

# Hendon Park Cemetery:

## Exploring the Third Venture of the Abney Park Cemetery Company



Hendon Park Cemetery.

The Chief Entrance as shewn here is within a few minutes walk of the Great Northern Mill Hill Station. It has a kind of Lychgate effect and reflects the spirit of the age we live in, nothing forbidding, no jarring discords, but peace and rest with natural beauty all around

*Hendon Park Cemetery, Mill Hill, N.W.*



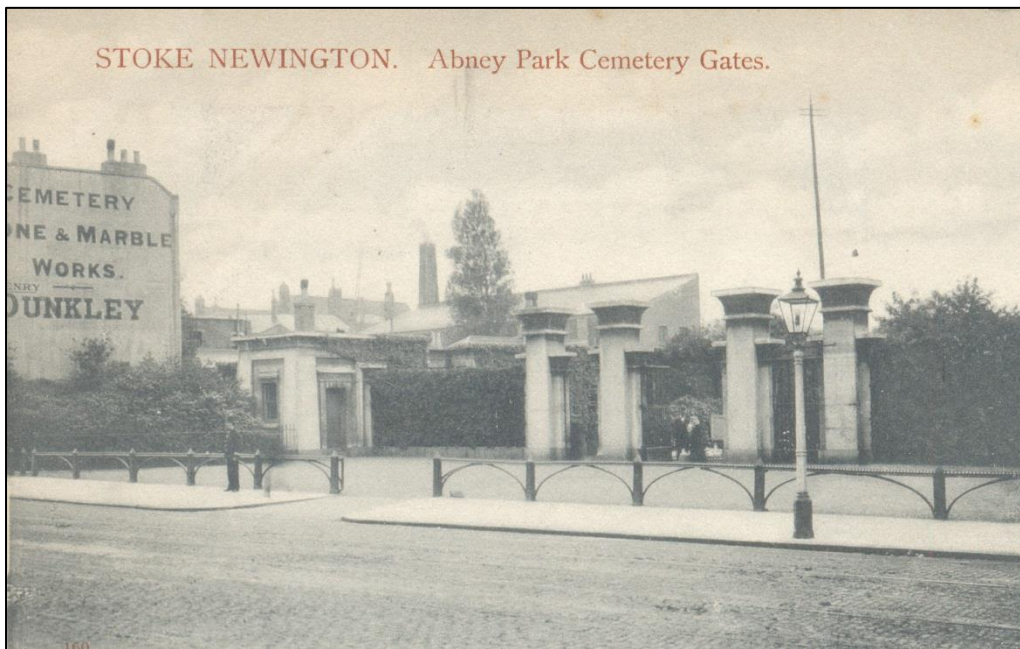
Brian Parsons



## Introduction

Despite the concentration of proprietary cemeteries in London, little research has been carried out concerning the companies as financial enterprises.<sup>1</sup> The period 1832-1840 was the heyday of the joint-stock cemetery company with seven being established in London: Kensal Green (1832), South Metropolitan (1836), Highgate (1839), Brompton (1840), Nunhead (1840), Abney Park (1840) and the City of London with Tower Hamlets (1841). Opening in 1845, Victoria Park Cemetery can be appended to this list, but it was closed in 1876.<sup>2</sup> Minutes of the London Cemetery Company, owners of Highgate and Nunhead, has been surveyed by James Stevens Curl and Ron Woollacott, but the absence of financial information has restricted the scope of their enquiry, and whilst there is a full-scale history of All Souls' Cemetery, Kensal Green, it contained no appraisal of the fortunes of the General Cemetery Company, which remains the original owner.<sup>3</sup> The only exception is the study completed by Arnold and Bidmead which utilises material concerning the Abney Park Cemetery Company (APCC), but with limitations.<sup>4</sup>

The opening of cemeteries by Burial Boards following the Burial Act 1852 temporarily



suspended the involvement of private companies in the burial of the dead. The Great Northern (now New Southgate) (1861) was the first of this second wave of cemeteries, followed by East London (1872), Manor Park (1874), Crystal Palace District (1880), Chingford Mount (1884), Woodgrange Park (1888) and finally Hendon (1899). Others were

proposed, such as the London and Western Districts Cemetery Company with their 60-acre site at Isleworth, the West Kent Cemetery Company promoting land at Abbey Wood, along with land in Clapton earmarked in 1860 by the North Eastern Metropolitan Cemetery Company.<sup>5</sup>

This study concerns the Abney Park Cemetery that established their first Cemetery in Stoke Newington in 1840. In the first decade over 5,000 burials were recorded.<sup>6</sup> Encouraged by their investment and following a restructuring of the company in the early 1880s, the directors sought to expand their business by opening further burials grounds.<sup>7</sup> Chingford Mount followed with the first burial taking place in May 1884. Like Abney Park, the directors were anxious to ensure burial was for everyone, including 'the unbaptised, the suicide, the heretic and the excommunicate'.<sup>8</sup> Thereafter the company continued its quest for further cemetery sites. Hendon Park Cemetery, which opened in 1899, was the third venture for the APCC, with a crematorium being provided in 1922. By 1905 it had added its fourth and final cemetery to the portfolio through the acquisition of Greenford Park Cemetery.

Using APCC archival material held in Hackney Archive along with local newspapers, particularly *The Hendon and Finchley Times* (THFT), a small number of journals and burial records, this research explores the establishment of Hendon Park Cemetery and its subsequent financial position, including the opening and success of the crematorium. Attention is then focused on the acquisition of Greenford Park Cemetery, before the research embraces a lengthy, but related investigation into the attempt to build a crematorium in the Ealing area. The final section examines the financial position of the APCC.

### **Hendon & Finchley – Charnel House for London’s dead?**

In the years after the Burial Act 1852, the north London area soon became the preferred location for authorities located in the centre of the metropolis to bury their dead. East Finchley accommodated the vast Islington St Pancras cemetery (1854) along with St Marylebone Cemetery (1854). In the adjacent area could be found the privately owned Great Northern Cemetery. Hampstead (1876) was fortunate in being located within its own municipal boundary. No cemeteries were located within the Hendon and parishioners were either buried in Hendon Old Churchyard or at St Paul’s in Mill Hill.



The local newspaper, *The Hendon and Finchley Times* often had reasons to mention burial matters and in the 1880s these included: the rating of municipal cemeteries and how little they contributed to the local authority finances;<sup>9</sup> the reoccurring issue of pollution from the cemeteries

contaminating brooks and water courses;<sup>10</sup> the annual gathering of the superintendent, gravediggers, monumental masons at the Five Bells Inn in Finchley;<sup>11</sup> a gravedigger buried alive at bottom of 15ft private grave;<sup>12</sup> the custom of some London parishes to save up the dead until there are sufficient coffins to charter a van. THFT commented: ‘These bodies in light shells are then conveyed along the populated thoroughfares to Finchley. The smell arising the transit of these charnel houses is described as sickening, so much so that the very driver of the vehicle is compelled to walk a long way in advance of his charge. It is done in the interests of economy.’<sup>13</sup> Other issues includes the newspaper drawing attention to the census which revealed there were 1,191 living souls in the parish and no fewer than 185,000 dead ones, not including the churchyard;<sup>14</sup> a person receiving 14 days hard labour for plucking four roses from Highgate Cemetery;<sup>15</sup> coverage of the London and North western Railway were cutting through St James’s burial ground in Hampstead Road

and bringing remains to St Marylebone Cemetery in Finchley, and gravedigger at St Pancras cemetery accused of exhuming bodies without permission.<sup>16</sup>

### **Golders Green: The first attempt to open a cemetery**

The first indication of a new cemetery being opened in the Hendon parish was mid-1888 when Henry T Baker, a Forest Gate undertaker, monumental mason and member of West Ham Burial Board proposed to open a 34-acre cemetery off the Finchley Road at Golders Green.<sup>17</sup> An enquiry was held on Monday 16 July 1888 in the *Bull and Bush* public house at Hampstead. The Home Office Burial Inspector, Dr Henry Hoffman, visited the 34-acre site, which was two miles from boundary of the metropolis as defined in the appendix to the Metropolitan Interments Act 1850. His principal question was whether the cemetery would endanger public health.<sup>18</sup> Present for the enquiry were Mr Baker's solicitor, Mr Tilley for the Hendon Local Board, solicitors for local land owners, a Mr Warburton, the Misses Metcalfe (of the Ladies School) and the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, along with legal representation for the Golders Green resident Sir Thomas Spencer Wells (1818-1897) and also William Ambrose QC, MP for Hendon (1832-1908).<sup>19</sup>

Described as being in a 'lovely spot', the proposed site was, like many London cemeteries largely clay. There was a sewer nearby, but no houses with the prescribed limit of 200 yards. The owners of the site, Eton College Estate, apparently knew the intended purpose of the site and had no objections. When asked who the cemetery was intended for, Henry Baker responded: 'For the whole metropolis'. Described as having 'a very confident manner, to put it mildly', he also said that people liked to have choice. When quizzed about ownership he responded: 'He was the company and no company was associated with him.' The Misses Metcalf objected to the site being near their 'ladies' school' of which they were the proprietors. It was also stated that the nearby roads would be partly blocked by funerals going to and from cemeteries. The representative for the Ecclesiastical Commissioners said that consecration may be a problem as the cemetery was not linked to a parish and there would be 'practically no restriction upon those who had charge of the cemetery.'<sup>20</sup>

A written representation was then submitted to the Home Secretary. The document bearing the seal of the Hendon Local Board restated the known facts about Henry Baker, details of the proposed site and followed with fourteen points negating the need for the cemetery and appropriateness of the site. Objections included: no responsibility for the long-term maintenance of the cemetery; that pollution from the cemetery would end up in the river Brent and then the Thames; advice from the Medical Officer of Health that the cemetery would 'constitute a dangerous nuisance'; that the site was near the 'thickly populated' (5,000 people) area of Child's Hill; it would jeopardise future building; there was a house within 100 yards of the site; that the cemetery would be for private profit and not for the community at large; it would deprecate the rateable value of the nearby properties, and it was not required for the district or adjoining districts.<sup>21</sup>

The site was two miles from the boundary of the Metropolis as defined in the 'Act to Amend the Laws Concerning the Burial of the Dead in the Metropolis' 1852 (15 & 16 Vic Cap 85). The Inspector reported that drainage into the Hendon Urban Sanitary Authority sewers was necessary.<sup>22</sup> Mr Ough for the promotor said that about £800 per annum of rates would be contributed to the Hendon parish. Much deliberation followed at the council meeting, but there was little support and the matter referred to the Works Committee. The Council also had to consider that St Joseph's Convent wanted to open a cemetery for their Order.

Their site was 1,500ft from the school premises and convent and 3,000ft from housing.<sup>23</sup> This matter was raised again in October 1889 to which the local board continued to object.<sup>24</sup> This burial ground was, however, sanctioned by the Home Office in December 1889, unlike Mr Baker's proposed cemetery at Golders Green <sup>25</sup>

### **A Cemetery for Hendon Ratepayers?**

During December 1890, the Hendon local surveyor was asked for a report on the suitability for burial purposes and also drainage costs of land owned by a Mr Loft; the location was not stated.<sup>26</sup> In the same month a Child's Hill undertaker, George Holloway, wrote to THFT to draw attention to the high cost of burial in Hendon Churchyard when compared to the charges of other burial authorities.<sup>27</sup> He noted that the vicar had charged 38s for the burial of two children, both being only a matter of hours old. The fee for the burial of a child under ten years at Finchley was 7s 8d and 9s 6d at Hampstead Cemetery.

The establishment of a cemetery was discussed by the Hendon Local Board in February and March 1891, although no decisive action was taken due to the cost and also the availability of land.<sup>28</sup> Nevertheless, two possible burial sites at Wealdstone were explored (including one adjacent to Harrow Cemetery), so outside the Hendon boundary, but no further action was taken until Major-General C Phipps Carey RE held a public enquiry on 9 March 1892.<sup>29</sup> The matter received further attention by the Hendon Local Board in May 1892 and again after the engineer dug test holes in the ground.<sup>30</sup>

The question of the cemetery was back on the agenda in July 1892.<sup>31</sup> During this debate it was revealed by the chairman of the local board that:

Apart from Church or politics, it was absolutely necessary for the Hendon and Child's Hill district that increased burial provision should be provided. The members of the Board would recollect that a private company wanted to open a burial ground at Golders Green and another at Colin Deep. Now, as a matter of fact, he knew of six or seven gentlemen who were prepared to advance sufficient capital within 48 hours, if the Board made it a private affair. He thought, however, that the Board could begin in a small way and erect temporary buildings, and increase accordingly.<sup>32</sup>

Hendon's proposed cemetery adjacent to that of Harrow's, which was located at Wealdstone, was still active when in November 1892 Mr Woodbridge of the Board of Guardians read the response of the Revd Hayward Joyce of the Harrow Burial Board to their request to use the chapel for burial service, which had been agreed.<sup>33</sup> The following month Mr Woodbridge, in his capacity as the Hendon engineer, provided costs of preparing three possible burial sites at Wealdstone: the scheduled site at £3,319 13s 11d, the site abutting on the railway for £2,817 11s and the site near Harrow Cemetery for £1,998 1s 3d.<sup>34</sup> The committee arranged to view all the sites on 3 December 1892. The proposal was debated again in January, and then in March when it was held in camera.<sup>35</sup> Hendon Ratepayers' Association also discussed the matter in March 1893, when the speaker, Mr Warburton, concluded that the parish should wait as it questioned whether a cemetery was actually needed. Furthermore, the last thing they wanted was an additional charge on the rates. Mr Warburton also revealed that '...he had heard that a private cemetery was likely to be opened shortly.' Another contributor said that the three sites had been deemed 'unsuitable or unobtainable' and that no further locations were under consideration.<sup>36</sup>



In April 1893, the announcement was made of the departure of the vicar of Hendon and also a reduction in burial fees for common interments, a move said to be appreciated by ‘...Jew, Turk, Infidel or Heretic should there happen to be any individual resident in our midst.’<sup>37</sup>

### **The Expansion of St Marylebone Cemetery**

On 10 August 1893, the Home Secretary, Mr Herbert Asquith, received a deputation from Finchley Local Board and the Marylebone Local Board regarding the latter’s acquisition of twelve acres of additional land for burial purposes. Members of the former were vocal in their opposition to be expansion. CF Jones, chairman of the Sanitary Committee, provided many illuminating statistics: Finchley comprised 3,384 acres with 3,339 houses, 127 acres (or 1/27<sup>th</sup> of the Finchley parish) were already occupied by three cemeteries that had accommodated 100,000 bodies over ten years. When the cemeteries opened the population was around 4,000; now it was 17,000. The population of the three authorities owning cemeteries (St Marylebone, Islington and St Pancras) totalled 674,000. If granted, it was argued that residents would not be able to sell or let houses easily. ‘The dead must be buried somewhere, but why make Finchley the charnel house?’<sup>38</sup> From a financial perspective Mr Jones pointed out that the 12-acres could accommodate 155 new houses with a rateable value of £20 each, thus £822 per annum. If used for burials the land would yield only £9 per annum. A private company would have to pay the commercial rate, but a Burial Board cemetery attracted a rateable value representing the rent at the time of acquisition.<sup>39</sup> It was further pointed out that the burial of non-parishioners (including Finchley residents) was between 30 and 400 per cent of the parishioner charge. Approval was subsequently granted, although this appears not to be mentioned in the local press.<sup>40</sup>

### **Golders Green: The Jewish Cemetery**

In March 1894 the Hendon Local Board had to attend an enquiry held again by Dr Hoffman concerning a proposed Jews’ cemetery occupying 16 acres of land in Oak Lane (later Hoop Lane), Golders Green. The congregation of the West London Synagogue were the promoters and burial space was required as their Balls Pond Road Cemetery was nearing capacity.<sup>41</sup> The appropriately named Mr Lazurus superintended all burials at Balls Pond Road of which 25 took place each year.

Mr Tilley opposed on behalf of the Hendon Local Board, and Mr Warburton on behalf of local owners, whilst spokespersons appeared on behalf of Sir Thomas Spencer Wells and Sir Theodore Brinkman (1862-1937). Mr Lousada for the congregation pointed out that there would only be one person buried in each grave and there would not be any vaults or catacombs. The proposed system of drainage would be sub-surface clay pipes into a local brook. Mr Tilley suggested that burials take place at the Jewish cemetery in Willesden; this was not appreciated as the West London Congregation was Reformed, not Orthodox.<sup>42</sup> The treasurer said that membership was about 515 with 2,000 possibly claiming burial rights. By 25 May THFT reported that permission had been granted, provided drainage and treatment of the effluent was dealt with in the prescribed manner.<sup>43</sup> It was later revealed that eight acres of the site had been conveyed to the ‘Spanish Jews of London’.<sup>44</sup>

The Jewish cemetery in Hoop Lane was consecrated in May 1897.<sup>45</sup> THFT commented:

The ways of the Home Secretary are probably inscrutable, we know that up till now Hendon was been able to ward off all cemetery intruders, Willesden, Finchley, Hampstead and Friern Barnet, may have their Necropolises, or cities of the silent,

but beyond burying their own dead, Hendon has not yet been troubled with the dead of other districts, except as a remunerative fee to the Vicar of the parish.<sup>46</sup>

The leader then went on to discuss the new Jewish Cemetery on Hoop Lane before turning attention to the needs at Hendon:

The question of a cemetery for the Jews of north London is but a small matter compared with a question of a cemetery for themselves. The District Council, amongst other powers, took upon itself some time ago the duties of a Burial Board, and although the word under the particular head has been exceedingly light, still it is a question which will have to be faced ere very long. The negotiations for acquiring land adjacent to Hendon churchyard have, as we are informed, fallen through, whilst the burials in the churchyard go on, if not day by day, certainly week by week. At the present rate, without allowing for the normal increase, Hendon churchyard must soon be filled up, and it would be well when the executive changes which are now going on are completed, that the Council took this matter into careful and serious consideration.<sup>47</sup>

### **Golders Green: Another attempt to open a cemetery**

At the beginning of October 1896 THFT reported that:

There is a revival of a scheme which was formulated some twelve or fifteen years ago to form a cemetery in the neighbourhood of Golders Green, on land not very far from '*Bull and Bush*' and adjacent to Hampstead Heath. The Hendon Authorities have always been most antagonistic to the establishment of a cemetery in this parish. It is, however, clear with aggregations of populations such as the City, St Pancras, St Luke's and Marylebone possesses, that there must be some outlet for interment purposes, although Hendon has till now, escaped the establishment of such a place. With their own churchyard all but full, Hendon would do well to come to terms with some such body as that which is formulating the venture. A burial place near to the cross roads will be very suitable for the residents of Child's Hill and Cricklewood, and it would be equally suitable for a good many of the residents of Central Hendon.<sup>48</sup>

Then on 23 October 1896 THFT highlighted publication in the *British Medical Journal* of an article about the '...threatened cemetery at Golders Green.'<sup>49</sup>

A serious danger if threatening not only one of the lungs of London, but indirectly the healthful recreation of many thousands of her citizens. We refer to a proposal which is now before the trustees of Eton College to part with some 30 to 40 acres of their land, situated in close proximity to Hampstead Heath, for a burial ground. The land lies on the north of Finchley Road, just below the West Heath, and would, we presume, be approached by Golder's Hill, there being also a public footway which leads directly off the Heath. The property is just at present let, we believe, to farmers, who use it for pasture purposes.

We strongly deprecate the establishment of another metropolitan cemetery so close to London, as we do so in this instance on aesthetic as well as sanitary grounds. The neighbourhood is already extensively inhabited. Hampstead proper, West Hampstead, South Hampstead, and Frognal, as well as the locality still known only as the Finchley Road, are fully is not thickly populated. To these people the Heath

is everything; the place for the elders to walk, the children to play, and where persons of all classes turn for healthful exercise and recreation. Under the County Council the common has not only been considerably extended, but the care and attention bestowed on it has resulted in it being used by a large and ever-increasing number, who show quietly their appreciation of its beauty. But much of all this will be lost if in future "Happy Hampstead" is to be bounded by a cemetery, and if those who seek its heights are to do so by a road along which there proceeds the drear and monotonous procession of funeral hearses, with the usual accompaniments of flaring wayside public-houses and depressing tombstone yards.

We have frequently commented with regret on the partiality for funeral display which seems to be almost a national characteristic of the English mind – a partiality which has had far more influence than is generally supposed in resisting cremation as a means of disposing of the dead. But even if it is necessary to recognise the existence of this widespread taste which prefers to think of its dear dead as being slowly corrupted instead of rapidly consumed by fire, it does not necessarily follow that this preference should be gratified at the expense of the living, or that a cemetery site should be specially chosen in close proximity to the only place where thousands of persons are able to get fresh air and recreation. If a fresh graveyard is needed it should, we contend be placed at a considerable distance from London, say twenty or thirty miles, and the bodies and mourners conveyed by train, due prominence being of course paid to all matters expressive of reverence and decorum. The trains could leave at stated and regular hours, so that no family need be put to unnecessary expense for special conveyances, and the usual equipments could be supplied at the country terminus. By this plan funerals could be conducted more economically, for without doubt an Essex farm (many of which have now fallen below the margin of cultivation) could be purchased more cheaply than good pasture land abutting on Hampstead Heath.

The sanitary advantages of removing decaying humanity from amidst the homes of the living it is unnecessary to dwell on in the JOURNAL, but sufficient prominence is not perhaps generally accorded to the incidents connected with interments, which do much to depress and unconsciously lower the nervous force of those who live on the line of roads leading to an active cemetery. The owners of property protest that the proximity of a burial ground depreciates their possessions. This cannot be doubted, because the common sense of the public but anticipated the medical conclusions that both directly and indirectly a graveyard amid a populated neighbourhood has insanitary and non-hygienic consequences.

We know that we are voicing the hopes of many thousands and tens of thousands of persons when we express the belief that public opinions will not allow one of its nearest and most treasured open spaces to be contaminated by the vicinity of the Abney Park Cemetery Company.<sup>50</sup>

Not only was this pro-cremation rhetoric, which could have easily been penned by Sir Thomas Spencer Wells, a Cremation Society of England Council member or fellow supporter and BMJ editor, Ernest Hart, but also endorsement for new cemeteries away from London with a rail link, similar to Brookwood.<sup>51</sup>

In the same month the APCC's intention to open a third site were expressed in a 'Memorial' submitted to the Rt Hon Sir Matthew White Ridley, Bt (1842-1904), Her Majesty's Principal



Secretary of State for the Home Department, to request a license to use the land for burials. The memorial comprised nine clauses:

1. That the Abney Park Cemetery Company was established in the year 1839 for the purposes of converting Abney Park at Stoke Newington, a northern suburb of London, into a cemetery with power to purchase land elsewhere for the interment of person belonging to all denominations, but from an early period in its history was selected as and is still the chosen place of burial of the ministers and leading members of nonconformist bodies.
2. That a considerable population is now gathering in the North Western suburbs of London for which there is no sufficient cemetery accommodation within a convenient distance.
3. That the Hampstead Burial Board has found Hampstead Cemetery inadequate for the requirements and has therefore closed it against all non-parishioners. [unbeknown to the APCC Hampstead Borough Council would shortly be applying to the Home Office for enlargement of their cemetery, which was approved in 1900.<sup>52</sup>]
4. That there is at present no near provision for the burial of residents at Child's Hill and Hendon which have a population of about 20,000 other than Hendon Churchyard which is getting very full.
5. That with the view of affording cemetery accommodation for non-conformists and other residents in the neighbourhood, the Abney Park Cemetery has selected as a convenient site land comprising about 30 acres near Golders Green in the parish of Hendon a short distance from the boundary of Hampstead Parish and have agreed to purchase the same from the Provost and Fellows of Eton College.
6. That the site selected by your memorialists is most conveniently situated for the purpose being somewhat away from the population and yet easily accessible by road.
7. That from their long experience, the Directors and manager of the Abney Park Company are thoroughly conversant with all the details of cemetery management and with the necessary requirements of drainage and other arrangements to secure perfect sanitation.
8. That the largest landowner in the neighbourhood of the selected site at Golders Green are the Provost and Fellows of Eton College who have been informed that the land purchase is intended for a Cemetery and are supporting this application believing that their land adjoining will not be prejudicially affected.<sup>53</sup>
9. That no part of the ground immediately adjacent to the Golders Hill Road is intended to be used for interments and is therefore excluded from the area in respect of which a License is asked. The part used as a cemetery will be ornamentally laid out and screened from observation by plantations of trees and shrubs.

Your memorialists therefore pray that you will be pleased if you think the application warranted by the circumstances of the case to grant to your memorialists your licence for the use of the site as a Burial Ground. And your memorialists will ever pray, etc...<sup>54</sup>

The APCC submitted their application to the Home Office on 12 March 1896. It was not, however, until 23 October when a public enquiry was opened, chaired once again by Dr Hoffman in the *Bull and Bush* public house. Opposition was voiced by Mr Ambrose MP and Mr Brodie Hoare MP in addition to Sir Thomas Spencer Wells and Mr Hugh Mathieson (occupier of Arrondale).<sup>55</sup> Mr Birrell and Mr Roland Whitehead appeared for the APCC. Dr Hoffman commenced by inspecting the 29-acre site which extended from the Cross Roads

to the back of Golders Hill Terrace. It was revealed that the site had already been considered for cemetery use, but rejected. The cemetery wall would be 200ft back from the road and there were no houses within 100ft. The land would be drained to 8ft. Dr Hoffman's concerns primarily focused on the sanitary aspects of the proposal.

During the presentation of the case and subsequent cross-examination of the witnesses from the company, reoccurring issues were discussed including soil type and drainage, treatment of effluent, route of the funerals arriving at the cemetery and where it was anticipated the dead would come from. The enquiry continued at the Inns of Court Hotel in Holborn commencing with the case of the promoters.<sup>56</sup> The opposers then put forward the issue that focussed on the 'Dense, fractious, homogenous, clay'. Sir Thomas Spencer Wells was called to give evidence as his residence was adjacent to the proposed site. When questioned by Mr Warburton his response was that he was '...a great advocate of cremation, and did not believe in the earth to earth system. He objected to cemeteries although as a bad way of disposing of the dead.'<sup>57</sup> In his closing remarks for the company, Mr Birrell stated that little would be lost if the scheme was not approved. However, 'If it was granted and the cemetery became popular, any extension would go in the direction of Hampstead, as the Eton College authorities had 367 acres of land in that direction.'<sup>58</sup>

By the end of March 1897, the Home Office had rejected the APCC scheme at Golders Green.<sup>59</sup> Hendon District Council then gave consideration to forming a cemetery committee under the Public Health Interment Act 1879.<sup>60</sup> The Hendon Medical Officer of Health commented in his annual report:

A very lengthy and exhaustive enquiry was held by the Home Office [concerning the Golders Green site]; the Hendon District Council being directly opposed to it from sanitary and other grounds. Finally, the Home Office gave their decision that they could not see their way to allow of the cemetery being placed there. This is the second time this site has been applied for this purpose, and has been refused both times.<sup>61</sup>

Of note is that the APCC sought clarification of their ability to legal opinion as to their ability to open a cemetery in Middlesex from their barrister, Augustine Birrell. He wrote on 18 May 1897:

In my opinion the Memorandum of Association of the Abney Park Cemetery Company will, if confirmed on Petition by the court under the Memorandum of Association Act 1890 (see specifically clause 5 sub section C) enable the directors if so advised and from time of time acquire land within such as reasonable distance from London as will enable the Company to carry on its business which really is to provide cemeteries for the burial of person who have lived in London and its suburbs.

In considering what a reasonable distance is, the Court will necessarily consider the nature of the business and the necessities of the case. It is now pretty plain that it is almost impossible to obtain land within the 12 miles radius of Charing Cross owing to the growing objection of the inhabitants of the suburbs to have cemeteries planted in their midst and in addition to this there is a growing feeling that burial of the dead is a duty which should be discharged by public bodies and not left to private enterprise. Having regard to the undoubted facts a cemetery company cannot expect to acquire land for its purposes close to London but is compelled to

go further afield in search of a site. In my opinion the real point to be observed is that the Company should remain what may be called a London Company.

I do not think the proposed Memorandum would justify the Company buying land in the neighbourhood of Birmingham or Bristol or Leeds or catering (so to say) for the trade of those large communities but if a suitable site were to be found within such a distance of London as to enable funerals to be carried on by means of the Railway as for example in the case of Woking Cemetery, the Court would not I am sure measure by a mile or two the exact distance from Charing Cross to the proposed site.

Answering the first question in the affirmative it is not necessary to make any formal reply to the second.<sup>62</sup>

This reassured the APCC that the opening of a cemetery outside the Metropolitan area as defined by the Metropolitan Burial District was permissible.

By the end of May 1897 the Hendon Cemetery Committee reported that they had under consideration a site at Tithe Farm.<sup>63</sup> The 25 acres were reported to cost £350 per acre with an additional £300 for a house and buildings.<sup>64</sup> A £25,000 capital expenditure was anticipated for 'boundary fence, chapel, road or utensil.' The MHO report for 1898 endorsed the proposal:

The necessity for providing further accommodation for burial has prominently come before you and the council have entered into negotiations for the purchase of a site for a Cemetery. The matter has still not yet been settled, and is still under consideration.<sup>65</sup>

Then in March 1899, THFT published a comment from a Holders Hill resident who:

draws attention to the fact that certain land lying between Holders Hill Road and Ashley lane is being laid out ostensibly as a cemetery. That certain drainage, fencing and road-making works has been going on here for some time is palpable; but when we see what looks like temporary chapels erected on the ground there is a colour given to the belief, we did not know that before interments can be carried out in any cemetery the licence of the Home Secretary had first to be obtained. This licence is a very difficult thing to secure, as would-be cemetery owners in Hendon have found to their cost. Hitherto the application for such licence has brought down large landowners, the local authority and all the powers in place in opposition. We are informed that our old friends the Abney Park Cemetery Company are laying out land. This company has had more than one rebuff from the authorities in Hendon in reference to a site in Golders Green, so that we wonder they have the temerity to come here again. As time goes on, however, Greater London will be honeycombed by these burying grounds, as the number of dead which have annually to be buried exceeds 130,000.<sup>66</sup>

It was clear that the Company's preparation of their site at Holders Hill Road had caught the Hendon District Council unawares, a situation that promoted the following discussion at the council meeting on Wednesday 16 March 1899:

Mr Evans then inquired whether any information could be given as to the proposed cemetery at Dollis Farm. – The Surveyor said that the Abney Park Cemetery Company had opened the ground for the purposes of a cemetery. Mr Evans – Is it a

fact? – The Surveyor – Undoubtedly. Mr Gibson was anxious to know whether there was any truth in the statement that some one had been buried there already, and the Surveyor could not say definitely, but he had heard a remark to the same effect....It was agreed the Council should take action as was within their powers.

Later in the report it was stated:

[the Works Committee] have had under consideration a report from the surveyor as to certain buildings in course of erection by the Abney Park Cemetery Company, Ltd, near Dollis Farm, in connection with a projected cemetery. The committee are giving this matter their serious consideration, and hope to be in a position to report thereon at an early date.<sup>67</sup>

Hendon Park Cemetery had received its first burial on 29 January 1899 and by the 30 March nine had taken place. On 17 March 1899 the APCC commenced advertising Hendon Park Cemetery in the THFT. Adult interment in a common grave cost 10s and £2 8s for burial in a 10ft family grave including digging fees and the memorial permit. The fees for purchased graves and vaults was also advertised. A larger advert for the Company's three cemeteries appeared in *The Hackney and Kingsland Gazette*.<sup>68</sup> Advertisements were also included in *The Undertakers' Journal* (commencing in June 1899) and also the *British Undertakers' Association Monthly* in September 1930.

**HENDON PARK CEMETERY,**  
MILL HILL, N.W.  
(Close to Mill Hill Station G.N.Ry., and 12 minutes walk from Finchley, Church End Station.)

INTERMENTS ON WEEK DAYS FROM 10 A.M. TO 5 P.M.

SCALE OF CHARGES.

	Adult	10 yrs.	under 5 yrs.	1 yr.	14 days.
Interment in unpurchased graves	10/-	8/6	7/-	6/-	4/-
Interment in Family Grave including digging 10-ft. deep, interment fees, and privilege of erecting stone	Adult £2 8s.			Child Under 10 years. £1 18s.	

**PURCHASED GRAVES.**  
Including Digging Grave 7ft. deep, and all fees for the Burial of an Adult, and the right of placing a Memorial :-

	Good Positions	More eligible positions
From 7-ft. to 10-ft.	£5 8 0	£4 7 0
" 10-ft. to 15-ft.	£8 10 6	£7 10 0
" 15-ft. to 22-ft.		£3 10 0

When Graves are required more than the depth noted above, the following are the additional charges for digging :-

From	To	2s. per foot.	3s. 6d. per foot.	3s. per foot.
7-ft.	10-ft.			
10-ft.	15-ft.			
15-ft.	22-ft.			

**GROUND FOR VAULTS.**

Vault	9-ft. 0-in. x 4-ft. 0-in.	£10 10 0
Vault	9-ft. 0-in. x 6-ft. 0-in.	£15 15 0

NO FEES WHATSOEVER ARE PAYABLE UPON THE ERECTION OF STONES.

**ARTHUR CLARK,**  
Superintendent.  
ABNEY PARK CEMETERY CO., LTD.  
STOKE NEWINGTON.  
1st March, 1899.

**HENDON PARK CEMETERY,**  
MILL HILL, N.W.

Interments Daily (Sundays excepted) from 10 to 5.

THIS beautiful and extensive Cemetery is conveniently situated within two or three minutes' walk of Mill Hill Station (Great Northern Railway) and adjoins Church End, Finchley. It is approached by excellent roads, and is only 5½ miles from Regent's Park.

The convenient position, and exceptionally low fees, should at once recommend it to the notice of undertakers.

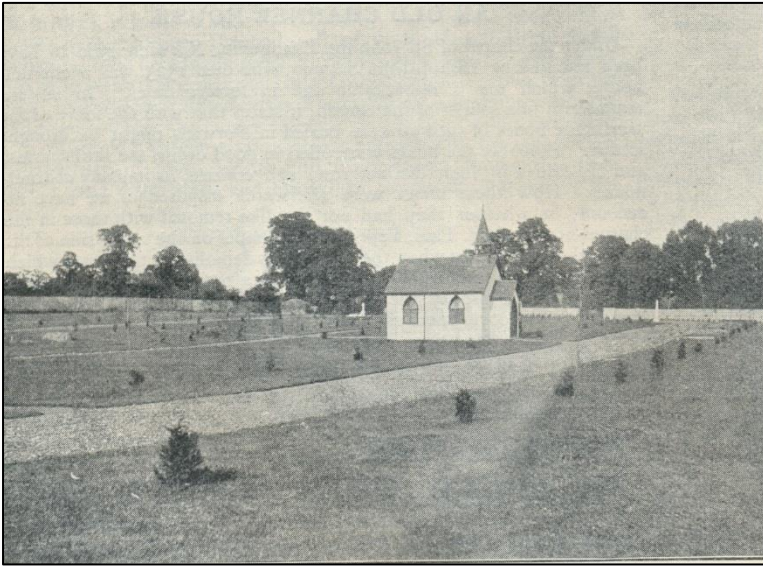
Common Interments—Adult, 10/-; Children from 4/-; Family Graves (including digging)—Interment of an Adult, and right of erecting stones, 48/-; Purchased Graves from 25/-

Full particulars and scale of charges can be obtained at the Office at the Cemetery, or will be forwarded post free on application.

**ARTHUR CLARK,**  
Secretary.  
ABNEY PARK CEMETERY COMPANY, LTD.,  
STOKE NEWINGTON, N.

Advertisements from (left) *The Hendon and Finchley Times* 15 September 1899 and (right) *The Undertakers' Journal* January 1900.





The Hendon Works Committee reported on Monday 11 April:

The committee have....procured the opinion of Mr J Brooke Little [The author of *The Law of Burials* 3<sup>rd</sup> Edition 1902] in this matter. Letters also received from Mr Arthur Clarke, secretary of the Abney Park Cemetery Company Limited, enquiring whether the Council would be disposed to come to an arrangement with his company for the interment of parishioners, thus obviating the necessity of the Council providing further cemetery

accommodation. The committee recommend that before deciding upon any course of action in connection with this matter, and without prejudice to the projected action of the Council, the Council receive representatives of the Cemetery Company in accordance with such suggestion.<sup>69</sup>

Of the opening of the cemetery, *TUJ* noted:

Although it is stated that the Home Office have sanctioned the undertaking, the intention of the company was kept a close secret, and was not known even to the Hendon District Council until a few days ago. This fact is causing widespread indignation among the ratepayers and residents of central Hendon, where the District Council have entered into a provisional contract for the acquisition of twenty-six acres of land for a local cemetery. That matter has been placed into the hands of the legal adviser to the district council.<sup>70</sup>

Member of the Council, nevertheless, did meet with directors of the APCC on Monday 9 May 1899:

That a deputation from the Abney Park Cemetery Company attended the meeting of the committee, and the proposition by the Company for the interment of parishioners on special terms was discussed.<sup>71</sup>

But it was also noted that letters had been received from individuals and the Urban District Council of Finchley ‘...offering to co-operate with the Council in opposing the establishment of the above cemetery...’.<sup>72</sup> The Committee was also contacted by the vendor of Tithe Farm asking whether the Council continue with its acquisition. ‘The committee recommend that the clerk inform Messrs Baker in reply that the Council do not propose to proceed further with the negotiations for the purchase of land in question.’<sup>73</sup>

THFT noted on 12 May 1899 that the Council had met with the Company and that its neighbouring authority continued to object to the presence of the cemetery, which had petitioned the Home Office. It sagely commented:

The cemetery is there and interments have taken place, and stipulations of the Home Office have so far been complied with. It may prove that in the end the rates of Hendon have been conserved to a considerable extent by the action of his independent company.<sup>74</sup>

The opening of Hendon Park clearly upset the neighbouring authority of Finchley that had contacted the Home Office:

A letter has been received from the Secretary of State having reference to the petition of the Council against the acquisition by the Abney Park Cemetery Company of land in close proximity to the district, in which it is pointed out that as the grounds in question are situated beyond the fixed by the Act 16 & 17 Vic 85a 9, and within a parish not the subject of an order in Council made under the Act 16 & 17 Vic c 134 s1, its use for burial purposes does not required an official approval. The Secretary of State agrees that the establishment of further burial grounds in the Hendon district should be placed under restriction, and he proposed to recommend to her Majesty in Council that an order should be made under the last mentioned statute for such district, and he will instruct the Inspector of Burial Grounds to report on whether the ground acquired by the Abney Park Cemetery Company in Hendon is fit for burial purposes. The Committee recommend that the clerk write the Secretary of State requesting he should advise her Majesty in Council under the last mentioned statute that the establishment of further burials grounds in the district of Finchley should be placed under restrictions.<sup>75</sup>

By August THFT was advising that the councillors needed to move on from the fact that Hendon Park Cemetery had opened:

The Council are still resolved to raise their voice against the establishment of a cemetery in the district, on the grounds that at the present time it is not required for the inhabitants. Mr Anderson tried to frighten his brother members by reminding them of the action taken by the Abney Park Company in regard to the opening of the cemetery on Holders Hill whilst the district councillors were meditating on the question, and that it would be wise to come to terms with the promoters, but the view which was generally taken was that Wembley would not have the cemetery unless they were compelled.<sup>76</sup>

The reference to Wembley was a proposal to open a Roman Catholic Cemetery to accommodate the coffins removed from St Mary's Moorfields. 'The Council objected to its establishment on the grounds that for the purposes of Roman Catholics resident in the district it was not necessary.'<sup>77</sup>

By September 1899 the drainage plans for the cemetery had been submitted to the Council and instructed the surveyor to communicate with the cemetery over this matter.<sup>78</sup> In January discussion took place regarding boundary fences and also the building of a bridge over the Dollis Ford.<sup>79</sup>

THFT continued to add its support to the cemetery by stating:

It may be after all that the passage of this Act of Parliament and the formation of the company will be the salvation of Hendon and other similar placed municipalities. Like the construction and opening of a branch of the Abney Park Cemetery in Hendon it had saved the parish from what would have proved a perfect white elephant.<sup>80</sup>

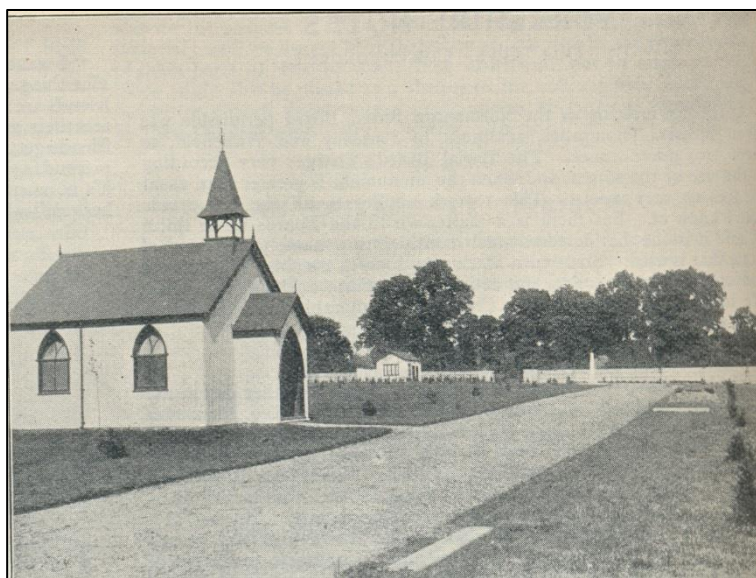
The first funeral THFT mentioned was for Miss Caroline Bankart of aged 68 of Winfield in First Avenue. Active in philanthropy and a member of the Baptist church, she was also known for her care of Midland railway workers.<sup>81</sup> A further funeral was of James Diter,

landlord of *The White Bear*.<sup>82</sup> The local paper also advertised 90 acres of grass crop for sale from the cemetery in June 1901.

An editorial appearing in THFT on 17 March 1899 summarised the situation:

Hitherto the industries within the parish of Hendon have probably been limited to washing linen, brewing beer, and the manufacture of mineral waters. But we have now to add to the list of industries existing in Hendon that of the burial of the dead. This calling, or occupation, has been sought by the local authority for some number of years, but, like many other things, it has begun in talk, and practically ended in verbosity. At the present time, therefore, it will be probably come as news to the many of our readers that we announce that the Hendon Park Cemetery at Mill-hill, is open, and has already been used for the burial of the dead. The land acquired by the Hendon Park Cemetery Company, Limited, is a plot formerly attached to Grass Farm, belonging to the late Mr John Heal, and situated on what is called Dollis Farm. It consists of no fewer than 42 acres of well situated land laying between Holders-hill road and Ashley-lane. It is land perfectly isolated, and the Company, having acquired the farm house and buildings known as Dollis Farm, are thereby in a position to commence proceedings without opposition on the part of any adjacent owners.<sup>83</sup>

In October 1899, *The Undertakers' Journal* devoted a half-page illustrated feature to the



cemetery recently opened by ‘...one of the most progressive companies of to-day.’ After commenting on the ‘thirty-eight acres’ (sic) which had been ‘...arranged in a very attractive manner...’, attention was paid to the chapel:

The temporary church gives ample accommodation, and is so arranged that the coffin can be carried in at one door and out at another, thus doing away with “turning round,” while the paths are so arranged that the hearse and carriages can go round to meet the bearers after the service.<sup>84</sup>

The ‘temporary church’ was of the ‘tin tabernacle’ variety, a form of building popular in nineteenth and early twentieth century.<sup>85</sup> The feature then detailed the fees (common interment for children 4s; adults 10s; family grave £2 8s for adults and £1 18s for children), that the cemetery was opened for burial between 10am and 5pm every day except Sunday and that there was a resident chaplain.

In September 1900 the HUDC Works Committee received plans for chapel and cloisters from Messrs Gough & Co.<sup>86</sup> They were approved the following month.<sup>87</sup> The chapel was designed by Alfred Augustus Bonella (1840-1915) and is a mixture of knapped flint Perpendicular and black and white Tudor, inspired, according to a 1903 brochure, by ‘old Hertfordshire churches.’<sup>88</sup> The feature in *The Undertakers' Journal* provided a full description:



The elevation of the chapel is designed in harmony with the ecclesiastical architecture of the neighbouring county. The inspiration of the old Hertfordshire churches is manifest in the short square tower with lead spire, and in the flint walls with stone coigns and dressings. Adjoining the chapel are the cloisters. For those who prefer to inter their relations within stone walls rather than under the open sky, there are, under these cloisters, vaults. Through the centre of the building runs a slype, designed as a passage-way, whereby vehicles can set down at the door under the tower through which the chapel is entered. The interior of this sanctuary is in Gothic style, with an open timber roof. In lieu of the ordinary window over the altar, there is, behind the reading desk, a carved and moulded arch enclosing a *fac-simile* copy, in coloured terracotta, of the splendid "Resurrection" by Lucca della Robia, in the Cathedral at Florence. This work has been most successfully accomplished by Signore Cantagalli, of Florence, under the direction of the chairman of the company; and the architect of the chapel, Mr Bonella, has shown great skill and judgement in making the stone arch framework to harmonise with terra-cotta, and to connect satisfactorily early Italian art with an English style.<sup>89</sup>



Ulisse Cantagalli (1839-1901) ran the family business based in Florence that specialised in the Italian majolica. Considering the Non-conformist heritage of the company, it is surprising that such an overtly Catholic work of art was installed in the chapel, although its symbolism would have been appreciated by all Christian denominations. The chapel also possessed a pipe organ.<sup>90</sup>



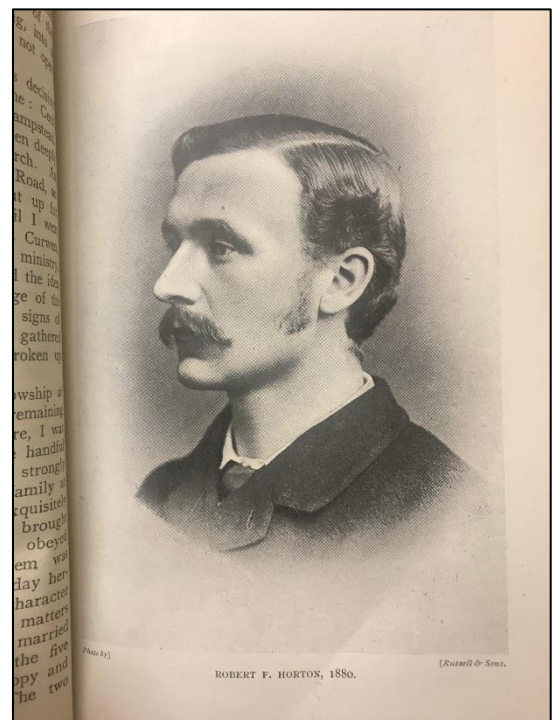


The vaults under the cloistered quadrangle were accessible via a flight of steps; contemporary photographs show the area in the centre of the cloister to be lawned. The office with adjacent residential accommodation incorporating a double carriageway drive was contemporaneous with the chapel although it's a hybrid of styles: the black timber boards give the building a vaguely Tudor feel, although the large Gothic letters announcing the cemetery's name confirm its Victorian (albeit late) heritage.

The formal opening of Hendon Park Cemetery took place on Tuesday 7 July 1903. The Revd Dr Robert F Horton, minister of Hampstead Congregational Church presided, at which he commented:

To those who have an aversion to the method of disposing of the dead by burning, no more beautiful spot could be chosen for interment than in Hendon Park Cemetery, and the founders have wisely done their best to enhance the rural character of the site by planting some thousands of shrubs and trees.<sup>91</sup>

The Revd Dr Horton also spoke of the role of the cemetery chaplain and that, '...mourners feel that in entering cemetery chapels they are not coming into a region of gloom, but treading on the very doorstep of the Kingdom of Heaven.'<sup>92</sup>

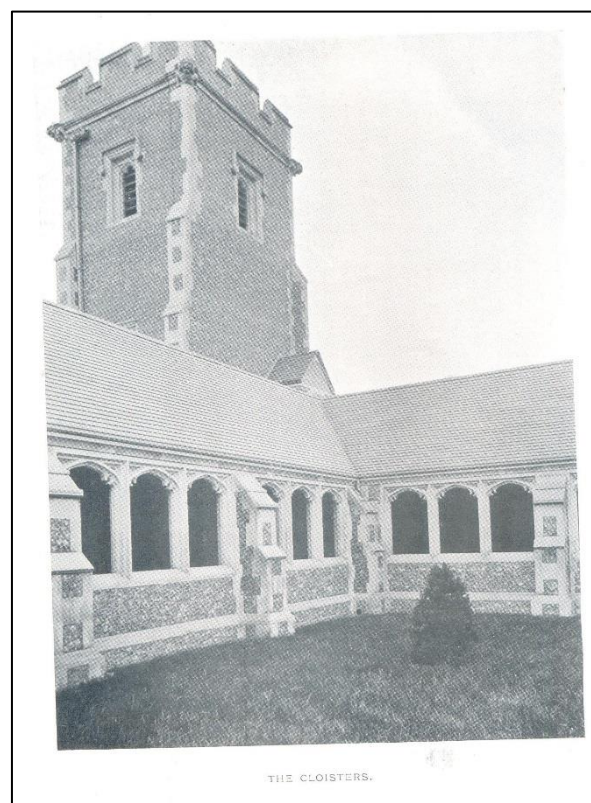
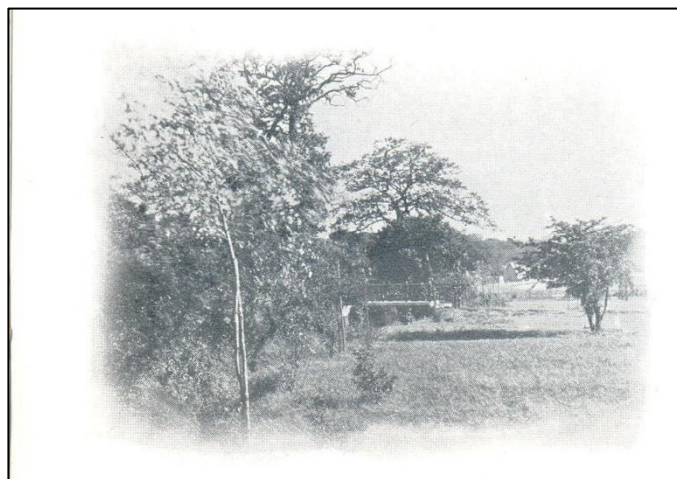
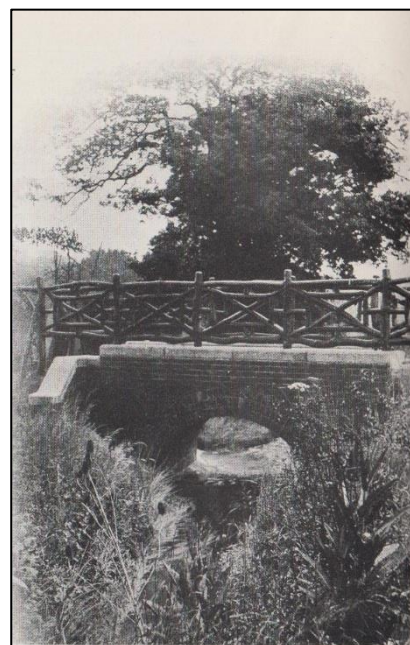




The APCC's 1903 brochure described in detail the trees and shrubs originally planted in their thousands. Around the cemetery boundary could be found:

...a row of evergreen firs, pine, ilexes and hollies and another row of black poplars alternating with oaks, elms, maples, ashes and other deciduous trees. There were 'Avenues of Lombardy poplars, oaks, elms, maples, planes and rose acacias...' bordering the roads and a host of flowers and creepers disguising every wall and waste heap.<sup>93</sup>

Such lavish landscaping was not surprising considering the horticultural heritage at the company's cemetery in Stoke Newington, which was supplied by Loddiges nursey, although the business had ceased by the time Hendon Park had opened.<sup>94</sup> Layout of the cemetery was in the hands of its secretary, Arthur Clark.



## **A Crematorium for the Hendon Area: Golders Green**

Although a section below will focus on the crematorium at Hendon Park, it is essential to review the events leading up to 1902 when Golders Green opened as the APCC were vocal in their opposition.

The APCC's first encounter with cremation was in May 1874 when the minutes reported receipt of a:

...letter and circular from the Cremation Society proposed the erection of a crematorium in the cemetery [Abney Park] were considered and the secretary was instructed to respectfully acknowledge the same and inform the Society that the Board was not prepared to entertain the matter.<sup>95</sup>

This would have been only a month after the Cremation Society of England had been formally established by Sir Henry Thompson.<sup>96</sup> Significantly, the letter also pre-dates the Society's contact with the Great Northern Cemetery Company at New Southgate, which led to the bishop of Rochester refusing to permit cremation on consecrated ground. This issue would not have occurred as Abney Park Cemetery was not consecrated. Eventually, the Society secured land in the St John's area of Woking where a crematorium was constructed in 1879, but the first cremation did not take place until March 1885.

Although only a very few cremations took place in the early years, the subject became a matter for wider public discussion. In February 1880, JF Oakeshott gave a paper on the subject to the New Barnet Mutual Improvement Society; the seventy present supported by a majority of two.<sup>97</sup> In January 1887, the Hendon Parliamentary Debating Society moved the following motion:

That in the opinion of this House it is desirable that the Government should lend its support to the subject of cremation by the establishment and maintenance of a public crematorium.

The crematorium should be maintained by Government; a scientific man should have full control over the establishment, with power to refuse the process when there was any doubt as to the cause of death, and in no instance to perform the ceremony without a medical certificate which should be thoroughly satisfactory.

A dissenting voice was from a Mr Mills ('Chancellor of the Exchequer') who '...opposed the motion, and said that if the process were free, as a necessary corollary, it must be compulsory, and it would be impossible to sweep away the custom of burials, which had dated back to the time of Abraham...The cost of Crematoriums (sic) to the nation would be enormous.' A Mr Butterworth (the 'Attorney General') pointed out that the only crematorium in England was at Woking and that the cost of disposing a body varied from £4 to £6.' The motion was carried.<sup>98</sup>

In June 1889, THFT reported that when addressing medical colleagues, Sir Thomas Spencer Wells stated with determination that 'Disease will continue to be spread if burials continue. Cremation is the answer'. However, he concluded by qualifying his statement: 'Finchley has two large cemeteries, but it is not an unhealthy place and disease no more frequent than in other places.'<sup>99</sup>

The subject of cremation seems not to have been raised by the Hendon until 1897 when the THFT reported that King's Norton District Council in Birmingham wrote to both



Finchley and Hendon District councils to ask for support to secure amendments in existing law to enable local authorities to acquire, provide, construct and maintain a crematorium.<sup>100</sup> Both authorities gave support. A year later the Kingsbury Medical Officer of Health stated in his annual report that 'What was really needed was a crematorium for that part of Middlesex.'<sup>101</sup>

It was in January 1901 when a member of the HUDC asked if there was any truth in the statement made in the daily papers that it was proposed to erect a crematorium in



Hendon. The chairman said that a remark had been made that one was being erected, but the Clerk and Surveyor observed that they had heard nothing of this matter. A Mr Roper asked: 'Is it going to be sprung upon us like the cemetery?'<sup>102</sup> The following month Arthur Clark of the APCC wrote to the Hendon District

Council to ask what action they will take in respect of the proposal by the London Cremation Company to build a crematorium in the parish of Hendon. The response was that 'The Committee recommend that the Council takes all the steps in its power to oppose the establishment of the proposed crematorium...'<sup>103</sup> The Home Office, however, responded that '...under the existing law it did not appear necessary to procure any licence or sanction for the establishment of a crematorium by private bodies.'<sup>104</sup>

By July 1901 Hendon Council had obtained the London Cremation Company's (LCC) prospectus, which was reprinted in full in THFT. The paper noted:

The powers sought are wide, and it would from the wideness in which the Memorandum of Association is drawn, leave one to suppose that Hendon is to provide a charnel house for all London and half of England, and this, too, on the verge of the County of London, and a few yards from the boundary of Hampstead Heath.<sup>105</sup>

Astonishingly, it would appear that the LCC had not sought planning permission for the crematorium and in November 1901, the Hendon Works committee served notice on the builders, J Smith & Sons, for breaching bye-laws by not depositing plans of the proposed building with the Council.<sup>106</sup> Plans appeared to be immediately forthcoming as the matter was discussed at the meeting on 11 November 1901.<sup>107</sup> In its usual ironic tone, THFT wryly commented that the area now contained a building for training men for killing and one for disposing of the dead after killing.<sup>108</sup>



By September 1902 construction of the crematorium would have virtually been completed and THFT observed:

Hendon appears destined to rival the neighbouring district in regarding to its number of cemeteries. Along the Great North Road, particularly on a Saturday afternoon, there appears to be a constant stream of mourning coaches to the Metropolitan cemeteries in Finchley, but the time seems approaching when the same condition of things will prevail in Hendon.

In 1899, when the Hendon District Council were considering a proposal to purchase 25-acre of land at Tithe Farm, Mill Hill, at a cost of £350 an acre, for a parochial burying ground, it came as a surprise to find that the Abney Park Cemetery Company has acquired for similar purposes a site at Holders Hill Road. Not unnaturally, the proposal of the District Council fell to the ground, and although in some quarters the actions of the Abney Park Authorities in stealing a march upon our local legislators was freely criticised, the opposition soon ceased, and the remains of not a few Hendonians are interred in the “God’s Acre” at Holders Hill. Further south in Hoop Lane, another cemetery has recently been opened, but this is reserved for the interment of those who are of the Jewish persuasion.

But it is to the comparatively new mode of disposing of the dead – to be exact, we might quote a celebrated line and say – “Though dead today, out of the past it springs” – that we wish to refer to particularly in this article. A crematorium with its concomitant buildings is in course of erection in Hoop Lane, adjacent to the Jews’ cemetery, and it is not unlikely that the opening of the new building will be the means of adding largely to the number person dying in and around London who will be cremated. A great name has been earned for Woking, but the distance is great and the journey tedious, and who says that Hendon is not destined to become a greater?<sup>109</sup>

Golders Green Crematorium was opened by Sir Henry Thompson, the president of the Cremation Society of England, on 22 November 1902.<sup>110</sup> By the end of 1903 a total of 158 cremations had taken place.

Table 1 Cremations at Golders Green 1902-1922

<b>Year</b>	<b>1902</b>	<b>1903</b>	<b>1904</b>	<b>1905</b>	<b>1906</b>	<b>1907</b>	<b>1908</b>	<b>1909</b>	<b>1910</b>
Cremations	5	158	220	252	298	290	364	421	415
<b>Year</b>	<b>1911</b>	<b>1912</b>	<b>1913</b>	<b>1914</b>	<b>1915</b>	<b>1916</b>	<b>1917</b>	<b>1918</b>	<b>1919</b>
Cremations	542	591	602	671	730	633	719	820	919
<b>Year</b>	<b>1920</b>	<b>1921</b>	<b>1922</b>						
Cremations	851	893	939						

Table 1 details the number of cremations taking place each year between 1902 and 1922; no other crematorium in the UK recorded such high figures.

## Burial in Hendon Park Cemetery



When Hendon Park Cemetery was formally opened in 1903, reports said that it had carried out 3,000 burials since the first in 1899. This was encouraging, but statistics always need interpretation, a task benefitted from analysis of the cemetery registers.

By 1899 when the first burial took place, the population of Hendon was around 20,000. The Medical Officer of Health report for that year is not available, but the report dated 1896 contains the following statistics that indicate the expansion of the area: 1879 = 8,500; 1891 = 15,843 and 1896 = 18,868.<sup>111</sup> There were 330 deaths in 1896 but only 289 in 1895. As Hendon Churchyard continued to be used as a local place of burial, this poses the question: where did the dead come from who were buried in Hendon Park Cemetery? An analysis of the address of the deceased for the 125 burials that took place in 1899 is contained in table 2.

Table 2 Burials in Hendon Park Cemetery, 1899

<b>Address of deceased by area/ number of burials</b>	Hendon, Finchley, Mill Hill	Marylebone, St John's Wood, Hampstead, Euston	Holborn, Bloomsbury, Fitzrovia, Covent Garden	Other
125	45	26	18	33

(Source: Hendon Cemetery burial registers)

A number of points can be made from analysing the burials in 1899. First, of the 125 burials that took place in 1899, 61.6 per cent came from outside Hendon area; indeed, from central London locations such as Holborn, Bloomsbury, Fitzrovia and Covent Garden. These were districts without their own cemetery. If the deceased were not interred in Hendon Park, they would have been interred as non-parishioners in Burial Board or private cemeteries. Those from Marylebone, St John's Wood, Hampstead and Euston could all have been buried in their own Burial Board cemetery (St Marylebone, Hampstead and

St Pancras respectively). It is also significant that few burials came from areas north of the cemetery such as Edgware. Although in 1899 the Edgware Parish Council had debated the issue of shortage of burial space, the rector of Edgware, the Revd HH Phelps, assigned one acre of his glebe land to the church, which was consecrated in November 1901.<sup>112</sup>

The second point is that of the 125 burials in 1899, 68.8 per cent of interments were for those aged two years and under. Child mortality remained high in late Victorian/early Edwardian period. For example, in Holborn there were 304 deaths of children under 5 years in 1901 with 203 under one year; malnutrition, diarrhoea, debility and premature birth were the primary causes of death.<sup>113</sup> Stillbirths were not included as these did not have to be registered until 1926; they were, however, recorded in the burial registers and also often noted in undertakers records.<sup>114</sup>

The third point was that the vast majority of interments were in common graves: 88 per cent of all burials in 1899. At 10s per adult interment and 4s for children, this was only a modest revenue for the company. Similarly, with only fifteen new graves sold for £2 8s, this would also have made a modest contribution to income.

Further data from the small number of monthly returns to the directors indicate that even by the early 1940s, just under half the burials were in common graves (from 11 February to 11 March 1942 there were 103 burials in common graves and 39 in new purchased graves). As can be identified from table 3, a significant proportion were recorded at Chingford Mount, but this gradually declined as was the case at most other London cemeteries.

Table 3 Common interments in the four APCC cemeteries, selected years 1904-1942

	2 Feb – 2 March 1904	2 Feb – 2 March 1905	11 Sept – 11 Oct 1910	11 Sept – 11 Oct 1911	2 June – 2 July 1912	5 Feb – 5 March 1914	12 Oct – 12 Nov 1918	14 Feb – 14 Mar 1922
<b>Abney Park</b>	46	53	31	37	27	81	145	97
<b>Chingford Mount</b>	201	221	194	350	142	191	157	97
<b>Hendon Park</b>	105	98	66	130	82	98	60	46
<b>Greenford Park</b>	NA	131	51	80	25	29	37	27

	11 Aug – 11 Sept 1923	7 May – 7 June 1933	11 Feb – 11 Mar 1942
<b>Abney Park</b>	70	54	58
<b>Chingford Mount</b>	60	62	87
<b>Hendon Park</b>	46	61	103
<b>Greenford Park</b>	6	25	52

(Source: Hackney Archive)

High levels of burials in common graves were recorded until the late inter-war years. Dr Young's 1899 report on the sanitary condition of London burial grounds contains data concerning burials in common graves (table 4) with cemeteries close to Hendon such as St Pancras and Islington recording 94 and 92 per cent respectively while it was 89 per cent at St Marylebone. It is possible that private cemeteries wanted to preserve their space for more lucrative burials, which possibly explains why the number of common interments at Highgate was only 24 per cent, although they were higher at Kensal Green.

Table 4 Burials in 1879 at selected north London cemeteries

<b>Cemetery</b>	<b>New private graves</b>	<b>Public/common interments</b>	<b>Total</b>	<b>Proportion</b>
Highgate (P)	1,254	414	1,668	24.82%
Kensal Green (P)	1,089	960	2,049	46.85%
Nunhead (P)	931	4,403	5,334	82.54%
Brompton (Gvt)	738	None	738	
St Pancras (BB)	300	5,272	5,572	94.61%
Islington (BB)	336	3,906	4,242	92.07%
St Marylebone (BB)	186	1,666	1,852	89.95%
Hampstead (BB)	Not stated	Not stated	821	
Great Northern (P)	300	685 & 324	1,309	77.08%

(Source: Young CWF (1899) *Sanitary Condition of Cemeteries and Burial Grounds* London County Council)

(P = privately owned; Gvt = state ownership; BB = Burial Board)

The number of common graves utilised in comparison to the other types available at Hendon Park can be seen in table 5. Even in 1942 the proportion of common graves in contrast to the sale of new private and family graves was nearly two-thirds.

Table 5 Burials at Hendon Park by type of grave, 1905-1942

<b>Hendon Park</b>	2 Feb – 2 March 1904	2 Feb – 2 March 1905	11 Sept – 11 Oct 1910	11 Sept – 11 Oct 1911	2 June – 2 July 1912	5 Feb – 5 March 1914	12 Oct – 12 Nov 1918	14 Feb – 14 Mar 1922
<b>Vaults</b>	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
<b>New graves</b>	4	5	11	6	11	7	27	23
<b>Re-opened graves</b>	1	0	4	5	5	5	9	16
<b>Common interments</b>	105	98	66	130	82	98	60	46
<b>Family graves</b>	5	6	5	4	5	14	0	0
<b>Total burials</b>	116	108	81	150	103	126	96	115



	11 Aug – 11 Sept 1923	7 May – 7 June 1933	11 Feb – 11 Mar 1942
<b>Vaults</b>	0	0	0
<b>New graves</b>	20	38	39
<b>Re- opened graves</b>	1	12	21
<b>Common graves</b>	46	61	103
<b>Family graves</b>	0	0	0
<b>Total burials</b>	72	112	149

The fourth point helps to answer why the cemetery was selected: undertakers were paid commission. This financial incentive to recommend a place of burial was not an unfamiliar practice that commenced in the nineteenth century and continued until the 1960s; it also included cremations.<sup>115</sup> Payments were noted in the burial registers and amounts varied between 3d to 6d for an adult interment in a common grave; in 1909 the charge was 1s.

From 1909 the APCC accounts itemise commission and in that year a total of £98 8s 3d was paid to undertakers using Hendon Park Cemetery (table 6). This amounted to just over six and a half per cent of total income; this was about average for the other years based on the limited available data.

Table 6 Commission paid by APCC to agents (undertakers), selected years

<b>Year</b>	<b>Abney Park</b>	<b>Chingford Mount</b>	<b>Hendon Park</b>	<b>Greenford Park</b>
1885	£352 16s 3d	£30 6s 6d		
1886	£336 1s 3d	£91 15s 0d		
1887	£337 1s 3d	£119 13s 10d		
1909	£321 16s 0d	£223 15 0d	£98 8s 3d	£27 12s 9d
1914	£308 3s 11d	£221 3s 10d	£120 2s 3d	£28 2s 3d
1917	£391 3s 8d	£111 3s 9d	£121 7s 1d	£31 14s 11d
1932	£646 13s 9d	£328 5s 6d	£449 18s 9d	£38 7s 9d

The number of child interments, burials in common graves and commission to undertakers had an effect on Hendon's overall profitability. Income and expenditure for 1909, 1914 and 1917 shows that the latter was only just covered by the former (table 7). In 1932, income was double that of expenditure. Regrettably, financial information for subsequent years is not available so it is not possible to determine in which year revenue and expenditure equated or first exceeded.

Table 7. Income and Expenditure at Hendon Park Cemetery, selected years

<b>Year</b>	<b>Income</b>	<b>Expenditure</b>
1909	£1,518 12s 4d	£1,253 6s 7d
1914	£1,880 3s 1d	£1,600 12s 11d
1917	£1,922 7s 10d	£1,828 16s 11d
1932	£7,338 17s 10d	£3,816 11s 9d

The number of burials to the end of 1911 is given in table 8. Between 1903 and 1911 an average of 1,596 burials took place each year, or 133 each month.

Table 8

<b>Date</b>	<b>Accumulating Number of burials</b>
29 January 1899 - 30 December 1899	123
To 31 December 1900	361
To 31 December 1901	943
To 31 December 1902	2,069
To 31 December 1903	3,517
To 31 December 1904	5,186
To 30 December 1905	6,742
To 31 December 1906	8,381
To 31 December 1907	10,045
To 31 December 1908	11,663
To 31 December 1909	13,248
To 31 December 1910	14,717
To 30 December 1911	16,446

(Source: Hendon Cemetery Registers)

Table 9 shows the increase in the number of burials in November 1918, a period when the Spanish flu was affecting London. The figure of 167 burials is nearly three times that of November 1917. This figure is similar to that recorded in other London cemeteries.<sup>116</sup>

Table 9 Burials during November 1917-1919

<b>Date</b>	<b>Burial numbers</b>	<b>Total in month</b>
November 1917	23,515-23,573	58
November 1918	24,411-24,578	167
November 1919	25,272-25,336	64

(Source: Hendon Cemetery Registers)

## Greenford Park Cemetery

Greenford Park Cemetery was established by Henry Baker, responsible for the proposed cemetery at Golders Green in 1888 discussed above; as revealed in the letter below, he was also an APCC shareholder. The source of Mr Baker's finance is not known.

The decision to site a cemetery in Windmill Lane, Greenford is curious. At the time of opening in 1901 the area was mostly pasture and grass land. Despite the Great Western Railway running from Ealing to Southall, the rural character of the environment had not changed. Greenford station (on the line from Marylebone to High Wycombe) opened in 1903 but it was not until 1947 when the Underground arrived. Greenford Road, which ran north to south through the parish, was not constructed until 1924 and it would be decade later before the Western Avenue was opened. Speculative private housing development around the cemetery commenced in the 1920s; comprising 409 houses, Ealing Council built the Windmill Lane and Cowgate estates between 1927-1939.<sup>117</sup>

The first burial in Greenford Park Cemetery took place on 25 March 1901. A leaflet dated two days earlier (23 March 1901) contained a location map of the cemetery, fees, times of burial, office hours and administrative arrangements. An unpurchased adult grave cost 12 shillings 6d, while a 10ft family unpurchased grave could be secured with 'privilege of erecting stone' for £2 8s. This document was probably circulated to funeral directors in the area. It was not, however, until the latter part of 1901 before the cemetery was advertised in the local newspapers. *The Acton Gazette* (4 October 1901) appears to be the first, followed by adverts *The Middlesex and Surrey Express*, *The Ealing Gazette and West Middlesex Observer* and *The West Middlesex Gazette*. Adverts contained the line: 'This beautiful cemetery, which is within a few minutes' walk of the Parish Church, Hanwell, and of the electric trams from Shepherd's Bush, is now open for interments at exceptionally low charges.' *The Middlesex County Times* reported that '...the cemetery is being laid out by Messrs Hart Bros of Ealing and when their work is finished, its appearance will be worthy of its charming surroundings.' (7 December 1901). In 1902, the charges for graves were included: Family graves, including digging, interment fees and right of erecting stones 48s, if for interment of a child 33s. (*West Middlesex Gazette* 19 April 1902)

On 14 December 1901, Henry Baker offered Greenford Park Cemetery to the directors of the APCC:

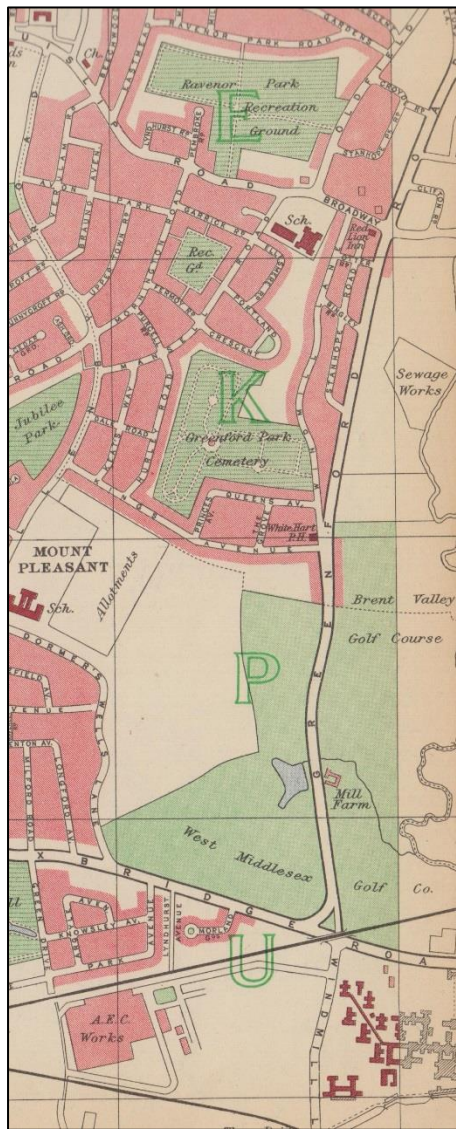
You are no doubt aware that I have recently acquired and opened a cemetery at Greenford. It consists of about 19 acres of land, and from church and office is erected roads and paths are made, trees are planted. It has been opened now nearly six months and a good amount of business is being done. I have however now another enterprise in hand which will required a considerable time and have therefore decided to sell this cemetery. The price I want for it is £7,500 of which only £2,000 need be paid in case £5,500 could remain at 2½% interest for 2 years. The cash I require to complete the purchase of part of the land. I may say that I believe no other cemetery can now be opened within 15 miles of London. I have been approached by the Hanwell Burial Board with a view of purchase but as I am a very large shareholder in Abney and I don't want to lose all my interest in this cemetery and it is the cheapest cemetery that as (sic) ever been opened and I believe it will be one of the best paying ones in London, I should much prefer the Abney Company to purchase it.<sup>118</sup>





156 deaths in 1902 and burials would have taken place in Havelock Road Cemetery that had opened in 1883.<sup>119</sup>

In a situation that has distinct parallels with Hendon Park Cemetery, Henry Baker would have been reliant on those being buried at Greenford Park to have come from urban London, rather than the immediate area, which apart from Hanwell, possessed cemeteries. Although an assessment of the address of the deceased buried in the early years has not been possible, the records from the period 1902-1910 of the Acton branch of WS Bond funeral directors reveals that the firm brought a number of residents from their trading area to the cemetery.



1Greenford Park

On 9 January 1902 Henry Baker wrote again to the APCC directors:

Will you kindly let me know as soon as possible what decision your company has come to with reference to my Greenford Cemetery as the East London Cemetery Company and the Hanwell Burial Board have been applied to me for further particulars which I cannot want to give them which is under consideration. Trade is fairly good as you can see by the letters I have sent to. Hoping you are well.

The letters referred to have not been traced, nor have any documents concerning the acquisition of Greenford Park by APCC, although it can be ascertained that the transaction had been concluded by April 1905.<sup>120</sup>

As with Hendon Park, Greenford attracted the attention of the press in the early years: in July 1903 the Greenford District Council issued a summons against the company for erecting a building that contravened the bye-laws.<sup>121</sup> Under a heading titled 'Funerals Curiously Conducted', *The Middlesex and Surrey Express* reported that the curate-in-charge of Greenford church noted that burial services were being conducted by the cemetery superintendent who had once been a Nonconformist minister. The Company responded that '...the Company would use its best endeavours to provide a Church of England, Nonconformist and Roman Catholic priest, the latter on the extra payment of 5s...'.<sup>122</sup>

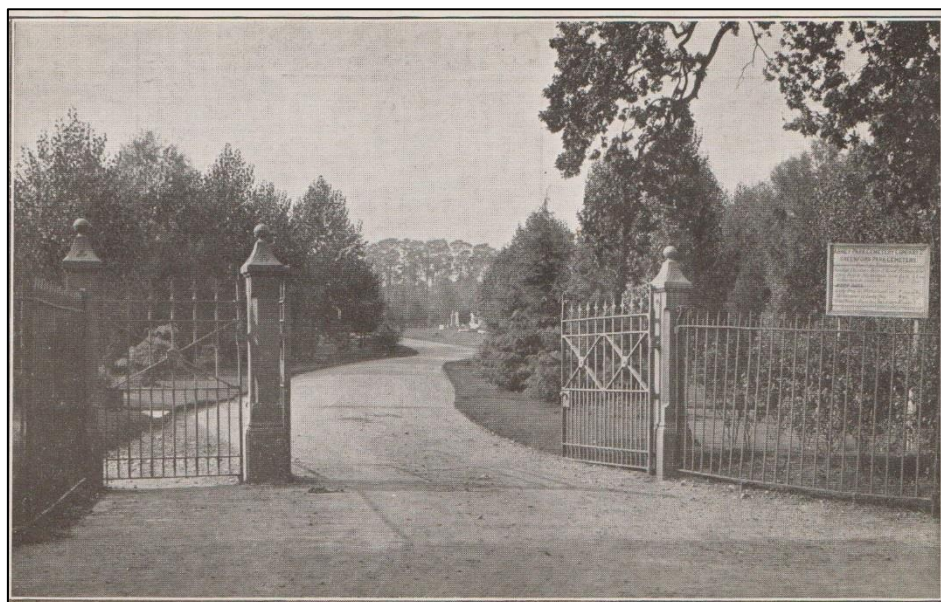
By 1906 the APCC was advertising in the *Shoreditch Observer* (1 September 1906) that the scale of charges for the company's four cemeteries were available from the Stoke Newington office. The company sought to obtain contacts for the burial of the paupers in the area, but otherwise received little mention in the newspaper with the exception of the occasional coverage of a funeral; the first was for the burial of Mr Buck, the proprietor of St Dunstan's Laundry in Hanwell.<sup>123</sup> By the end of 1910 there had been 7,150 burials at Greenford Park.<sup>124</sup> Advertising in the local paper continued until the end of 1941 and recommenced in the 1950s.

Although data for only a few years is available, Table 11 indicates that Greenford Park Cemetery was far from a profitable venture; the three other APCC cemeteries would effectively have subsidised the running of the cemetery. Further comment on the financial position of APCC is made below.

Table 11 Greenford Park Cemetery income and expenditure

<b>Year</b>	<b>Income (comprising fees for vaults and graves, fees for work, rent of land, property and sale of hay)</b>	<b>Expenditure</b>
1909	£460 12s 4d	£583 18s 8d
1914	£346 13s 3d	£341 14s 10d
1917	£460 5s 5d	£500 19s 10d
1932	£711 10s 3d	£1,105 10s 1d

Despite this precarious situation, the APCC invested in the cemetery by building an elegant chapel which was dedicated on 24 July 1931. As at the opening of Hendon Park, the ceremony was largely attended by Nonconformist clergy.<sup>125</sup>



Greenford Park Cemetery appears to have attracted no newspaper publicity save that that of a hoax burial. Timothy Evans was buried in the grounds of Pentonville Prison following his execution on 9 March 1950 for the murder of his baby daughter. It was subsequently announced that following his exhumation in November 1965 his remains were to be buried in the cemetery.<sup>126</sup> He was, however, buried in St Patrick's Roman Catholic Cemetery in Leytonstone. The Revd Leslie Elliott, the chaplain who was also the superintendent at Greenford Park Cemetery, described the switch of cemetery as 'A hoax of gross proportions' while the MP for Ealing North, William Molloy, called for a full report.<sup>127</sup> *The Middlesex County Times* commented:

To cause consecrated ground to be opened up and other burials postponed are actions difficult to justify, especially as Mr Elliott had made arrangements for the Press to attend the ceremony without intruding on the private grief of the family.

And how does Mrs Probert, the mother of Timothy Evans, feel about it? According to Mr Elliott she regrets that her son was not re-buried in Greenford Park; and she says she did not know the re-interment would be at Leytonstone until the car in which she was riding had started on its journey.

She had apologized to Mr Elliott on the trouble to which he was put.

No apology, however, has come from the Home Office for their part in the incident, something to which Mr W Molloy MP may want an answer when he gets the report he has called for.

The Greenford Park grave decoy was an unpleasant and unhappy ending to an unhappy chapter. Now the public must await the findings of the inquiry into the trial before the book is finally closed.<sup>128</sup>

In Parliament, William Molloy described the incident as a 'circus'. He noted that the media including ITV [International Television] and BBC were waiting to film the burial. It transpired that a van entered the cemetery at 3.30pm and after 'three of four hours' one of the two men in the van told the superintendent that the burial had taken place in Leytonstone. What was thought to be a coffin under a blanket in the rear of the van was a number of boxes. Mrs Probert purchased the grave at Greenford Park and asked the superintendent for secrecy. Her solicitors organised for the second van to leave Pentonville prison. The Minister of State for the Home Office said the Home Secretary was involved only in as much as permitting two vans to be sent to the prison.<sup>129</sup> The Home Office later added:

It was the intention to deal with this matter on an intensely humanitarian basis, and as far as possible in accordance with what we understood to be the wishes of the Evans family.<sup>130</sup>

Evans was pardoned in October 1966.

### **Burial and Cremation provision in Ealing and Greenford**

The first mention of cremation provision in the west London area was not encouraging. In 1900, a member of the Hammersmith Vestry requested the cemetery committee to consider the advisability of constructing a crematorium, which was 'urgently needed' as 'They would have great difficulty burying their dead. They had only sufficient ground to last eight or nine years.' After a series of jocular remarks (refer it to the 'Electric Lighting



Committee', 'The only advantage would be that they would be able to have tooth powder very cheap', 'Let them boil it down'), the outcome was 'The establishment of crematorium in London would be condemned by anyone'.<sup>131</sup> It is also significant that Mrs Basil Holmes, author of *The London Burial Grounds* (1896) was an Ealing resident and when she wrote about cremation in *The Times* during 1900, *The Middlesex County Press* reproduced the letter. It concluded:

'It is because these suburban cemeteries are so rapidly becoming surrounded with dense population that every encouragement should be given to cremation and to any reasonable plan whereby the area for burial may be limited and the further extension of the cemeteries prevented.'<sup>132</sup>

In June 1923, Richmond Council instigated a meeting with representatives from Barnes and Fulham to discuss building a jointly-managed crematorium.<sup>133</sup> Their reason for being proactive was prompted by the difficulty they had experienced in finding new burial space.<sup>134</sup> For reasons that cannot be ascertained they decided not to proceed.<sup>135</sup> It would then be December 1929 before Hammersmith hosted a further conference where delegates from Barnes, Brentford & Chiswick, Hammersmith and Richmond, Acton, Ealing, Fulham, Kensington, Paddington, Richmond and Twickenham approved in principle the provision of a crematorium in the Hammersmith Cemetery in Mortlake.<sup>136</sup> Ealing Council supported the scheme which eventually led in November 1935 to a Bill being drafted constituting the Mortlake Crematorium Board, comprising representatives from Hammersmith, Acton, Barnes, Ealing and Richmond councils.<sup>137</sup> Each authority had to obtain a resolution to sanction their participation in the Bill and this could only be achieved if there was an absolute majority vote by the councillors. Ealing held a special meeting and although the resolution was carried, the majority was not sufficient and the authority's name had to be removed from the Bill.<sup>138</sup> Mortlake Crematorium opened in January 1939.<sup>139</sup>

The Ealing and Old Brentford Burial Board had started to receive burials in their cemetery on South Ealing Road in 1861, but within the Ealing area were two cemeteries on the Uxbridge Road at Hanwell: the City of Westminster and the Borough of Kensington.

Mindful that space in the South Ealing Cemetery was not finite, by July 1937 Ealing Council had identified a possible 71-acre site on the north side of the Western Avenue at Northolt, owned by the Gaumont British Picture Corporation Ltd.<sup>140</sup> A public inquiry was conducted in November 1937 to enable the council to apply to the Ministry of Health to sanction a loan for £45,000 to purchase land. The Town Clerk stated that the population of Ealing was estimated at 150,000 but would increase by 50,000 in ten years and that space was currently needed for 400 burials per annum. The site was 69.8 acres with ten intended for use as a school. The proposed cemetery would last for 28½ years for single interments. The inspector asked if the council had 'studied' cremation. Mention was made of the Mortlake scheme and also that the plans for Northolt included a crematorium, which would be built if required. The inspector then visited the site.<sup>141</sup>

The site was subsequently acquired and by March 1941 the council was petitioning the Minister of Health for a loan for £1,752 for the laying out and draining of 1.18 acres so part of the land could be brought into use.<sup>142</sup> Later in the same year it was reported that the site, except for the area to be used for burials, had been let for grazing.<sup>143</sup> It is unclear whether any work took place on the site.

Nothing further was mentioned about the proposed Northolt Cemetery until March 1954 when *The Middlesex County Times* published a long leader encouraging the Council to



build a municipal crematorium at Northolt ‘...to serve the needs of Ealing and her northern and western neighbours.’ It noted that South Ealing Cemetery had space remaining for only three and a half years, but Northolt Cemetery could be brought into use before this land had been exhausted. The writer then pointed to the development of Greenford and Northolt in addition to the ‘vast building’ in Wembley, Harrow, Ruislip, Hayes and Uxbridge, but also that ‘We do not want small crematoria in every parish’ and that Ealing should ‘...invite representatives of her neighbours to a conference to consider this matter.’ It continued with: ‘We cannot sterilize large new areas as cemeteries’ before mentioning ‘modern developments in physics’ before concluding:

In their spiritual universe what can it signify whether organic matter be disintegrated in thirty-five minutes or in thirty years in a grave – even if the difference in duration between thirty-five minutes and thirty years can be given significance in a universe whose unit is the light year.<sup>144</sup>

On 6 October 1954, South West Middlesex Crematorium at Hanworth was opened by the president of the Cremation Society of Great Britain, Lord Horder. It would be 74<sup>th</sup> crematorium in the UK and would be run by a joint board comprising representatives from Twickenham, Heston and Isleworth, Feltham, Sunbury, Hayes and Harlington, Staines, Yiewsley and Southall. Ealing was not involved, but the catchment area for the crematorium would be convenient for Brentford and South Ealing residents.<sup>145</sup> Three years later Breakspear Crematorium at Ruislip opened on 14 December 1957.<sup>146</sup> Like Mortlake and South West Middlesex, it was a joint scheme, in this case between Ruislip-Northwood Urban District Council and the Borough of Uxbridge; again Ealing had no involvement despite Northolt being only about six miles from the location of the crematorium.

By November 1954 when there was discussion about the Ealing and Old Brentford Burial Board being disbanded as space had virtually been exhausted, it was pointed that the land by Barantyne School at Northolt that was intended for cemetery use was currently occupied by ‘pre-fabs’.<sup>147</sup> There was still no progress with the cemetery or crematorium by the time the bishop of London consecrated a Garden of Rest for ashes at St Barnabas’ Northolt Park in July 1957. The vicar claimed that there is ‘...something pagan about scattering ashes on crematorium flowers beds’ but nevertheless observed in his parish magazine that: ‘...cremation has come to stay’.<sup>148</sup>

In 1958, the owner of Park Farm in Windmill Lane, Greenford, wished to build eleven semi-detached houses on the site adjoining the entrance to the cemetery. Middlesex County Council refused permission, which led to an inquiry by a Ministry of Housing and Local Government Inspector. The representative for APCC said that ‘...his client were opposed to the erection of houses on the site and were considering building a crematorium in the part of the cemetery grounds. He...had prepared sketches for a crematorium. The need for a crematorium was great...and most cemeteries were tending to become neglected and covered too much land.’ Mr Moriarty for the appellant claimed that ‘...if internments (sic) continued at the present rate at Greenford Cemetery [it] would take an estimated 115-144 years to fill. Ealing and Old Brentford Cemetery, he admitted, was expected to be full in about three-four years, but he referred to the Council’s reserve site of 60 acres at Northolt. Cremation in Middlesex...had risen to 40 per cent and were rising all the time.’

Ealing Council was the local planning authority which noted that ‘...the future requirement of the County for land for cemetery use was an almost impossible thing to assess and so uncertain that quite a large proportion of land must be reserved.’ The

Borough Surveyor commented that ‘...two London cemeteries in Ealing were both closed and any burial demands for London must be met by outlying boroughs.’<sup>149</sup>

When it was announced that chairman of the Ealing Works and Highways Committee would attend the 1959 conference of the Federation of British Cremation Authorities, *The Middlesex County Times* commented:

Does this mean Ealing is going to become a cremation authority? Since before the war the possibility of erecting a crematorium at Northolt has been periodically talked about and deferred. We seem now, however, to come into a period when desirable, but not essential capital expenditure is again possible. As an alternative to Northolt, the Council might now build upon the unused portion of Greenford Park Cemetery.<sup>150</sup>

With ‘Half Ealing Funerals Now Cremation’ as *The Middlesex County Times* noted in November 1959, the council attempted to compulsorily purchase Greenford Park Cemetery, a move predictably opposed by the APCC. At the local public inquiry it was stated that: ‘It is recognised that cemeteries - unless supported by cremation - are ceasing to be financial propositions. And it makes little difference whether the cemeteries are municipally or privately owned.’ It was revealed that in 1956 the company had approached the Council with a view to purchasing the cemetery, but negotiations broke down in 1958. The order for compulsory purchase was subsequently made. The Town Council spokesman stated:

Existing cemetery facilities in the borough were shrinking: and in view of changing social habits the Council desired to erect a crematorium. Before the Greenford Park approach was made the Council had acquired land for prospective cemetery and crematorium use at Islips Manor, Northolt. This had not yet been used for burial and part of it was temporarily occupied by pre-fabricated dwellings.

The Council now considered that the Greenford Park site, only about a third of which was yet occupied by graves, ought to be used up before the virgin land at Islip Manor was started upon. Furthermore, it was considered that Greenford Park would be a better position for the erection of a crematorium than Islip Manor, which was much less central for the borough.’<sup>151</sup>

The APCC representative stated that they had plans for the erection of a crematorium at Greenford Park: ‘A crematorium would assist the financial circumstances of the cemetery and its maintenance - as to which some criticism had been expressed from the Council’s side.’<sup>152</sup>

*The Middlesex County Times* commented:

Burial ground provision must be about the oldest example of communal enterprise, and you need not be much of a Socialist to favour the continuance of municipal activity in this direction. Private concerns got into the field in the last century when the rapid growth of town out-ran existing accommodation, and private experiment was very helpful in introducing the practice of cremation. But further provision can appropriately be made by local authorities.

Presumably the dispute over Greenford Park Cemetery, which last year it was expected Ealing Town Council would purchase by agreement, is really a matter of

price. Whatever may be decided about that, the borough needs a crematorium but it does not need municipal and private undertaking in competition!

This disclosure at the public enquiry on this matter that half Ealing's funerals are now cremations is significant of the trend of things.<sup>153</sup>

The decision came in January 1960 when the Minister of Housing and Local Government declared that that he could not authorise the cemetery to be compulsorily purchased as the Council already held land for cemetery use at Northolt and that the '...purchase of the order land at the present time would be in advance of the Council's requirement.' This was not permitted under Section 159 (2) of the Local Government Act 1953.<sup>154</sup>

Again, the *Middlesex County Times* offered a commentary on the situation:

As the Minister's letter to the Town Clerk makes clear, he has not acted in accordance with the advice tendered by his inspector – it's a compromise between the position of the Town Council and the cemetery company. He has not done so because the 1952 Act permits compulsory purchase only when it can be shown to be immediately necessary; and in this case the Town Council has the alternative at the moment of bringing into use the land it acquired for cemetery purposes at Islips Manor, Northolt. Ought that alternative, however, to be adopted? It is very much in the public interest for both economic and hygienic reasons that no new cemetery sites should be laid out in Greater London – or any of our larger conurbations – if this can possibly be avoided. Earth burial is no longer appropriate in urban conditions. So many families are already persuaded of this that more than half the funerals in the borough of Ealing are nowadays cremations. A similar trend is, of course, observable elsewhere and it is the duty of public authorities to encourage it.

In Ealing – a town of close on 200,000 people – a crematorium must be provided. If this be done and the public health department tactfully advocates cremation, the number of local burials should be still further reduced. With such a prospect in mind, and with the cemeteries at Greenford Park and South Ealing not yet full, it should be possible to preserve the Islips Manor site as a useful addition to the Northolt housing area. Virgin land in urban areas is rapidly shrinking: what is still available should be for the living rather than for the dead.

Unfortunately there has been delay, which now looks like proving expensive. The Town Council declined to participate in the joint municipal crematorium at Mortlake, though this is now attracting quite a proportion of Ealing funerals; and no alternative action was taken until the war clamped down on local government activity. When a few years ago, action could be considered, the council was approached by the cemetery company with an offer to sell Greenford Park cemetery; and it is unfortunate that this could not have been clinched quickly. The position was that at Greenford Park, as at most cemeteries, municipal or private, business had been affected by the spread of cremation. Now the company has been advised that the outlook would be different if it erected a crematorium before the Council had provided Ealing with one. What may be called the crematorium potential of Greenford Park has added to its selling value. Since a compulsory purchase order had not been confirmed, it seems the Council will either have to pay the enhanced price or to let private enterprise reap the rewards of giving Ealing crematorium facilities within the borough.<sup>155</sup>

Despite this setback, the council's borough surveyor was subsequently authorised to re-open negotiations with the APCC who '...were prepared to consider a sale to the Council subject to the conclusion of satisfactory terms with regard to price.' The council's housing committee preferred for the Islip Manor site to be re-zoned for housing, subject to town planning approval, rather than used as a cemetery. 'If the Council can acquire Greenford Park cemetery, the Islip Manor site will not be wanted for cemetery purposes.'<sup>156</sup>

*The Middlesex County Times* summarised the position:

It [Greenford Park Cemetery] will nevertheless still be worth getting. The unused cemetery site at Islip Manor, Northolt, will become available for housing at no further cost; and the crematorium it is proposed to erect at Greenford Park, will save a good many fees going outside the borough.<sup>157</sup>

The following week the newspaper stated that the Northolt site was in Green Belt and added: 'If the Council is now going to acquire Greenford Park Cemetery – even at a negotiated price! – and to erect a crematorium there, the Northolt site will not be wanted for its intended purpose. Commonsense and the Housing Committee suggest it shall be made available for housing.'<sup>158</sup>

By January 1962 there appeared to be no progress regarding the acquisition of the cemetery. Again, a leader in *The Middlesex County Times* focused on local need needs after mentioning that a mechanical gravedigger was in operation in the City of London Cemetery. declared:

Before, however, we start spending public money upon this rather macabre development of automation ought we not to look once more upon the question of continued burial in urban areas. When people think about this matter...they think of burial through nostalgic memories of country churchyards. The appeal of these is undeniable: it has inspired masterpieces by such varied poets as Gray, Swinburne and Valery. But no poet is going to be inspired by a glimpse of Ealing Cemetery from a 65 bus or those acres of tombstones at Finchley from the North Circular-road....Public health authorities might legitimately undertake a little educational propaganda on these lines. Ealing would be quite a suitable place to start, But the Council – faced now with the prospect of an enlarged borough – must make up its mind, after 20 years of talk, that the provision of a local crematorium is needed.<sup>159</sup>

Despite the local paper reporting that the chairman of the Open Spaces and Cemeteries Committee visited the newly-completed Masonhill-by-Air crematorium in South Ayrshire, no progress was recorded.<sup>160</sup> As Cllr Edward Jones's service with the Council came to an end in July 1966, he declared: 'Our cemeteries are nearly full. I think a crematorium would help towards solving the problem of finding cemetery land.'<sup>161</sup> At the end of December 1966 Ealing Council announced that they intended to build a crematorium on land it would acquire adjacent to Greenford Park Cemetery, and in its draft capital estimates for 1967-70 the Open Spaces, Park and Allotments Committee had budgeted £200,000 for 'land for cemetery and crematorium purposes.'<sup>162</sup> The newspaper added: 'A borough crematorium is a sensible proposal. It would serve a very large area indeed and the fact of there being one in the town itself might still further encourage a modern practice which in a lard-starved conurbation can serve a valuable purpose.'<sup>163</sup>

It transpired that while the council was making provision in its capital estimates for a municipally-run facility on land near the Greenford Park Cemetery, a private developer



had drawn up plans to build homes on part of the cemetery land; Greenford Park Estates Ltd claimed there was room for both schemes. They wanted to build 50 houses and 20 maisonettes on a small portion of cemetery land. The housing was subsequently approved causing much dismay to local protestors. By March it was announced that council had decided to acquire, either through negotiation or a Compulsory Purchase Order, a 28-acre section of Greenford Park Cemetery and also 5¼ acres of adjoining land known as Park Farm with the intention of building a crematorium.<sup>164</sup>

The smaller site had been acquired by October, but negotiations continued regarding the 28-acres.<sup>165</sup> The crematorium scheme at Greenford was approved in principle by the council in December 1967, although the issue of it being within 200 years of a dwelling house was acknowledged as a potential problem.<sup>166</sup> It was also announced that the council would take over the management of the cemetery from the APCC on 1 January 1968. The sale price was not revealed in the newspapers. £4,000 had to be immediately assigned for renovations of the chapel along with a new drainage and sewerage system.<sup>167</sup> The financial case for the crematorium was highlighted as the council stated it cost £30,000 a year to run the cemeteries while building a crematorium would be in the region of £120,000.<sup>168</sup> But the cemetery required further investment: £4,000 for ditch work, tree clearance and fencing at the cemetery.



Following acquisition from the APCC, there appeared to be no further discussion about constructing a crematorium in Greenford Park Cemetery. Ealing residents would continue to be cremated at Breakspear, South West Middlesex or Mortlake, or travel further afield to Golders Green or West London (Kensal Green).

## The Crematorium at Hendon

Due to the absence of company minutes, it is unclear when the APCC commenced their discussion about establishing a crematorium and also if consideration was given to provision in the other cemeteries under their ownership. It is also unknown why Hendon was selected, particularly as Golders Green Crematorium was only about 2.6 miles from Holders Hill Road. The APCC directors may have deemed that 82 year after opening Abney Park Cemetery had insufficient space for a crematorium, while Chingford Mount was too remote. That said, Hendon cemetery was still in an undeveloped area. Whilst table 12 indicates that since opening in 1902 Golders Green was regarded by the cremation movement as a successful facility on account of its architecture and landscape and that it carried out a significant proportion of all the cremations taking place in the UK, the figures were comparatively modest and the crematorium operated below capacity.<sup>169</sup>

Table 12 Cremations at UK Crematoria and Golders Green Crematorium, 1902-1922

<b>Year</b>	<b>1902</b>	<b>1903</b>	<b>1904</b>	<b>1905</b>	<b>1906</b>	<b>1907</b>	<b>1908</b>	<b>1909</b>	<b>1910</b>
Cremations at Golders Green	5	158	220	252	298	290	364	421	415
Total UK cremations	451	477	569	604	743	707	795	855	840
<b>Year</b>	<b>1911</b>	<b>1912</b>	<b>1913</b>	<b>1914</b>	<b>1915</b>	<b>1916</b>	<b>1917</b>	<b>1918</b>	<b>1919</b>
Cremations at Golders Green	542	591	602	671	730	633	719	820	919
Total UK cremations	1,023	1,134	1,188	1,279	1,410	1,366	1,515	1,795	2,031
<b>Year</b>	<b>1920</b>	<b>1921</b>	<b>1922</b>	<b>1923</b>	<b>1924</b>	<b>1925</b>	<b>1926</b>	<b>1927</b>	<b>1928</b>
Cremations at Golders Green	851	893	939	920	1,114	1,214	1,270	1,459	1,483
Total UK cremations	1,796	1,922	2,009	1,986	2,395	2,701	2,877	3,265	3,436

(Source: *The Undertakers' Journal*)

Secured onto the monthly return by the secretary to the APCC directors for October 1911 is a press cutting under which is a handwritten date of 'Sept 1911'. The text reads:

The City of London laments that the people do not appear to lose their prejudice towards cremation. Last year at the City's Crematorium at Ilford only 22 persons were cremated, against 24 in 1909. A return is given by the medical officer to show that the decrease in figures is fairly general, 840 persons having been cremated in England last year as compared with 855 in the previous year. At Sheffield, where 69 persons have been cremated since 1905, the number fell to eight last year, whereas in 1909 there were 18. Since cremation was legalised in 1885 less than nine thousand bodies have been sent to the crematoria. And yet 72,000 people died in London every year and new cemeteries are continually being established upon the outskirts of the metropolis. Indeed, according to the City's medical officer, we shall soon be surrounded by an unbroken ring of them.

One of the London correspondents is apparently hurt because cremation is not becoming increasingly popular. He cites the fact that last year 840 people's remains were disposed of in this way as against 855 in 1909. The [City of] London Crematorium at Ilford, in spite of lowered charges, dealt with only 22 cases as against 24. Apparently, Manchester is the only place where there has been progress, the numbers cremated being 114 as against 106 in 1909. If Manchester weather is really as bad as is often represented, there is no doubt something to be said about cremation. That may or may not explain the progress recorded by the statistics.<sup>170</sup>

The City of London Crematorium had opened in 1904, but the numbers of cremations were very small, this is despite a handwritten note appearing under the press cutting stating: 'More than a year ago the charge for cremation was reduced at Ilford to £2 15s 6d.'<sup>171</sup> It is unclear why no reference was made to Golders Green, a facility carrying out 542 cremations in 1911. Following the opening of Golders Green in 1904 and the City of London two years later, it would be 1915 before West Norwood became the third crematorium in the London area.<sup>172</sup> It's feasible that the APCC directors were encouraged by the number of cremations at Golders Green, rather than surveying the overall UK figures. This led to the decision to open London's fourth crematorium.

At an extraordinary meeting of APCC shareholders held on 1 September 1920, a special resolution was passed authorising the creation of 5,000 ordinary shares at £1 each. The letter accompanying the application to purchase the shares specifically stated the funds were needed '...for the erection and installation of a crematorium at Hendon Park Cemetery.' It also revealed that the '...buildings already there enable the necessary machinery for cremation to be added at a comparatively small outlay, and the work has been commenced.'<sup>173</sup>

The reference to the '...buildings already there...' denotes the fact that the existing cemetery chapel would be used for cremation services, a decision that would save the APCC the considerable cost of constructing a separate chapel. As a new structure, the City of London Crematorium at Ilford had cost £7,000 to construct in 1904; twenty-two years later the APCC only required £5,000.<sup>174</sup> At Hendon, the crypt area underneath the cloister would be utilised to house the gas cremators. These were supplied to the designs of Arthur C Lockwood, the superintendent of the South Metropolitan Cemetery Company's cemetery

and crematorium at West Norwood, where his 'Lockwood Crematorium Furnace' had been installed in 1917.<sup>175</sup> They would be later installed at Pontypridd and Arnos Vale in Bristol. At Hendon, the chimney was incorporated into spiral staircase on the exterior of the bell tower. As was the case at the time in all crematoria, a columbarium for the retention of caskets of ashes was constructed in the cloisters.

To test the efficacy of the cremators, a sheep was incinerated under supervision of



Dr Glover of Ministry of Health, representing the Home Office.<sup>176</sup> By the first day of March, the crematorium was available for public use and three short paragraphs appeared in THFT, with details of the committal arrangements:

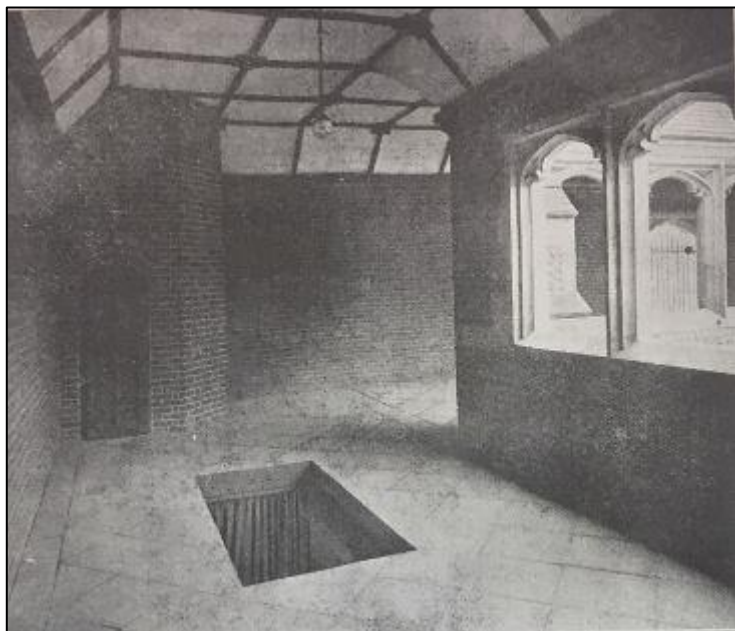
Instead of being slid silently into what is generally termed 'an oven', the coffin is gently lowered to the vault below, and is last seen resting on a bier curtained round with beautiful purple cloth.<sup>177</sup>

*The Undertakers' Journal* was more explicit:

It is fitted with all the latest improvements and has been approved by the Ministry of Health. It is so arranged that the funeral service *and the lowering of the coffin are scarcely distinguishable from an ordinary interment, thus eliminating all the features frequently objected to at Cremation carried out under the usual circumstances.*<sup>178</sup> (Emphasis added)

The North Middlesex Gas Company provided gas to the crematorium and published an illustrated feature concerning this project in their in-house magazine. An account of the arrangements provides further details:

After the burial service in the chapel, the coffin is carried a few yards along the cloister walks, where it is lowered into the cremation chamber through a carefully draped opening in the floor of the walk....The cremation takes place immediately after the service. The mourners are not admitted to the crematorium and do not wait during the cremation; they leave after the Office for the Burial of the Dead, and thus the whole service is rendered as free as possible from those features which might tend further to distress the mourners.<sup>179</sup>



Lowering the coffin into an aperture in the floor of the cloister to imitate a burial would be unique among UK crematoria as all others used a catafalque with a hatch in the wall through which the coffin was withdrawn. Inspiration for the Hendon scheme may have come from the arrangement depicted in William Tegg's book *The Last Act* (1876). It was, however, this novel form of committal that potentially resulted in the low usage of the crematorium between the first cremation on 8 April 1922 and the building of the crematorium chapel in

the centre of the cloisters in 1938. Just under an average of eleven cremations per year took place over a sixteen-year period; this contrasts to the nearby Golders Green Crematorium where an average of 1,902 cremations were recorded per annum over the same period (see table 13). No other crematorium in the UK recorded such low usage in its early years. To mourners the arrangement must have been confusing; cremation was promoted as modern and in contrast to the traditional mode of burial. Yet the committal



aped the very act of lowering into the earthen grave. Holding the service in the existing burial chapel necessitated the funeral director's bearers to wait for the conclusion of the ceremony, then shoulder the coffin to the cloisters and lower it into the aperture. This contrasted to Golders Green where the bearing staff could depart promptly following deposit of the coffin on the catafalque. To the APCC, the opening of the crematorium simply involved the installation of a cremator as no structural changes such as the construction of a catafalque or external crematory were required in the chapel. Whilst minimising the capital expenditure, its subsequently popularity and lack of return on the investment would have been regarded as very disappointing.

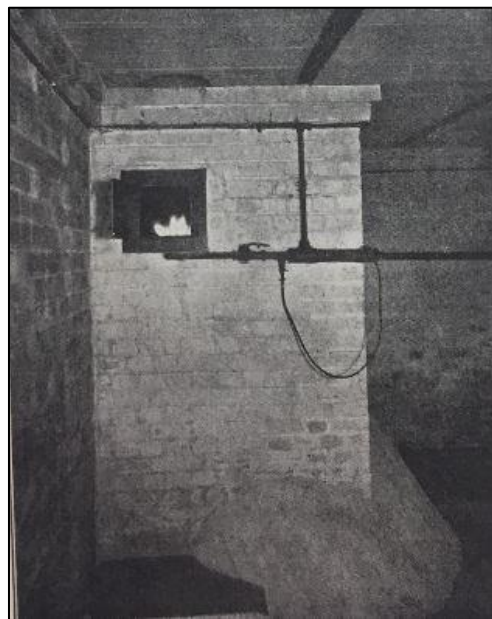
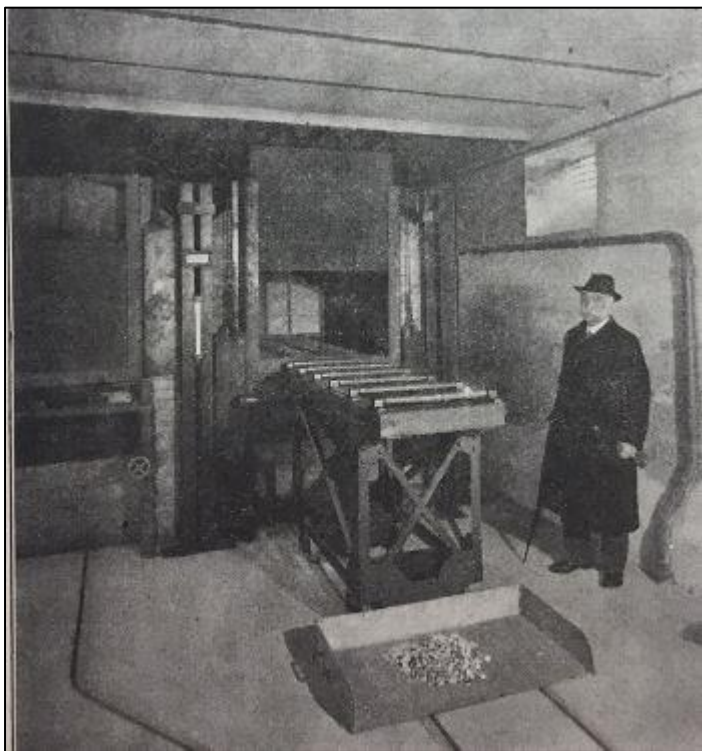


Table 13 Cremations at Hendon and Golders Green crematoria, 1922-1941

	1922	1923	1924	1925	1926	1927	1928	1929	1930	1931
<b>Hendon</b>	6	6	7	7	8	11	11	14	12	13
<b>Golders Green</b>	939	920	1,114	1,214	1,270	1,459	1,483	1,797	1,787	1,866

	1932	1933	1934	1935	1936	1937	1938	1939	1940	1941
<b>Hendon</b>	13	10	11	13	15	17	93	294	387	417
<b>Golders Green</b>	2,245	2,396	2,553	2,855	3,126	3,408	3,421	2,959	2,953	2,530

(Source: *The Undertakers' Journal*. Various years)

As with other crematoria then in operation, the APCC advertised the availability of its new facility in newspapers including *The Times* (for example, 15 December 1923). The adult cremation fee in 1922 was £5 5s, although reduced to £4 4s if before 10.30am. The services of a chaplain to read the burial service was 10s 5d and the fee for a niche in the columbarium for one urn was £5 5s. These charges were broadly in line with other UK crematoria and remained the same in 1933. As with burials, the APCC gave commission of 10 per cent to undertakers, upon the fees paid.<sup>180</sup>

In 1937/8 the area in the middle of the cloisters was enclosed when the new crematorium chapel was constructed. A catafalque facilitated the committal of the coffin into a new-built ground-level crematory attached to the cloister. Immediately after the new chapel opened an increase in the number of cremations was recorded. In 1939 a total of 294 cremations were received; in the previous years it was 93.

### **Exploring the fortunes of the APCC**

It is regretted that only a few APCC balance sheets, notices of annual general meeting and other documents have survived. Nevertheless, this information does give an insight into the overall financial position of the company.

Cemetery revenue is generated from the purchase of and interment in new, reopened and common graves, along with memorial permit fees and grave maintenance/planting. Other possible revenue streams are only occasional, such as the fees for transfer of grave ownership or for exhumation. From examining the APCC balance sheets, areas of expenditure include the rates (poor, general and other), labour, the chaplain's salary, chapel expenses, commission to undertakers and the salaries of London office staff. From the limited material a number of observations can be made based on the information given in tables 14 to 18.

First, there are only three consecutive years of financial information available (1885-1887) relating to the Abney Park Cemetery. Despite this limitation, the number of burials in new graves (table 14) and also income (table 15) reflect the fact that it has been receiving burials for over forty years and was well established. Regular advertising in newspapers, accessibility to the populated area of central east London, that the Metropolitan Borough of Hackney in whose area the cemetery was located had not opened their own cemetery, along with the closure of Victoria Park Cemetery in 1876, would have benefitted the cemetery. Furthermore, undertakers were paid commission to recommend the cemetery. The fact that it was unconsecrated would have made it particularly attractive to Nonconformists.

Although only seven years of income and expenditure for the cemetery are available, what can be deduced is that the income was almost static during the three consecutive years between 1885 and 1887, but expenditure gradually increased. By 1909, expenses represented 64 per cent of income, while by 1917 this had reached 77 per cent. By 1932, however, it had reduced to 54 per cent.

Table 14 Income and expenditure at Abney Park Cemetery

<b>Year</b>	<b>Income</b>	<b>Expenditure</b>
1885	£7,665 0s 2d	£1,020, 11s 9d
1886	£7,319 7s 9d	£2,567 10s 1d
1887	£7,373 0s 0d	£3,004 5s 1d
1909	£8,656 5s 1d	£5,607 4s 11d
1914	£8,514 16s 2d	£5,703 9s 3d
1917	£9,988 0s 6d	£7,774 4s 8d
1932	£15,490 12s 10d	£8,458 8s 7d

The company's second cemetery, Chingford Mount, opened in 1883 and two years later was experiencing a healthy income when compared to expenditure (table 15). Thereafter the proportion of outgoings increased, although by 1932 this was at 54 per cent, which was not far off that of Abney Park. Unlike the aforementioned, Chingford Mount faced the issue of attracting burials that could potentially have gone to cemeteries such as the City of London, West Ham, Walthamstow and Tottenham, along with the privately-owned Manor Park, East London and St Patrick's Leytonstone. In 1932, Chingford Mount was about half as profitable as Abney Park, but expenses were similar in proportion at 59 per cent.

Table 15 Income and expenditure at Chingford Mount Cemetery

<b>Year</b>	<b>Income</b>	<b>Expenditure</b>
1885	£605 7s 9d	£304 1s 9d
1886	£1,354 16s 5d	£750 2s 16d
1887	£1,807 8s 10d	£1,074 10s 11d
1909	£3,562 12s 4d	£2,452 0s 2d
1914	£3,602 10s 5d	£2,411 9s 11d
1917	£3,853 9s 11d	£2,966 6s 2d
1932	£7,473 12s 11d	£4,424 3s 5d

Secondly, from examining the information in tables 16 and 17, it can be determined that from surveying one-month periods between 1904 and 1944, Chingford Mount was the busiest of the company's four cemeteries. If the number of new purchased graves as stated in table 16 are deducted from the overall number of burials in table 17, it can be deemed that the cemetery received a considerable number of burials in common graves, a position that would have impacted overall profitability. As stated earlier, burial in a purchased grave was the most profitable form of interment. It is also possible to discern that at Hendon Park the number of burials remained fairly static between 1904 and 1933, but then increased in 1944. It must also have been concerning for the company that after a promising start at Greenford Park, the number of burials consistently diminished; it would not be until nearly forty years later when they recovered. It is also significant that the number of new graves purchased at Greenford Park was very modest. Like the other cemeteries, the greatest proportion of the burials would have been in common graves.

Table 16 Interments in new purchased graves in the four cemeteries, selected months and years 1905-1942

	2 Feb – 2 March 1904	2 Feb – 2 March 1905	11 Sept – 11 Oct 1910	11 Sept – 11 Oct 1911	2 June – 2 July 1912	5 Feb – 5 March 1914	12 Oct – 12 Nov 1918	14 Feb – 14 Mar 1922
Abney Park	25	29	15	17	18	33	56	51
Chingford Mount	9	10	13	6	12	14	34	24
Hendon Park	4	5	11	6	11	7	27	23
Greenford Park		2	4	1	6	7	5	5

(Source: Hackney Archive)

	11 Aug – 11 Sept 1923	7 May – 7 June 1933	11 Feb – 11 Mar 1942
Abney Park	27	23	10
Chingford Mount	13	23	34
Hendon Park	20	38	39
Greenford Park	4	3	26

(Source: Hackney Archive)

Table 17 Total burials (vaults, new graves, re-openings, Common interments, family graves) in the four cemeteries, selected years 1904-1942

	2 Feb – 2 March 1904	2 Feb – 2 March 1905	11 Sept – 11 Oct 1910	11 Sept – 11 Oct 1911	2 June – 2 July 1912	5 Feb – 5 March 1914	12 Oct – 12 Nov 1918	14 Feb – 14 Mar 1922
Abney Park	143	141	84	92	69	177	278	377
Chingford Mount	246	224	211	357	169	221	217	242
Hendon Park	116	108	81	150	103	126	96	115
Greenford Park		135	52	84	31	36	43	33

	11 Aug – 11 Sept 1923	7 May – 7 June 1933	11 Feb – 11 Mar 1942
Abney Park	147	125	98
Chingford Mount	92	107	175
Hendon Park	72	112	149
Greenford Park	11	30	85

(Source: Hackney Archive)

The monthly income over selected years (Table 18), shows a very mixed picture. At Abney Park Cemetery income started to fall before recovering and then reducing considerably during WWII. At Chingford Mount, however, revenue was also uneven, but by 1942 far exceeded that of Abney Park. Perhaps the Company was experiencing a shortage of graves



that could be purchased. At Hendon the revenue was also variable, but it is clear that cremation fees started to contribute to the overall position after the crematorium was remodelled in the late 1930s. As for Greenford Park, income was extremely modest until 1942, which reflects the increased number of burials. It could be that by this time that South Ealing Cemetery may have been nearing capacity, and so Ealing residents were starting to select burial at Greenford Park. The profitability of this cemetery must have been disappointing for the company directors, especially after Mr Baker said ‘...I believe it [Greenford Park] will be one of the best paying ones in London.’

Table 18 Monthly income (from vaults, new graves, re-openings, common interments, family graves and cremations [from 1922]) in the four cemeteries, selected years and months 1904-1942

	2 Feb – 2 March 1904	2 Feb – 2 March 1905	11 Sept – 11 Oct 1910	11 Sept – 11 Oct 1911	2 June – 2 July 1912	5 Feb – 5 March 1914	12 Oct – 12 Nov 1918	14 Feb – 14 Mar 1922
Abney Park	£692 4s 2d	£714 13s 3d	£559 11s 9d	£454 15s 9d	£526 0s 8d	£818 17s 3d	£1,740 16s 9d	£2,790 14s 6d
Chingford Mount	£257 15s 1d	£242 10s 6d	£199 14s 6d	£323 2s 0d	£234 11s 0d	£242 9s 6d	£679 11s 0d	£880 6s 6d
Hendon Park	£101 11s 6d	£134 6s 0d	£104 14s 9d	£159 15s 0d	£161 1s 2d	£170 6s 9d	£339 9s 0d	£530 2s 7d
Greenford Park	NA	£72 16s 0d	£27 17s 0d	£40 15s	£39 4s 6d	£44 4s 6d	£47 1s 0d	£77 5s 7d

	11 Aug – 11 Sept 1923	7 May – 7 June 1933	11 Feb – 11 Mar 1942
Abney Park	£1,382 18s 3d	£1,326 17s 9d	£791 14s 4d
Chingford Mount	£497 7s 9d	£846 18s 9d	£1,044 3s 6d
Hendon Park (+ cremation fees)	£276 0d 7s	£666 5s 2d + £6 8s 6d	£641 15s 0d + £154 17s 9d
Greenford Park	£27 6d 3d	£59 3s 7s	£332 2s 0d

(Source: Hackney Archive)

Around sixteen notices of the APCCs annual general meeting (AGM) survive and these detail the dividends to shareholders. In 1882 and 1885 a distribution of 10 per cent was made, falling to between 7½ and 6¼ per cent between 1887 and 1909. In 1914 and 1917 it was 5 per cent. The last AGM notice was for 1932 when a 10 per cent dividend was returned. Although the information is not consecutive, it can be seen that when a new

cemetery opened, the dividend reduced. Chingford Mount opened in 1884 which was matched by a fall in the dividend between 1886 and 1892. Greenford Park was acquired sometime between 1902 and 1905. The dividend was only 6¼ in 1909 and then 5 per cent in 1914 and 1917. Although in 1932 there was a return of the generous dividend given some fifty years earlier, it is not known how long this figure remained constant and/or if the amount fluctuated.

### **The sale of Hendon Park Cemetery and Crematorium to Hendon Council**

Discussions between Hendon Council and the APCC regarding acquisition of the cemetery had commenced by February 1954, and the following month a sub-committee was formed to investigate the purchase. It is unclear which organisation initiated the dialogue. By June 1955 the council had applied to the Ministry of Housing and Local Government for a loan of £9,500 to purchase the cemetery and crematorium. This was far less than the cost of establishing a new cemetery and crematorium. When the Borough of Paddington acquired land and opened their cemetery at nearby Mill Hill in 1937, the total expenditure was in the region of £68,000, and that was without a crematorium.<sup>181</sup>

The transaction was completed in March 1954, but immediately the council revealed that £11,000 would need to be invested to bring the buildings up to a decent standard.<sup>182</sup> In July 1957 *The Hendon Times* reported that the 'Extension of Hendon Crematorium building – providing a new cremation room, two of the latest type cremators and alterations to the existing building to provide a committal chamber – is to cost £13,940.'<sup>183</sup> Following acquisition, the word 'Park' appears to have been dropped from the name of the cemetery and crematorium.

The low sale price coupled with the amounts the council would have to spend on the cemetery indicated that the APCC had not kept abreast of the maintenance of the cemetery.

In 1978 there were 1,189 cremations at Hendon and the total cremated since opening in 1922 was 22,369. Between 1902 and 1978 Golders Green had recorded 237,402 cremations.

After suffering fire damage in the 1970s, the gate lodge at the end was left unoccupied. Refurbishment work commenced in 2020.

### **Concluding Remarks**

This research highlights a number of issues concerning the financial position of the APCC in the latter part of the nineteenth century until its demise in the 1960s (the exact date has not been established).

First, of the seven private cemetery operators established in London from the early 1830s, the APCC was only one of two that expanded by opening further cemeteries. The other was the London Cemetery Company opening Highgate in 1839 then Nunhead a year later. While Abney Park also opened in 1840, it would, however, be a further forty-four years before the company acquired land at Chingford Mount. Finally owning four cemeteries and one crematorium, APCC would be the largest private cemetery company in the UK. From assessing the limited correspondence in Hackney Archive, it is possible that by the mid-twentieth century the APCC was linked to other private cemeteries, although there is

insufficient material to draw any conclusions. This lack of expansion by the other companies is significant as it hints at the fact that the cost of establishment along with the rate of return for investors may not have been as initially anticipated. As noted above, when APCC opened Chingford Mount followed by Hendon Park and then acquired Greenford, a fall in the dividend was recorded. It may be attributable to the element of competition through the creation of Burial Board cemeteries from the early 1850s. That said, private enterprise was not deterred from venturing into the sector in the period following 1861 when the Great Northern Cemetery opened; as noted in the introduction, other operators ventured into the sector. Even in the twentieth century private cemeteries continued, such as Greenford Park (1901), Streatham Park (1909) and Greenlawn (1938).

By the interwar years there was growing evidence to suggest that burial board/local authority cemeteries were costly to run and for the latter, a burden on the rates. Research issued in 1927 by the Cremation Society assessed information from sixteen UK burial authorities.<sup>184</sup> The majority showed that each burial was being subsidised by the rates, in some cases by around 42 shillings (and for one authority 103 shillings). Cost of establishment including original purchase of the land was not taken into account. Although this was ammunition for the proponents of cremation, it should be noted that from the data in tables 14 and 15, both Abney Park and Chingford Mount cemeteries returned a reasonably healthy balance. This was not, however, the case at Hendon Park and Greenford Park. Effectively, the older cemeteries were subsidising the newer ones. But the overall message was clear: investing in a cemetery needed to be treated with caution as the cost of establishing a cemetery was considerable and any investor must be prepared to wait before receiving a return on the investment.

Secondly, as far as can be ascertained, no analytical survey of the competition from existing burial provision and anticipation of future needs was carried out prior to the opening of Hendon Cemetery. No archival information exists regarding Chingford Mount. When in 1896 the APCC sought to acquire land in the Golders Green area, their document to the Home Office mentioned Hampstead cemetery, but no reference was made to the cemeteries at Highgate, Kilburn (Paddington), Islington St Pancras or St Marylebone at Finchley, or the newly opened Willesden Cemetery. Information such as existing and remaining capacity, annual number of burials in different types of graves, income and expenditure, etc should have framed the decision making. Some of this information would have been published in the local newspapers and council reports. Furthermore, population statistics and details of the number of deaths would have been given in the annual report from the local Medical Officer of Health. When Henry Baker was attempting to persuade APCC to purchase Greenford Park Cemetery he included a table detailing the increase in population in a number of west London boroughs; it was, however, selective by not including areas such as Greenford, Southall or Northolt, nor were future population projections included along with current mortality figures. Indeed, burial numbers and types of graves sold at Abney Park and Chingford Mount should have informed the directors understanding of revenue streams.

Thirdly, the decision to open a crematorium at Hendon was curious. It may have been the case that the directors were buoyed by the success of Golders Green. However, the number of cremations at other crematoria would have informed them that the preference for this alternative to burial was still only marginal (in 1922 only 0.36 per cent of deaths were followed by cremation). The annual figures at West Norwood and the City of London would have proved this point. Despite the formation in 1924 of the Federation of British

Crematoria Authorities (FBCA) and the promotional work carried out by the Cremation Society of England, it must be acknowledged that cremation was more expensive than burial while a profile of those cremated revealed that it appealed to those from the upper echelons of society and those with wealth. It should also be noted that as the London Cremation Company was a trading arm of the Cremation Society, the latter would be anxious for Golders Green to be utilised rather than a competing establishment. Golders Green possessed an air of exclusivity having been designed by a leading architect with the grounds landscaped by a notable garden designer and a facility opened by the founder of the modern cremation movement, Sir Henry Thompson. It was also unattached to a cemetery. Hendon stood in contrast on all these points not to mentioning the original form of committal that aped the burial of a coffin.

It is also significant to note that as far as can be ascertained from transactions and FBCA reports, the APCC had little or no contact with these organisations promoting cremation. The APCC did not even contribute their yearly figures to the statistical table of cremations published by the two organisations. Although Hendon Crematorium was advertised in the newspapers it was only mentioned as an adjunct to the cemetery. In contrast, when the South London Crematorium was opened in 1936 in the grounds of Streatham Park Cemetery, it was extensively promoted in newspapers, church magazines and other media as a modern facility with a range of attributes, such as the chapel exclusively used for cremation services and Garden of Remembrance with memorial options.<sup>185</sup> Whilst this strategy was costly and also on-going, such investment to reach out to a large prospective clientele yielded dividends in terms of year-on-year cremation numbers (1936 = 161; 1937 = 685; 1938 = 986; 1939 = 1,129; 1940 = 1,342; 1941 = 1,272; 1943 = 1,234), and particularly in view of the newly opened competing crematoria in the area: Croydon (1937), Honor Oak (1939), and Putney Vale (1938). By the time Hendon had built its new chapel and changed the committal arrangements which resulted in an increase in cremations, other crematoria in the north London area had been built including St Marylebone (1937), Islington (1937) and Enfield (1938). Furthermore, additional chapels had been provided at Golders Green (the Bedford chapel in 1911 and the East Chapel in 1926). All were competing for a share of the limited number of cremations; by 1939 only 3 per cent of deaths were followed by cremation. In effect, Hendon Crematorium had missed its opportunity.

To state that the APCC had just run out of income to sustain the maintenance of its cemeteries, despite having the revenue from Hendon crematorium, is a broad summary of the situation that faced the company directors by the mid-1950s. Hendon was the first cemetery to be divested from the company's portfolio. Immediately, it had to be closed while the Borough of Hendon made a considerable investment to improve the standard of the facilities, buildings and landscape. Greenford Park, similarly, required expenditure. By the early 1970s by which time the APCC was owned by Bank and Commercial Holdings Ltd, Chingford Mount was described by a local clergyman as '...similar to a Malayan jungle'. Housing was proposed on some of the site and then a crematorium. It was finally acquired by the London Borough of Waltham Forest. Bank and Commercial Holdings went into liquidation in January 1975. By this stage, Abney Park Cemetery was a total wilderness.

Today, when examining the fate of the original London proprietary cemetery companies it can be found that only Kensal Green Cemetery still remains in the ownership of the General Cemetery Company. It would be the post-World War Two years when the others



made the descent towards reluctant new owners, mainly local authorities. West Norwood went to Lambeth, Nunhead to Southwark, Abney Park to Hackney, Chingford Mount to Waltham Forest and the City of London and Tower Hamlets to the Greater London Council (now Tower Hamlets Council). Highgate is owned by a company with close links to its group of Friends. The fact that the General Cemetery Company invested in a crematorium in 1939 may well have helped to stabilise its fortunes. Yet, despite these regrettable failures of nineteenth century companies, the private sector continues to provide burial space and cremation facilities in London with new entrants in recent years such as Kemnal Park and also the Gardens of Peace. In view of the capital expenditure required in opening a cemetery (or crematorium), coupled with the fact that local authorities are permitted but obliged to operate such facilities, it's possible that we may see a return to such enterprise, but owners and investors need to be mindful of the past but also have an eye on contemporary needs.

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**To do: (if possible) National Archive file on opening of HPC and GPC.**

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  - <sup>3</sup> Curl JS (1977) 'Nunhead Cemetery' *Transaction of the Ancient Monument Society*, and Woollacott R (2010) *Investors in Death. The Story of Nunhead Cemetery and the London Cemetery Company and its Successors* London: The Friends of Nunhead Cemetery
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  - <sup>6</sup> Joyce P (1994) *A Guide to Abney Park Cemetery* London: Abney Park Cemetery Trust Publication p53
  - <sup>7</sup> In 1879 the minutes record that a Mr Hill of Clapham had an estate for sale. The board, however, 'who had a larger estate in view' declined his proposal APCC Directors' minutes 3 December 1879 p345
  - <sup>8</sup> Typescript report on the opening of the cemetery on 24 May 1884. Hackney Archive
  - <sup>9</sup> 22 April 1887 & 10 June 1887
  - <sup>10</sup> 'St Pancras and Islington Cemeteries' *THFT* 26 August 1887 and 'Finchley Local Board' *THFT* 3 July 1880
  - <sup>11</sup> 'St Marylebone Cemetery Finchley' *THFT* 24 January 1880
  - <sup>12</sup> *THFT* 12 February 1881. See also 27 September 1885
  - <sup>13</sup> 'Finchley Local Jottings' *THFT* 5 March 1881
  - <sup>14</sup> 'Jottings' *THFT* 17 May 1882
  - <sup>15</sup> *THFT* 23 July 1886 and 16 December 1887
  - <sup>16</sup> 'The Finchley Cemetery Scandal' *THFT* 19 October 1888
  - <sup>17</sup> He lived at 89 Market Place, Forest Gate

- 18 'The Proposed Cemetery at Golders Green' *THFT* 20 July 1888. Dr Henry Westwood Hoffman (MA Cantab MB) was medical inspector for the Burials Act Department and also Inspector Retreats under Inebriates Act (1879 and 1888). He had been inspector since 1882.
- 19 William Ambrose is buried in Highgate Cemetery following his death on 18 January 1908.
- 20 'The Proposed Cemetery at Golders Green' *THFT* 20 July 1888
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- 24 'Hendon Local Board' *THFT* 4 October 1889
- 25 'Report of the Works Committee' *THFT* 27 December 1889
- 26 'Report on the Works and General Purposes Committee' *THFT* 19 December 1890
- 27 'The Hendon Burial Fees' *THFT* 24 December 1890
- 28 'Proposed Cemetery' *THFT* 13 February 1891, and 'Hendon' *THFT* 7 March 1891, 'Child's Hill Ratepayers Association Annual Meeting' *THFT* 27 March 1891
- 29 'Wealdstone Burial Ground' *THFT* 23 October 1891. The preferred site was to be 64 acres at £225 per acre. 'Wealdstone Burial Ground' *THFT* 4 December 1891, 'A New Cemetery for Harrow' *THFT* 11 March 1892
- 30 'Report of the Engineers' *THFT* 17 May 1892
- 31 'Hendon' *THFT* 15 July 1891
- 32 'Hendon Local Board' *THFT* 15 July 1892. It has not been possible to trace details of the proposed cemetery at Colin Deep.
- 33 'The Wealdstone Burial Question' *THFT* 18 November 1892
- 34 'Harrow Weald Burial Ground' *THFT* 2 December 1892
- 35 'The Wealdstone Burial Question' *THFT* 27 January 1893, and 'Hendon' *THFT* 10 March 1893
- 36 'Hendon Ratepayers' Association' *THFT* 17 March 1893. See also 'Hendon Local Board' *THFT* 24 March 1893
- 37 'Hendon' *THFT* 7 April 1893. See also 'Letter to the Electors of Child's Hill and Cricklewood Ward' *THFT* 19 October 1894
- 38 'The Finchley Local Board and the Marylebone Cemetery' *THFT* 18 August 1893
- 39 See also 'The Cemetery Rating Question' *THFT* 15 March 1895 and also 'Finchley Cemeteries Assessment' *THFT* 16 April 1897 and 'Finchley' *THFT* 24 September 1897. See also much discussion in the local press during 1889.
- 40 By 5 June 1896 the *THFT* was referring to the cemetery's 'recently acquired land.'
- 41 'The Proposed Jews' Cemetery' *THFT* 24 March 1894, and 'Proposed Jewish Cemetery in Golders Green' *THFT* 30 March 1894. See also 'Hendon' *THFT* 6 April 1894
- 42 See Lambert D *Willesden Jewish Cemetery Conservation Plan* (undated)
- 43 'Hendon' *THFT* 25 May 1894, and 'Jews Cemetery Approved Conditionally' *THFT* 25 May 1894
- 44 'Hendon' *THFT* 13 December 1895
- 45 'Local Paragraphs' *THFT* 21 May 1897
- 46 'Hendon' *THFT* 28 June 1895
- 47 'Hendon' *THFT* 28 June 1895
- 48 'Hendon' *THFT* 2 October 1896. The estate agents Cluttons appear to be involved in this matter and communicated with Hendon Local Board. See 'Report of the Works Committee' *THFT* 16 October 1896
- 49 'Hendon' *THFT* 23 October 1896
- 50 'A Threatened Danger. Encroachment on Open Space at Hampstead' *British Medical Journal* 10 October 1896 pp1044-1045
- 51 Clarke JM (2006) *The Brookwood Necropolis Railway* Usk: Oakwood Press
- 52 'Enlargement of Hampstead Cemetery' *THFT* 14 December 1900
- 53 'The College owned large areas of land in London which had formerly been the holdings of the Hospital of St James' Hospital, on the site of which was built St James' Palace. The college was given the hospital and its lands in 1448 by Henry VI, and the lands in the Hampstead area are the last remaining of this property still owned by the college, known as the Chalcots and Wilds estate. In the 19<sup>th</sup> century, much of this land was sold off or exchanged, in particular to the railways, and for the Hampstead Heath extension and Hampstead Garden Suburbs. Unfortunately, I cannot find

any evidence of a sale regarding the Provost and Fellows and this land.’ (from Liz Kettle, Archivist at Eton College. 4 March 2019)

<sup>54</sup> Hackney Archive D/B/ABN/4/3

<sup>55</sup> ‘Proposed Cemetery at Golders Green’ 30 October 1896 *THFT*. See ‘The Cemetery Question’ *THFT* 23 October 1896

<sup>56</sup> ‘Hendon’ *THFT* 6 November 1896

<sup>57</sup> ‘Proposed Cemetery at Golders Hill’ *THFT* 6 November 1896. Sir Spencer Wells died on 31 January 1896. See ‘Death of Sir Spencer Wells’ *THFT* 5 February 1897. Following his death there was an attempt to incorporate his estate into part of Hampstead Heath. See ‘Hendon’ *THFT* 27 August 1897

<sup>58</sup> Ibid. See also ‘Proposed Cemetery at Golders Green’ *THFT* 13 November 1896, and ‘More Opposition to the Cemetery’ *THFT* 13 November 1896. See also *The Builders’ Journal and Architectural Record* 11 November 1896 p219

<sup>59</sup> ‘The Abney Park Cemetery’ *THFT* 12 March 1897

<sup>60</sup> ‘Hendon District Council’ *THFT* 2 April 1897. See Rugg J (**Forthcoming**) **concerning the cemeteries opened under the Public Health Interment Act 1879 XXXXX**

<sup>61</sup> <https://wellcomelibrary.org/moh/report/b19791641/9#?c=0&m=0&s=0&cv=6&h=Death&z=-0.5127%2C-0.2147%2C2.1961%2C0.8573> (accessed 25 March 2019)

<sup>62</sup> Hackney Archive

<sup>63</sup> ‘Report of Cemetery Committee’ *THFT* 28 May 1897. See also Report of Works Committee’ *THFT* 18 November 1898. The Council was then approached with a view to purchase all Mr Barham’s land at Tithe Farm for cemetery purposes. ‘Report of Works Committee’ *THFT* 17 February 1899

<sup>64</sup> ‘Hendon’ *THFT* 16 December 1898

<sup>65</sup>

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<sup>66</sup> ‘Hendon’ *THFT* 10 March 1899. See ‘Cemetery in Hendon’ *THFT* 10 March 1899

<sup>67</sup> ‘Hendon District Council’ *THFT* 17 March 1899

<sup>68</sup> See *The Hackney and Kingsland Gazette* 20 December 1901

<sup>69</sup> ‘Report of Works Committee’ *THFT* 14 April 1899

<sup>70</sup> ‘The New Cemetery at Hendon. Indignant Residents’ (1899) *The Undertakers’ Journal* April p46. See also ‘Hendon Park Cemetery’ (1899) June p75

<sup>71</sup> ‘Report of Works Committee’ 12 May 1899 *THFT*. See ‘Report of Works Committee’ *THFT* 9 June 1899

<sup>72</sup> ‘Report of Works Committee’ *THFT* 12 May 1899

<sup>73</sup> Ibid

<sup>74</sup> ‘Noted’ *THFT* 12 May 1899

<sup>75</sup> ‘Finchley District Council’ *THFT* 16 June 1899

<sup>76</sup> ‘Hendon’ *THFT* 18 August 1899

<sup>77</sup> ‘The Proposed Catholic Cemetery’ *THFT* 18 August 1899

<sup>78</sup> ‘Cemetery Mill Hill’ *THFT* 15 September 1899

<sup>79</sup> ‘Hendon District Council’ *THFT* 26 January 1900. ‘Report of Finance Committee’ *THFT* 13 April 1900 *THFT*

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<sup>81</sup> ‘Death of Miss Bankart’ 21 September 1900 *THFT*

<sup>82</sup> ‘Local Paragraphs’ 21 December 1900 *THFT*

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<sup>84</sup> ‘A visit to Hendon Cemetery’ *The Undertakers’ Journal* October 1899 pp134-134a

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<sup>89</sup> ‘Hendon Park Cemetery. Opening Ceremony’ (1903) *The Undertakers’ Journal* p161

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- <sup>92</sup> *The Undertakers' Journal* 15 July 1903 p161. Dr Robert Forman Horton MA (Oxon) DD (Yale), The Chesils, Christ Church Rd Hampstead. Minister of Hampstead Congregational Church.
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- <sup>110</sup> Jupp and Grainger (2002) *Golders Green Crematorium 1902-2002. A London Centenary in Context* London: The London Cremation Company
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- <sup>116</sup> Parsons B (2014) *The Undertaker at Work: 1900-1950* London: Strange Attractor pp85-97
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- <sup>118</sup> Hackney Archive
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- <sup>128</sup> 'Roundabout Notes' *Middlesex County Times* 19 November 1965
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- 139 See Parsons B (2018) 'The History of Mortlake Crematorium' *The Acton Historian* No16 May pp12-19
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- 153 'Roundabout Notes: Field for Public Activity' *Middlesex County Times* 15 August 1959
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- 157 'Roundabout Notes: A Cemetery Smile' *Middlesex County Times* 26 March 1960
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- 161 'Cllr Decided not to Stand Again' *Middlesex County Times* 29 July 1966
- 162 'Crematorium is Planned by the Council' *Middlesex County Times* 30 December 1966
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- 164 *Middlesex Country Times* 17 March 1967. See also 'It was so nice' *Middlesex County Times* 5 May 1967. It is ironic that whilst the Greenford Park crematorium was being discussed, one of the new played staged during June 1967 at the Questors Theatre in Ealing was called 'Private Fires' (by Fred Watson) which was a '...wild macabre farce set in a crematorium. The proprietors of the crematorium company have a shady past. Their secretary murdered her father, and the cleaner had a lover who cemented her husband's body into the foundations. The final solution is

unexpected but involved the crematorium starting up in a new lines of business.' *Middlesex County Times* 9 June 1967 and 23 June 1967

<sup>165</sup> *Ealing Gazette* 27 October 1967

<sup>166</sup> 'Limit Bar may Hit Plan for Crematorium' *Middlesex County Times* 15 December 1967

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<sup>168</sup> *Middlesex Country Times* 5 January 1968

<sup>169</sup> See Jupp PC (2006) *From Dust to Ashes. Cremation and the British Way of Death* Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan

<sup>170</sup> Unattributed and undated newspaper cutting adhered to the Abney Park Cemetery Company, Limited secretary's report Tuesday 10 October 1911, held in Hackney Archive. Subsequently identified as 'London Day by Day: Cremation Unpopular' *Sheffield Daily Telegraph* 24 October 1911

<sup>171</sup> Document held in Hackney Archive

<sup>172</sup> Parsons B (2015) 'The Centenary of West Norwood Crematorium' *ICCM Journal* Vol 83 No 4 pp57-65

<sup>173</sup> Hackney Archive.

<sup>174</sup> 'The City of London as Undertaker' (1903) *The Undertakers' Journal* October p219

<sup>175</sup> Arthur Lockwood was superintendent at West Norwood Cemetery. He lived at 75 Creswick Road West Norwood before retiring to Mount Pleasant, Church Road, Tankerton, Kent.

<sup>176</sup> 'Gas Cremation' (1922) *The Undertakers' Journal* March p89

<sup>177</sup> 'Cremation by Gas. Experiment at Mill Hill' *THFT* 11 March 1922

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<sup>181</sup> See Parsons B (2016) 'A Tale of Two Cemeteries – Securing new burial space in London during the inter-war years' *ICCM Journal* Nov 84 No 3 pp18-59

<sup>182</sup> *Hendon Times* 15 July 1955

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<sup>184</sup> See 'Federation of British Cremation Authorities' Sixth Conference report. Piggott AE (1927) 'Burial and the Ratepayers. The Financial Advantages of Cremation' *The Undertakers' Journal* June pp205-208

<sup>185</sup> Parsons B (2017) 'Funeral Directors and the Promotion of Cremation: A Regional Perspective' *Pharos International* Vol 83 No 3 pp32-41