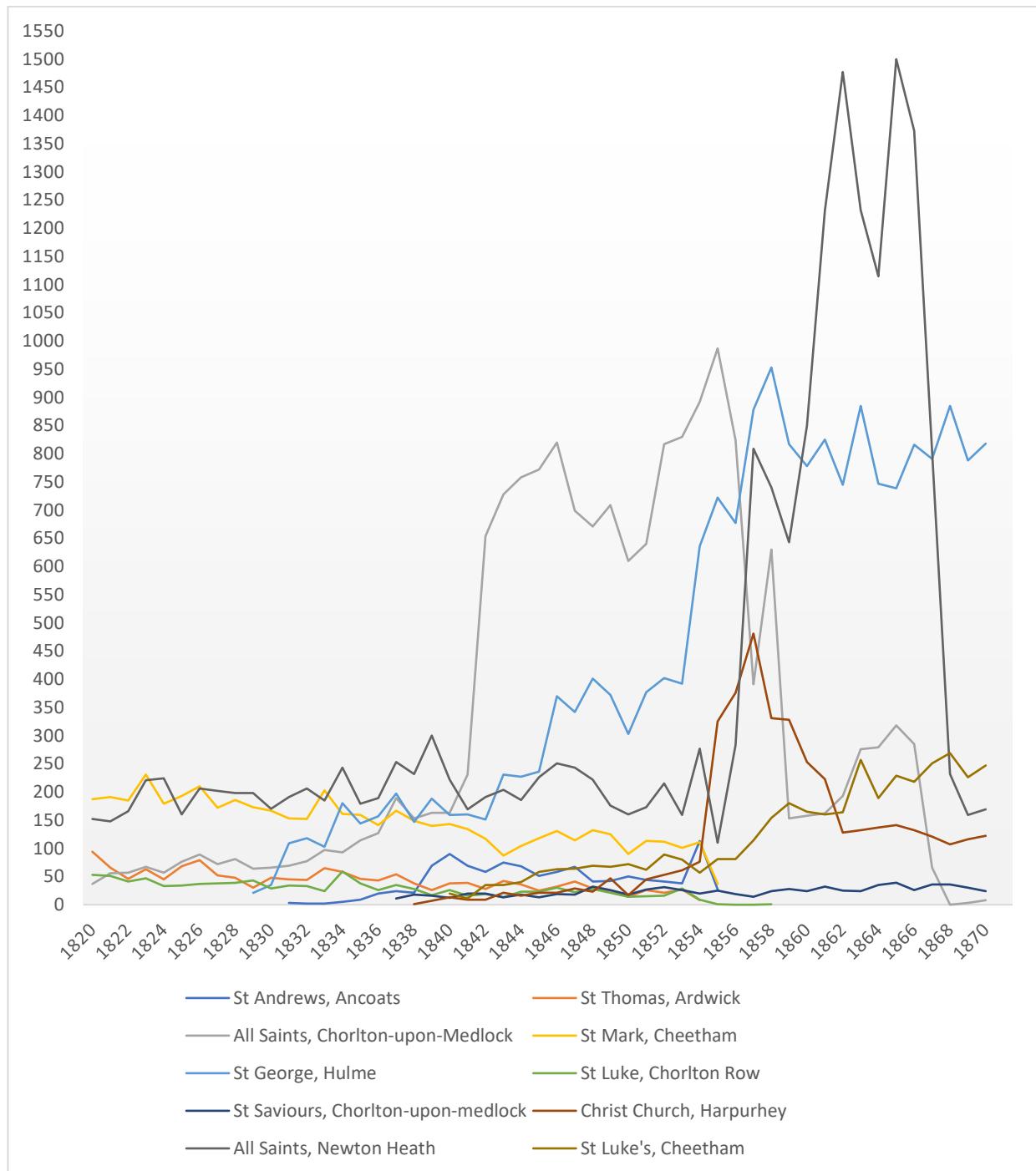
Data collected from the parish burial registers (MFPR 15-16) held at Manchester Archives.

Appendix 4c: Church of England interments in Manchester 1820-1870



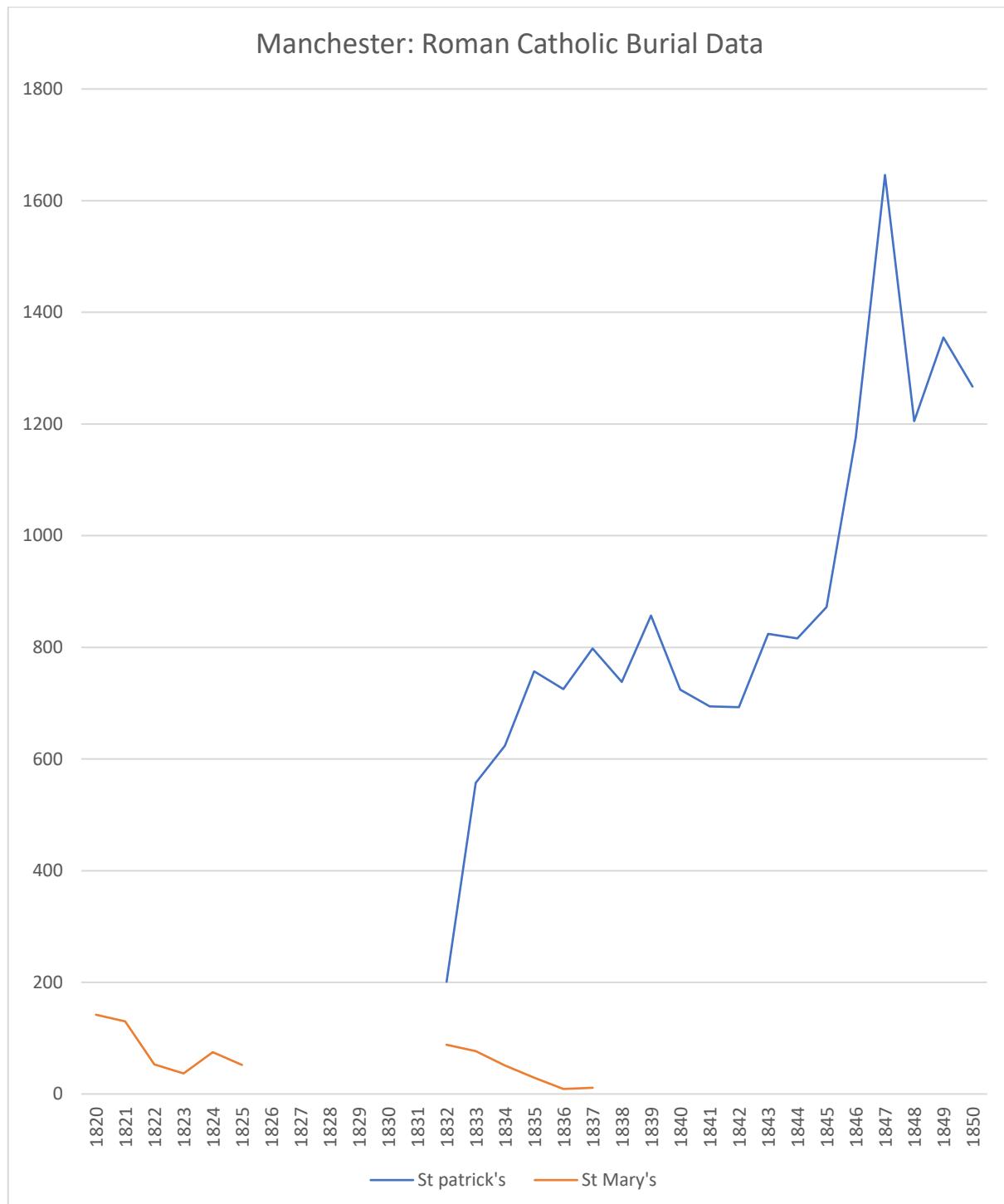
Data collected from St Ann's (MFPR 9), St Mary's (MFPR 158), St John's (MFPR 1144), St James's (MFPR 163), St Michael's (MFPR 626-627), St Peter's (MFPR 164), St George's (MFPR 127) and St Matthews's (MFPR 98) burial registers held at Manchester Archives.

Appendix 4d: Church of England burial data for the townships of Cheetham, Ardwick, Chorlton-upon-Medlock, Hulme, Newton Heath, Harpurhey.



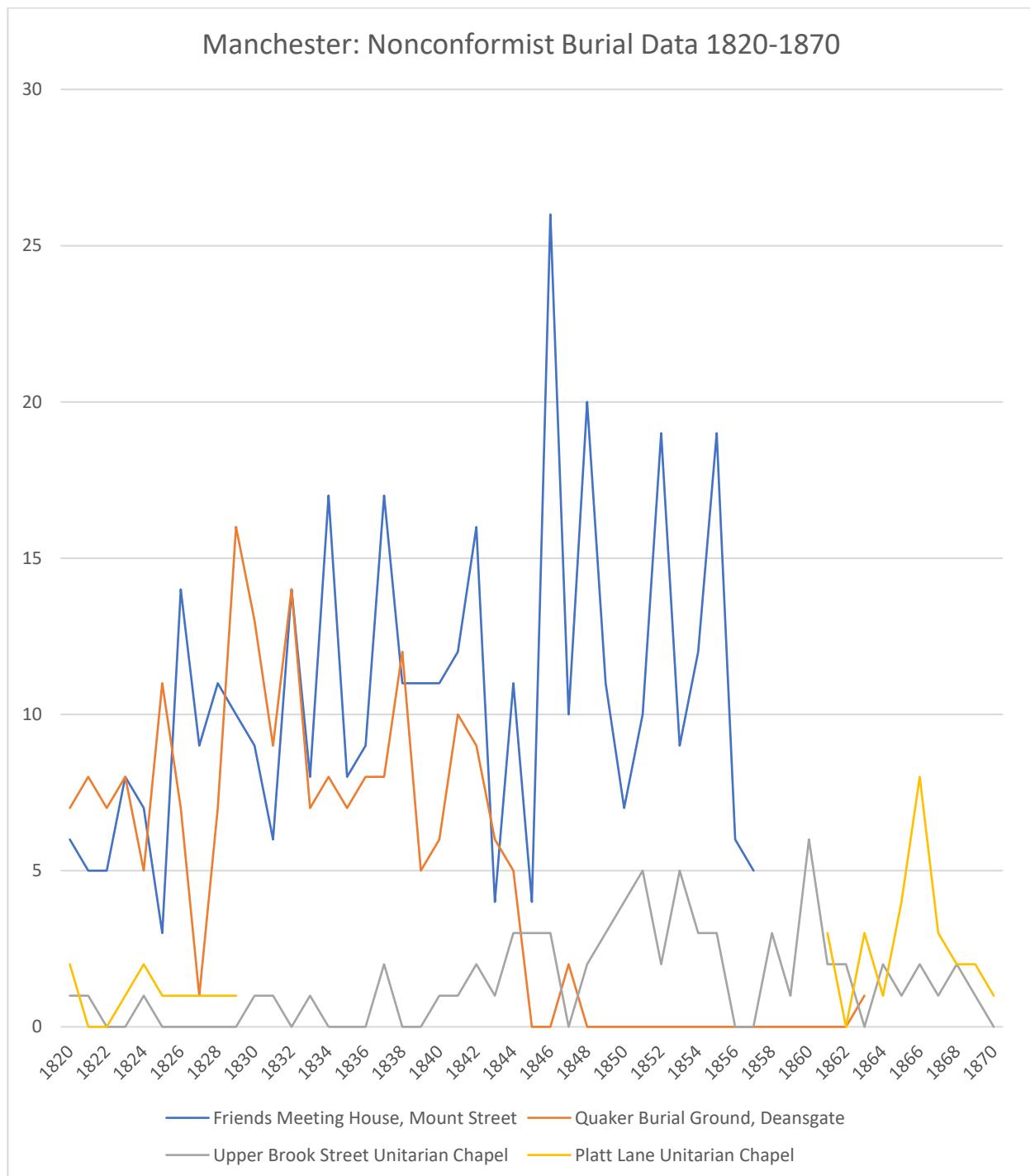
Data collected from the burial registers of St Andrew (MFPR 8A); All Saints, Chorlton-upon-Medlock (MFPR 1201-02); St George, Hulme (MFPR 611-12); St Saviours (MFPR 1310); All Saints, Newton Heath (MFPR 6); St Thomas, Ardwick (MFPR 1); St Mark (MFPR 13); St Luke, Chorlton Row (MFPR 10 & 1290); Christ Church (MFPR 1386); St Luke, Cheetham (MFPR 1274) burial registers held at Manchester Archives.

Appendix 4e: Roman Catholic interments in Manchester 1820-1850



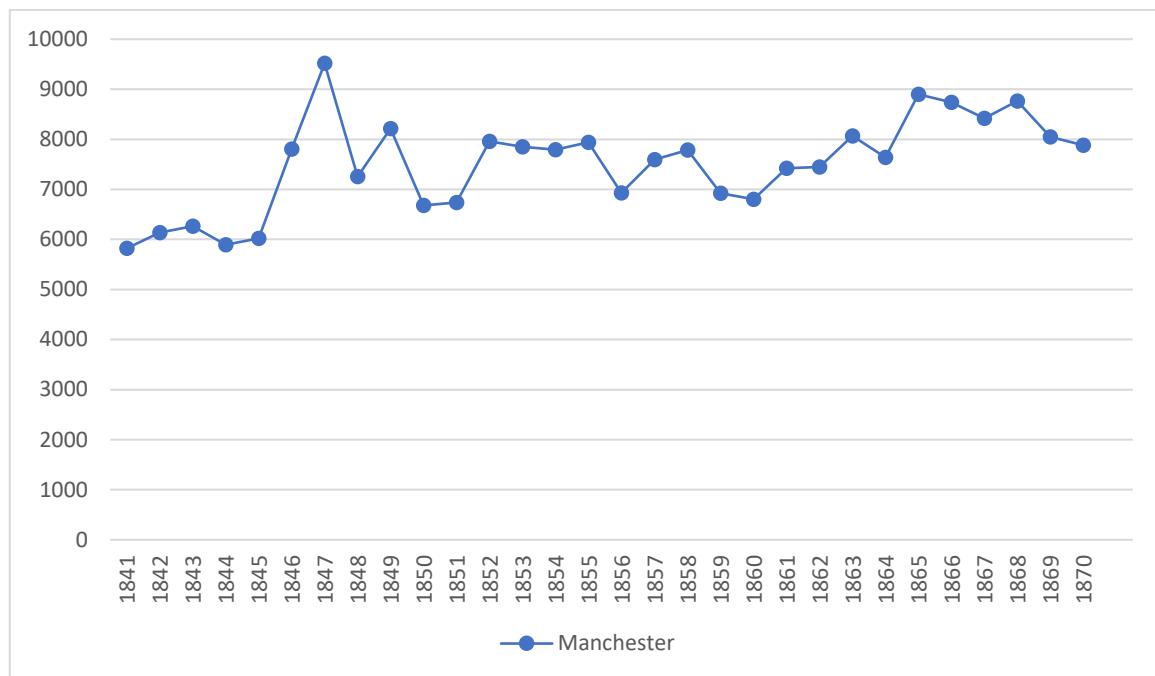
Data collected from the burial registers for St Patrick's (MFPR 1920-21) and St Mary's (MFPR 1904) held by Manchester Archives.

Appendix 4f: Nonconformist interments in Manchester 1820-1870



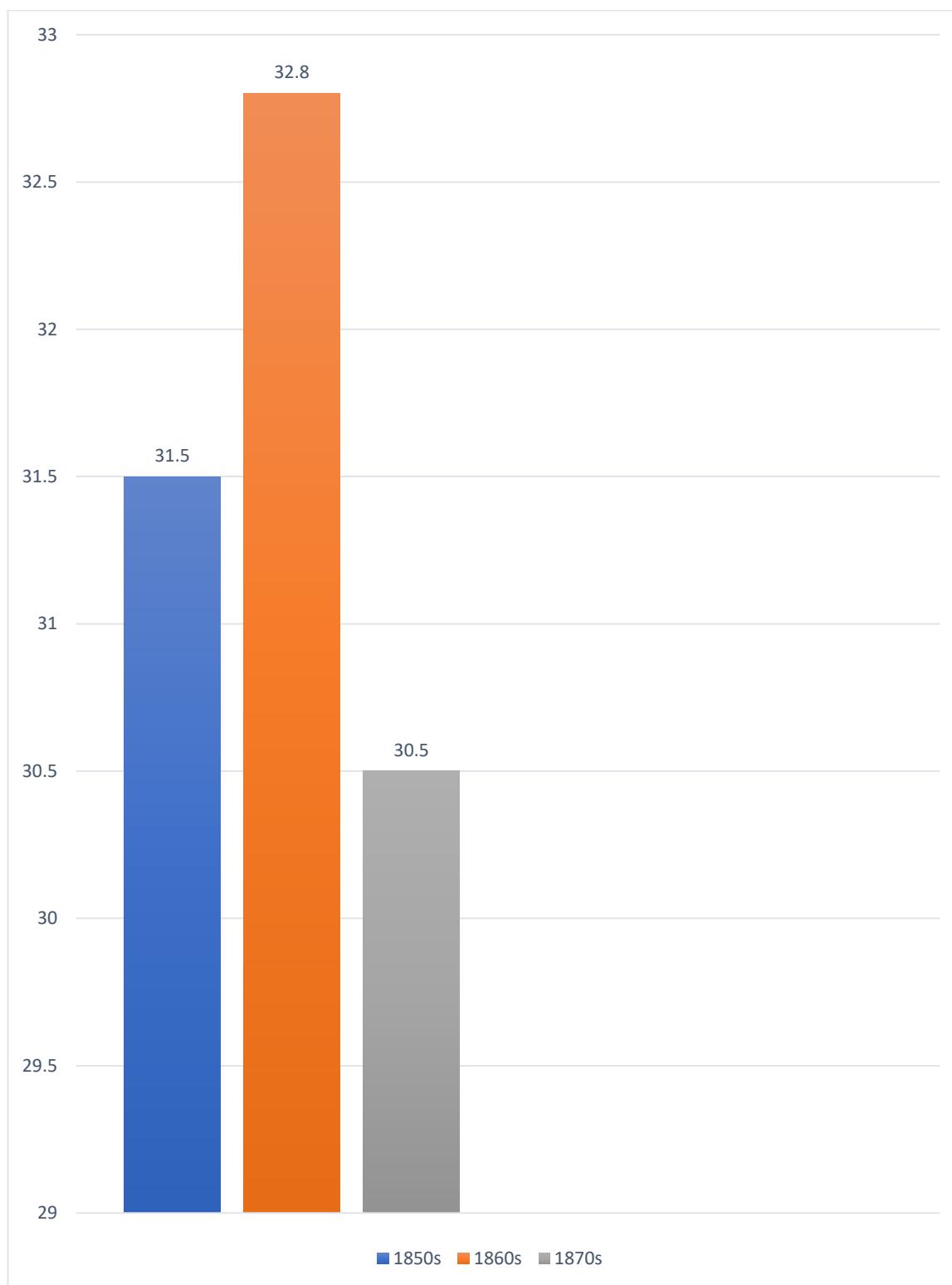
Records missing from 1840-1861 for Platt Lane Unitarian Chapel Data collected for Upper Brook Street Unitarian Chapel (GB127.M30); Friends Meeting House, Mount Street (GB127.M85/5/7); Quaker Burial Ground, Deansgate (GB127.M85); Platt Lane Unitarian Chapel (MFPR 189) from the burial registers held by Manchester Archives.

Appendix 5a: Mortality statistics for Manchester 1840-1870



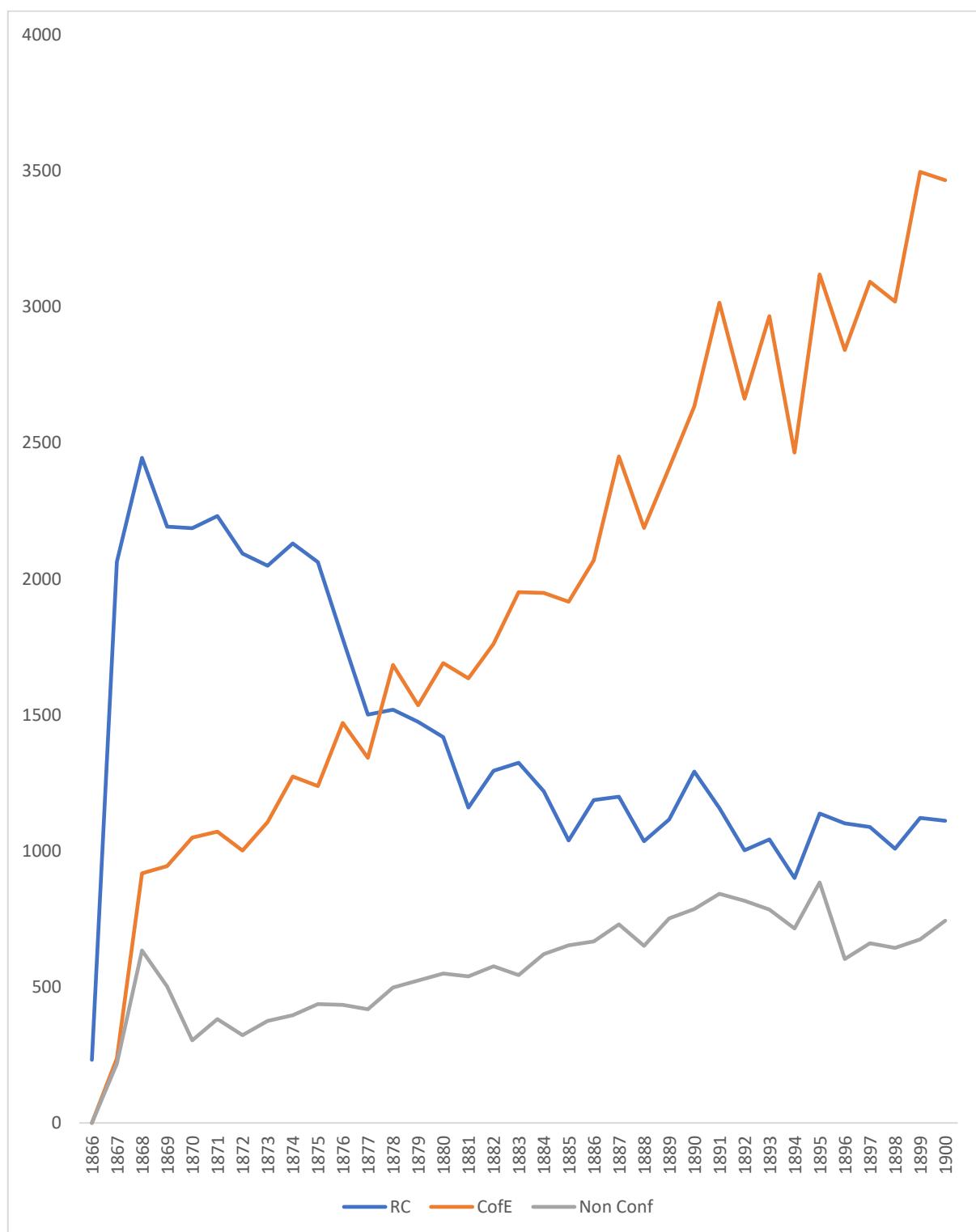
Data based on the Registrar General's annual reports.

Appendix 5b: Crude Annual Mortality Statistics for Manchester per 1000 people



Data based on the Registrar General's annual reports.

Appendix 6: Interments in Philips Park Cemetery, Manchester 1866-1900

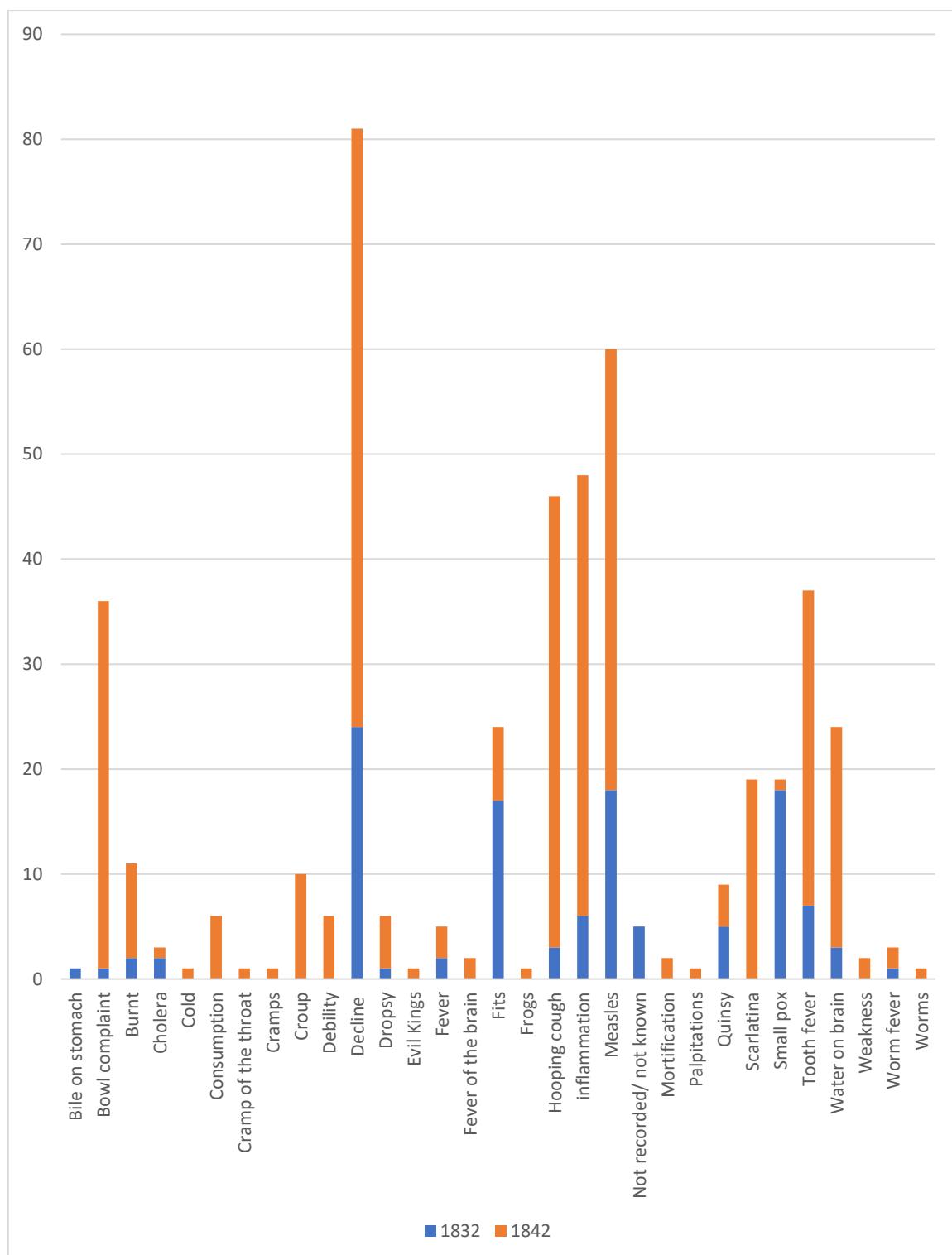


Data collected from Philips Park Cemetery burial registers (MFPR 758-802) held at Manchester Archives.

Appendix 7: Acts effecting burial sites 1816-1870

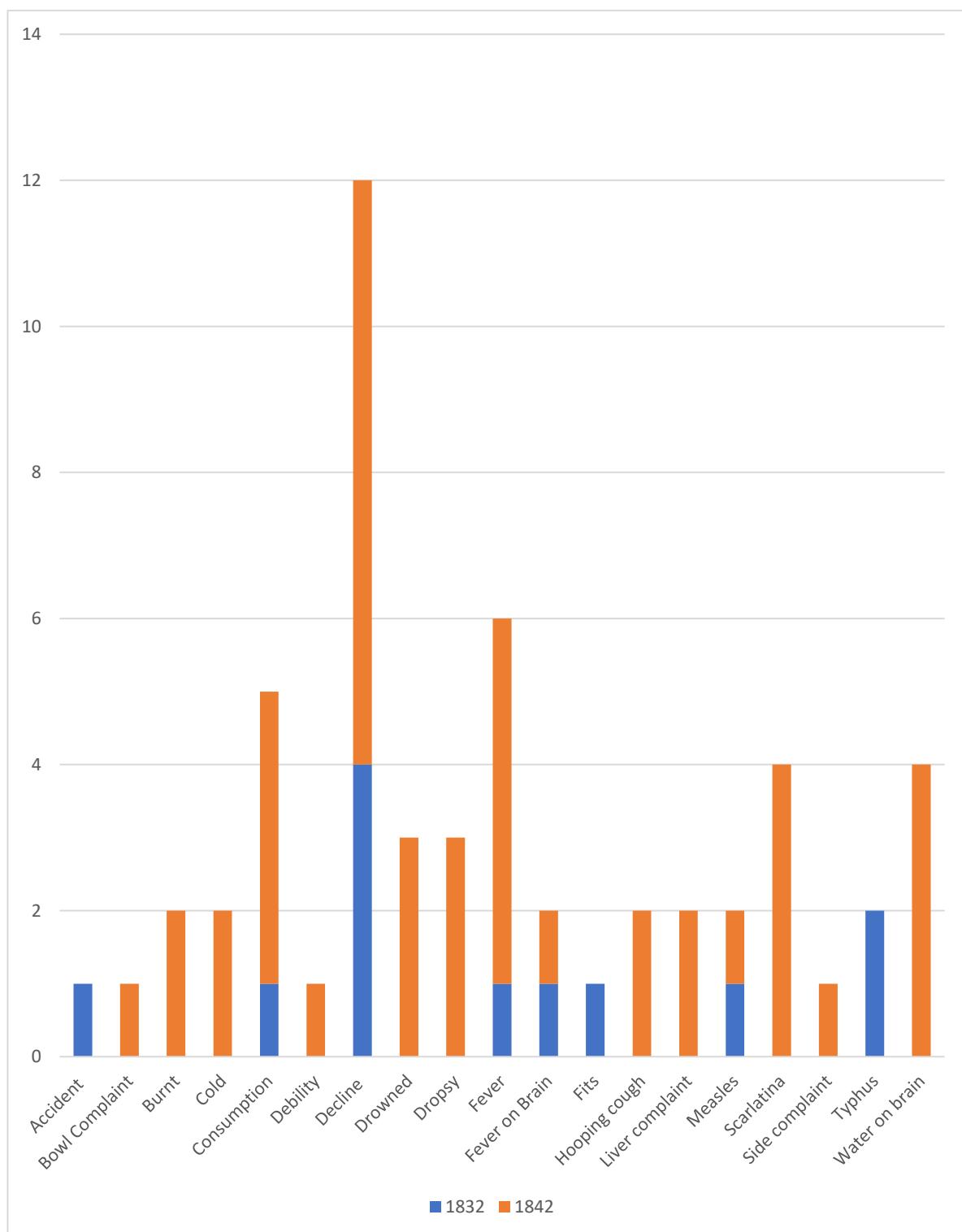
1816	An Act of enabling Ecclesiastical Corporate Bodies under certain Circumstances to alienate Lands for enlarging Cemeteries and Churchyards
1847	An Act for consolidating in One Act certain Provisions usually contained in Acts authorizing the making of Cemeteries (Cemetery Clauses Act)
1850	An Act to make better provision for the Interment of the Dead in and near the Metropolis
1852	An Act to amend the Laws concerning the Burial of the Dead in the Metropolis
1853	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.
1855	An Act further to amend the Laws concerning the Burial of the Dead in England
1857	An Act to amend the Burial Acts
1859	An Act more effectively to prevent Danger to the Public Health from Places of Burial
1864	An Act to make further Provisions for the Registration of Burials in England
1867	An Act relating to the Consecration of Churchyards
1868	An Act to amend The Consecration of Churchyards Act 1867

Appendix 8a: Causes of death in 1832 and 1842 at St Patrick's RC Cemetery for young people under five years old



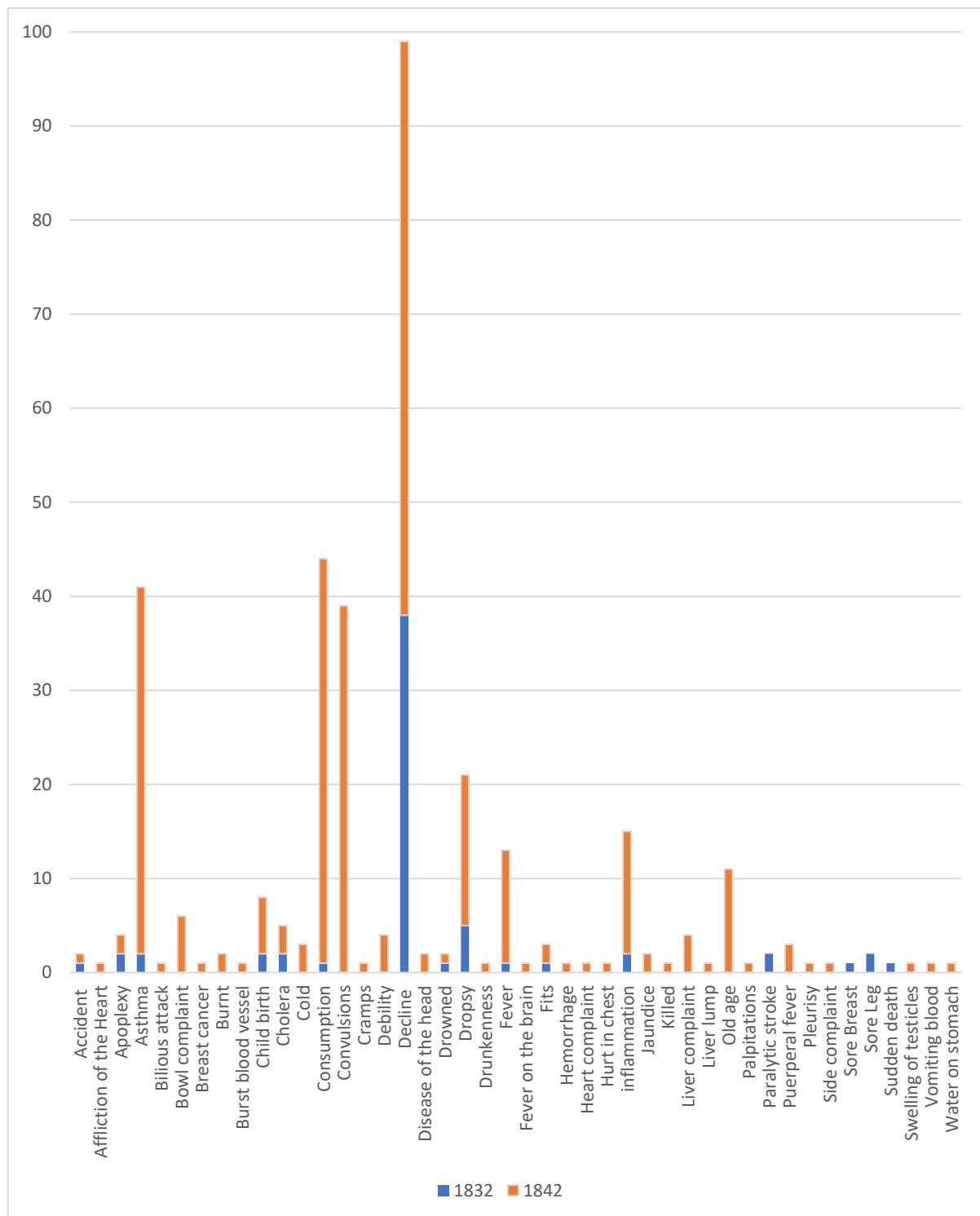
Data collected from the burial registers of St Patrick's (MFPR 1920-21) held by Manchester Archives.

Appendix 8b: Causes of death in 1832 and 1842 at St Patrick's RC Cemetery for young people between the age of five and eighteen years old



Data collected from the burial registers of St Patrick's (MFPR 1920-21) held by Manchester Archives

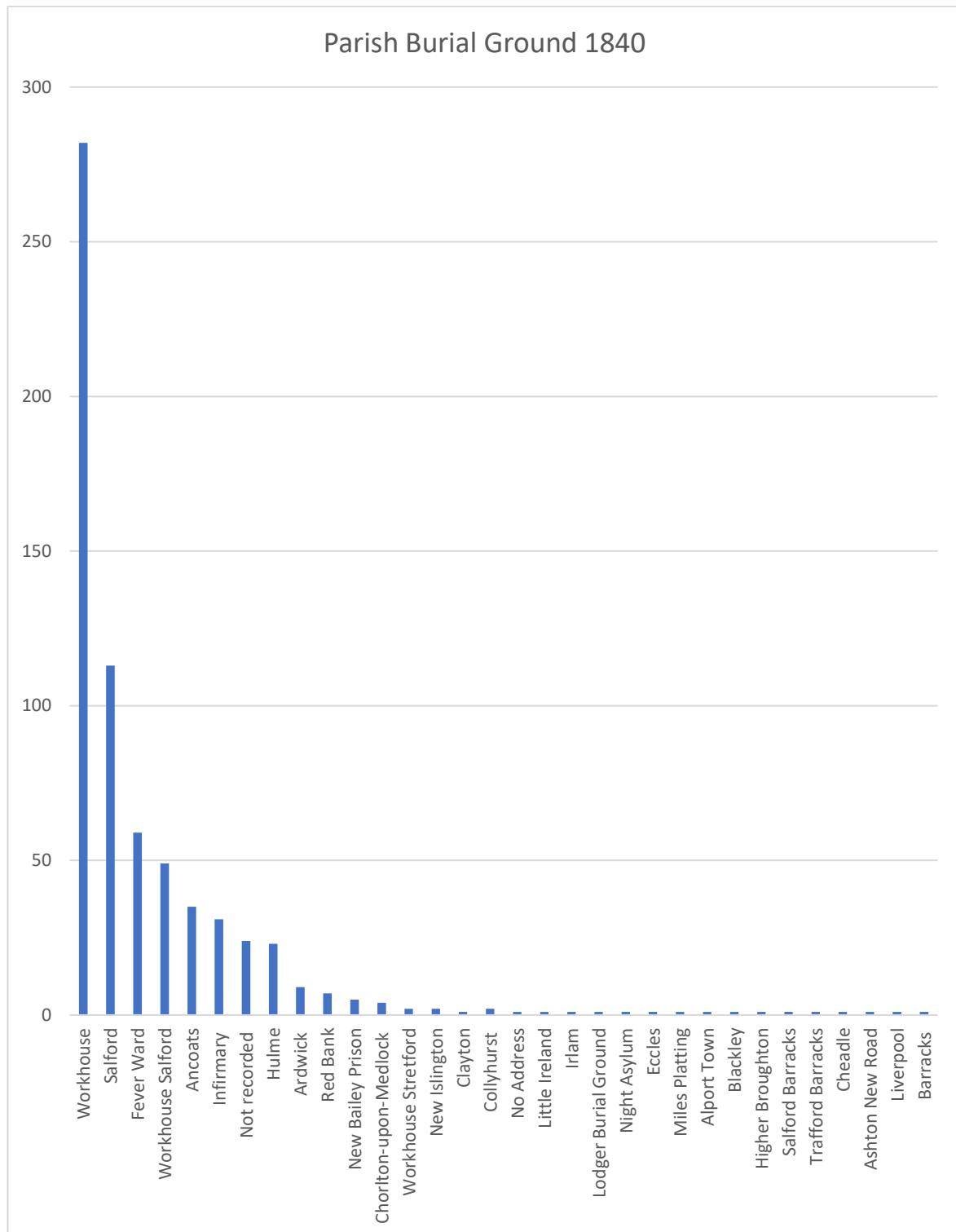
Appendix 8c: Causes of death in 1832 and 1842 at St Patrick's RC Cemetery for adults over eighteen years old



Data collected from the burial registers of St Patrick's (MFPR 1920-21) held by Manchester Archives.

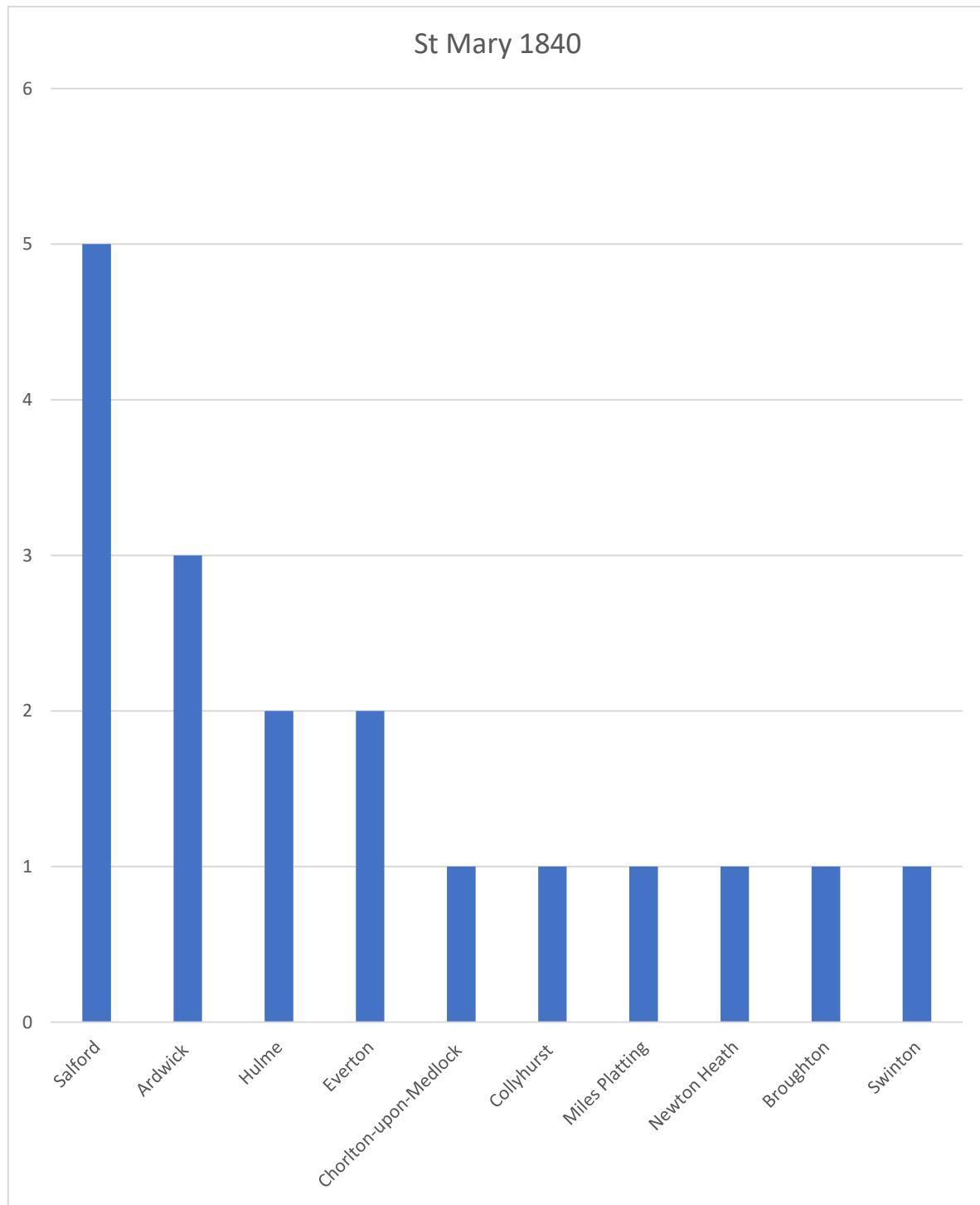
Appendix 9a: Last residence of those interred in Manchester's parish burial ground

1840



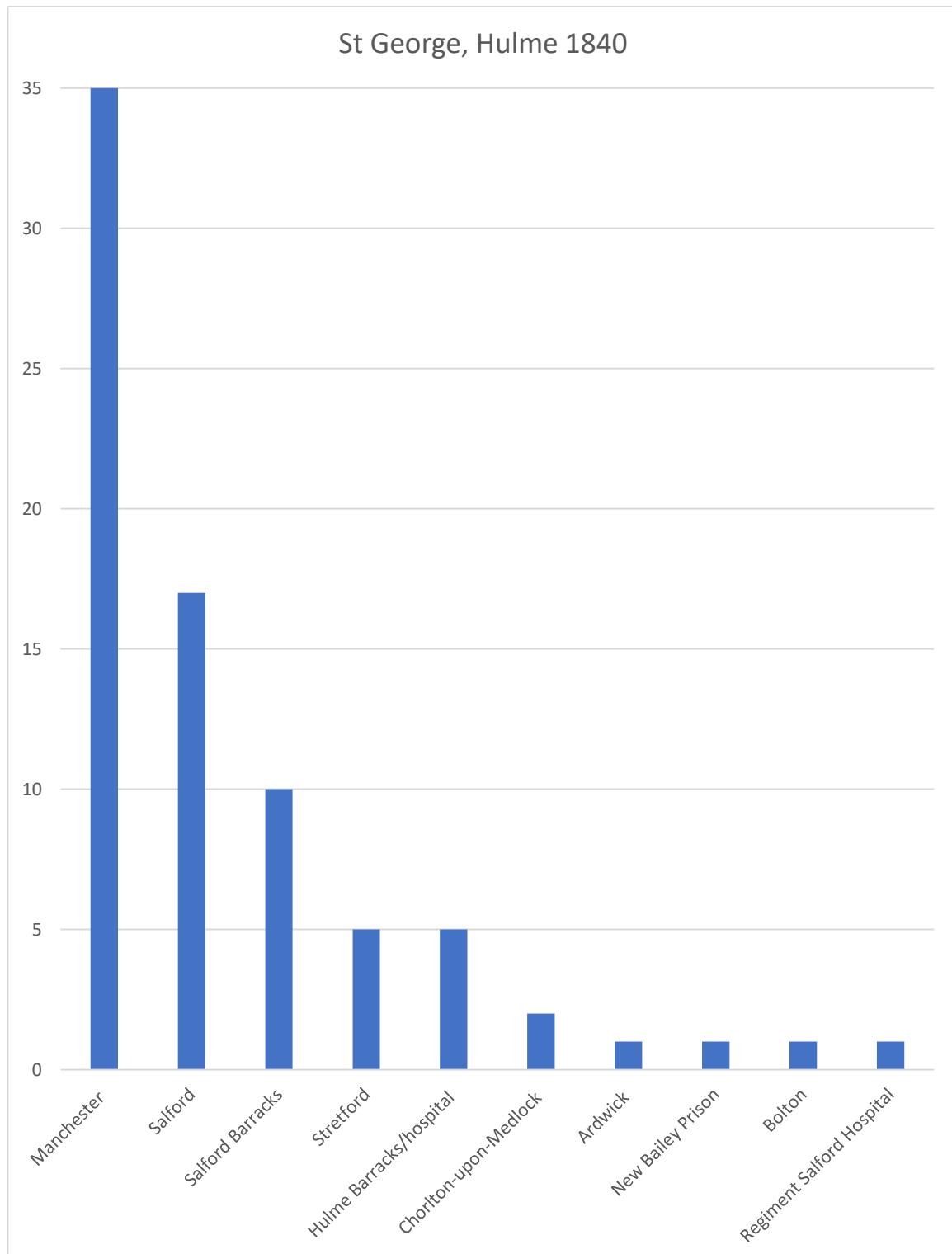
Data collected from the burial registers for the parish burial ground (MFPR 15-16) held by Manchester Archives.

Appendix 9b: Last residence of those interred in St Mary's churchyard, Manchester
1840



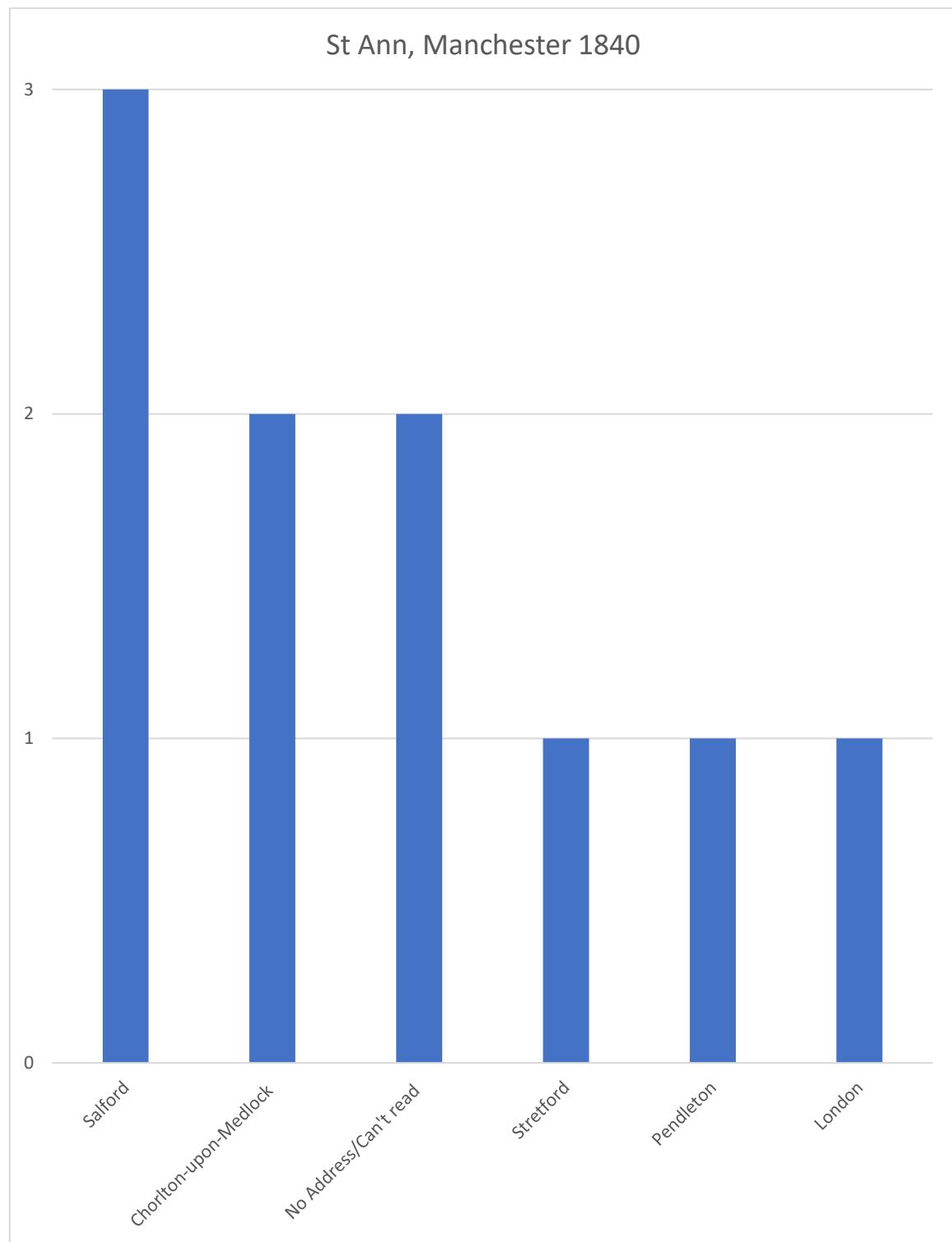
Data collected from the burial registers for St Mary's Church (MFPR 158) held by Manchester Archives.

Appendix 9c: Last residence of those interred in St George's churchyard, Hulme,
Manchester 1840



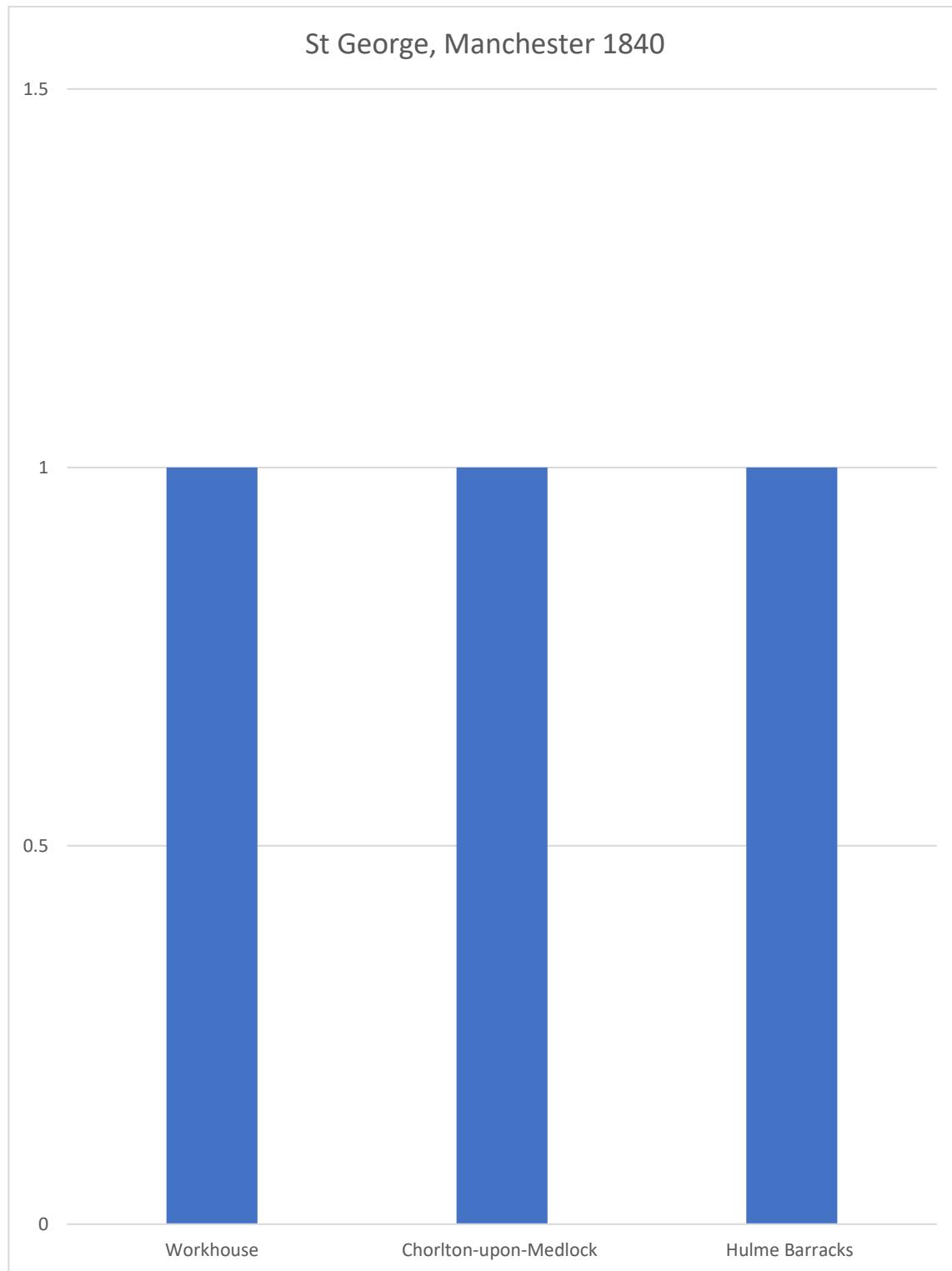
Data collected from the burial registers for St George's Church, Hulme, Manchester (MFPR 611-612)
held by Manchester Archives.

Appendix 9d: Last residence of those interred in St Ann's churchyard, Manchester
1840



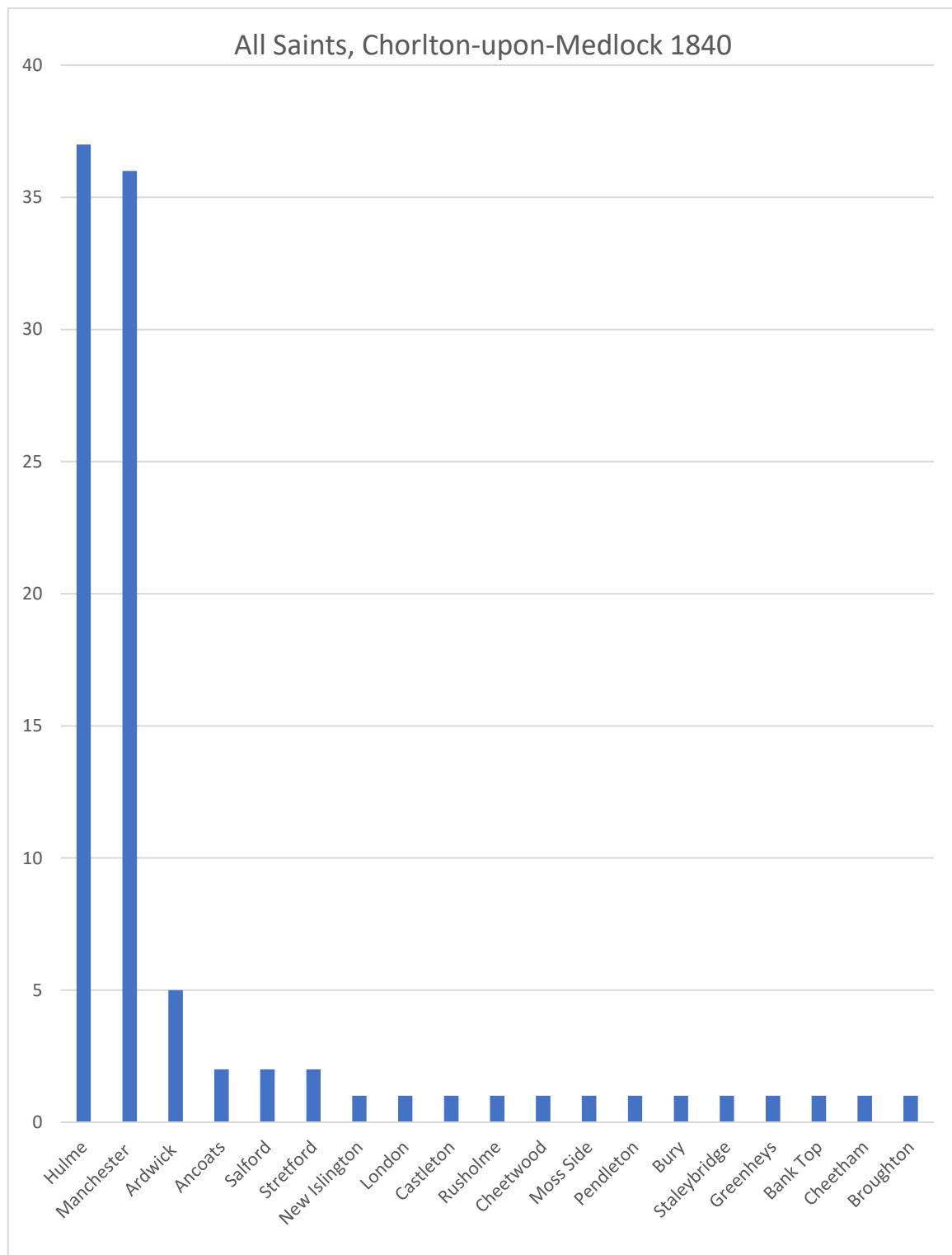
Data collected from the burial registers for St Ann's (MFPR 9) held by Manchester Archives.

Appendix 9e: Last residence of those interred at George's churchyard, Manchester
1840



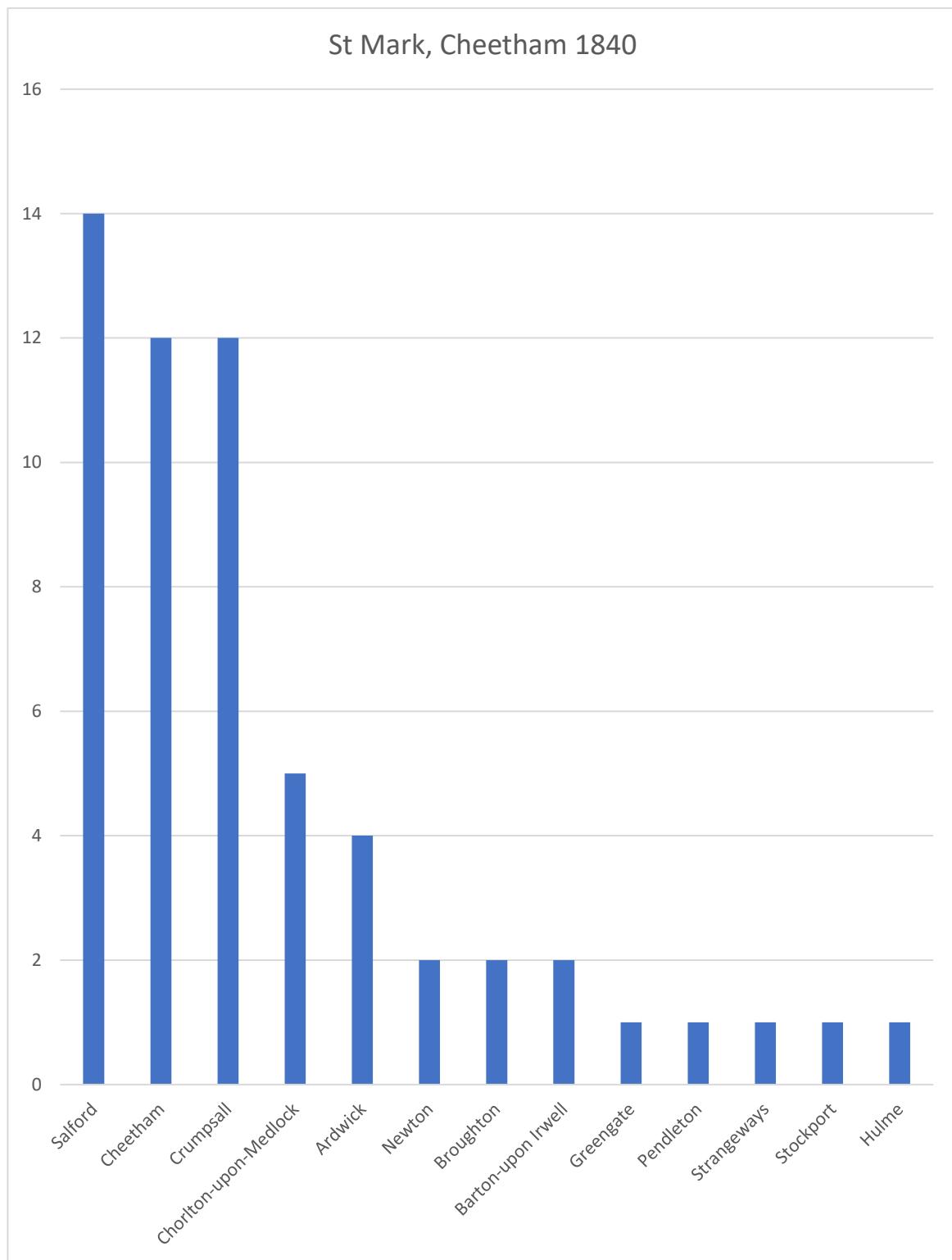
Data collected from the burial registers for St George's Church (MFPR 91) held by Manchester Archives.

Appendix 9f: Last residence of those interred at All Saints churchyard, Chorlton-upon-Medlock, Manchester 1840



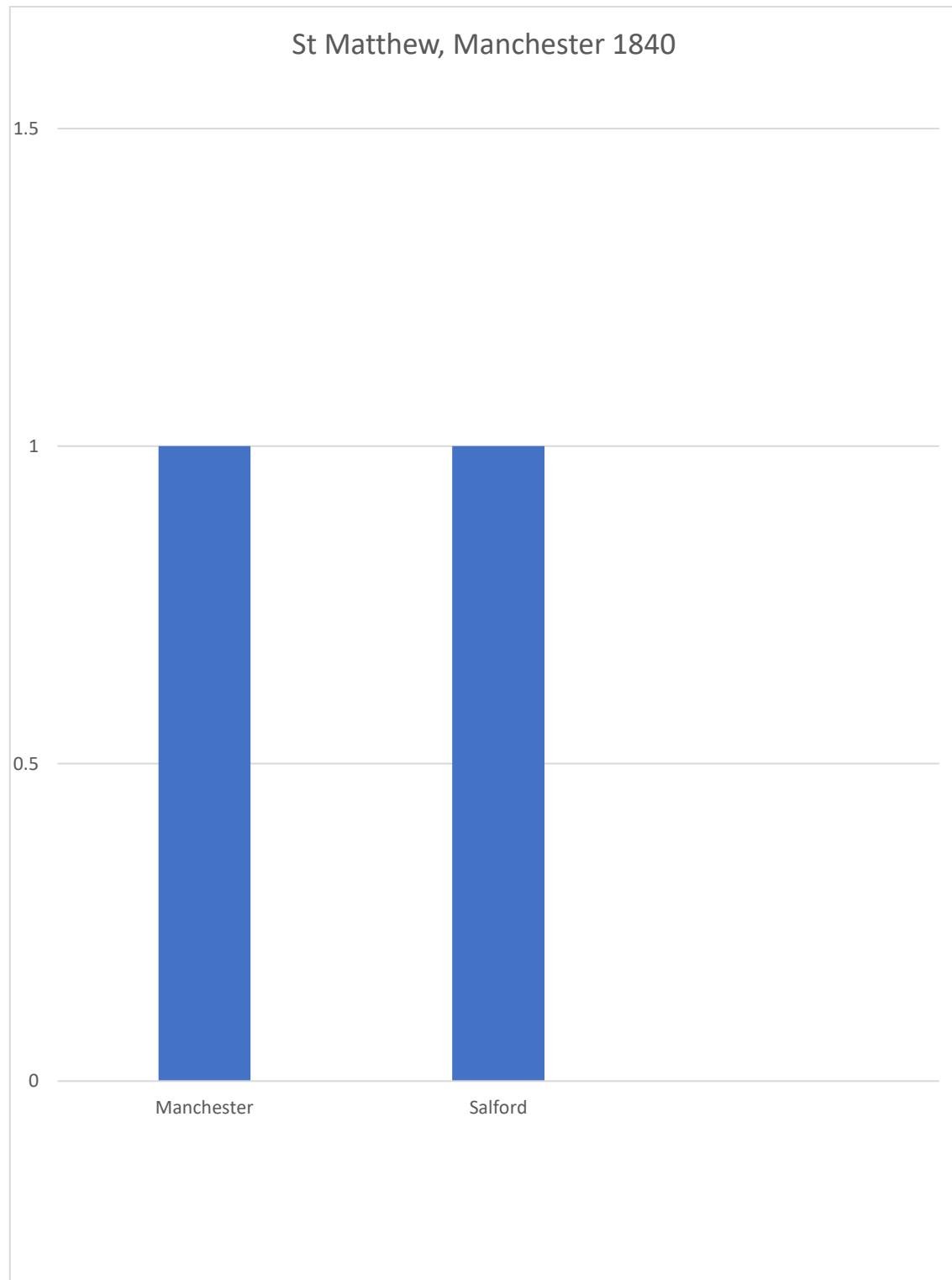
Data collected from the burial registers for All Saints Church (MFPR 1201-02) held by Manchester Archives.

Appendix 9g: Last residence of those interred at St Mark's churchyard, Cheetham, Manchester 1840



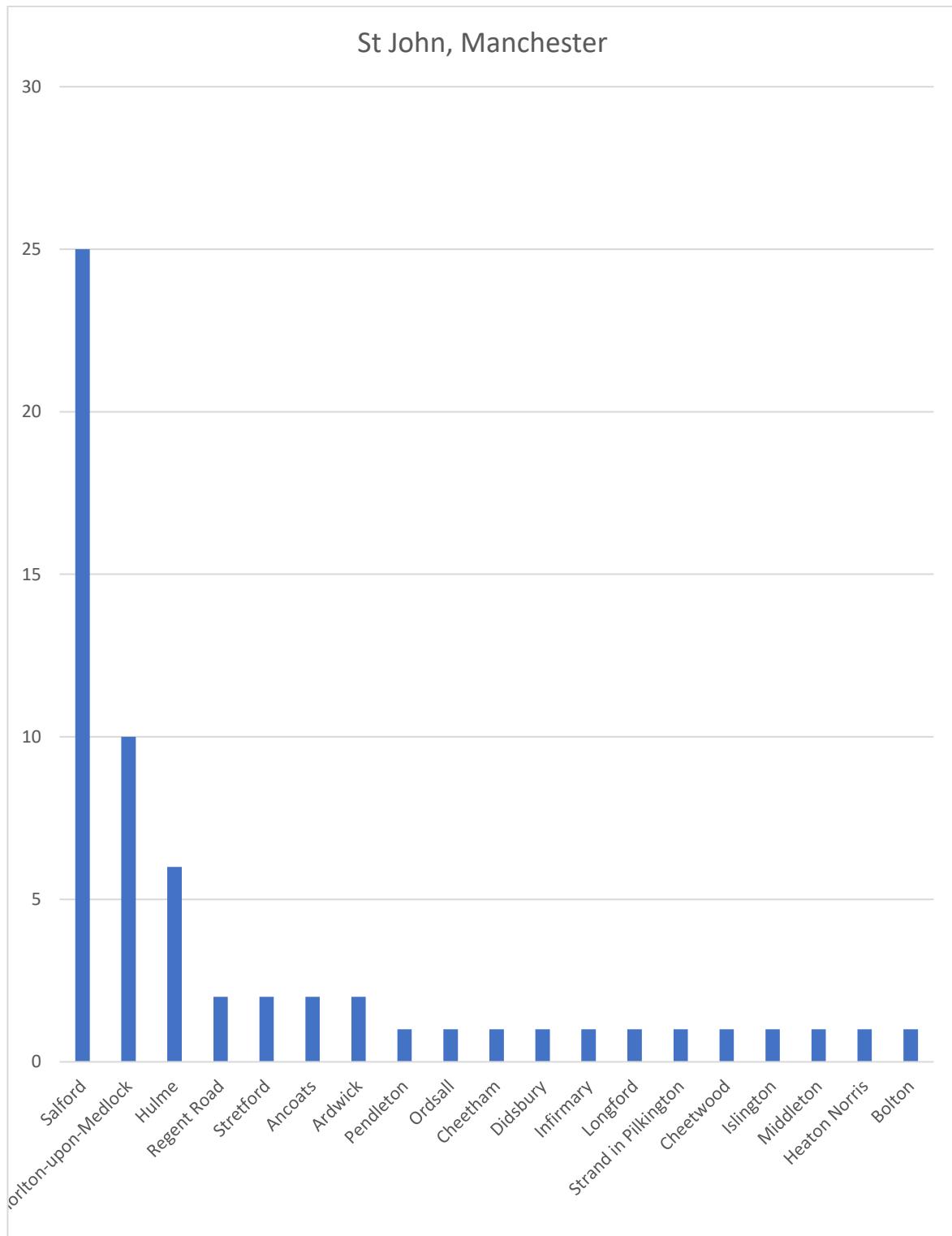
Data collected from the burial registers for St Mark's Church, Cheetham (MFPR 13) held by Manchester Archives.

Appendix 9h: Last residence of those interred at St Matthew's churchyard,
Manchester 1840



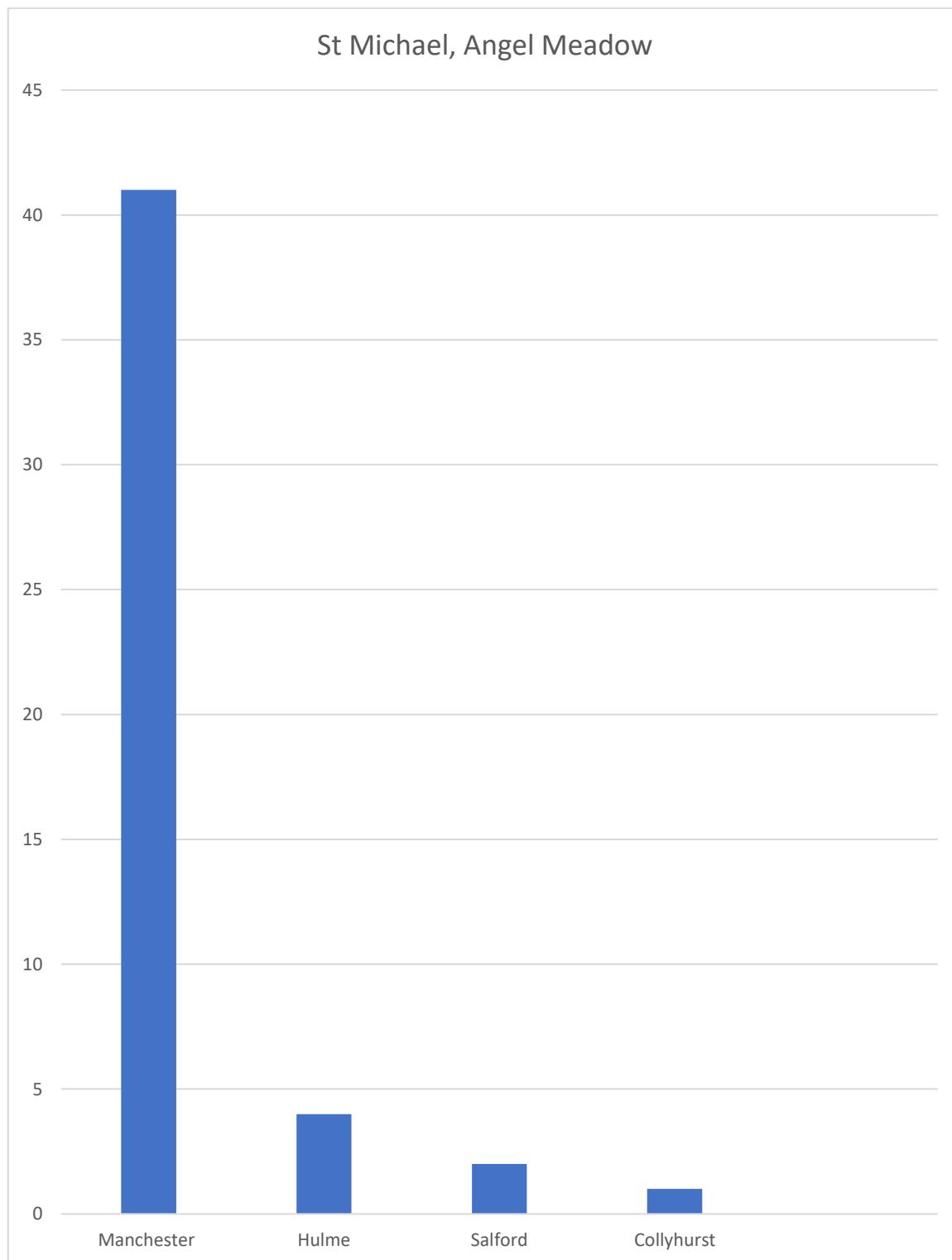
Data collected from the burial registers for St Matthew's Church (MFPR 198) held by Manchester Archives.

Appendix 9i: Last residence of those interred at St John's churchyard, Manchester
1840



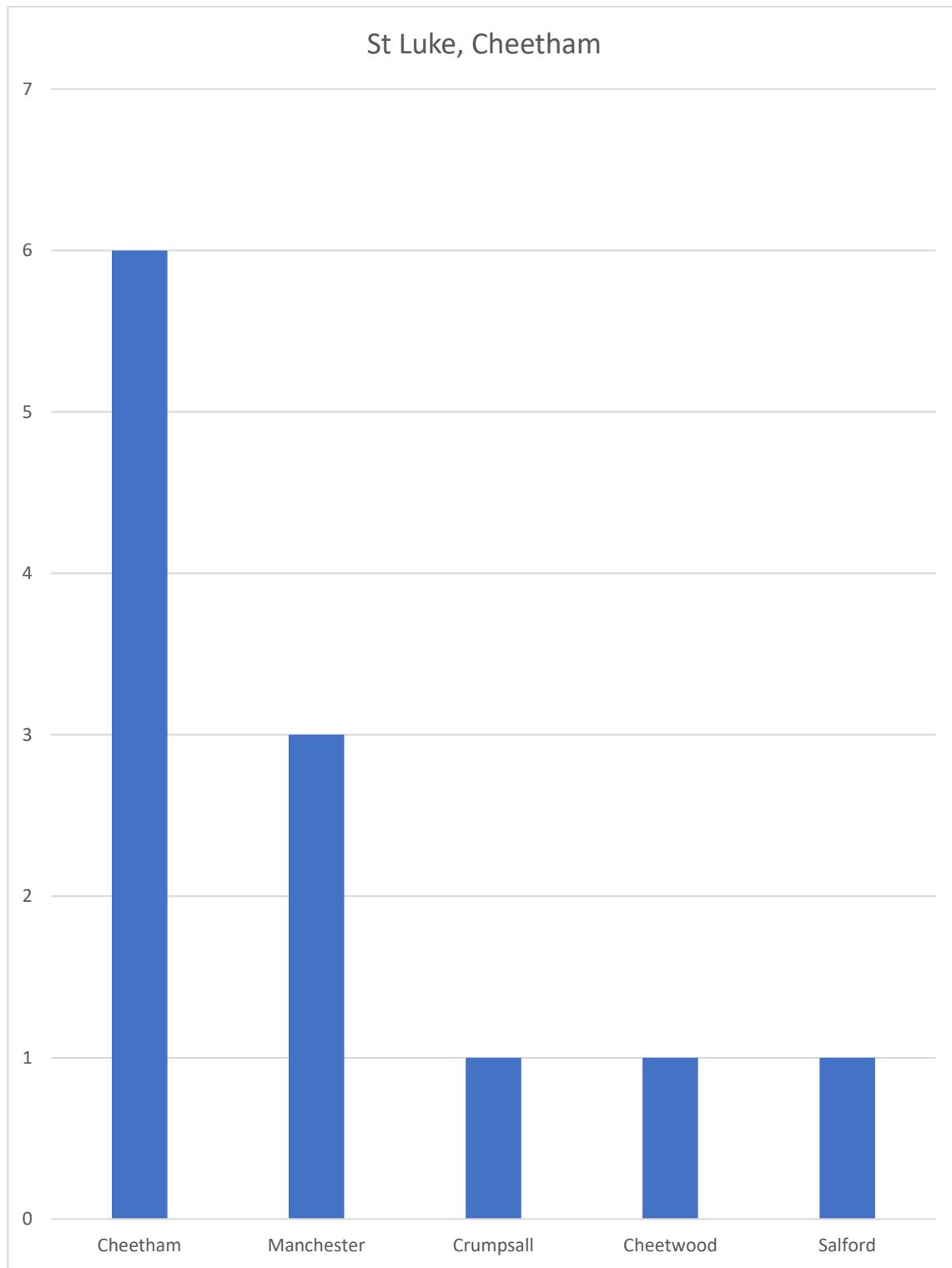
Data collected from the burial registers for St John's Church (MFPR 1142-44) held by Manchester Archives.

Appendix 9j: Last residence of those interred at St Michael's churchyard, Angel Meadow, Manchester 1840



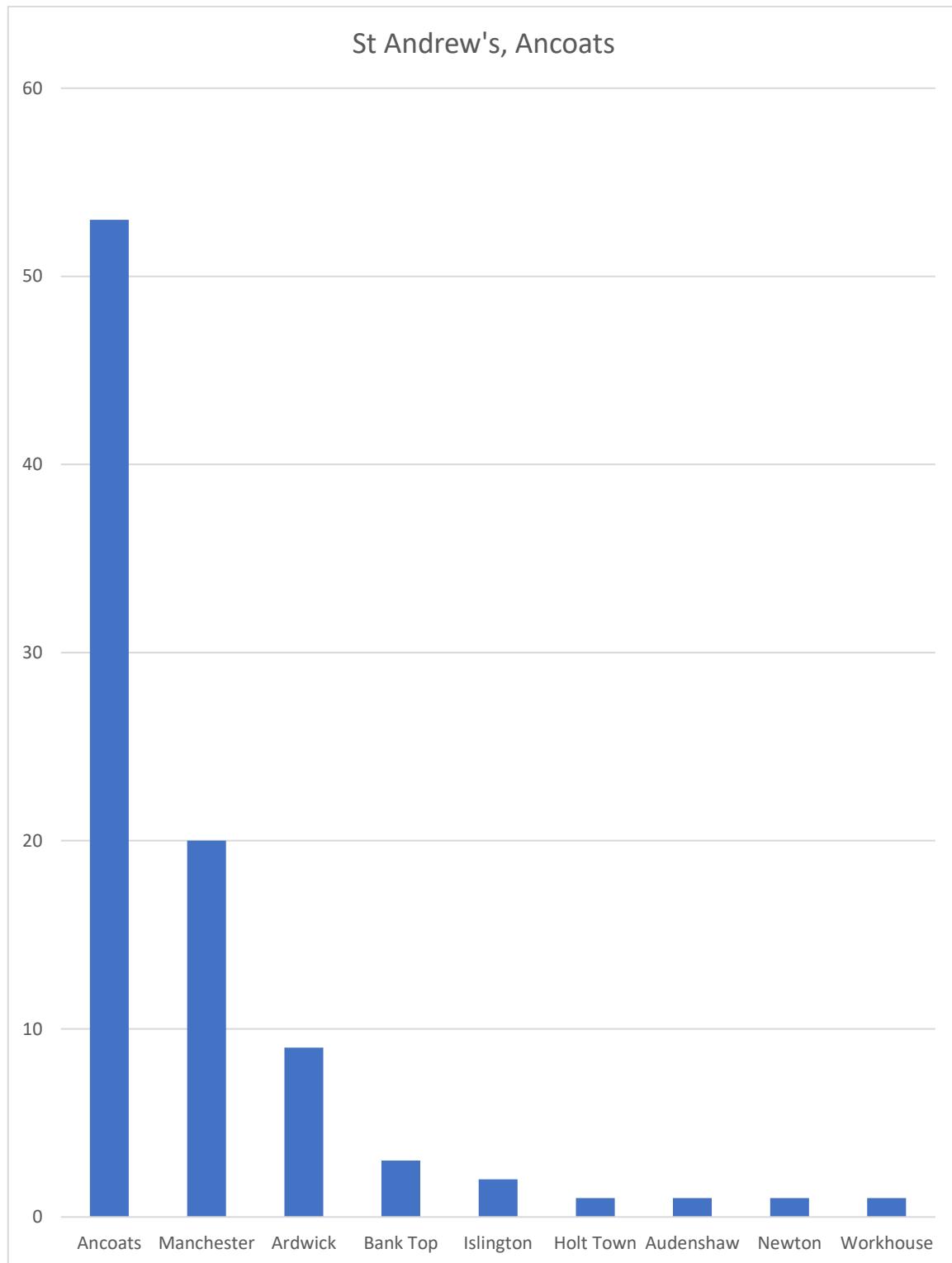
Data collected from the burial registers for St Michael's Church (MFPR 1920-21) held by Manchester Archives.

Appendix 9k: Last residence of those interred at St Luke's churchyard, Manchester
1840



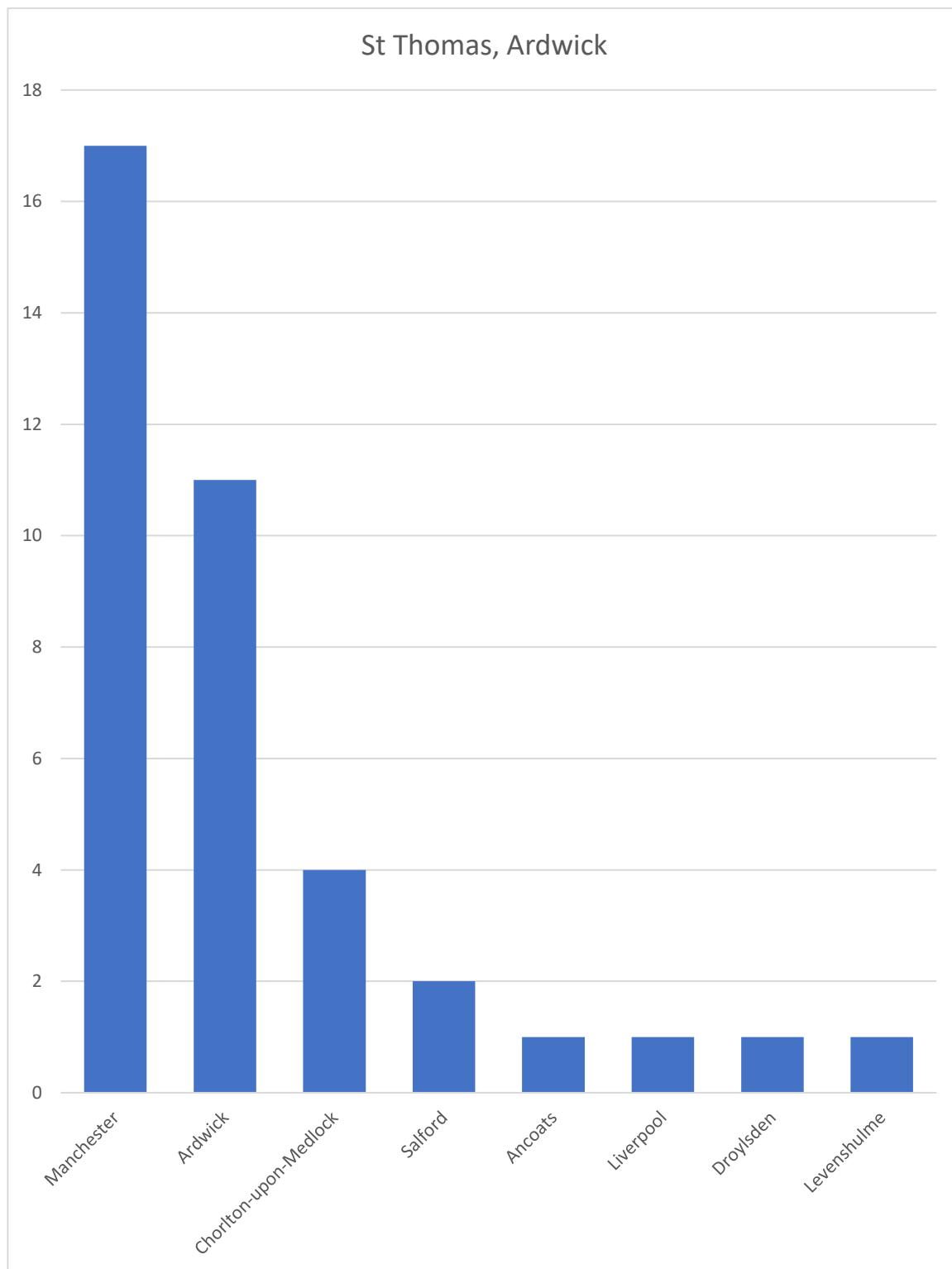
Data collected from the burial registers for St Luke's Church, Cheetham (MFPR 1274) held by Manchester Archives.

Appendix 9I: Last residence of those interred at St Andrew's churchyard, Ancoats, Manchester 1840



Data collected from the burial registers for Andrew's Church, Ancoats (MFPR 8A) held by Manchester Archives.

Appendix 9m: Last residence of those interred at St Thomas's churchyard, Ardwick, Manchester 1840



Data collected from the burial registers for St Thomas's Church, Ardwick (MFPR 1) held by Manchester Archives.

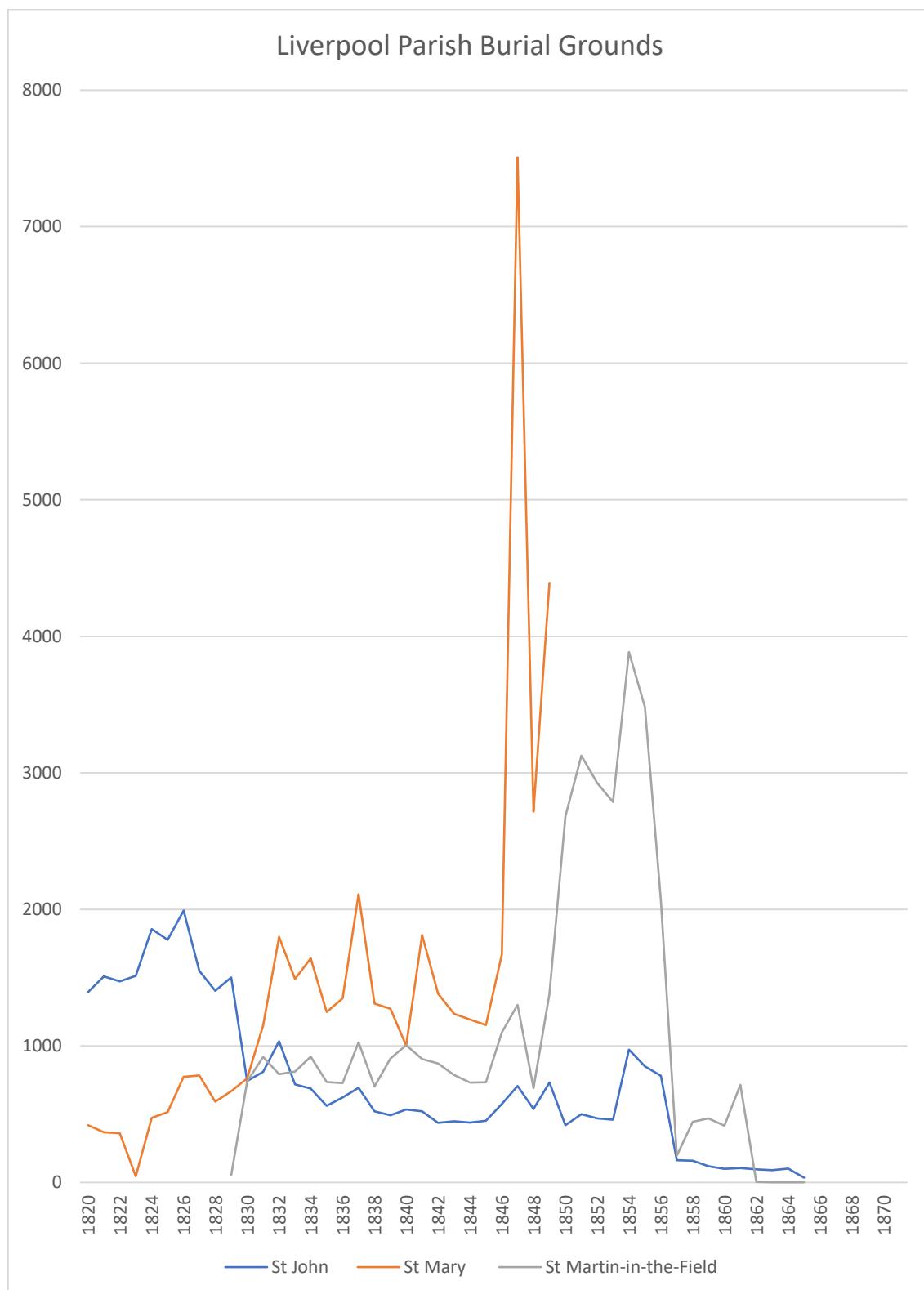
Appendix 10: Burial sites in Liverpool 1820-1870

<i>Description</i>	<i>Place of Burial</i>	<i>Date in operation</i>
<i>Parish Burial Grounds</i>	St Martin-in-the-Fields	1829-1861
	St Mary, Cambridge St	1806-1849
	Walton Cemetery	1856-1948
<i>Church of England Burial Sites</i>	All Saints, Childwall	1557-1966
	St Mary, Walton-on-the-Hill	1586-1976
	St Chad, Kirkby	1678-1917
	St John, Old Haymarket	1767-1865
	St Anne, Richmond	1773-1858
	St Michael, Garston	1777-1974
	St James, Toxteth Park	1778-1894
	Holy Trinity, Wavertree	1794-1965
	Christ Church, Hunter St	1800-1875
	St Peter, Church St	1801-1853
	St Mary, Cambridge St	1806-1849
	St Nicholas, Chapel St	1813-1854
	St Paul, St Paul's Sq	1813-1856
	St George, Derby Sq	1813-1865
	St Thomas, Park Lane	1813-1875
	Holy Trinity, St Anne St	1813-1888
	St Mary, Edge Hill	1813-1940
	St George, Everton	1815-1932
	St Michael in the Hamlet, Toxteth Park	1815-1941
	St Andrew, Renshaw St	1816-1875
	St Philip, Hardman St	1816-1876
	St Michael, Upper Pit St	1826-1902
	St Peter, Woolton	1826-2010
	St Mary, Bootle	1827-1956
	St Anne, Stanley	1832-1932
	All Saints, Grosvenor Street	1835-1838
	St John, Knotty Ash	1836-1954
	St Nicholas, Halewood	1841-1987
	St Mary the Virgin, Knowsley	1844-1946
	St Anne, Aigburth	1858-1944
	Hardshaw Monthly Meeting (Quaker)	1776-1838

<i>Nonconformist Burial Sites</i>	Byrom Street Baptist Meeting House	1783-1834
	Acient Chapel	1785-1857
	Brunswick Chapel	1814-1854
	Unitarian Chapel	1819-1893
	Leeds Street Wesleyan Chapel	1825-1836
	Scotch Presbyterian Church	1825-1854
	Stanhope Street Wesley Methodist Church	1827-1869
<i>Roman Catholic Burial Sites</i>	St Mary, Woolton	1802-1901
	St Mary, Little Crosby	1812-1856
	St Nicholas, Copperas Hill	1813-1912
	St Swithin, Kirby	1815-1855
	St Peter, Seel St	1816-1854
	St Peter & Paul, Great Crosby	1826-1920
	St Patrick, Toxteth	1827-1848
	St Swithin, Gillmoss	1831-1983
	St Anthony, Scotland Road	1833-1894
	Holy Family, Ince Blundell	1836-1861
	St Oswald, Old Swan	1842-1968
	Ford Cemetery (RC cemetery)	1859-1989
	St Austin, Grassendale	1856-1895
	St Mary, Highfield Street	1856-1900
	St Augustine, Great Howard Street	1859-1892
	St Anne, Overberry Street	1860-1914
<i>Jewish Burial Sites</i>	Upper Frederick Street Jewish Burial Ground	1789-1907
	Oakes Street Jewish Cemetery	1802-1837
	Liverpool Old Jewish Burial Ground	1838-1905
	Green Lane Jewish Cemetery	1839-1921
<i>Municipal cemeteries</i>	Toxteth Cemetery	1856-2000
	Anfield Cemetery	1863-present
<i>Joint-stock cemetery companies</i>	Necropolis (Low Hill)	1825-1898
	St Mary, Kirkdale	1837-1898
	St James	1829-1969

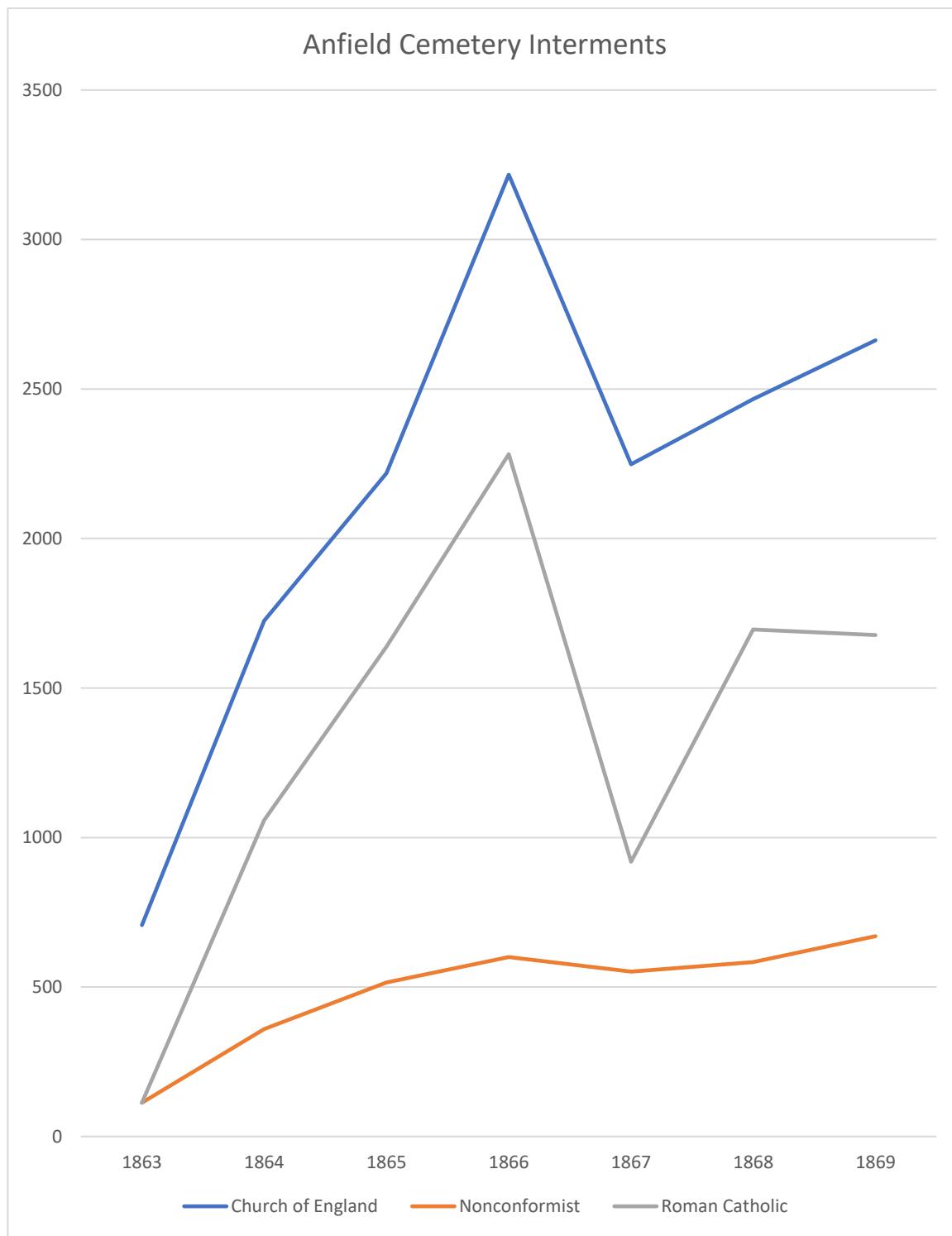
Data is gathered from the burial registers held by Liverpool Archives. See bibliography for individual reference numbers.

Appendix 11a: Parish burial ground interments in Liverpool 1820-1870



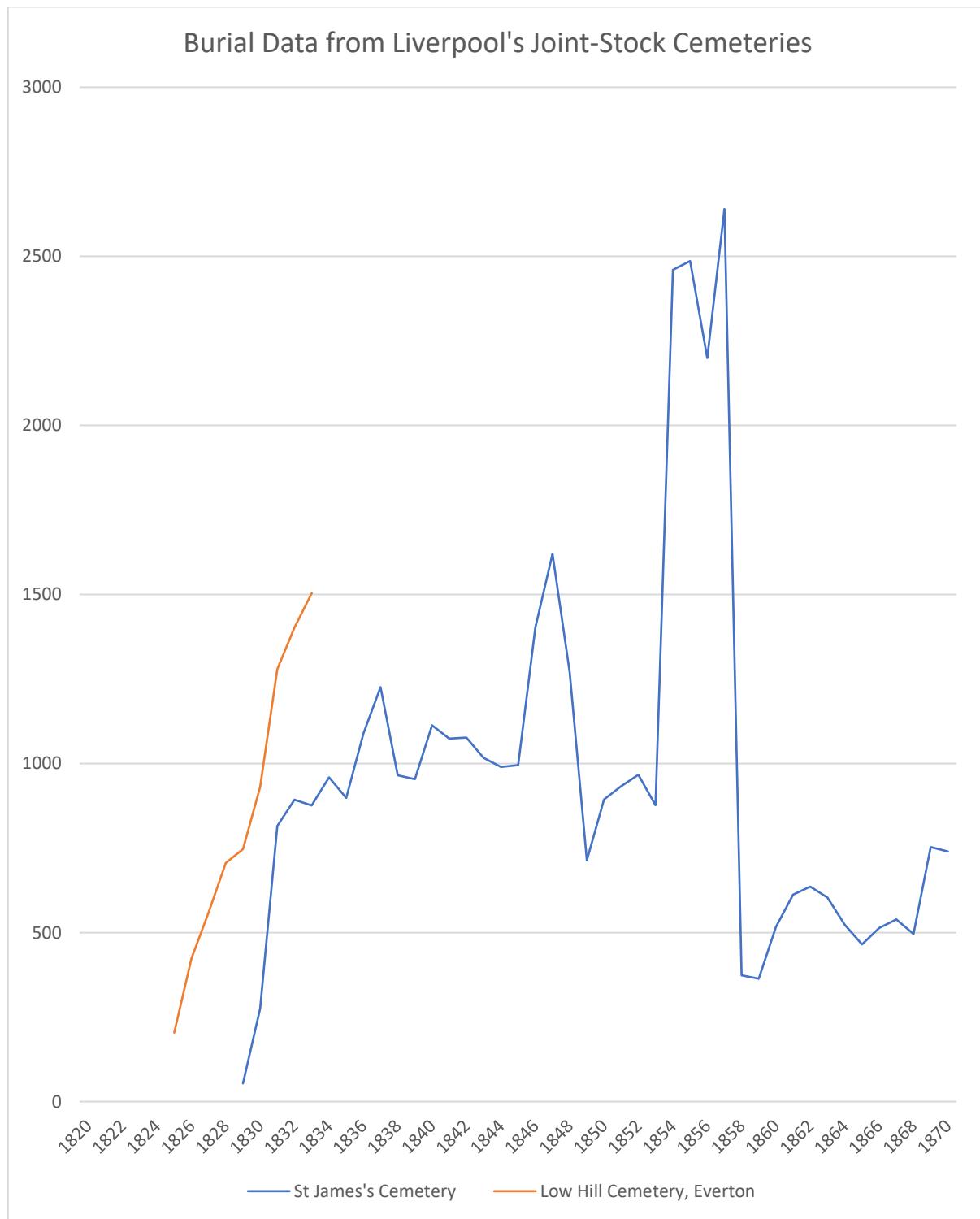
Data based on the burial registers for St John (283 JOH/4); St Mary (283 MRY/4) and St Martin-in-the-Field (283 MAR/4) held by Liverpool Archives.

Appendix 11b: Anfield Cemetery interments 1863-1870



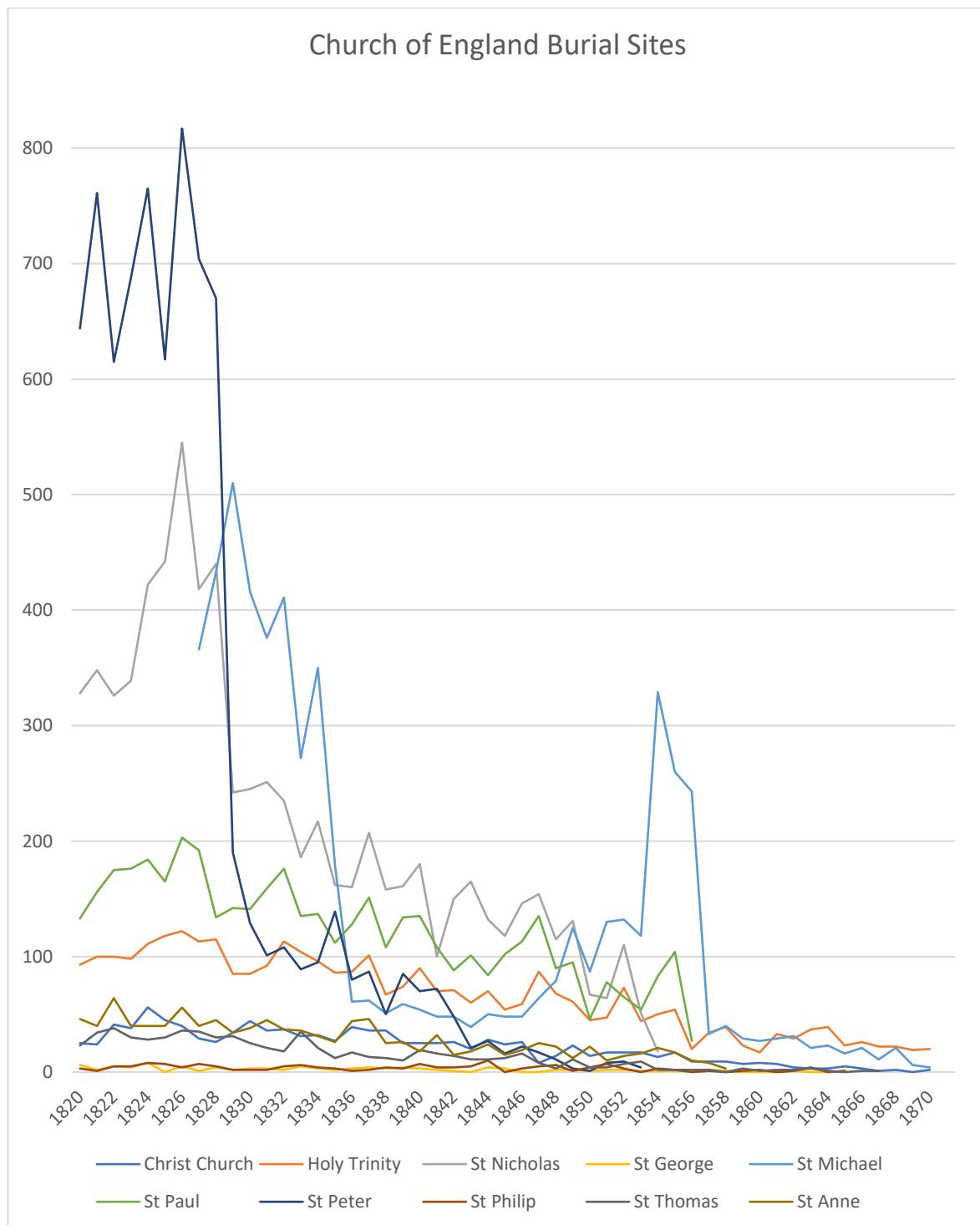
Data based on the burial registers for Anfield Cemetery (352 CEM/6/1/1-3, 352 CEM/6/2/1-9 & 352 CEM/6/3/1/1-15) held at Liverpool Archives. N.B. The cemetery opened in 1863 and therefore the data for that year is only partial.

Appendix 11c: Joint-stock cemetery company interments in Liverpool 1820-1870



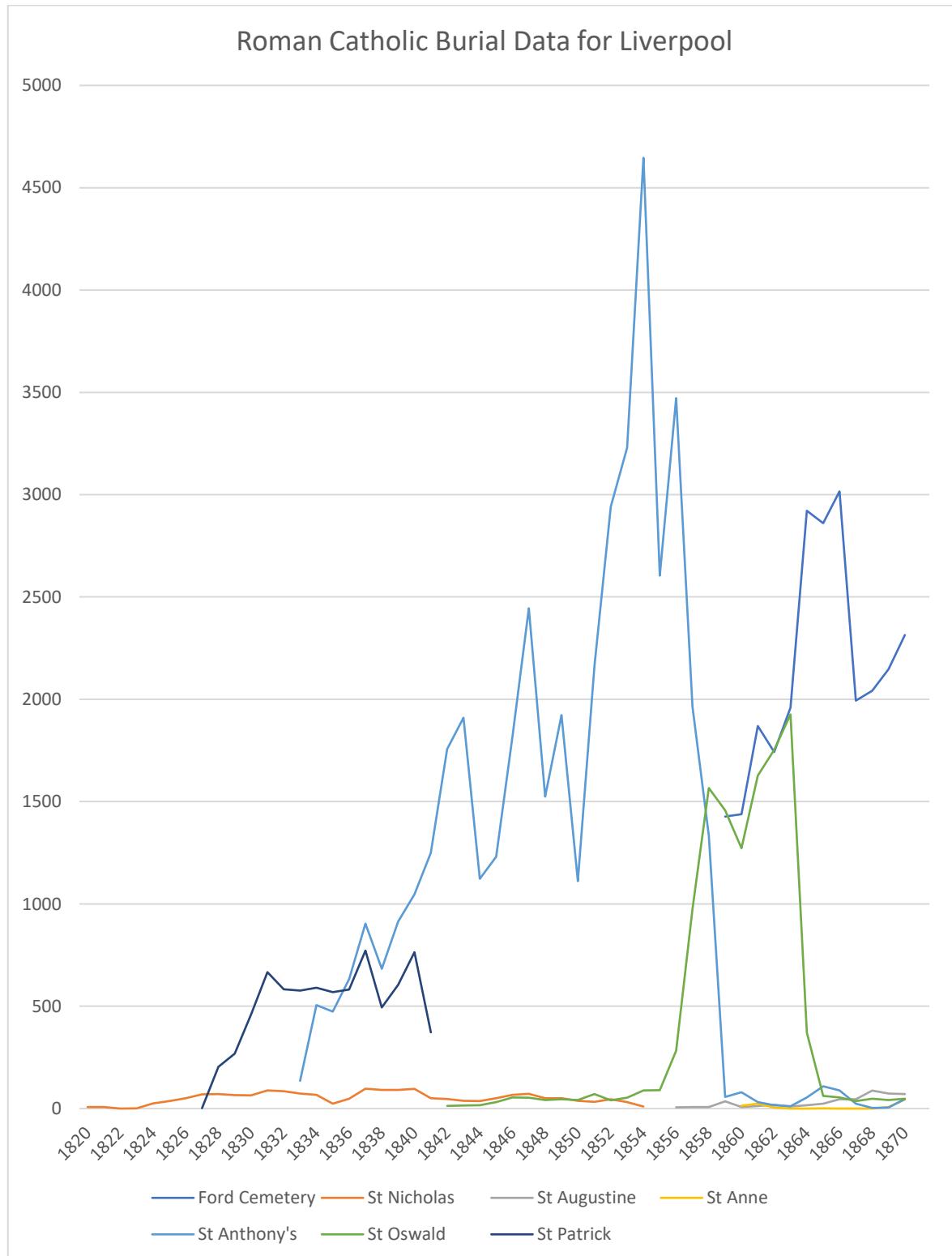
Data based on the burial registers for St James' Cemetery (352 CEM/3) and Low Hill (Necropolis) Cemetery (352 CEM/2) held at Liverpool Archives.

Appendix 11d: Church of England interments in Liverpool 1820-1870



Data based on the burial registers for Christ Church (283 CHR/4); Holy Trinity (283 HOL/4); St Nicholas (283 NIC/4); St George (283 GEO/4); St Michael (283 MIC/4); St Paul (283 PAU/4); St Peter (283 PET/4); St Philip (283 PLP/4); St Thomas (283 THO/4) and St Anne (283 ANN/4), held by Liverpool Archives.

Appendix 11e: Roman Catholic interments in Liverpool 1820-1870



Data based on the burial registers for Ford Cemetery (282 FOR); St Nicholas (282 NIC/3); St Augustine (282 AUG/3); St Anne (282 ANN/3); St Anthony (282 ANT/3); St Oswald (282 OSW/3) and St Patrick (282 PAT/3) held by Liverpool Archives.

Appendix 12: Effect of the Burial Acts on burial sites in Liverpool

Name of burial site	Publication date of the <i>London Gazette</i>	
	21 February 1854	Subsequent entries
Necropolis	Except private vaults and graves, no more than one body buried in a grave. Burials to be wholly discontinued from 1 st January 1855.	11 th April 1854: Except private vaults and graves, no more than one body buried in a grave. Burials to be wholly discontinued from 1 st January 1855.
Christ Church churchyard and vaults under church	Wholly Discontinued	28 October 1856: Burials to be wholly discontinued from 5 th November 1856 beneath the church and in the churchyard (except in family vaults and brick graves which can be opened without the disturbance of soil, in which each coffin shall be embedded in charcoal and separately entombed in an airtight manner, and in purchased family graves not less than 5 feet deep, which can be opened without the exposure of remains, for the burial only of members of the families of their owners)
St Andrew's churchyard and under the church	Wholly Discontinued	11 th April 1854: Wholly Discontinued from 18 th April 1854
St Anne's Chapel Edgehill	Except private vaults and graves, no more than one body buried in a grave. Burials to be wholly discontinued from 1 st January 1855. No burial to take place within 20 feet of the schools.	11 th April 1854: Except private vaults and graves, no more than one body buried in a grave. Burials to be wholly discontinued from 1 st January 1855. No burial to take place within 20 feet of the schools.
St Anne's Churchyard and under the church	Wholly Discontinued	

St George, Everton	Except private vaults and graves, no more than one body buried in a grave. Burials to be wholly discontinued from 1 st January 1855.	11 th April 1854: Except private vaults and graves, no more than one body buried in a grave. Burials to be wholly discontinued from 1 st January 1855.
St James's Churchyard, Toxteth Park	Burials to be wholly discontinued from 1 st January 1855.	
St John's Churchyard	Except private vaults and graves, no more than one body buried in a grave. Burials to be wholly discontinued from 1 st January 1854.	28 October 1856: Burials to be wholly discontinued from 5 th November 1856 beneath the church and in the churchyard (except in family vaults and brick graves which can be opened without the disturbance of soil, in which each coffin shall be embedded in charcoal and separately entombed in an airtight manner, and in purchased family graves not less than 5 feet deep, which can be opened without the exposure of remains, for the burial only of members of the families of their owners)
St Mark's Churchyard	Wholly Discontinued	11 th April 1854: Wholly Discontinued from 18 th April 1854
St Martin's Churchyard	Wholly Discontinued from 1 st August 1854	11 th April 1854: Wholly Discontinued from 1 st August 1854 15 August 1854: Repealed closure. 28 October 1856: Burials to be wholly discontinued from 5 th November 1856 beneath the church and in the churchyard (except in family vaults and brick graves which can be opened without the disturbance of soil, in which each coffin shall be embedded in charcoal and separately entombed in an airtight manner, and in purchased family graves not less than 5 feet deep, which can be opened without the exposure of remains, for the burial only of members of the families of their owners)
St Martin's Parochial Cemetery	Wholly Discontinued from 1 st August 1854	11 th April 1854: Wholly Discontinued from 1 st August 1854

St Mary's Cemetery	Except private vaults and graves, no more than one body buried in a grave. Burials to be wholly discontinued from 1 st January 1855	11 th April 1854: Except private vaults and graves, no more than one body buried in a grave. Burials to be wholly discontinued from 1 st January 1855.
St Michael's Churchyard	Except private vaults and graves, no more than one body buried in a grave. Burials to be wholly discontinued from 1 st January 1855	11 th April 1854: Except private vaults and graves, no more than one body buried in a grave. Burials to be wholly discontinued from 1 st January 1855. 28 October 1856: Burials to be wholly discontinued from 5 th November 1856 beneath the church and in the churchyard (except in family vaults and brick graves which can be opened without the disturbance of soil, in which each coffin shall be embedded in charcoal and separately entombed in an airtight manner, and in purchased family graves not less than 5 feet deep, which can be opened without the exposure of remains, for the burial only of members of the families of their owners)
St Nicholas Church and Churchyard	Wholly Discontinued	
St Paul's churchyard		11 th April 1854: Wholly Discontinued from 18 th April 1854
St Peter's Churchyard	Wholly Discontinued	4 th July 1854: Closure repealed.
St Philip's Churchyard	Wholly Discontinued	
St Thomas's Churchyard	Wholly Discontinued	11 th April 1854: Wholly Discontinued from 18 th April 1854
Trinity Churchyard and under the church	Wholly Discontinued	11 th April 1854: Wholly Discontinued from 18 th April 1854 28 October 1856: Burials to be wholly discontinued from 5 th November 1856 beneath the church and in the churchyard (except in family vaults and brick graves which can be opened without the disturbance of soil, in which each coffin shall be embedded in charcoal and separately entombed in an airtight manner, and in

		purchased family graves not less than 5 feet deep, which can be opened without the exposure of remains, for the burial only of members of the families of their owners)
Baptist Burial Ground, Everton Road	Wholly Discontinued	11 th April 1854: Wholly Discontinued from 18 th April 1854
Brunswick Chapel, Moss Street	Wholly Discontinued from 1 st August 1854	11 th April 1854: Wholly Discontinued from 1 st August 1854
Great George Street Chapel	Wholly Discontinued	11 th April 1854: Wholly Discontinued from 18 th April 1854
Independent Chapel Burial Ground, Toxteth Park	Wholly Discontinued 1 st January 1855	11 th April 1854: Wholly Discontinued from 1 st August 1855
Newington Independent Chapel, Renshaw Street	Wholly Discontinued	11 th April 1854: Wholly Discontinued from 18 th April 1854
Quaker's Burial Ground, Hunter Street	Wholly Discontinued from 1 st January 1856	11 th April 1854: Wholly Discontinued from 1 st January 1856 11 th December 1855: Amended - burials wholly discontinued from 1 st January 1856, except in ground that has never previously been buried in.
Scotch Presbyterian Church, Oldham Street	Except private vaults and graves, no more than one body buried in a grave. Burials to be wholly discontinued from 1 st January 1855.	11 th April 1854: Except private vaults and graves, no more than one body buried in a grave. Burials to be wholly discontinued from 1 st January 1855.
Scotch Presbyterian Church, Rodney Street		11 th April 1854: Except private vaults and graves, no more than one body buried in a grave. Burials to be wholly discontinued from 1 st January 1855.
Unitarian Chapel, Renshaw Street	Wholly Discontinued from 1 st August 1855	11 th April 1854: Wholly Discontinued from 1 st August 1856

Wesleyan Methodist Chapel burial ground, Upper Stan-hope Street	Wholly Discontinued	11 th April 1854: Wholly Discontinued from 18 th April 1854
All Saints, RC Burial Ground	Wholly Discontinued	11 th April 1854: Wholly Discontinued from 18 th April 1854
St Anthony's RC Chapel, Scotland Road	Except private vaults and graves, no more than one body buried in a grave. Burials to be wholly discontinued from 1 st January 1855.	11 th April 1854: Except private vaults and graves, no more than one body buried in a grave. Burials to be wholly discontinued from 1 st January 1855.
St Nicholas RC Chapel, Copperas Hill	Wholly discontinued in the burial ground and in the vaults under the chapel	11 th April 1854: Wholly Discontinued from 18 th April 1854
St Patrick's RC Chapel	Wholly discontinued in the burial ground and in the vaults under the chapel	11 th April 1854: Wholly Discontinued from 18 th April 1854
St Peter's RC Chapel, Seel Street	Wholly discontinued in the burial ground and in the vaults under the chapel	11 th April 1854: Wholly Discontinued from 18 th April 1854

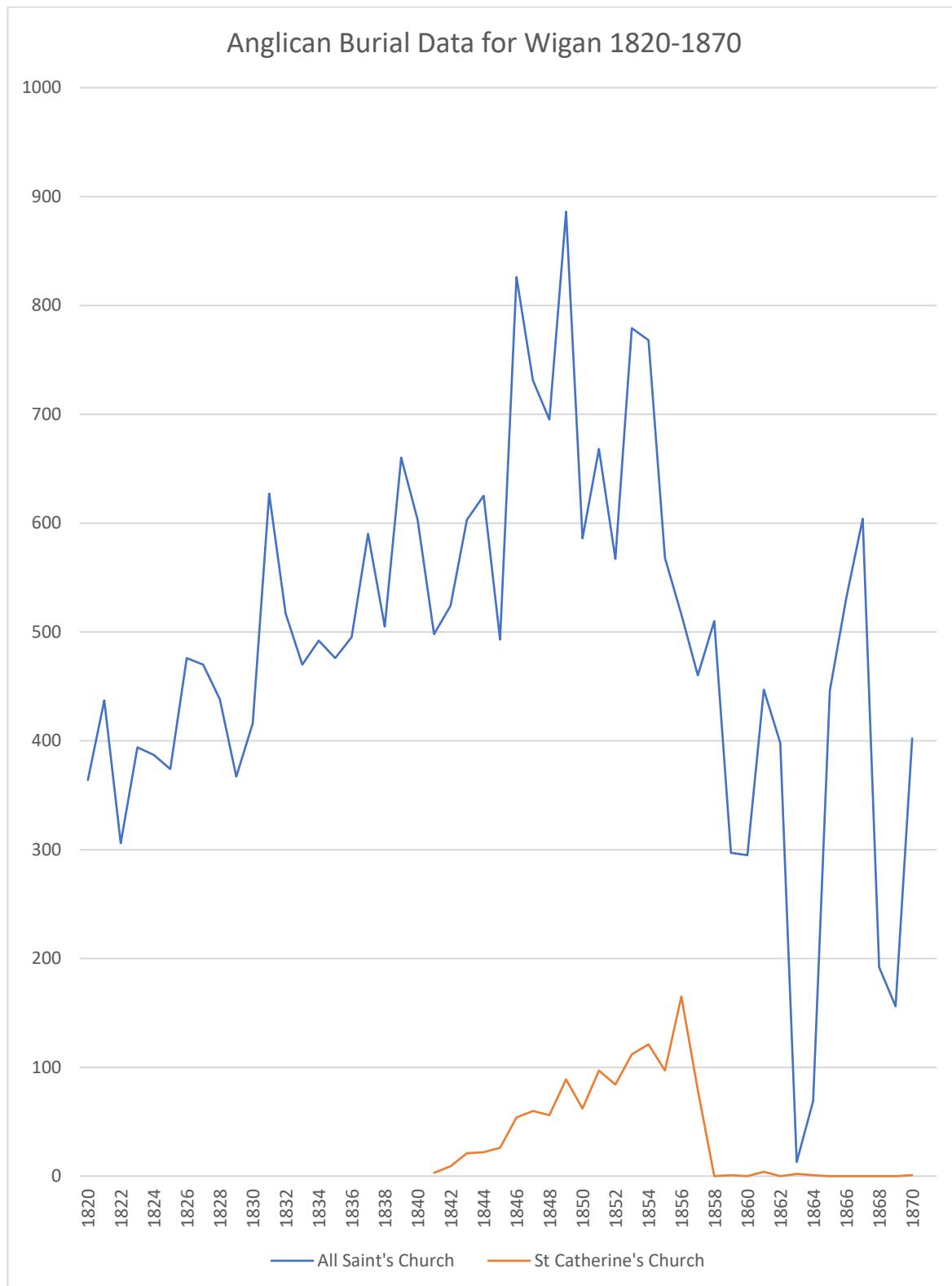
Data taken from the *London Gazette* 1854-1857.

Appendix 13: Burial sites in Wigan 1820-1870

<i>Description</i>	<i>Place of Burial</i>	<i>Date in operation</i>
<i>Church of England Churchyards & Burial Grounds</i>	All Saints	1580-1904
	St Catherine	1841-1908
<i>Nonconformist Churchyards & Burial Grounds</i>	St Pauls Congregational Church, Standishgate	1786-1837
	Presbyterian Chapel, Chapel Lane	Unknown - 1856
	Wesleyan Burial Ground, Goose Green	Unknown - 1952
<i>Roman Catholic Churchyards & Burial Grounds</i>	St John	1818-1856
	St Mary, Standishgate	1849-1899
<i>Municipal Cemeteries</i>	Wigan Cemetery (Lower Ince)	1856-ongoing

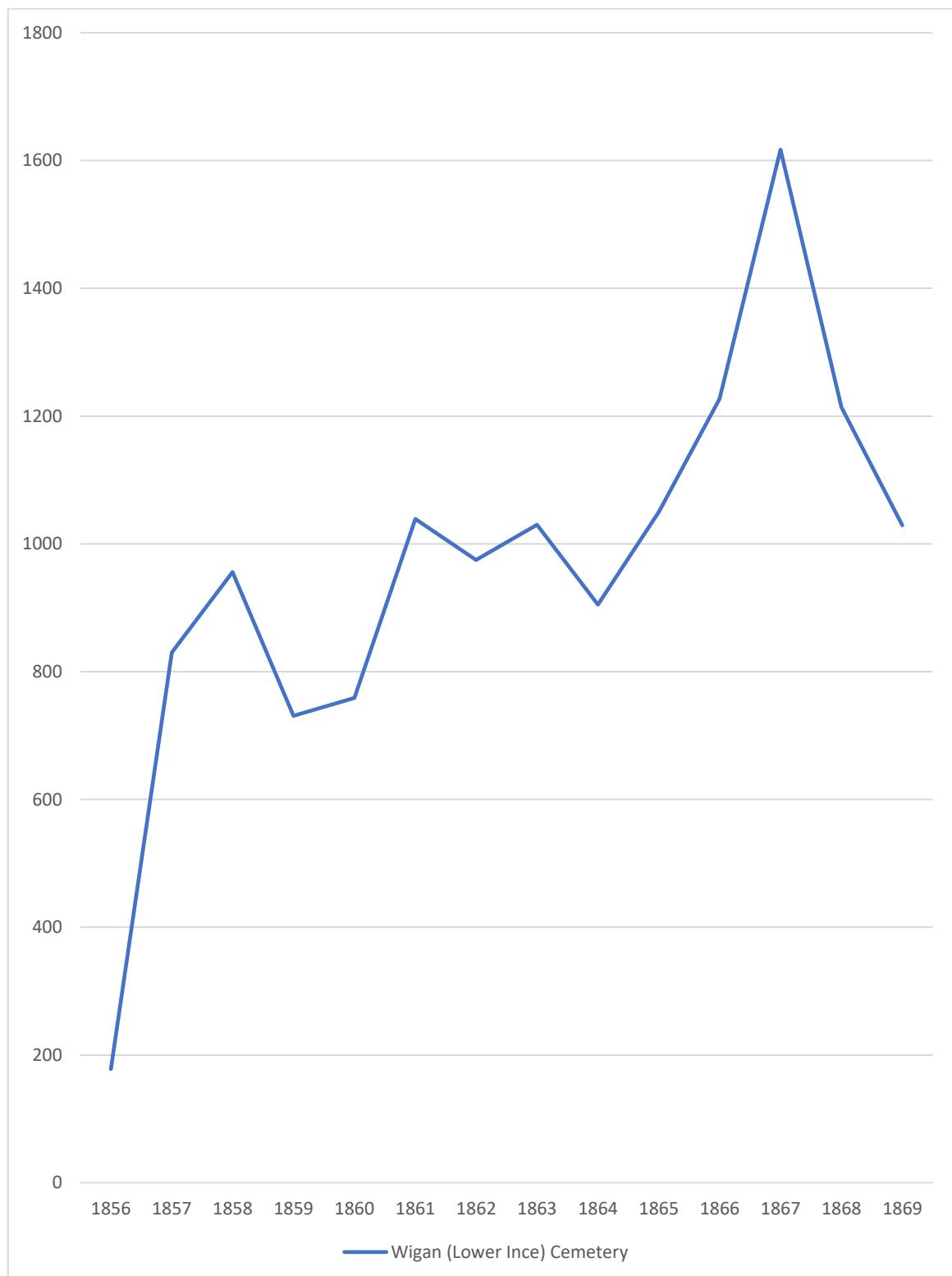
Data based on the burial registers at Wigan & Leigh Archives.

Appendix 14a: Church of England interments in Wigan 1820-1870



Data based on burial registers of All Saints (DRL 2/486-510) and St Catherine's (D/P 27/1/30) held by Wigan & Leigh Archives.

Appendix 14b: Cemetery burials in Wigan 1820-1870



Data based on burial registers for Wigan Cemetery (Lower Ince) held at Wigan Museum & Archives, (MF 4B1/1 and MF 4B1/2)

Appendix 15: Effect of the Burial Acts on burial sites in Wigan

Name of burial site	Publication date of the <i>London Gazette</i>		
	31 st January 1854	15 th December 1854	Subsequent entries
All Saints Churchyard	Burials to cease forthwith in the vaults of the church and in the churchyard from 1 st January 1855	Extended to 1 st July 1855	29 th June 1855: Extended to 1 st January 1856 27 th June 1856: Extended to 1 st September 1856 29 th July 1856: Amended – except in vaults and brick graves for the burial of the husband, wife, parents and children, of persons already interred therein, in which case each coffin shall be imbedded in charcoal, and separately entombed in an air-tight manner.
Independent Chapel, Standishgate	Burials to cease forthwith in the chapel and in the burial ground from 1 st January 1855	Extended to 1 st July 1855	29 th June 1855: Extended to 1 st January 1856 27 th June 1856: Extended to 1 st September 1856 29 th July 1856: Amended – except in vaults and brick graves for the burial of the husband, wife, parents and children, of persons already interred therein, in which case each coffin shall be imbedded in charcoal, and separately entombed in an air-tight manner.
Presbyterian Chapel	Burials to cease forthwith in the chapel and in the burial ground from 1 st January 1855	Extended to 1 st July 1855	29 th June 1855: Extended to 1 st January 1856 27 th June 1856: Extended to 1 st September 1856 29 th July 1856: Amended – except in vaults and brick graves for the burial of the husband, wife, parents and children, of persons already interred therein, in which case each coffin shall be imbedded in charcoal, and separately entombed in an air-tight manner.
St Catherine's Church & churchyard	Burials to cease forthwith in the church and in the churchyard	Extended to 1 st July 1855	29 th June 1855: Extended to 1 st January 1856 27 th June 1856: Extended to 1 st September 1856 29 th July 1856: Amended – except in vaults and brick graves for the burial of the husband, wife, parents and children, of persons already interred

	from 1 st January 1855		therein, in which case each coffin shall be imbedded in charcoal, and separately entombed in an air-tight manner. 28 th October 1856: Extended to 1 st March 1857
St Mary's RC Chapel, Standishgate	Burials to cease forthwith in the chapel and in the burial ground from 1 st January 1855	Extended to 1 st July 1855	29 th June 1855: Extended to 1 st January 1856 27 th June 1856: Extended to 1 st September 1856 29 th July 1856: Amended – except in vaults and brick graves for the burial of the husband, wife, parents and children, of persons already interred therein, in which case each coffin shall be imbedded in charcoal, and separately entombed in an air-tight manner.
St John's RC Chapel	Burials to cease forthwith in the chapel and in the burial ground from 1 st January 1855	Extended to 1 st July 1855	29 th June 1855: Extended to 1 st January 1856 27 th June 1856: Extended to 1 st September 1856 29 th July 1856: Amended – except in vaults and brick graves for the burial of the husband, wife, parents and children, of persons already interred therein, in which case each coffin shall be imbedded in charcoal, and separately entombed in an air-tight manner.

Data taken from the *London Gazette* 1854-1857.

Appendix 16: Burial sites in Preston 1820-1870

<i>Description</i>	<i>Place of Burial</i>	<i>Date in operation</i>
<i>Parish Burial Ground</i>	St John's Parish Churchyard	1528-1849
<i>Church of England Burial Sites</i>	St George's Church	1751-1989
	St Michael's Church	1801-1819
	St Paul's Church	1825-1890
	Holly Trinity	1813-1889
	St Peter's Church	1824-1864
	Christ Church	1838-1899
	St Thomas's Church	1842-1854
	St Mary's Church	1843-1891
	St James's Church	1850-1853
<i>Nonconformist Burial Sites</i>	Society of Friends	1651-1837
	Percy Street (Unitarian)	1783-1921
	Cannon Street (Independent)	1790-1821
	Church Street (Independent)	1808-1837
	Grimshaw Street (Independent)	1808-1855
	Baptist Chapel (Leeming Street)	1808-1837
	Baptist Chapel (Vauxhall Road)	
<i>Roman Catholic Burial Sites</i>	St Wilfrid's Churchyard	1768-1854
	St Ignatius Churchyard	1832-1858
	St Augustine	1855-1937
<i>Municipal Cemetery</i>	Preston Cemetery	1855-still taking burials

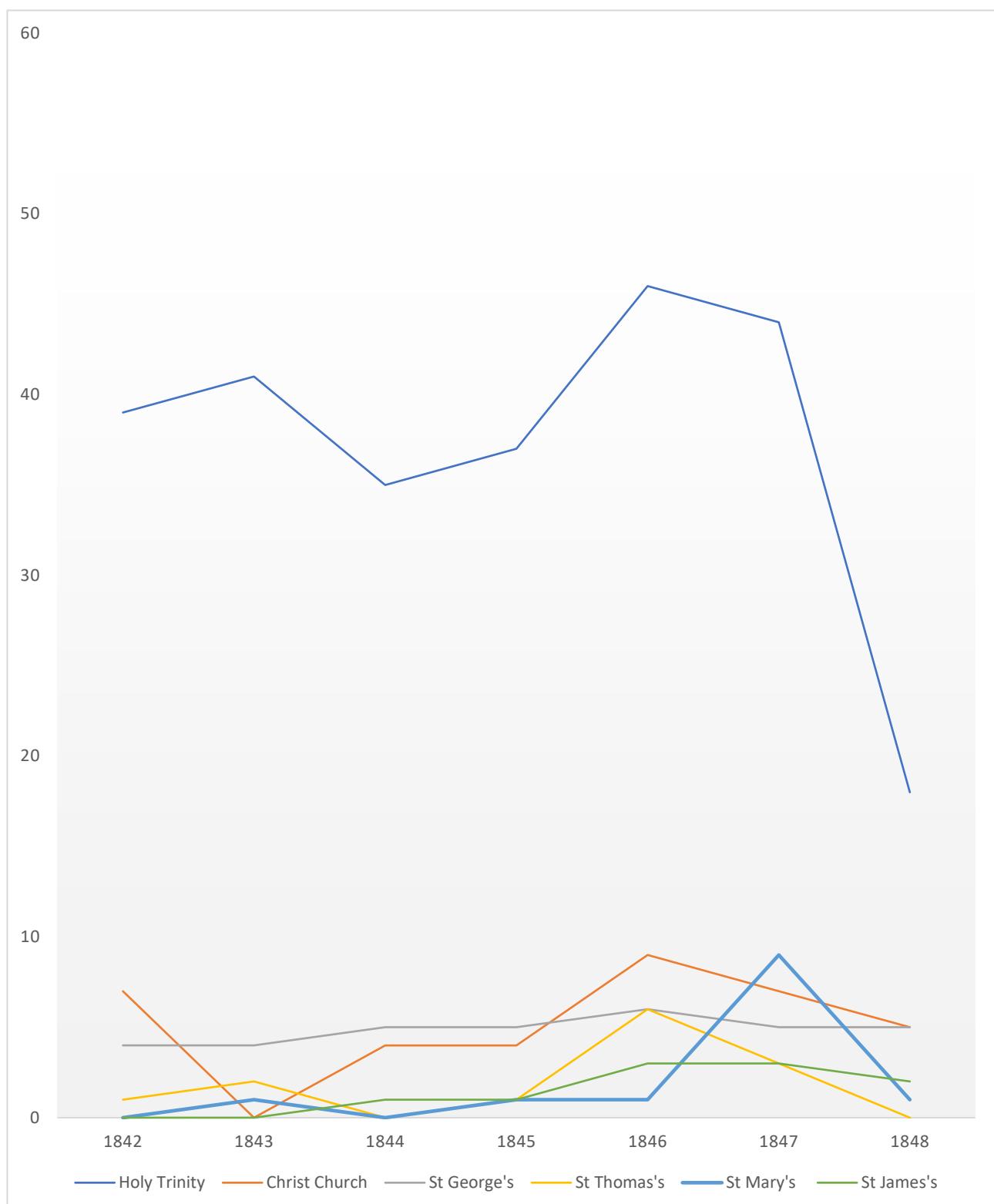
Data is gathered from the burial registers held by Lancashire Archives.

Appendix 17: Preston Population and Mortality Statistics

	Population	Total Deaths	Death Rate Per 000
1838	45,540	1,286	28.2
1839	47,350	1,302	27.5
1840	49,170	1,993	40.5
1841	51,000	1,508	29.6
1842	52,840	1,550	29.3
1843	54,680	1,459	26.4
1844	56,520	1,380	24.4
1845	58,360	1,635	28
1846	60,200	2,189	36.4
1847	62,050	2,059	33.2
1848	63,900	1,550	24.3
1849	65,750	1,751	26.6
1850	67,000	1,745	25.8
1851	69,450	2,241	32.3
1852	70,850	2,284	32.2
1853	72,250	2,346	32.5
1854	73,600	2,013	27.4
1855	75,000	2,557	34.1
1856	76,400	2,251	29.5
1857	77,800	2,131	27.4
1858	79,200	2,545	32.1
1859	80,600	2,111	26.2
1860	82,000	2,236	27.3
1861	82,985	2,585	31.2
1862	83,231	2,411	29
1863	83,477	2,142	25.7
1864	83,686	3,432	29.1
1865	83,932	2,708	32.3
1866	84,178	2,854	33.9
1867	84,424	2,608	30.9
1868	84,670	2,798	33
1869	84,916	2,248	26.5
1870	85,162	2,406	28.3

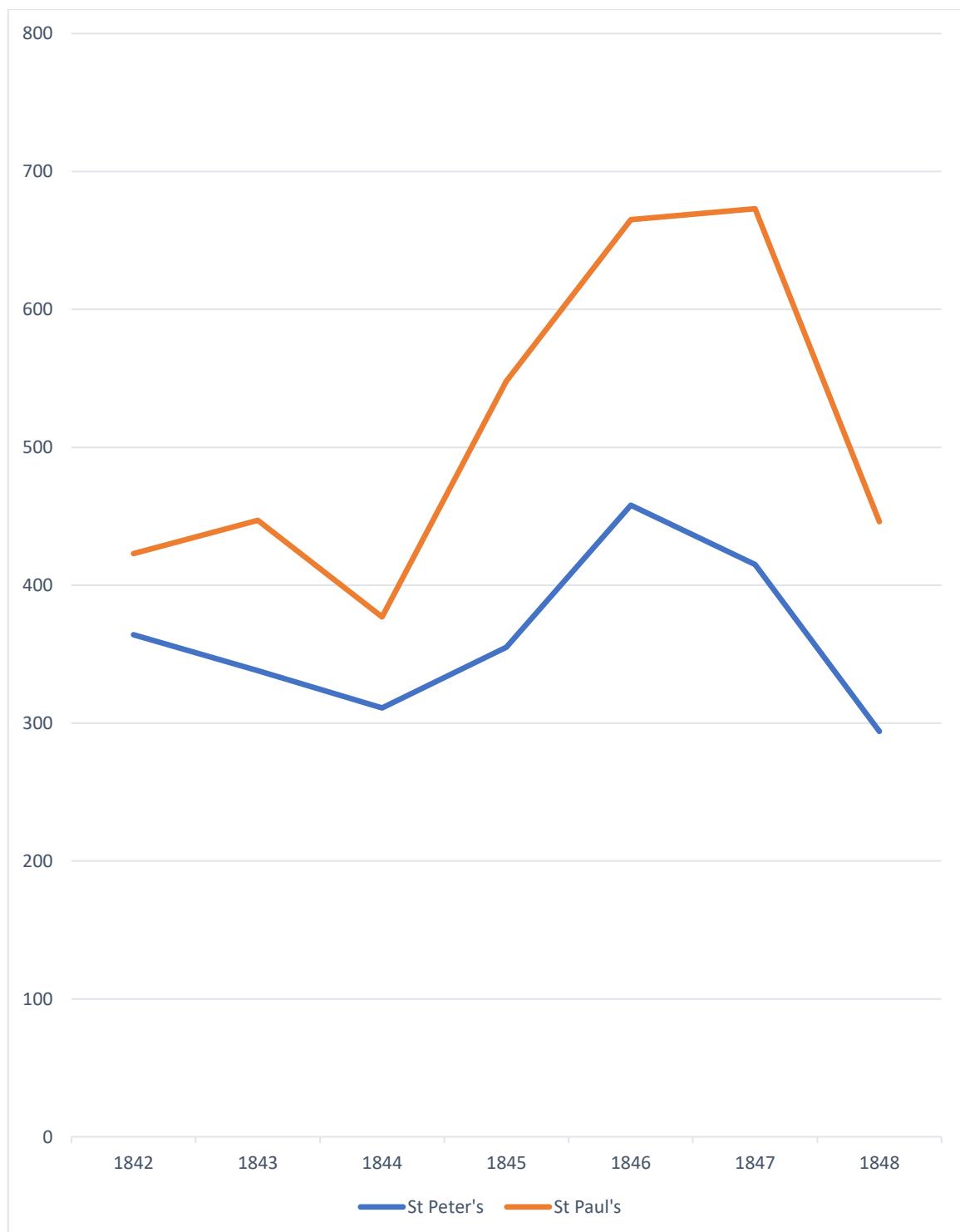
Nigel Morgan, *Deadly Dwellings: Health and Housing in a Lancashire Cotton Town Preston from 1840 to 1914*, (Preston: Mullion Books, 1993), p.107

Appendix 18a: Church of England interments in Preston 1842-1848



Burial data found in Nigel Morgan, *Deadly Dwellings: Health and Housing in a Lancashire Cotton Town Preston from 1840 to 1914*, (Preston: Mullion Books, 1993), p.27.

**Appendix 18b: Church of England interments in St Peter's and St Paul's Preston
1842-1848**



Burial data found in Nigel Morgan, *Deadly Dwellings: Health and Housing in a Lancashire Cotton Town Preston from 1840 to 1914*, (Preston: Mullion Books, 1993), p.27.

Appendix 19: Burial data for Preston 1842-1848

Number of burials in Preston from 1st January 1842 to 31st December 1848

Name of Church or Chapel	Number of Interments	Religion
St John's	847	Church of England
St James'	10	Church of England
Christ Church	36	Church of England
St George's	34	Church of England
St Peter's	2,535	Church of England
St Paul's	3,579	Church of England
St Thomas'	13	Church of England
St Mary's	13	Church of England
Trinity	260	Church of England
St Augustine's	596	Roman Catholic
St Wilfrid's	922	Roman Catholic
St Ignatius	1,550	Roman Catholic
Society of Friends	30	Nonconformist
Unitarian Chapel	23	Nonconformist
Independent	118	Nonconformist
Baptist Chapel (Leeming Street)	33	Nonconformist
Baptist Chapel (Vauxhall Road)	9	Nonconformist

Summary

Religion	Number of Interments
Church of England	7,327
Roman Catholic	3,068
Nonconformist	213

Nigel Morgan, *Deadly Dwellings: Health and Housing in a Lancashire Cotton Town Preston from 1840 to 1914*, (Preston: Mullion Books, 1993), p.27.

Appendix 20: Burial sites in Chester 1820-1870

<i>Description</i>	<i>Place of Burial</i>	<i>Date in operation</i>
<i>Parish Burial Ground</i>	Cathedral	1688-1896
<i>Church of England Burial Sites</i>	St Peter's Church	1559-1846
	St John the Baptist	1560-1915
	St Oswald's Church	1581-1854
	St Michael's Church	1581-1848
	St Olave	1611-1849
	St Mary	1628-1854
	St Bridget's Church	1649-1896
	Trinity Church	1656-1854
	St Martin's Church	1681-1842
	Christchurch	1839-1854
<i>Nonconformist Burial Sites</i>	Unitarian Chapel burial ground, Crooks Lane	1791-1832
	Wesleyan Methodist Chapel	1812-1854
	Queen Street (Independent)	1774-1854
	Presbyterian Chapel burial ground	Unknown
	Methodist New Connexion Chapel burial ground, Pepper Street	1835-1854
	Quaker's burial ground	1703-1854
<i>Roman Catholic Burial Sites</i>	Roman Catholic burial ground	Unknown
	St Francis of Assissi Catholic Church	1860-1913
<i>Joint-stock Cemetery</i>	Chester Overleigh Cemetery	1850-still taking burials
<i>Other places of burial</i>	Chester Prison	1808-1882

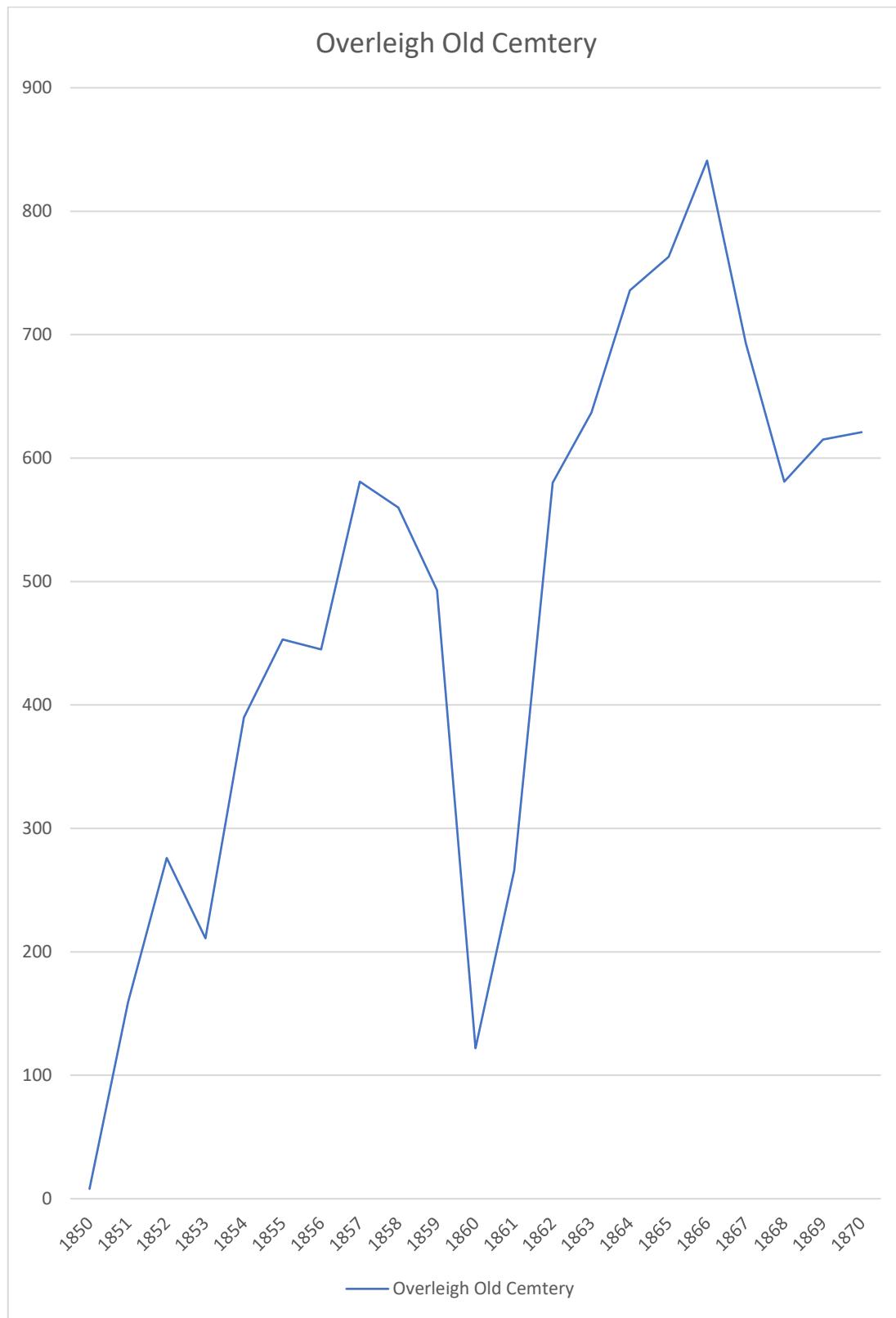
Data taken from the burial registers held at Cheshire Archives and the *London Gazette* 1853-1858.

Appendix 21: Population statistics for Chester

Decade	Population at the end of the decade	Percentage increase	Percentage increase in region	Chester's increase relative to region
1801-1811	17,344	7.8	15.8	0.5
1811-1821	21,516	24.1	18.7	1.3
1821-1831	23,029	7.0	19.3	0.4
1831-1841	25,039	8.7	15.5	0.6
1841-1851	29,216	16.7	12.0	1.4
1851-1861	34,209	17.1	9.6	1.8
1861-1871	39,757	16.2	9.8	1.7

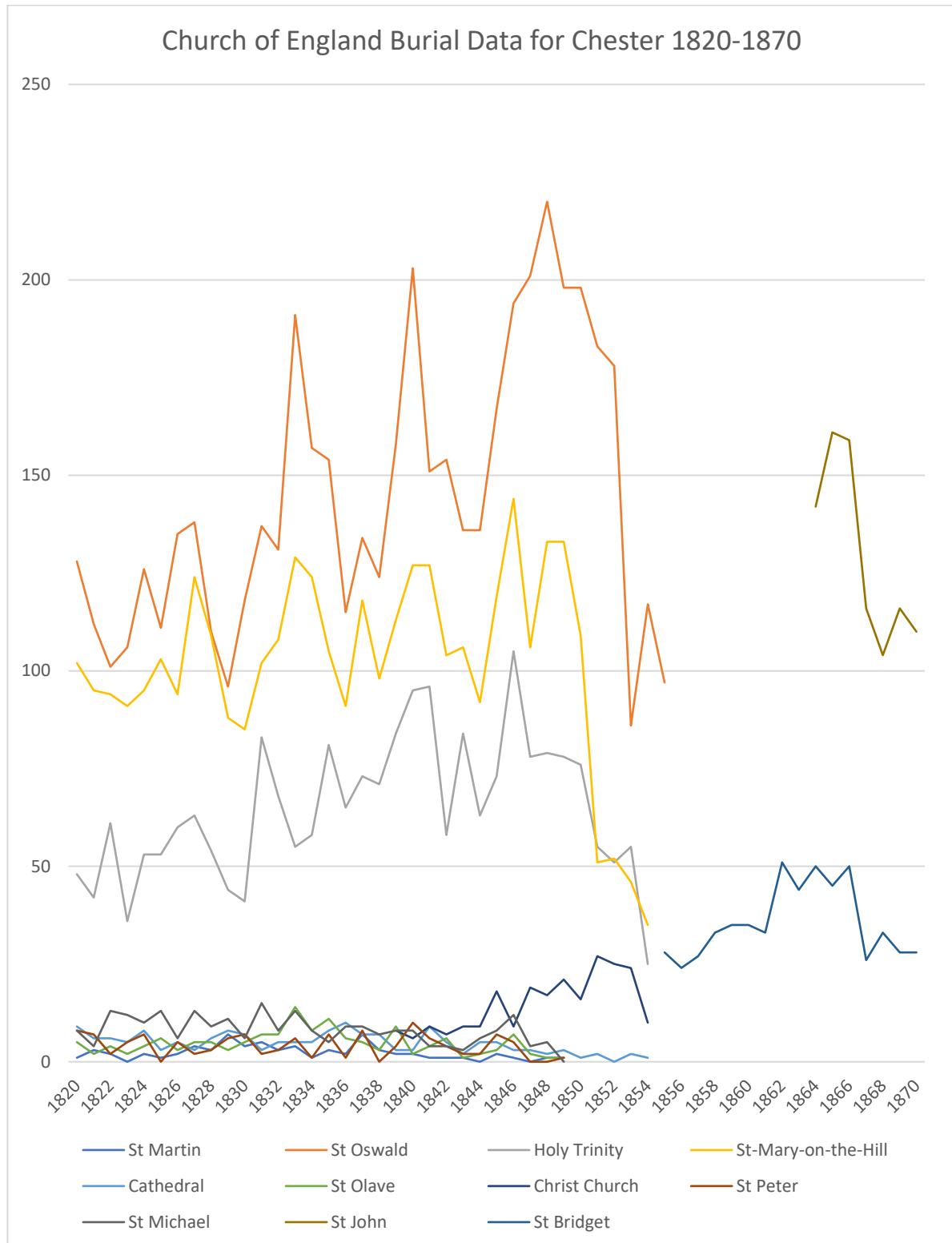
Notes: Population of Chester also includes the townships of Great Broughton, Hoole, Upton, Newton and Blache. Table taken from C. P. Lewis, A. T. Thacker, *The Victoria History of the Counties of England*, (Suffolk: Boydell & Brewer, 2005), Vol.1, p.172.

Appendix 22a: Cemetery interments in Chester 1820-1870



Data gathered from the burial registers of Overleigh Cemetery (ZD/ CE) held by Cheshire Archives.

Appendix 22b: Church of England interments in Chester 1820-1870



Data gathered from the burial registers of St Martin (P65/1/5); Cathedral (EDD 8/4); St Michael (P65/1/5); St Oswald (P29/1/5); St Olave (P29/1/5); St John (P51/1/5); Holy Trinity (P1/1/5); Christ Church (P17/1/5); St Bridget (P15/1/5); St Mary-on-the-Hill (P20/1/5) and St Peter (P63/1/5) held at Cheshire Archives.

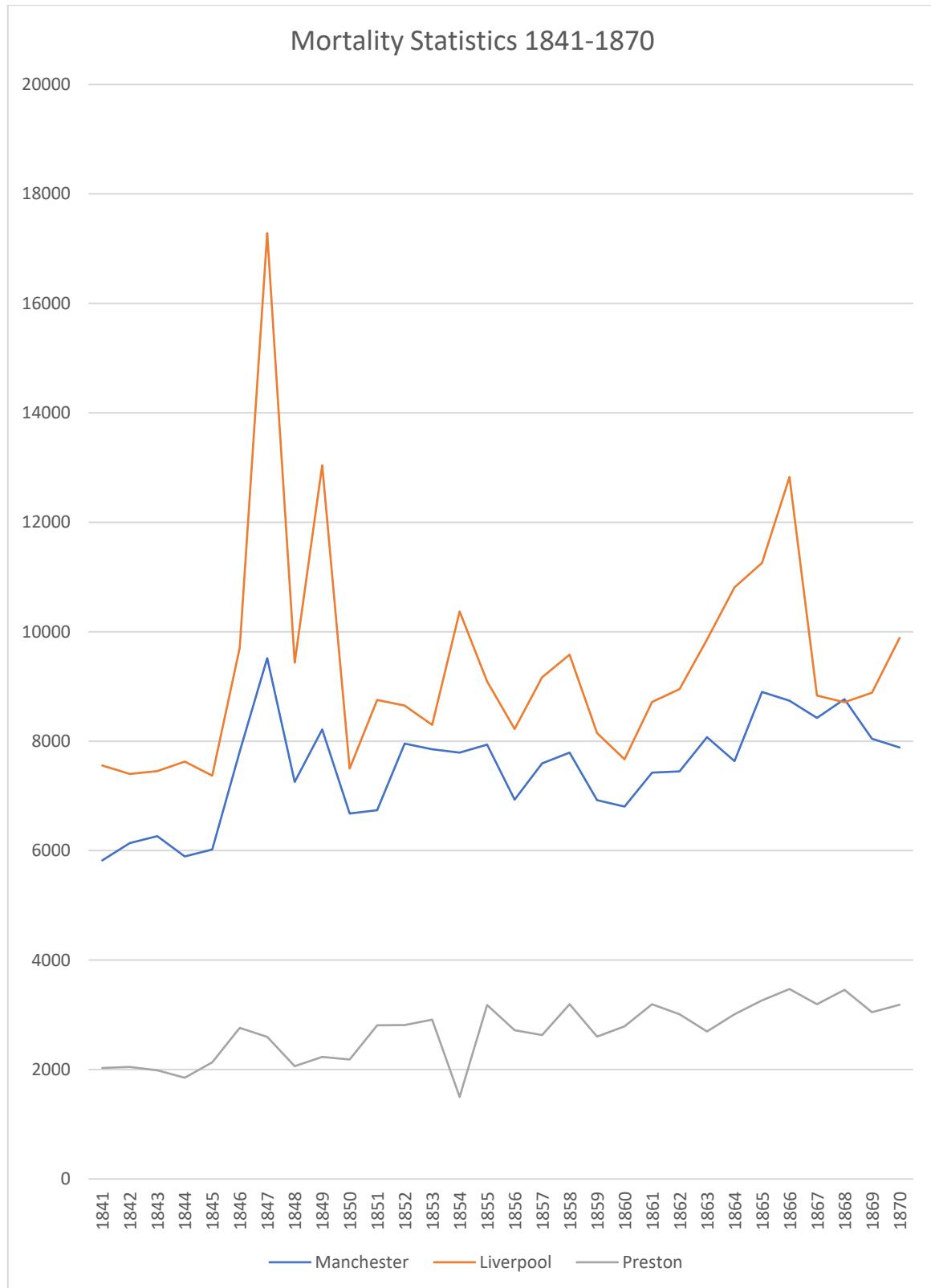
Appendix 23: Effect of the Burial Acts on Chester's burial sites

Name of burial site	Publication date of the <i>London Gazette</i>	
	31 st January 1854	Subsequent entries
Cathedral	Discontinue forthwith from 17 November 1854	Discontinue forthwith from 17 May 1855
Christchurch churchyard	Discontinue forthwith from 17 November 1854	Discontinue forthwith from 17 May 1855
St Oswald churchyard	Discontinue forthwith from 17 November 1854	Discontinue forthwith from 17 May 1855
St Martin	Discontinue forthwith from 17 November 1854	Discontinue forthwith from 17 May 1855
St Peter	Discontinue forthwith from 17 November 1854	Discontinue forthwith from 17 May 1855
St Olave	Discontinue forthwith from 17 November 1854	Discontinue forthwith from 17 May 1855
Trinity Church	Discontinue forthwith in burial ground 1 and 2 and in the vaults under the chapel	
Unitarian Chapel burial ground, Crook Street	Discontinue forthwith from 17 November 1854	Discontinue forthwith from 17 May 1855
St John the Baptist	Discontinue forthwith in the church and from 01 May 1855 for the churchyard	
Roman Catholic burial ground	Discontinue forthwith from 17 November 1854	Discontinue forthwith from 17 May 1855
Queen Street Independent Chapel	Discontinue forthwith from 17 November 1854	Discontinue forthwith from 17 May 1855
Wesleyan Methodist Chapel, John Street	Discontinue forthwith from 17 November 1854	Discontinue forthwith from 17 May 1855
St Michael	Discontinue forthwith from 17 November 1854	Discontinue forthwith from 17 May 1855
Presbyterian Chapel burial ground	Discontinue forthwith from 17 November 1854	Discontinue forthwith from 17 May 1855
Methodist New Connexion Chapel burial ground, Pepper Street	Discontinue forthwith from 17 November 1854	Discontinue forthwith from 17 May 1855

St Mary-on-the-Hill (Old churchyard and new burial ground)	Discontinue forthwith from 17 November 1854	Discontinue forthwith from 17 May 1855
Quaker's Burial Ground	Discontinued forthwith from 01 May 1855	

Data gathered from the *London Gazette* 1854-1870.

Appendix 24: Mortality statistics



Data gathered from the Registrars General's annual reports.

Appendix 25: Population statistics

	1801	1811	1821	1831	1841	1851	1861	1871
Liverpool	82,000	104,000	138,000	202,000	223,003	258,236	444,000	493,000
Manchester	75,000	89,000	126,000	182,000	192,403	228,433	339,000	351,000
Preston	12,000	17,000	22,000	32,000	77,201	96,545	72,000	83,000
Chester	15,000	16,000	20,000	21,000	24,000	28,000	26,000	30,000
Wigan	10,989	14,060	17,716	20,774	25,774	31,941	37,658	39,110

Statistics taken from Eric J. Evans, *The Forging of the Modern State*, (Essex: Longman, 2001), pp. 515-516 and for Wigan, 'Population Statistics', *Business Information No.21*, Leigh Archives.

Appendix 26: Percentage of population growth statistics

	1801- 1811	1811- 1821	1821- 1831	1831- 1841	1841- 1851	1851- 1861	1861- 1871
Liverpool	21	24.6	31.7	29.4	23.9	15.3	9.9
Manchester	15.7	29.4	30.8	22.6	22.4	10.6	3.4
Preston	29.4	22.7	31.3	25.6	35.7	26.3	13.2
Chester	6.3	20	4.8	12.5	14.3	-7.7	13.3

(Figures are created using the population table in appendix 25)

Appendix 27: Municipal Cemeteries in North West England 1850-1870

Date	Cemetery	Architect/Landscaper	Style
1855	Preston Old Cemetery	B & G: Thomas Denville Barry, Liverpool	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Style: High Victorian garden cemetery The cemetery has separate sections for Church of England, Nonconformists and Roman Catholics. Notes: The layout uses a geometric serpentine drive and path pattern based on an unusually complex 'butterfly' form, with three serpentine drives fanning out to give access to the focal sites of the former chapels.
1855	Rochdale Cemetery	B: R Moffatt Smith, Manchester & Fowles of Rochdale G: Abraham Stansfield (assisted by two geologists, James Horsfall of Healey Nursery and Robert Law of Todmorden)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Style: High Victorian garden cemetery The cemetery has separate sections for Church of England and Nonconformists. Notes: The division between the consecrated and unconsecrated portions of the cemetery is uniquely marked by a series of stone pillars, each formed from different identified stone.
1856	Bolton Cemetery (Tonge)	B: Charles Holt, Robert Burrows, George Woodhouse and John Smalman Smith. G: William Henderson	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Style: High Victorian garden cemetery. The cemetery has separate sections for Church of England, Nonconformists and Roman Catholics. Notes: The cemetery is laid out with a formal axial drive and curvilinear

			walks dividing the burial areas which exploit the undulating topography of the site.
1856	Burnley Cemetery	B: Thomas Worthington	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The cemetery has separate sections for Church of England, Nonconformists and Roman Catholics.
1856	Heywood Cemetery	B: Thomas Denville Barry, Liverpool	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The cemetery is divided into two sections; general and consecrated.
1856	Toxteth Cemetery (Liverpool)	B: Thomas Denville Barry, Liverpool G: William Gay	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Style: High Victorian garden cemetery The cemetery has separate sections for Church of England and Nonconformists Notes: The layout uses a geometric drive and path pattern. A central axial drive slices through a heart-shaped subsidiary drive which linked the opposing chapels on an axis at 90 degrees to the main drive. A terrace, on which the remaining one of the two original chapels is sited, enlivens otherwise the largely level site, offset from and overlooking the axial drive.
1856	Wigan Cemetery (Lower Ince)	B: Alfred Waterhouse	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Style: High Victorian The cemetery has separate sections for Church of England, Roman Catholics and Nonconformists

1857	Blackburn Cemetery (Whalley New Road)		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The cemetery has separate sections for Church of England, Roman Catholics and Nonconformists Cost £19,000
1857	Chadderton Cemetery	B: N. G. Pennington of Manchester	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Style: High Victorian Notes: The geometrical plan of the cemetery exploits the undulating topography of the site.
1857	Oldham Cemetery (Greenacres)	B: N. G. Pennington of Manchester	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Style: High Victorian The cemetery has separate sections for Church of England, Roman Catholics and Nonconformists Notes: The design of the cemetery, with a central axial drive and curvilinear subsidiary drives exploits the sloping site.
1857	Salford Cemetery	B: J. P. Pritchett	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Style: High Victorian The cemetery has separate sections for Church of England and Nonconformists Notes: The cemetery has a formal design which exploits the falling ground to the south.
1857	Warrington Cemetery	T. D. Barry	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Style: High Victorian The cemetery has separate sections for Church of England, Roman Catholics and Nonconformists
1858	St Helen's Cemetery (Windleshaw)	B: Thomas Denville Barry G: Edward Kemp	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Style: High Victorian The cemetery has separate sections for Roman Catholics,

			<p>Church of England and Nonconformists</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Notes: Extensive and complex planting by a prolific and nationally renowned designer, Edward Kemp which compliments Barry's layout and survives relatively complete.
1860	Runcorn Cemetery	B: T.D. Barry G: William Gay	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The cemetery has separate sections for Church of England and Nonconformists
1861	Darwen Cemetery	B: James Stevens G: J.W. Rigby	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Style: High Victorian The cemetery has separate sections for Roman Catholics, Church of England and Nonconformists
1862	Sale Cemetery	B: William Wilson, Manchester	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Style: High Victorian The cemetery has separate sections for Church of England and Nonconformists Notes: The cemetery has a complex 'butterfly' plan comprising curvilinear walks which define the burial areas.
1863	Anfield Cemetery (Liverpool)	B: Lucy & Littler G: Edward Kemp	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Style: High Victorian The cemetery has separate sections for Roman Catholics, Church of England and Nonconformists Notes: The extensive layout makes unusual use of a geometric path pattern to enclose sunken central panels,

			giving subtle relief to an otherwise level site.
1864	Birkenhead Cemetery	B: Lucy & Littler G: Edward Kemp	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Style: High Victorian • The cemetery has separate sections for Church of England and Nonconformists • Notes: Kemp's extensive and creative layout makes dramatic use of the elevated hillside site overlooking Birkenhead, the Mersey and Liverpool.
1866	Ashton-under-Lyne Cemetery	B: Ayliffe & Paull	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The cemetery has separate sections for Church of England, Nonconformists and Roman Catholics
1866	Macclesfield Cemetery	B: J. Stevens	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Style: Neo-Gothic • The cemetery has separate sections for Church of England, Nonconformists and Roman Catholics
1866	Philips Park Cemetery (Manchester)	B: Ayliffe & Paull G: William Gay	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Style: High Victorian • The cemetery has separate sections for Church of England, Nonconformists and Roman Catholics • Notes: The layout of the cemetery demonstrates with unusual clarity zoning for the use of specific religious or denominational groups, reflecting the religious state of England in the mid-19th C.
1868	Bebington Cemetery (Wirral)	B: G. W. Hamilton G: Mr Richardson	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The cemetery has separate sections for Church of England,

			<p>Nonconformists and Roman Catholics</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cost £17,500
1869	Bury Cemetery		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The cemetery has separate sections for Church of England, Nonconformists and Roman Catholics

(Part of the data extracted from English Heritage ‘Paradise Preserved: Registered cemeteries in date order with notes on principal reasons for designation and designers and architects’, (2011), pp.8-34. [accessed 08 August 2019] <https://thegardenstrust.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/11/EH-Registered-cemeteries-date-order-2011.pdf>

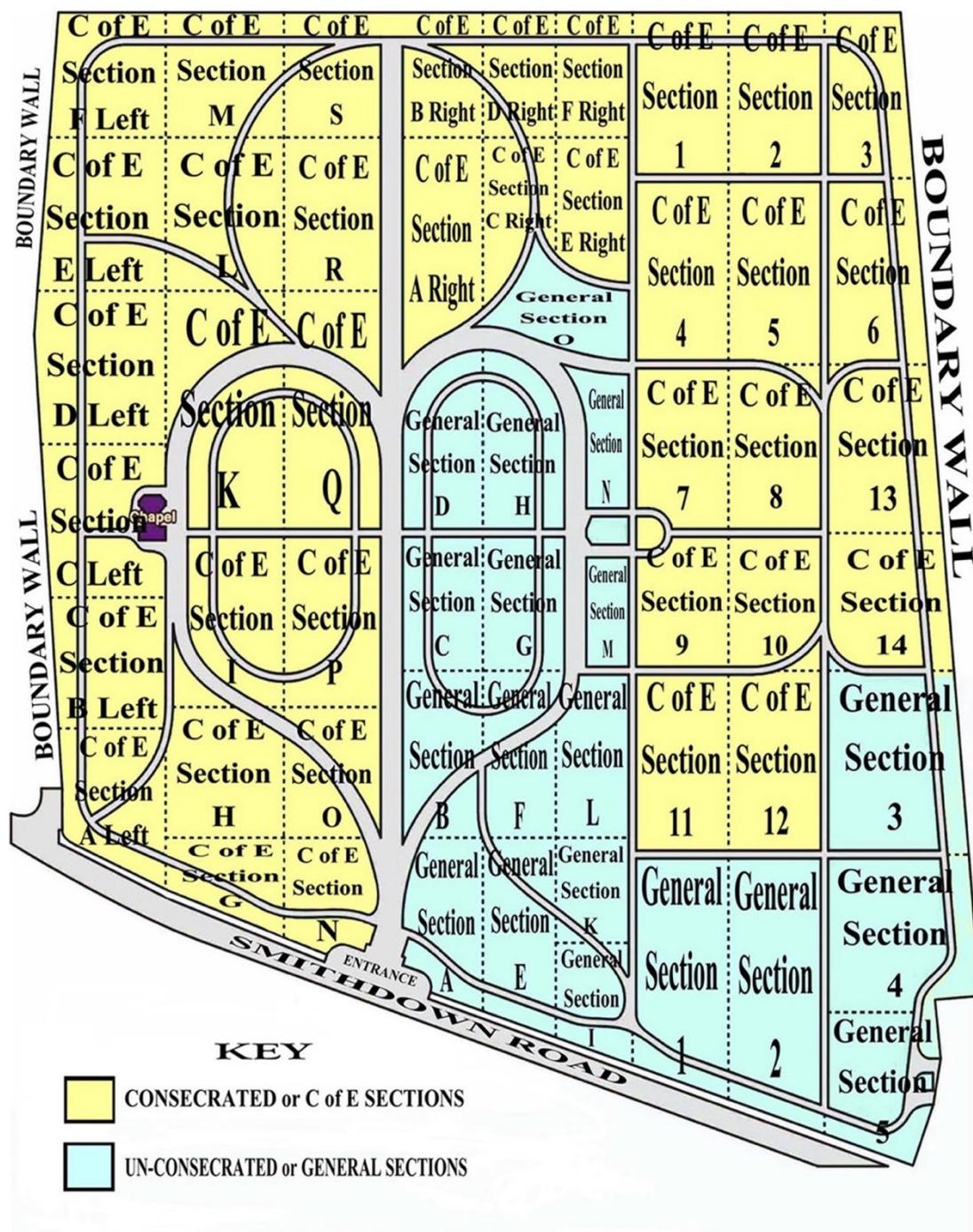
Appendix 28: Cemetery architectural competitions in Cheshire and Lancashire that appeared in
The Builder 1843-1870

Location	Date	Type of commission	Architect	no. of entries	Prize
Atherton	1855	Cemetery	T D Barry		
Birkenhead	1862	Cemetery	Lucy & Littler (1st)	-	-
			Reed (2nd)	-	-
Bolton	1856	Cemetery	Charles Holt	-	-
Burnley	1855	Cemetery	Thomas Worthington (Manchester) (1st)	27	£25
			Thomas Adams (Grimsby) (2nd)	-	£15
Colne	1859	Cemetery	Pritchett & Sons	-	-
Heywood	1855	Cemetery	Barry (Liverpool)	-	-
Liverpool (Toxteth Park Cemetery)	1855	Chapels	Barry (Liverpool)	-	--
		Grounds	Gay (Bradford)		
Liverpool (Anfield Cemetery)	1860	Cemetery	T.D. Barry (Liverpool) (1st)	30	£100
			G.H. Stokes (London) (2nd)	-	£50
			J. Wimble (London) (3rd)	-	£30
Macclesfield	1862	Cemetery	J. Stevens (Manchester)	-	£20g
			Firth & Booth (Macclesfield)	-	£10g
			(Three other architects were not shortlisted)		
Manchester	1863	Cemetery	Paull & Ayliffe	14	£100
			H Littler	-	£40
			Lucy & Littler	-	£20
Middlewich	1859	Cemetery	Bellamy and Hardy	-	-
Over Darwen	1859	Cemetery	James Stevens (Manchester) and J W Rigby (Over Darwen)	28	£20
			Earnest Bates (Manchester)	-	£10
			T D Parry and H Price (Liverpool)	-	-
Rochdale	1854	Cemetery	F E Stephenson	-	-
			David Lowe	-	-
Runcorn	1858	Cemetery	T D Barry (Liverpool)	35	£30
			William Gay (Bradford)	-	£10
			(Three other architects were not shortlisted)		
St Helens	1856	Cemetery	T D Barry	-	-
Southport	1864	Cemetery	Blackwell Son and Booth	-	-
Warrington	1855	Cemetery	T D Barry	-	-
Wigan	1855	Chapel, lodges	T D Barry	-	-

Roger H. Harper, *Victorian Architectural Competitions: An Index to British and Irish Architectural Competitions in The Builder, 1843-1900*, (London: Mansell Publishing Limited, 1983)

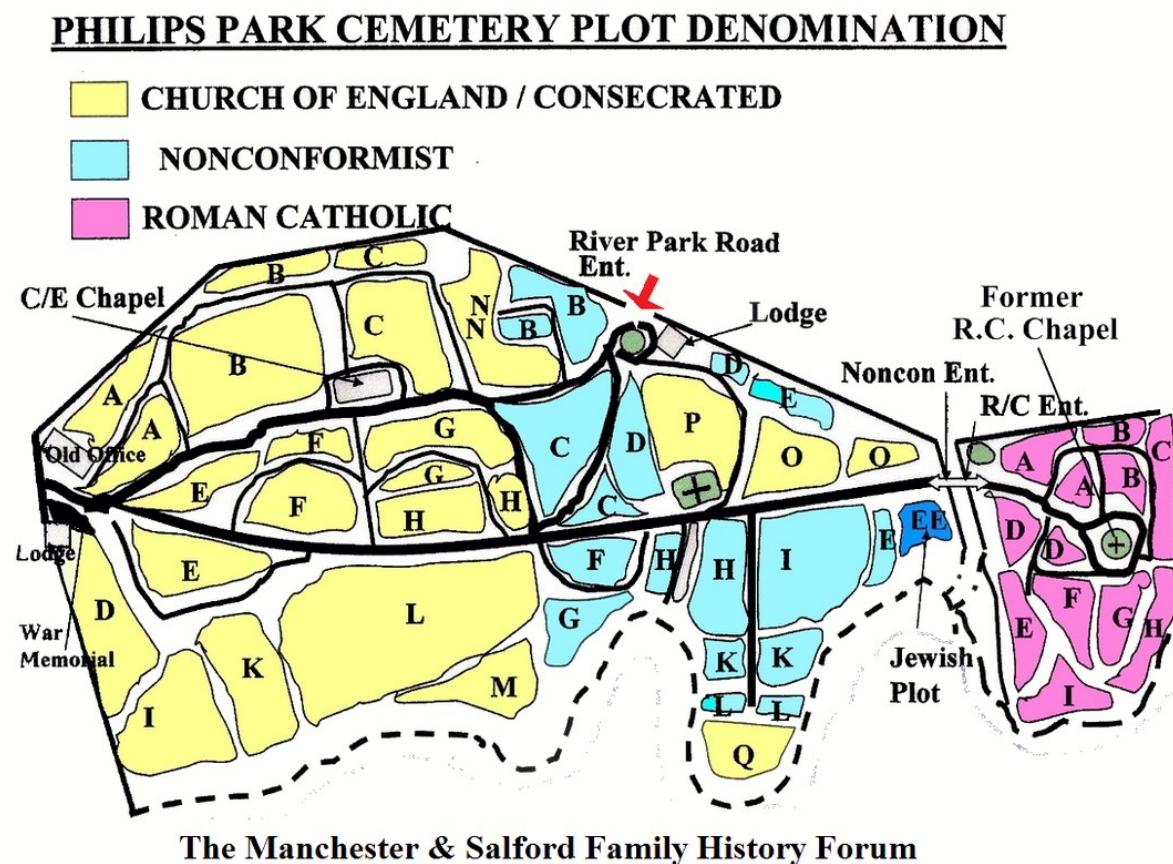
Appendix 29a: Map of Toxteth Cemetery

PLAN OF TOXTETH PARK CEMETERY



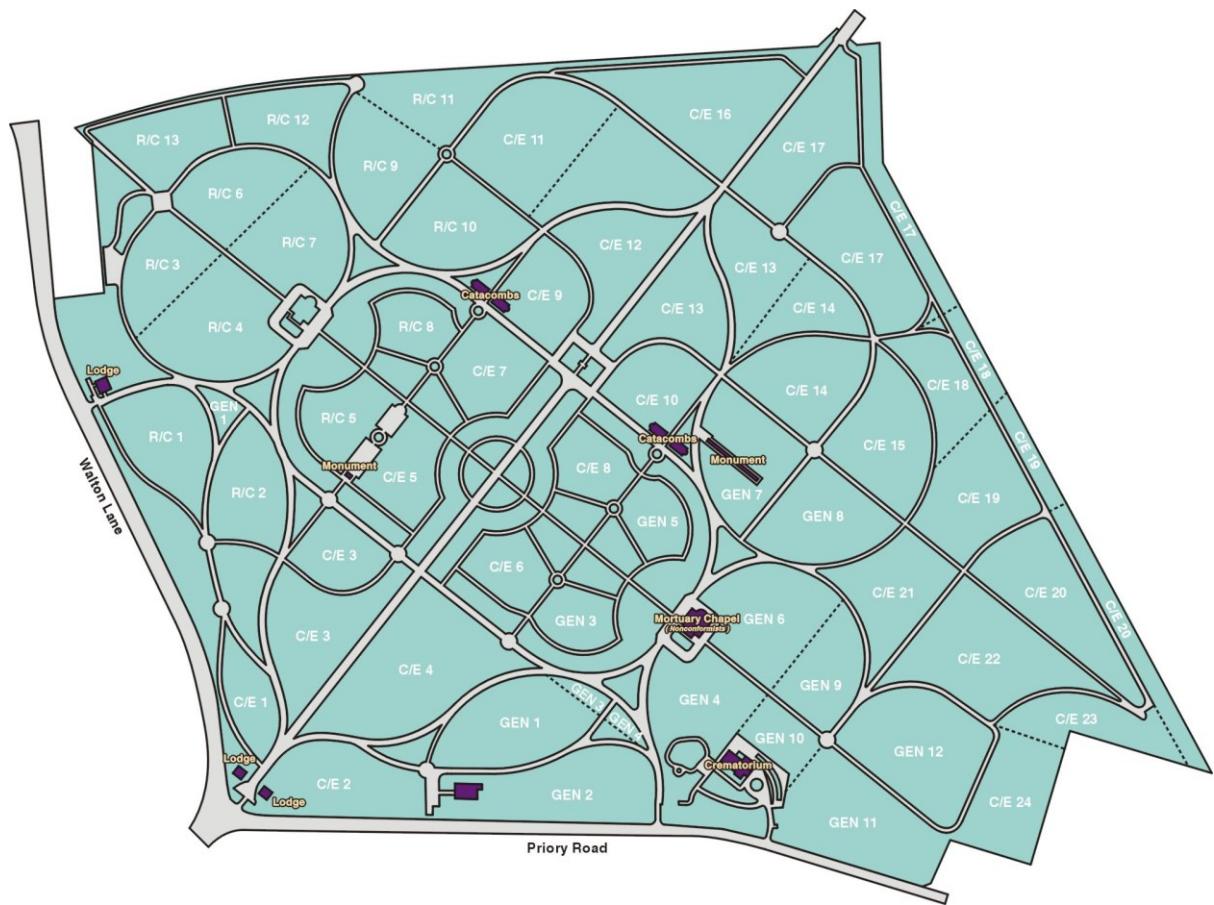
The laying out of Toxteth Cemetery was designed by William Gay. 'Plan of Toxteth Cemetery', www.toxtethcemetery.co.uk {accessed 13 August 2017}

Appendix 29b: Map of Philips Park Cemetery



The laying out of Philips Park Cemetery was also designed by William Gay. Philips Park Cemetery Map, {accessed: 09 July 2019}, <http://gortonphilisparkcemetrywargrave.weebly.com>.

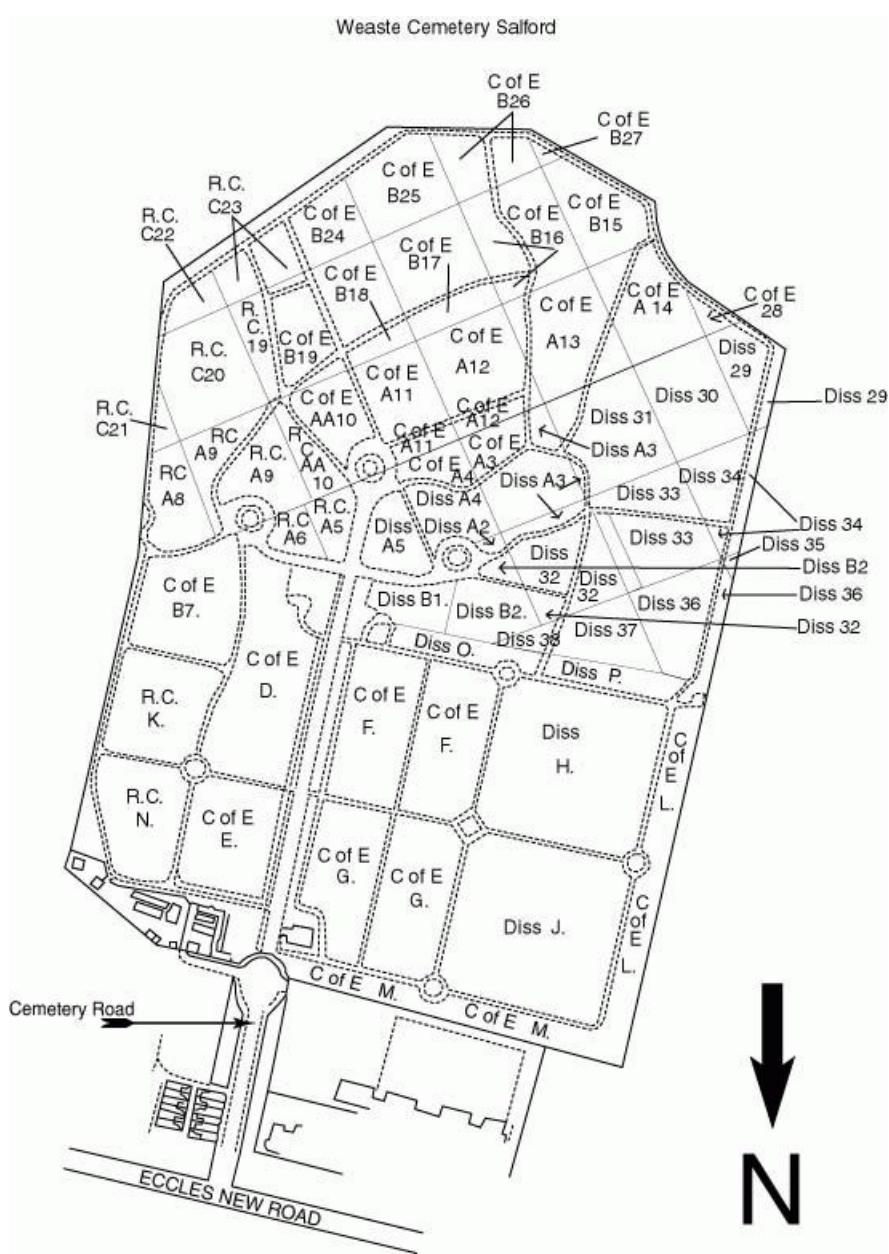
Appendix 29c: Map of Anfield Cemetery



Anfield Cemetery

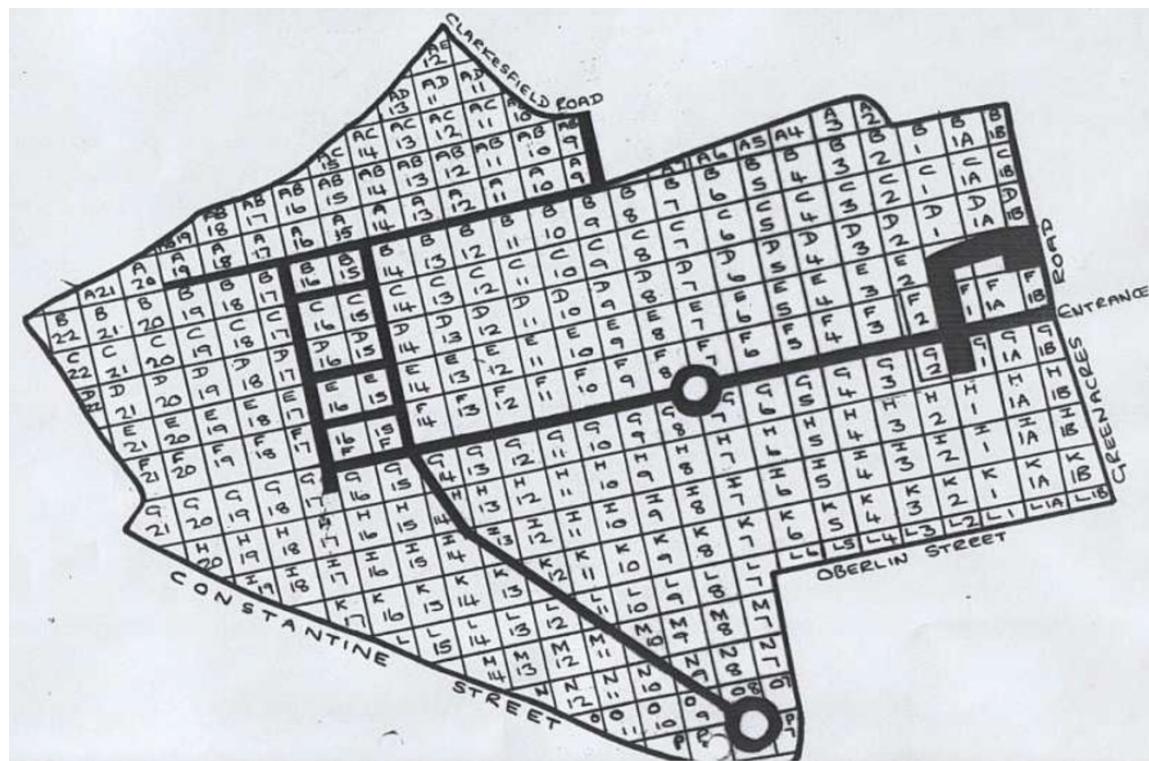
'Anfield cemetery plans and grave maps', www.toxtethparkcemetery.co.uk {13 August 2017}

Appendix 29d: Map of Weaste Cemetery, Salford



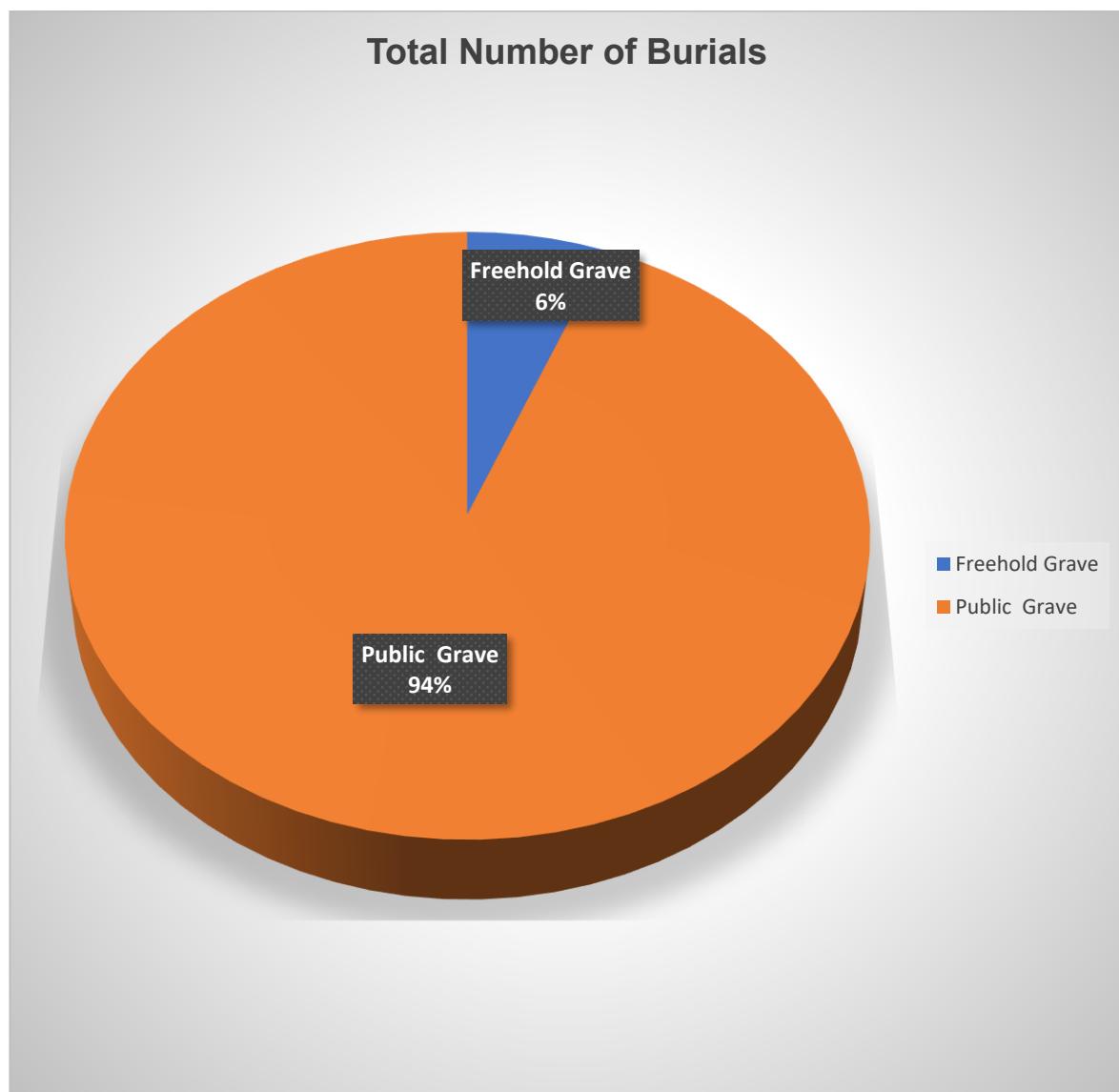
'UK cemetery and graveyard plans', <http://www.mbaird.mlfhs.org.uk/cemplans/weaste.html> {accessed 12 December 2017}

Appendix 29e: Map of Oldham (Greenacres) Cemetery



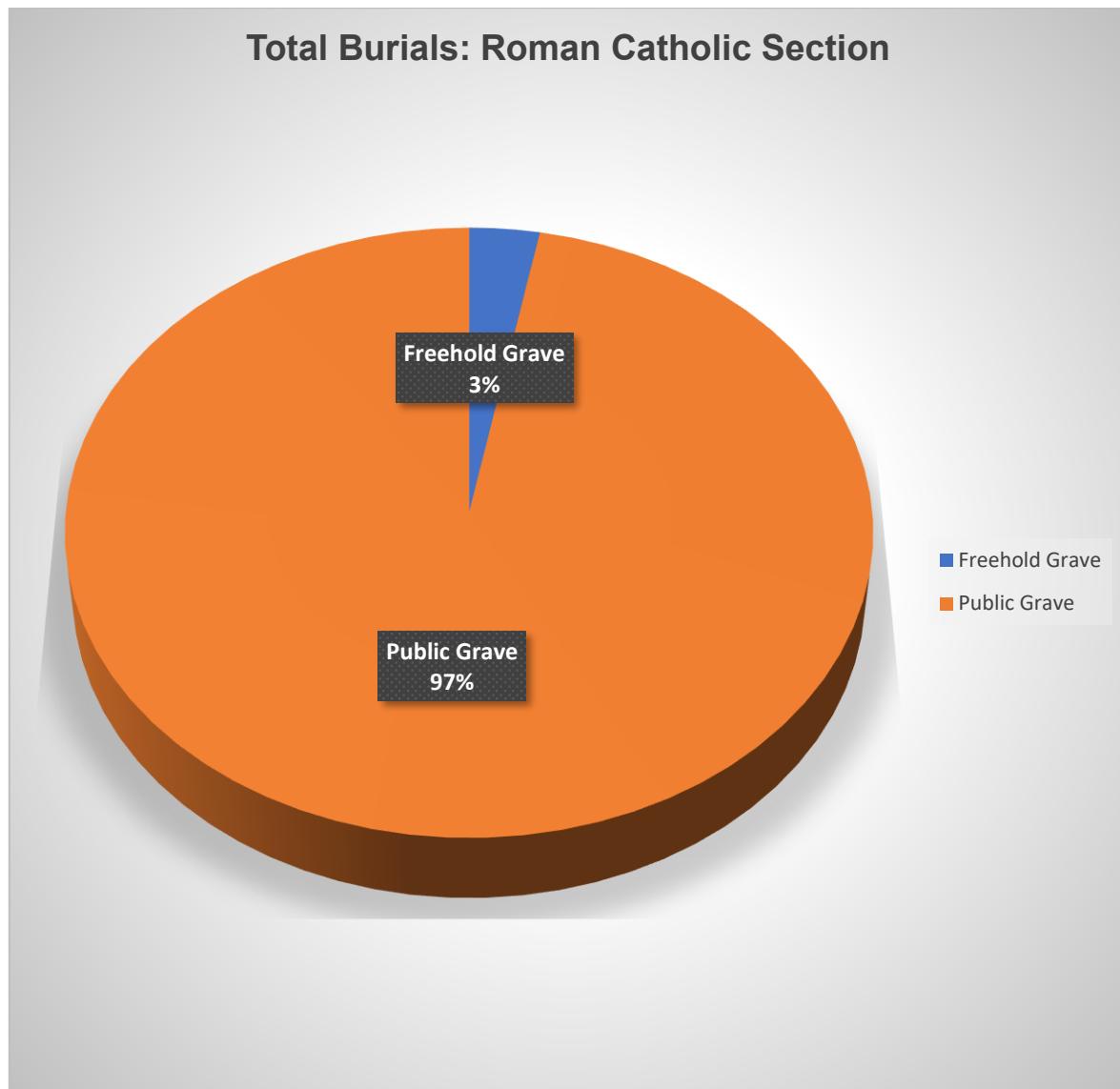
'UK cemetery and graveyard plans', <http://www.mbaird.mlfhs.org.uk/cemplans/greenao.html> {accessed 12 December 2017}

Appendix 30a: Philips Park Cemetery burial data



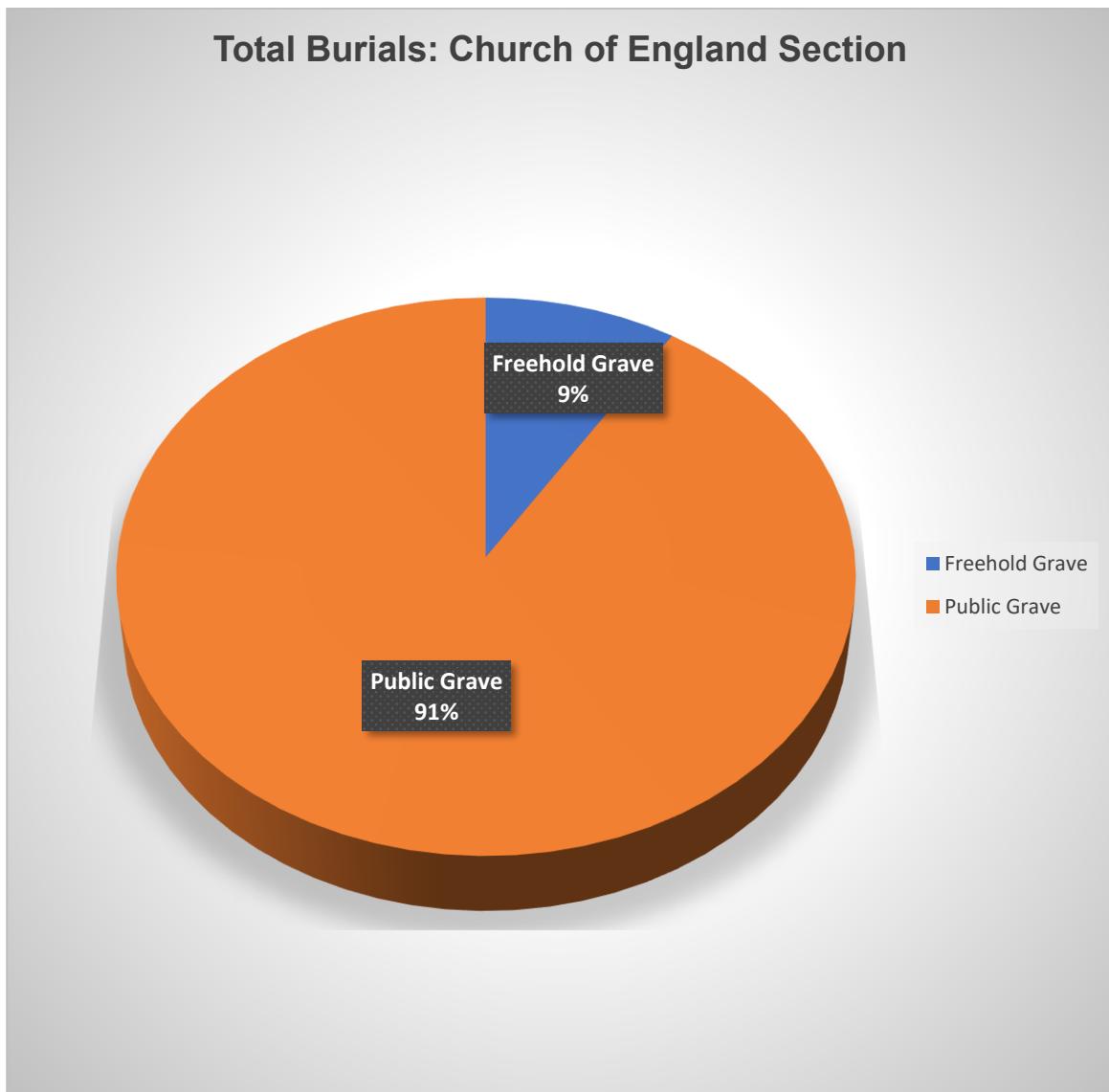
Data is based on 1500 grave receipts from Philips Park Cemetery 1866-68, held by Manchester Archives, MFPR 767-784, MFPR 917-934 & MFPR 758-766.

Appendix 30b: Philips Park Cemetery burial data for the Roman Catholic section



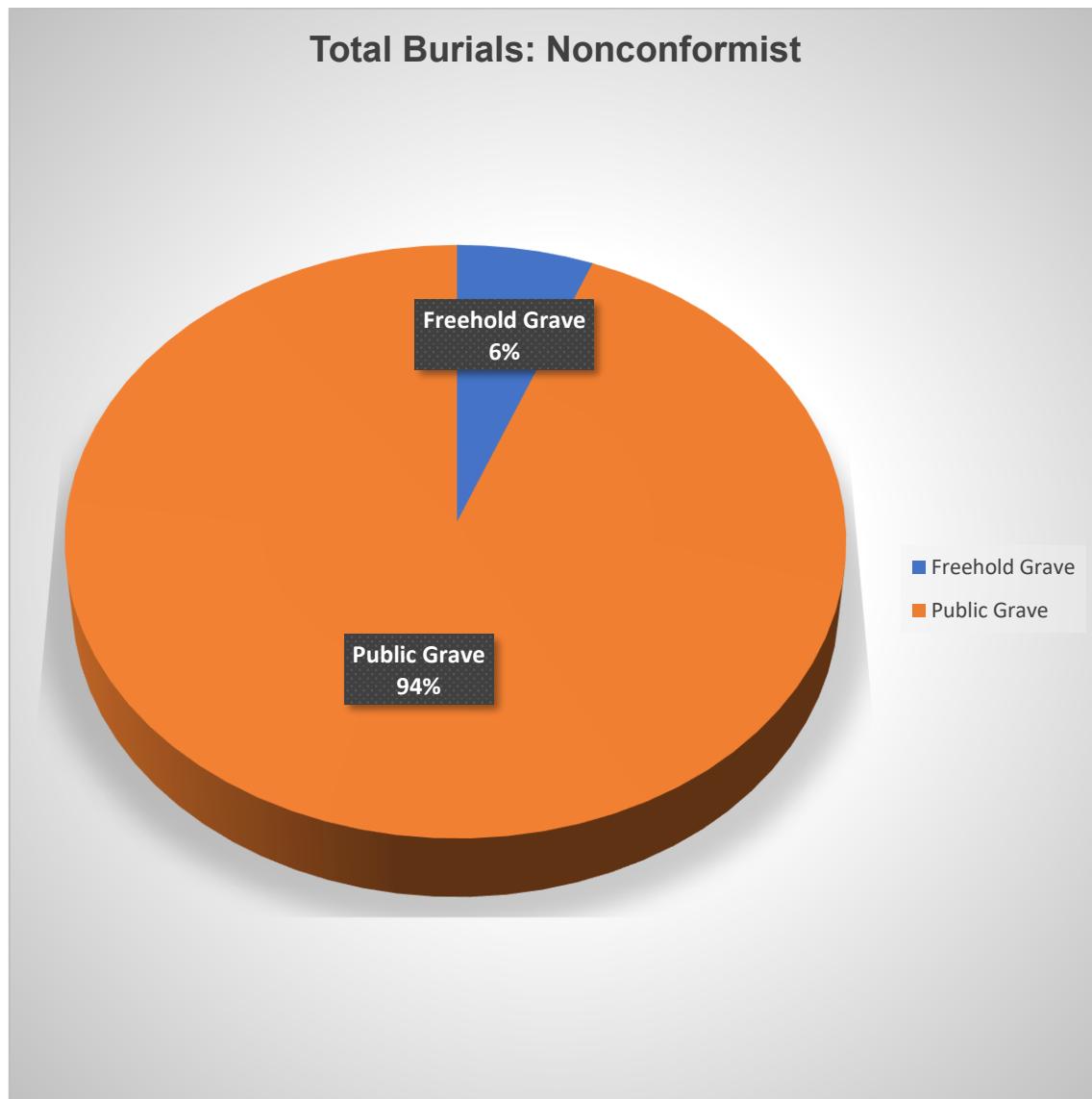
Data is based on 1500 grave receipts from Philips Park Cemetery 1866-68, held by Manchester Archives, MFPR 767-784, MFPR 917-934 & MFPR 758-766.

Appendix 30c: Philips Park Cemetery burial data for the Church of England section



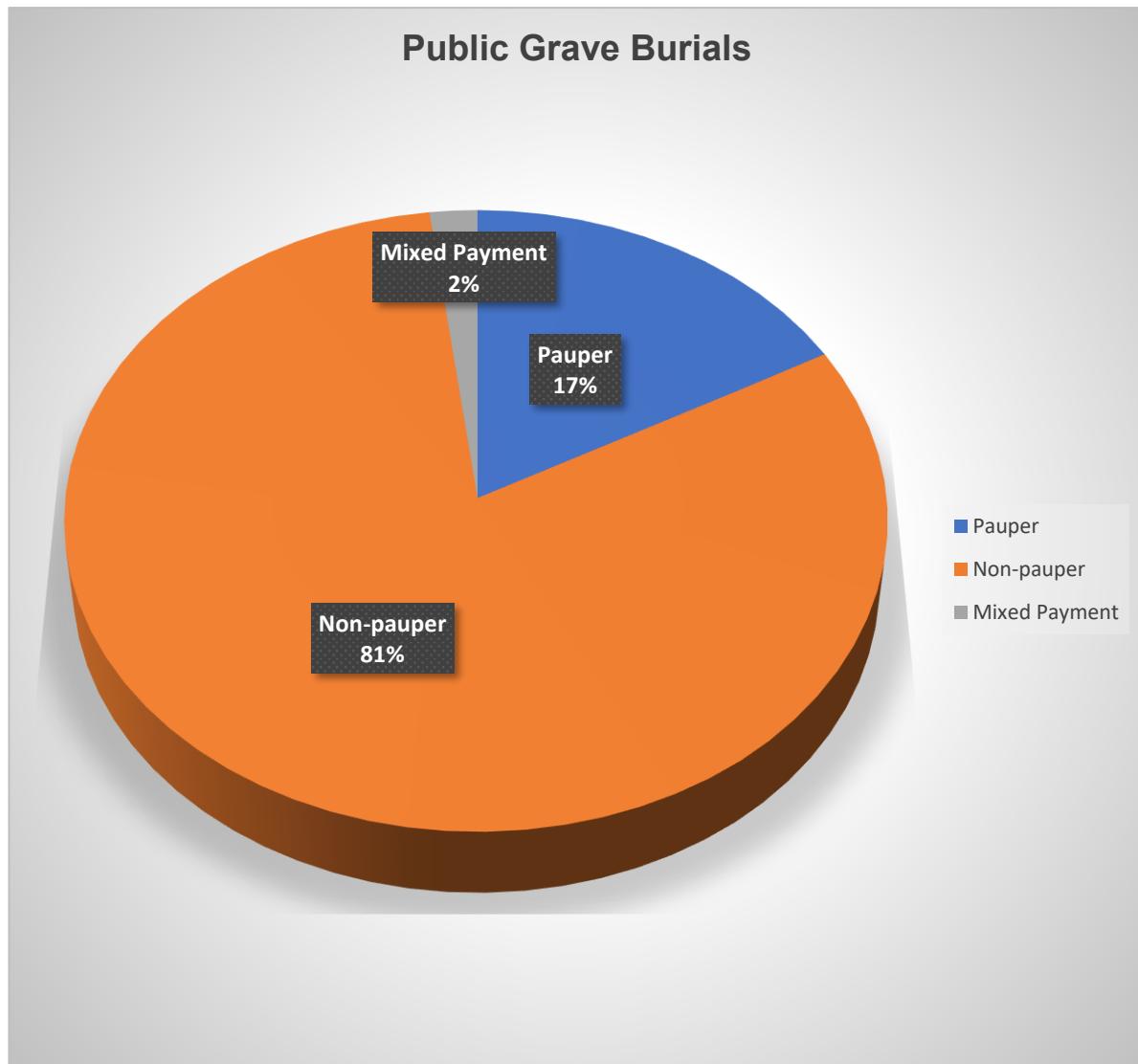
Data is based on 1500 grave receipts from Philips Park Cemetery 1866-68, held by Manchester Archives, MFPR 767-784, MFPR 917-934 & MFPR 758-766.

Appendix 30d: Philips Park Cemetery burial data for the Nonconformist section



Data is based on 1500 grave receipts from Philips Park Cemetery 1866-68, held by Manchester Archives, MFPR 767-784, MFPR 917-934 & MFPR 758-766.

Appendix 31a: Public grave burials in Philips Park Cemetery, Manchester



Definitions

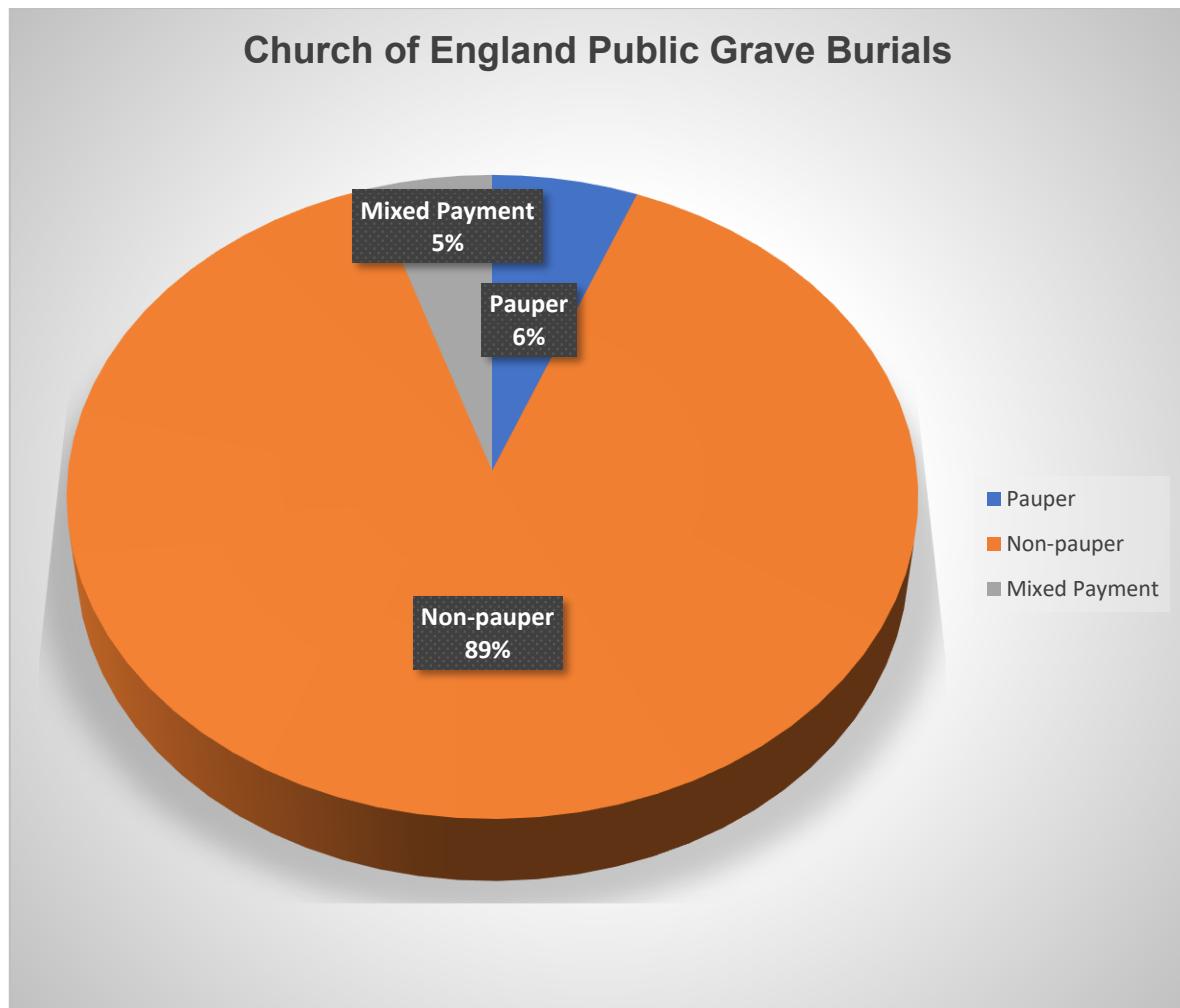
Pauper – A burial paid for by the state

Non-pauper – A burial paid for by a family member, burial club or undertaker

Mixed payment – A burial paid for by a family member, burial club or undertaker, with a contribution from the state.

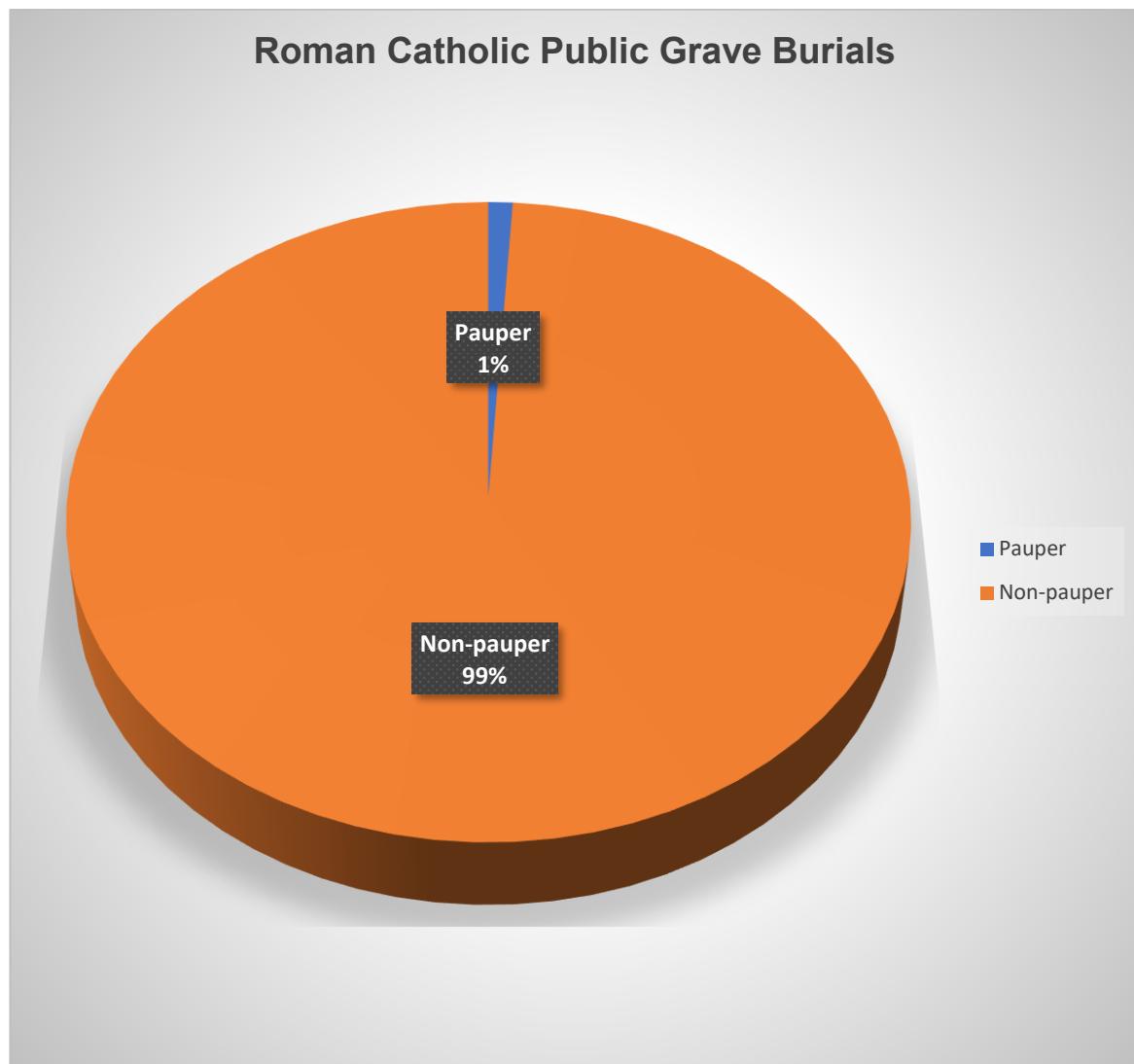
Data is based on 1500 grave receipts from Philips Park Cemetery 1866-68, held by Manchester Archives, MFPR 767-784, MFPR 917-934 & MFPR 758-766.

Appendix 31b: Church of England public grave burials in Philips Park Cemetery, Manchester



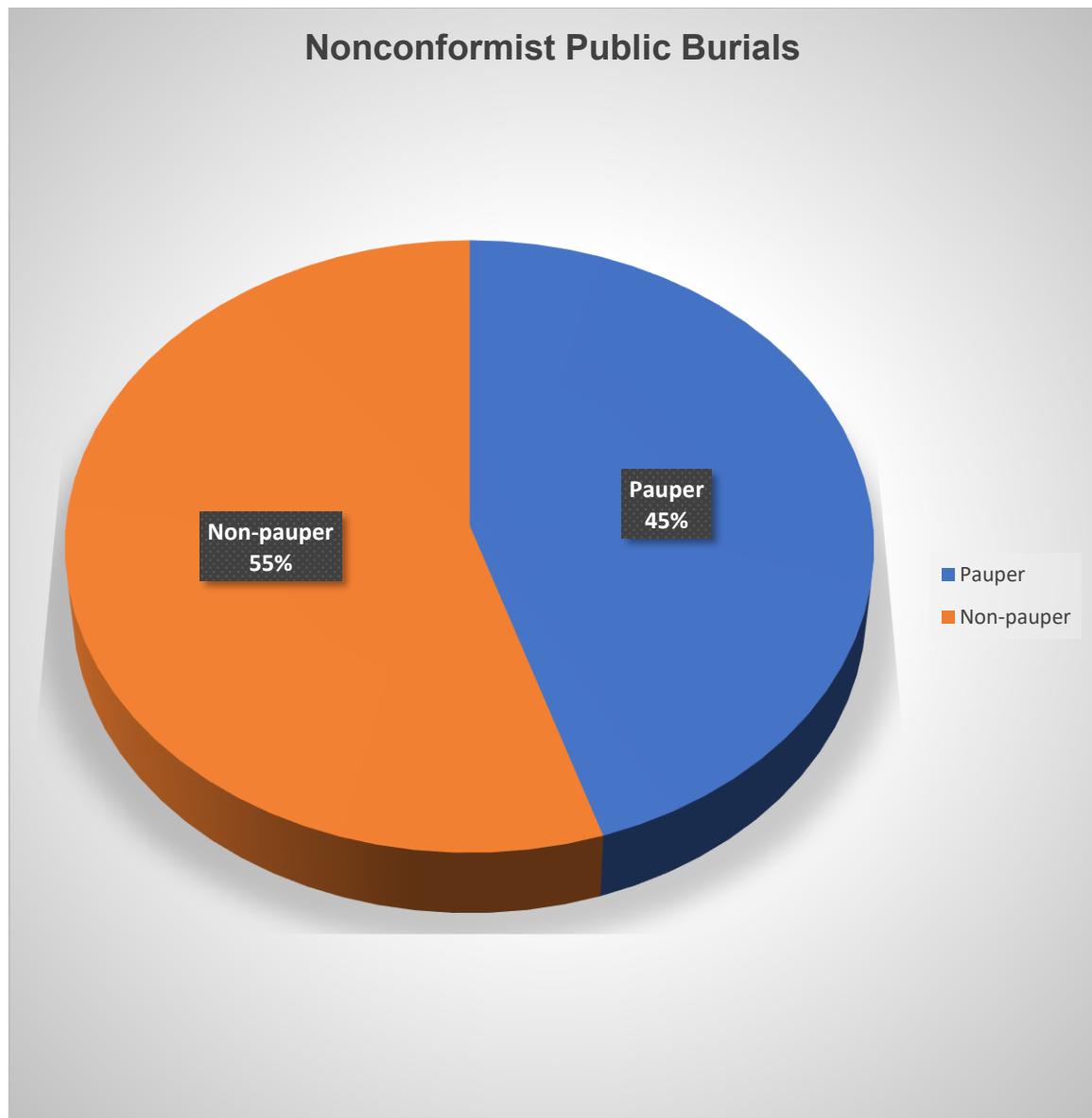
Data is based on 1500 grave receipts from Philips Park Cemetery 1866-68, held by Manchester Archives, MFPR 767-784, MFPR 917-934 & MFPR 758-766.

Appendix 31c: Roman Catholic public grave burials in Philips Park Cemetery, Manchester



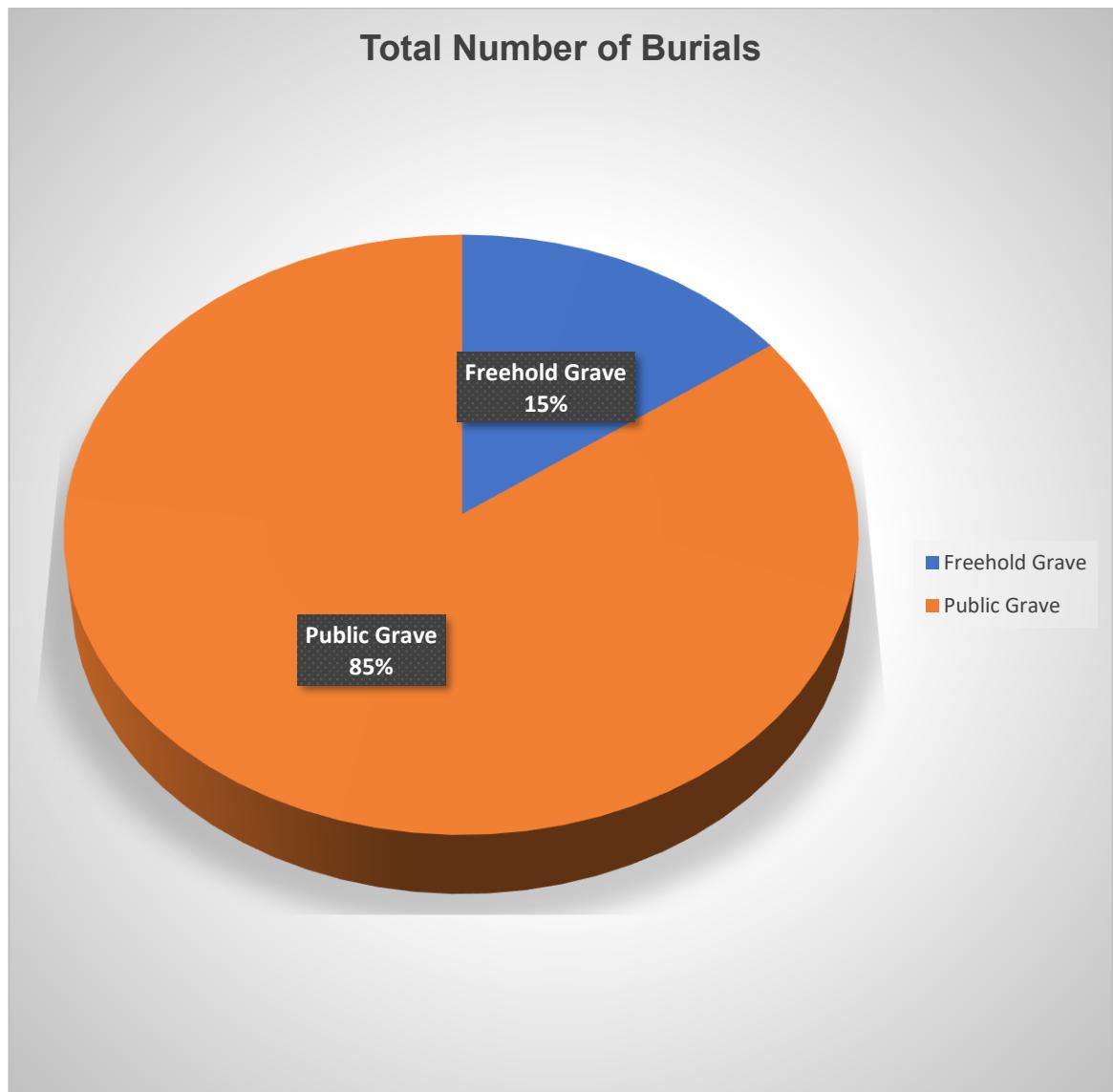
Data is based on 1500 grave receipts from Philips Park Cemetery 1866-68, held by Manchester Archives, MFPR 767-784, MFPR 917-934 & MFPR 758-766.

Appendix 31d: Nonconformist public grave burials in Philips Park Cemetery,
Manchester



Data is based on 1500 grave receipts from Philips Park Cemetery 1866-68, held by Manchester Archives, MFPR 767-784, MFPR 917-934 & MFPR 758-766.

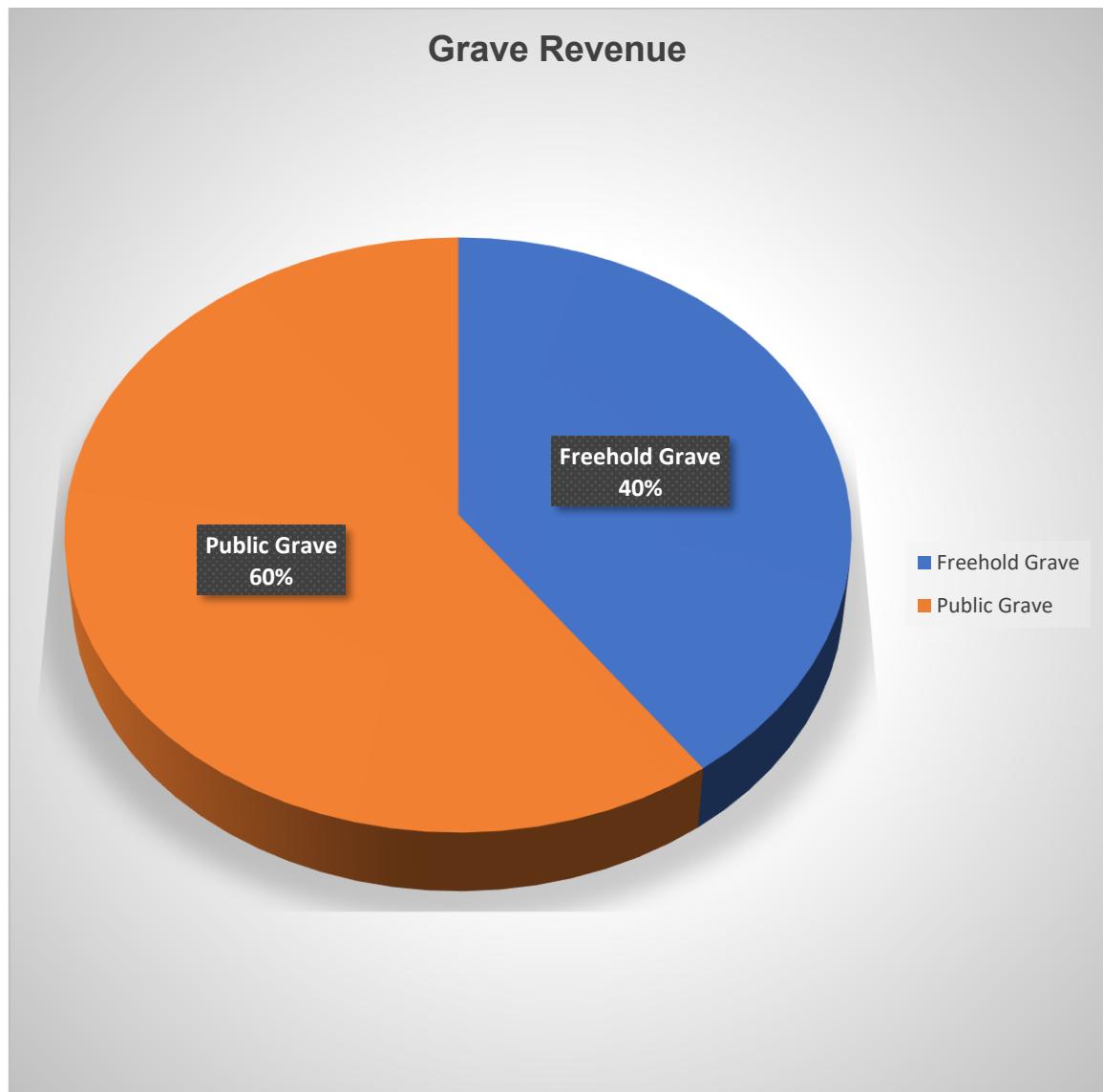
Appendix 32: Burial data for Weaste Cemetery, Salford



Data obtained from *Salford Reports 1857-1870*, held at Salford Archives (ref: 352.042.S9 & 352.052.S9)

N.b., 1862-63 is missing.

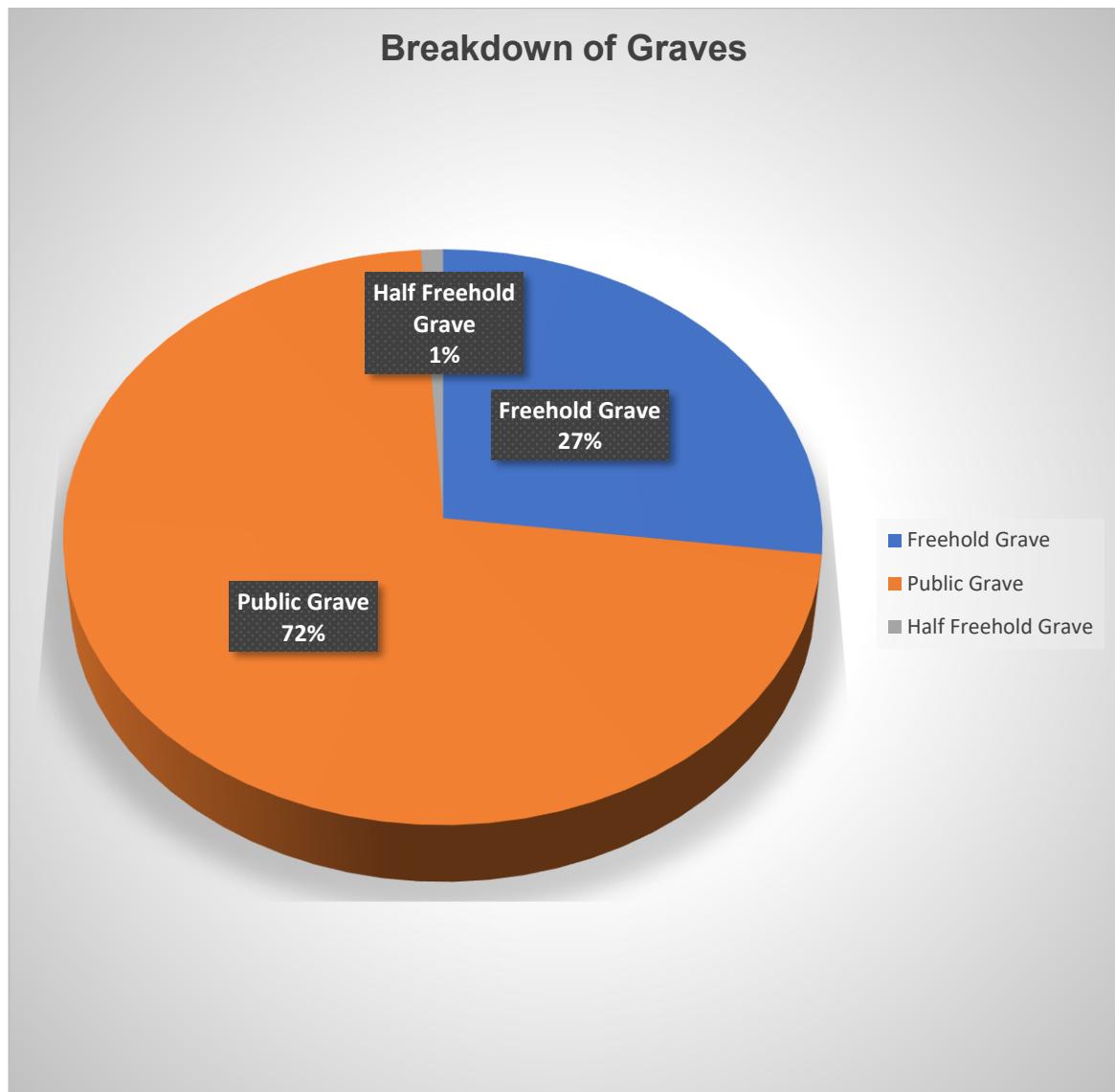
Appendix 33: Grave revenue for Weaste Cemetery, Salford



Data obtained from *Salford Reports 1857-1870*, held at Salford Archives (ref: 352.042.S9 & 352.052.S9)

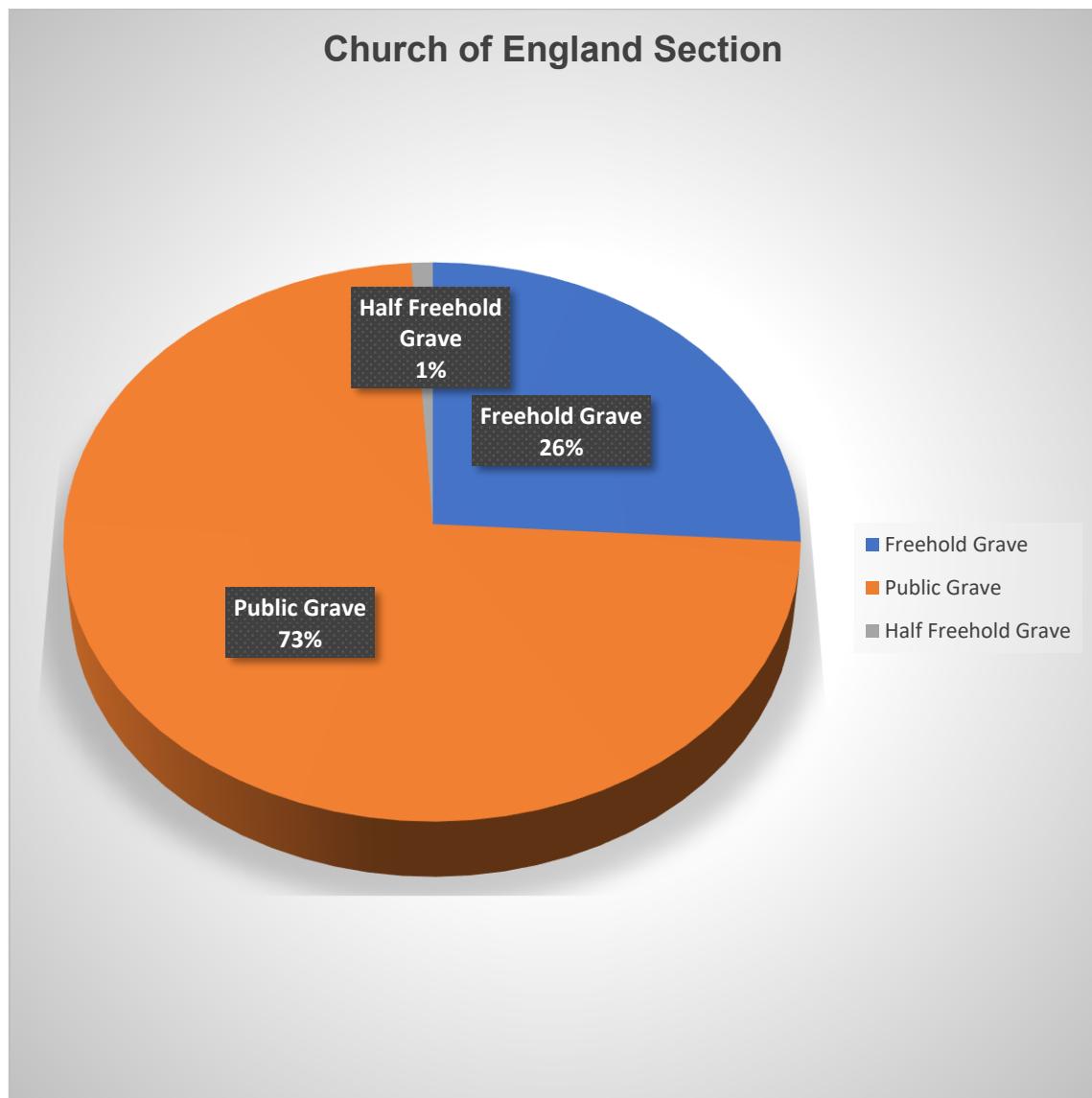
N.b., 1862-63 is missing.

Appendix 34a: Burial data for Toxteth Cemetery, Liverpool



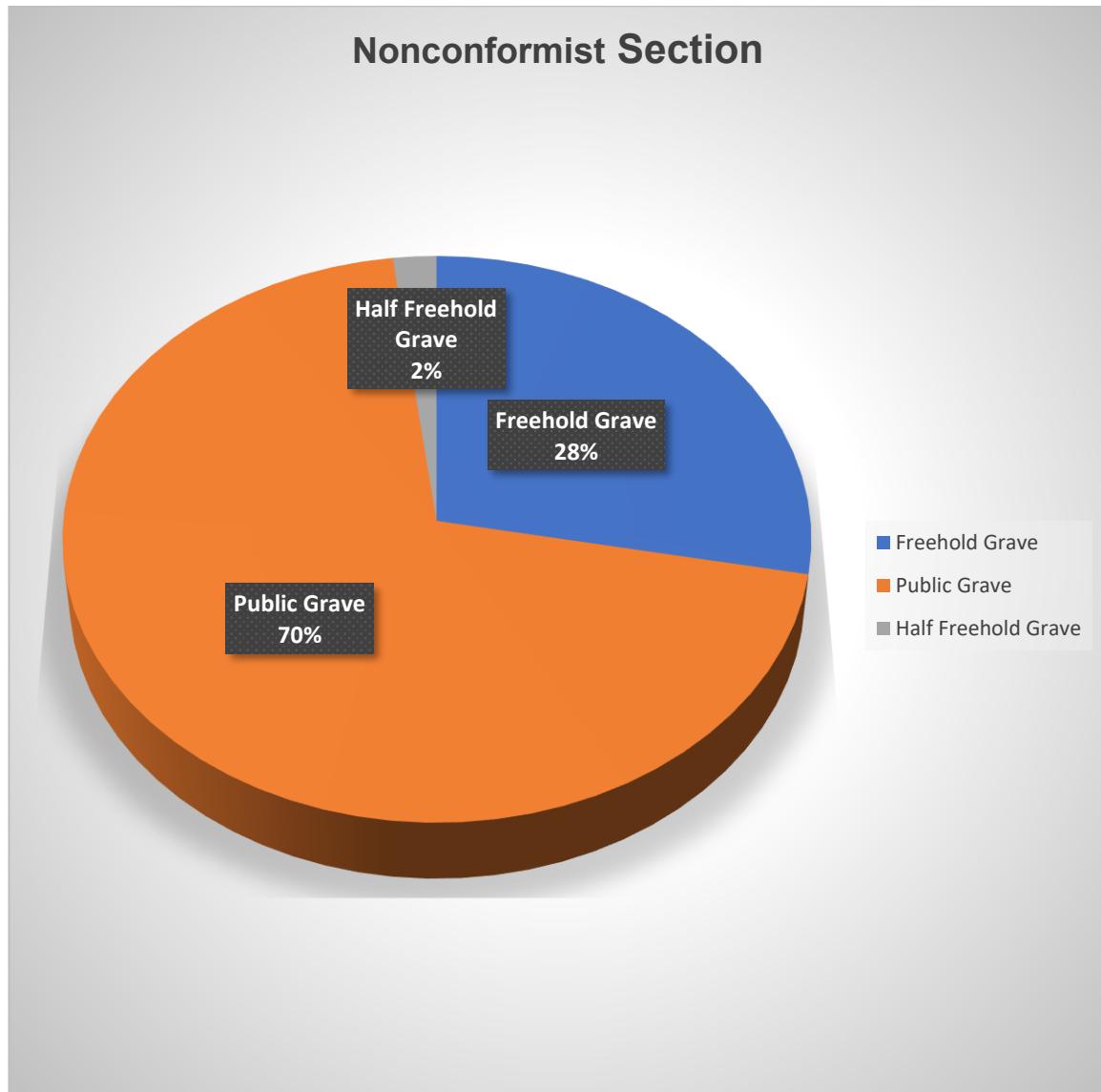
Data is based on 1000 (500 Church of England and 500 Nonconformist) burial receipts from 1866-67 held at Liverpool Archives.

Appendix 34b: Church of England burial data for Toxteth Cemetery, Liverpool



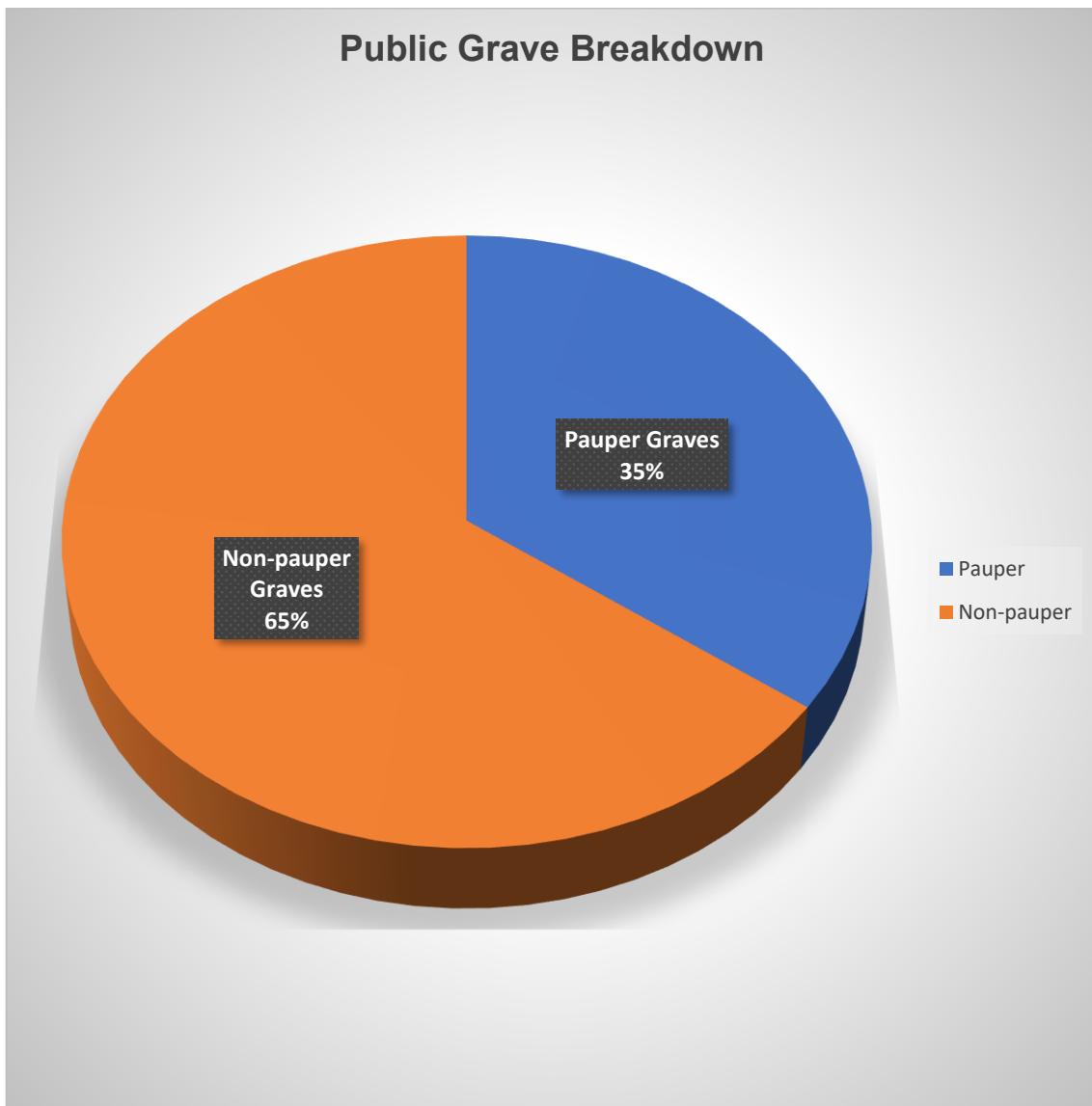
Data is based on 1000 (500 Church of England and 500 Nonconformist) burial receipts from 1866-67 held at Liverpool Archives.

Appendix 34c: Nonconformist burial data for Toxteth Cemetery, Liverpool



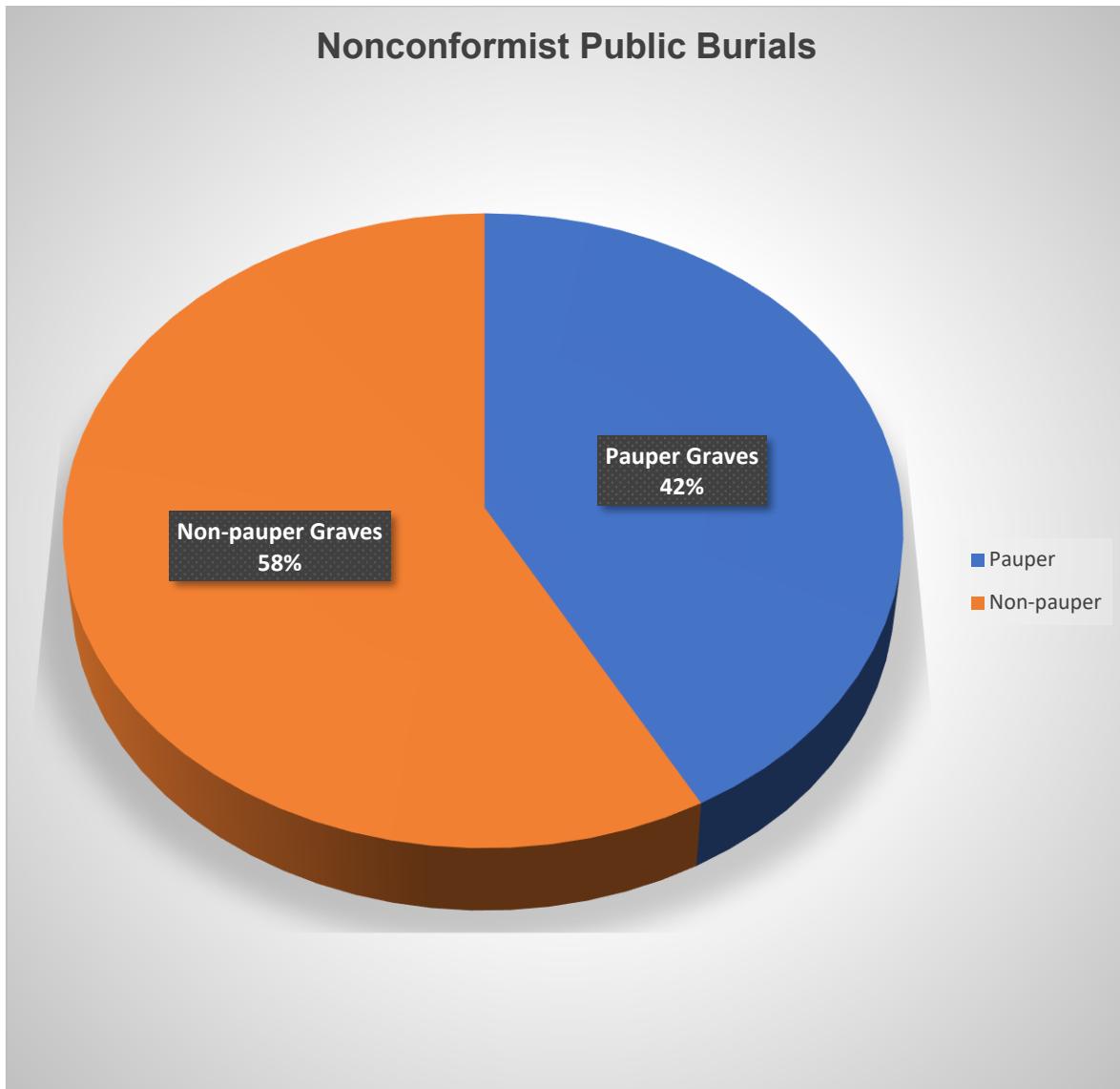
Data is based on 1000 (500 Church of England and 500 Nonconformist) burial receipts from 1866-67 held at Liverpool Archives.

Appendix 35a: Public grave burials in Toxteth Cemetery, Liverpool



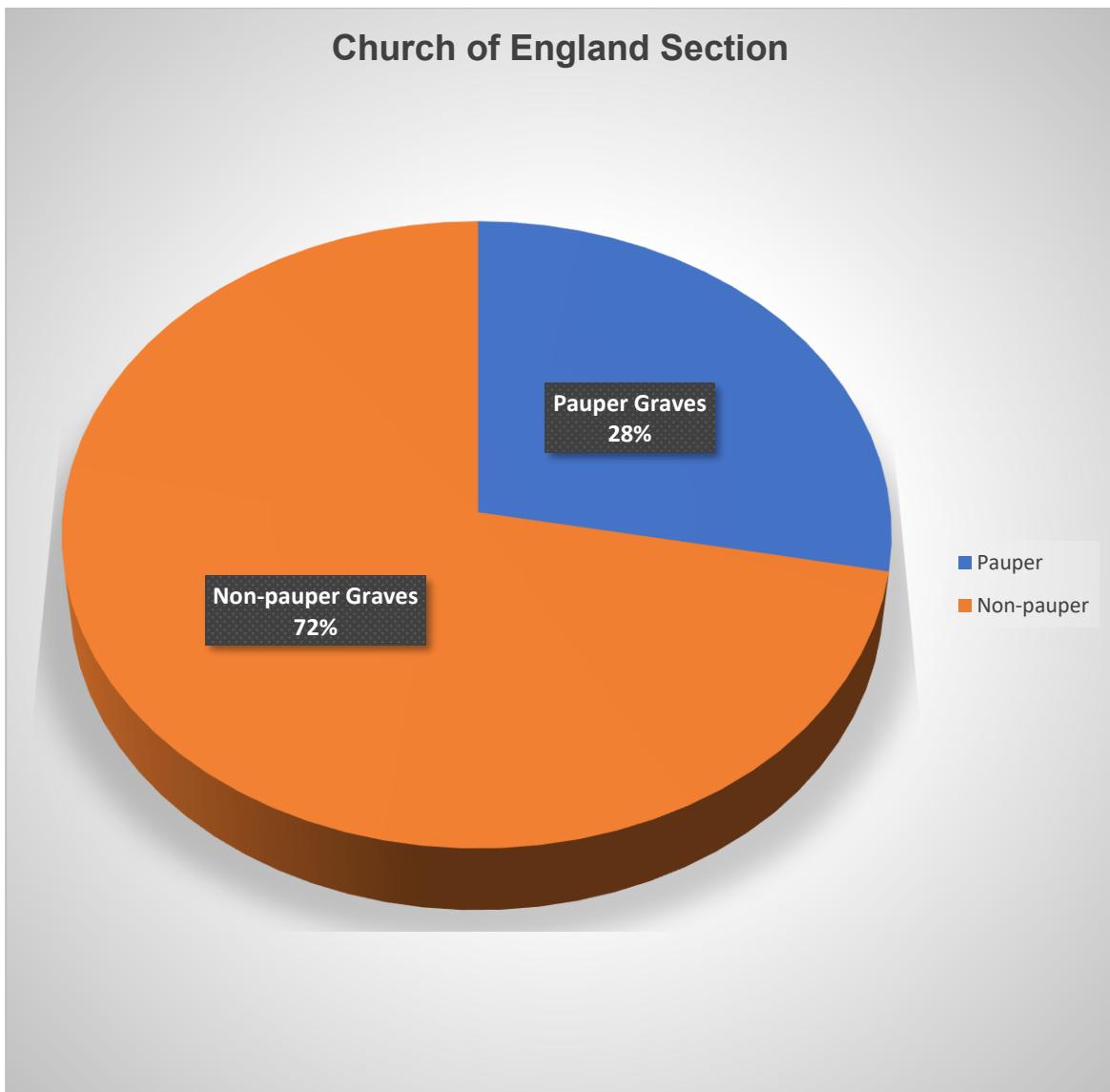
Data is based on 1000 (500 Church of England and 500 Nonconformist) burial receipts from 1866-67 held at Liverpool Archives.

Appendix 35b: Nonconformist public grave burials in Toxteth Cemetery, Liverpool



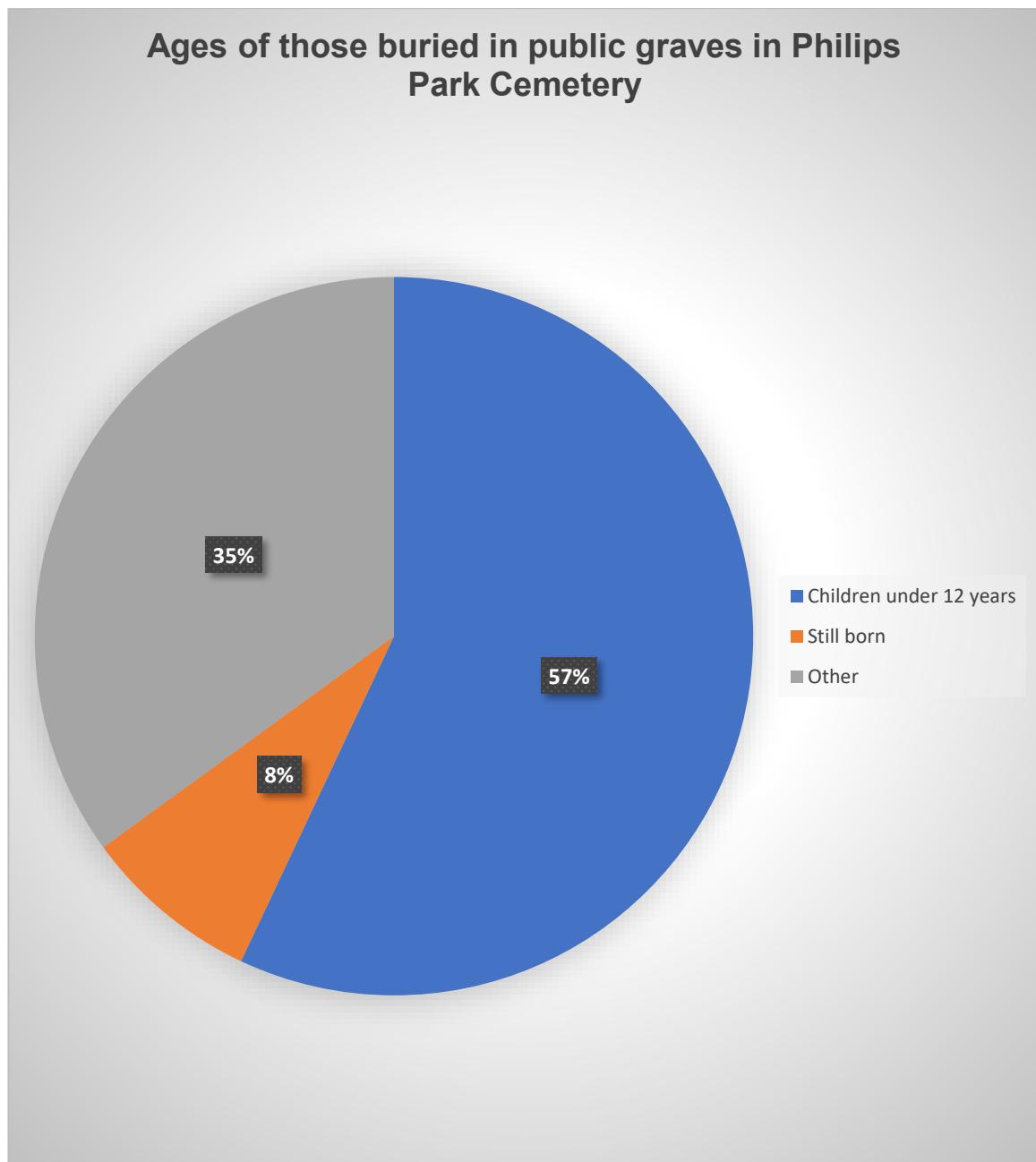
Data is based on 1000 (500 Church of England and 500 Nonconformist) burial receipts from 1866-67 held at Liverpool Archives.

Appendix 35c: Church of England public grave burials in Toxteth Cemetery, Liverpool



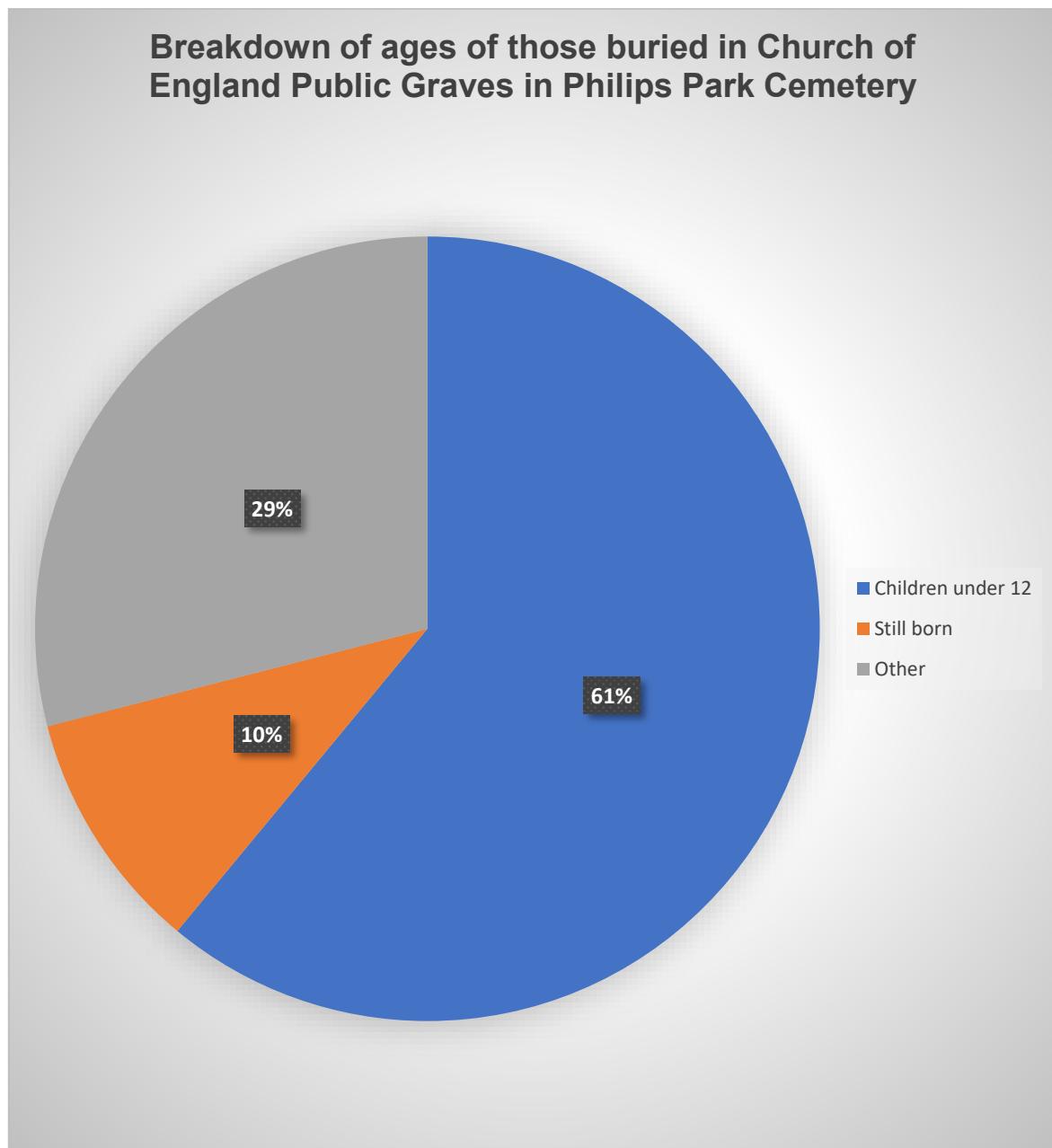
Data is based on 1000 (500 Church of England and 500 Nonconformist) burial receipts from 1866-67 held at Liverpool Archives.

Appendix 36a: Breakdown of ages of those buried in Public Graves in Philips Park Cemetery



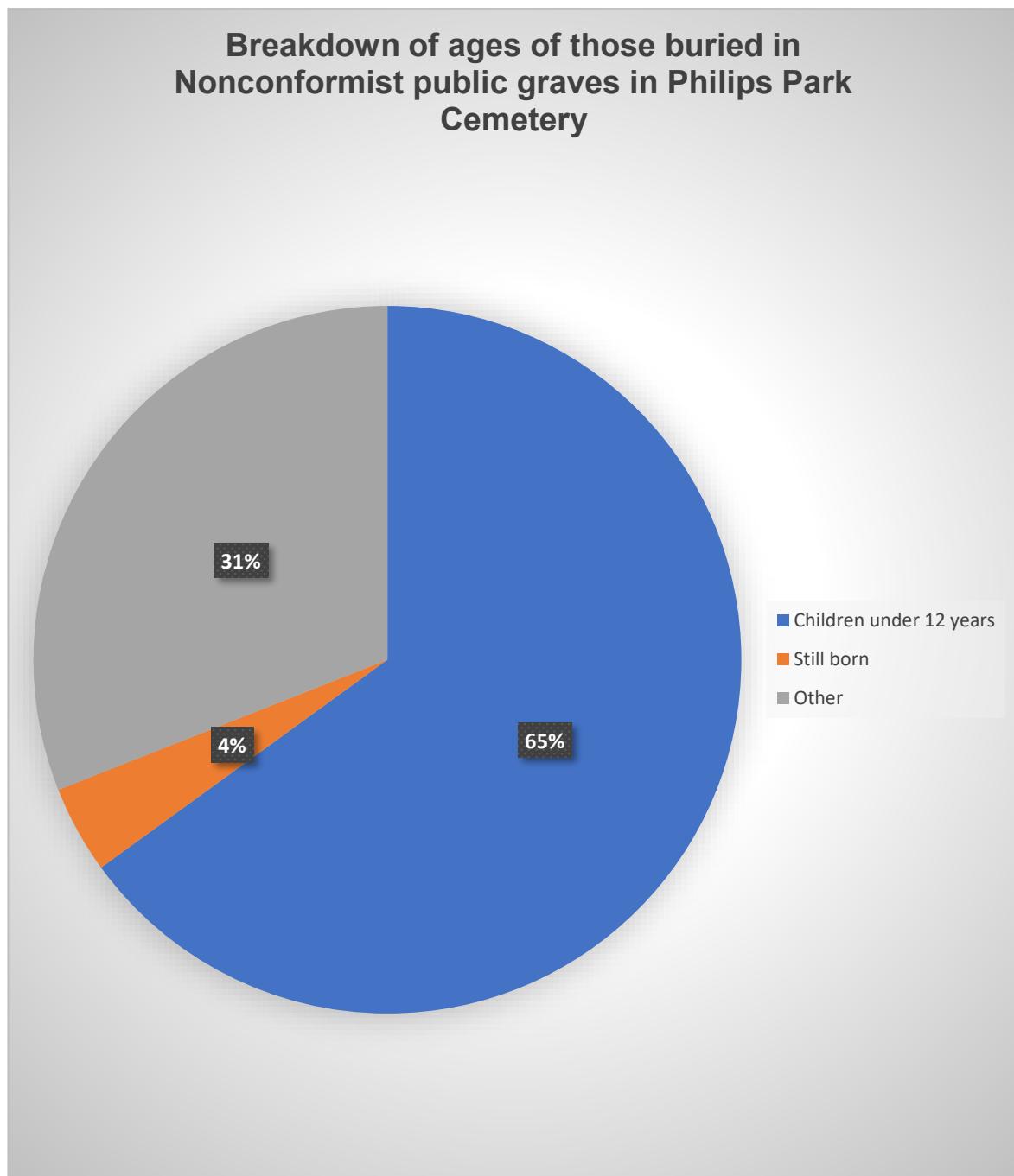
Data is based on 1500 grave receipts from Philips Park Cemetery 1866-68, held by Manchester Archives, MFPR 767-784, MFPR 917-934 & MFPR 758-766.

Appendix 36b: Breakdown of ages of those buried in Church of England Public Graves in Philips Park Cemetery



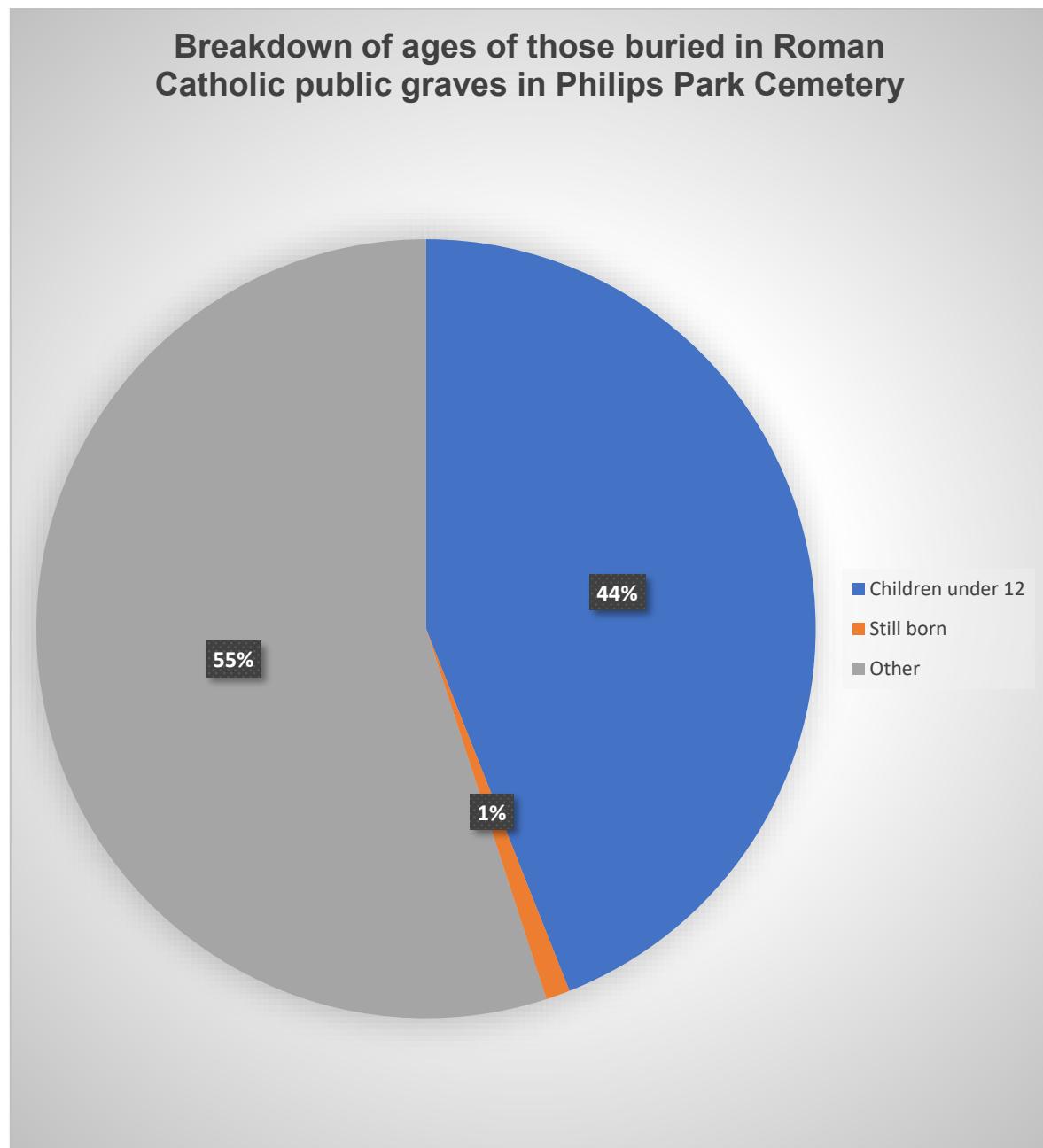
Data is based on 1500 grave receipts from Philips Park Cemetery 1866-68, held by Manchester Archives, MFPR 767-784, MFPR 917-934 & MFPR 758-766.

Appendix 36c: Breakdown of ages of those buried in Nonconformist public graves in Philips Park Cemetery



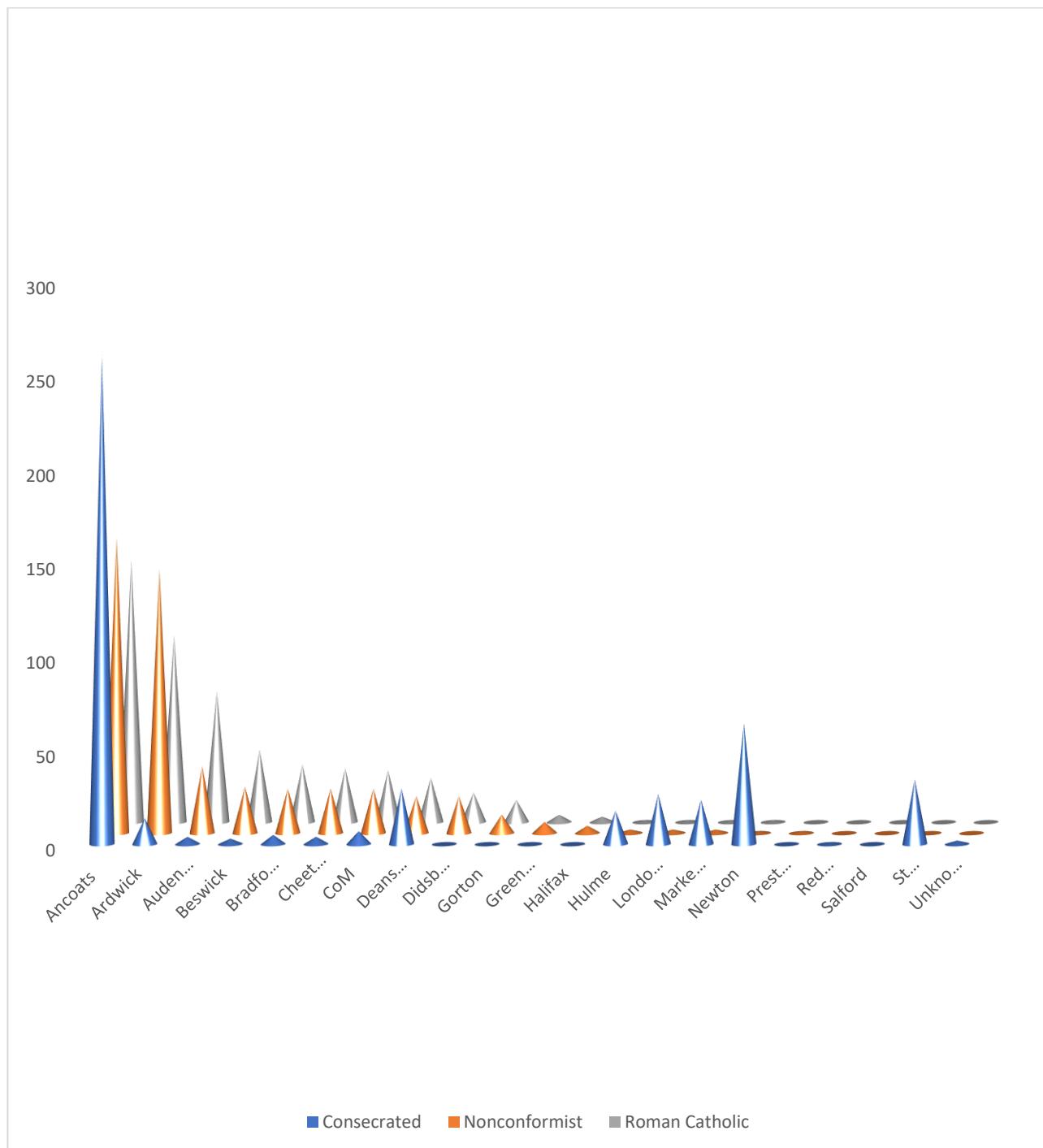
Data is based on 1500 grave receipts from Philips Park Cemetery 1866-68, held by Manchester Archives, MFPR 767-784, MFPR 917-934 & MFPR 758-766.

Appendix 36d: Breakdown of ages of those buried in Roman Catholic public graves in Philips Park Cemetery



Data is based on 1500 grave receipts from Philips Park Cemetery 1866-68, held by Manchester Archives, MFPR 767-784, MFPR 917-934 & MFPR 758-766.

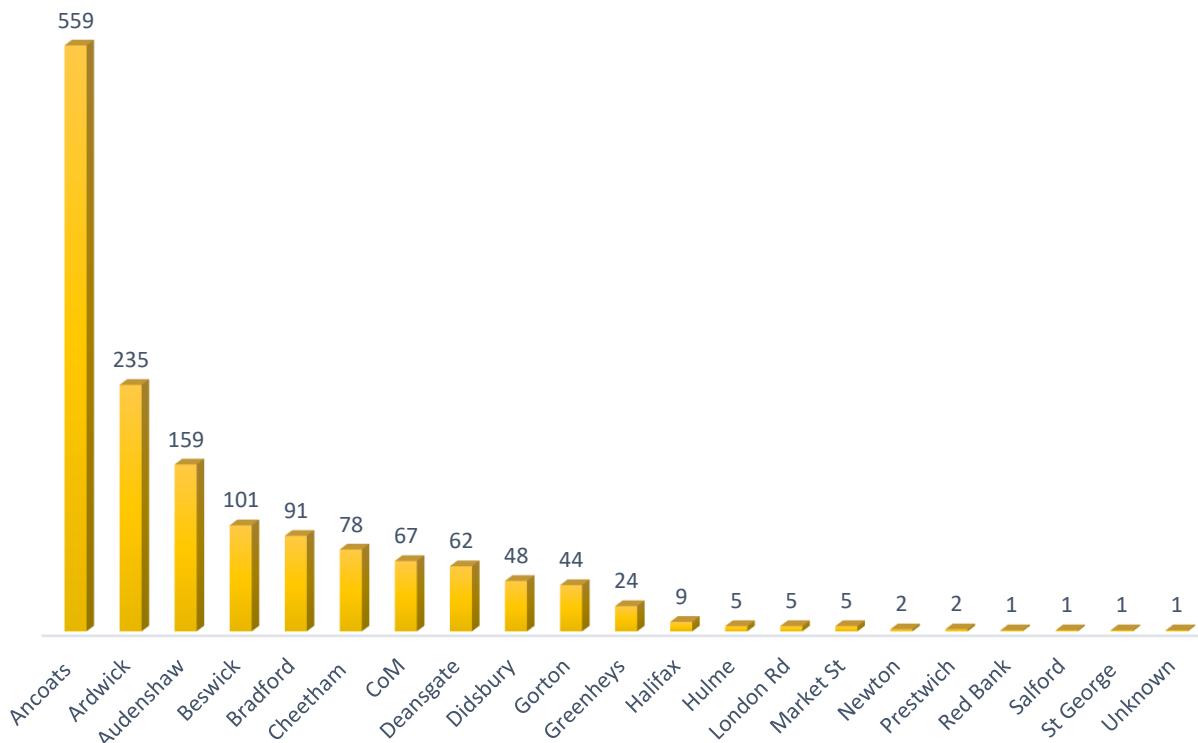
Appendix 37: Last residences of those buried in public graves in Philips Park Cemetery, Manchester by religion



Data is based on 1500 grave receipts from Philips Park Cemetery 1866-68, held by Manchester Archives, MFPR 767-784, MFPR 917-934 & MFPR 758-766.

Appendix 38: Last residences of those buried in public graves in Philips Park Cemetery, Manchester

Last Residence of those Buried in a Public Grave



Data is based on 1500 grave receipts from Philips Park Cemetery 1866-68, held by Manchester Archives, MFPR 767-784, MFPR 917-934 & MFPR 758-766.

Appendix 39: Public grave questionnaires

Data is based on the questionnaires of 100 people who relatives buried in the public grave section at Philips Park Cemetery. The questions and results are listed below...

Question 1: What do you call this type of grave?

- 3% Common grave
- 4% Public grave
- 86% Pauper grave (those that said 'pauper grave' then answered question two)
- 7% Other

Question 2: Why do you think it is a pauper grave?

- 54% I decided myself because of the number of interments in one grave
- 11% A family member or friend told me
- 15% The media (newspapers, T.V, books etc..)
- 20% Not sure

Question 3: Does the grave fit with what you know of your ancestor, personally or in terms of your own person research?

- 30% Yes
- 60% No
- 10% Did not know them

Question 4: Has it changed the way you think about them?

- 70% Yes
- 28% No
- 2% Had no thoughts about them

Appendix 40: Definitions – places of burial

Places of Burial

In the eighteenth century, the use of the word ‘cemetery’ to describe burial space grew steadily from the 1760s onwards,⁶⁵³ although ‘burial ground’ and ‘churchyards’ remained the most popular names to describe burial sites.⁶⁵⁴ The earliest use of the word cemetery in the British Newspaper Archive appears in 1761, in the *Leeds Intelligencer*, and when it was used to describe a burial site in Germany.⁶⁵⁵ The first time it appears in relation to a British burial site is in the *Manchester Mercury* in 1766, whose purpose was to inform local residents of a planned new parish burial ground. To fund the burial site, a public subscription of £600 was requested.

Whereas it was agreed at a town's meeting held at the Bull's Head, on Thursday the 27th of November last, and by adjournment on Thursday the 4th day of December instant, that an additional burial ground was wanted, adjoining to the Collegiate and Parish Church of Manchester, for the sake of common decency and as a probable means of persevering the health of this great and opulent town.⁶⁵⁶

The article further stated that the ‘design of this ground is for a public cemetery for the poor people of the parish’.⁶⁵⁷ What is noteworthy about this article is the interchangeable terminology between ‘burial ground’ and ‘cemetery’, suggesting that they both shared the same definition, evidence that Manchester was one of the first places in England to use ‘cemetery’ as a definition for burial space.

This lack of a fixed terminology also occurs regularly in the nineteenth century. For example, in 1817, a concerned member of the public described the burial site of the

⁶⁵³ Statement based on a keyword search of the British Newspaper Archive from 1700-1999, <https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk> {accessed 12.12.2017}

⁶⁵⁴ Ibid.

⁶⁵⁵ *Leeds Intelligencer*, (17 February 1761), p.2.

⁶⁵⁶ *Manchester Mercury*, (09 December 1766), p.4.

⁶⁵⁷ Ibid.

Collegiate church as an old churchyard, burial ground and a cemetery.⁶⁵⁸ Rugg, Curl and Kolbuszewski, have all provided definitions of burial space in an attempt to add some clarity to the field. Curl states that a cemetery is a burial ground that is specifically designed for the interment of the dead and is not 'attached to a place of worship'.⁶⁵⁹ Rugg goes further than Curl, arguing that 'churchyards are often small tracts of land owned and located next to the Church that has been used over centuries, while cemeteries – often larger in scale and predominately owned by secular authorities – have been in common use since only since the 19th century'.⁶⁶⁰ She suggests that they are located close but not 'necessarily within settlements'.⁶⁶¹ Mayer, as quoted by Rugg, further states a characteristic of the cemetery as being a place where the dead are memorialised with an identity.⁶⁶² When using the term 'burial ground', Rugg states that it 'contrasts with the cemetery' because rather than catering for the majority, the burial ground provides for the minority.⁶⁶³

It can be argued, however, that the definitions between burial sites such as cemeteries and burial grounds were far more blurred in northern industrial towns such as Manchester during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. For example, the *Manchester Mercury* advert requesting a new parish 'burial ground' which was also referred to as a 'cemetery', does not fit easily into either definition provided by Rugg. It would not have been a burial ground because it catered for the whole parish, and it would not have been a cemetery because it was in a settlement.

It is suggestive that historians are responsible for these definitions: the resident of the eighteenth-century town did not define early burial sites with such fixed terminology when it came to discussing burial grounds and cemeteries. Despite a steady growth in use of the term 'cemetery' in the eighteenth century, it was not until the nineteenth-century that burial grounds and cemeteries became slightly more defined. In the nineteenth-century, the term cemetery was used to describe a burial site that was often

⁶⁵⁸ 'State of the Old Church Yard', *Manchester Mercury*, (11 November 1817), p.2.

⁶⁵⁹ James Stevens Curl, *Oxford Dictionary of Architecture*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999)

⁶⁶⁰ Julie Rugg, 'What makes a cemetery a cemetery?', *Mortality*, Vol. 5, No. 3, (2000), pp.259-275.

⁶⁶¹ *Ibid.*

⁶⁶² R Meyer, 'Cemeteries' in G. Goreham (Ed.), *Encyclopaedia of Rural America*, (Oxford: ABCCLio, 1997)

⁶⁶³ Rugg, 'What makes a cemetery a cemetery?'

on the outskirts of the town, laid out in the style of a garden, with walkways, trees and shrubbery, similar to what is associated with a modern cemetery.

Besides the lack of clarity over defining cemeteries, there was also no clear definition of the term 'churchyard' and 'graveyard', also referred to as burial grounds. In 1806, for example, the proprietors of St George's Burial Ground took out the following advertisement in the local paper:

St George's New Burial Ground, is now opened, having at a great expense been made a good, secure, and respectable place for interment. The soil is rendered hard by a great quantity of gravel, and free from wet, by a sough ten feet deep. The vaults under the Chapel, are well adapted for families being roomy, and deep. Ordained Ministers of all denominations may officiate therein, the regular dues being constantly paid: and the poor will be respectably buried, at a small expense. A person will reside at the Lodge to give every necessary information, on the purchasing of vaults and graves.⁶⁶⁴

St George's New Burial Ground opened in 1806, replacing an older churchyard. When it opened, it was facing competition from seven other Church of England burial sites within the township of Manchester and the reason for the advertisement was to try and get custom by promoting the burial ground to all classes. The newspaper described the burial site as a 'burial ground', although according to Rugg, this type of ground – attached to a place of worship – should be called a churchyard.

Griffith and Wallace use different terms to describe churchyards, referring to them both as churchyards and burial grounds. They state, for example, that burial grounds and not churchyards are sites that 'surround the old city churches'.⁶⁶⁵ Neither historians nor nineteenth-century residents of the industrial city have used fixed terminology and therefore, it would be problematic to use Rugg's terminology in this study.

⁶⁶⁴ 'St. George's New Burial Ground', *Manchester Mercury*, (8 July 1806), p.4.

⁶⁶⁵ Lisa Marie Griffith & Ciaran Wallace (ed.) *Grave Matters*, (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2016), p.33.

Although there is a lack of clarity between churchyards and burial grounds and churchyards, this study uses fixed terminology to describe joint-stock cemeteries and municipal cemeteries. The term joint-stock cemeteries is used to describe cemeteries that were owned by a group of shareholders. The term municipal cemetery is used to describe cemeteries that were operated by municipal corporations.

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