A Brief History of Cremation: The Manchester Experience

The following article was originally published in the Manchester Genealogist Volume 37/2 in 2001. It examines the history of cremation and discusses some interesting aspects of the demographics of cremation at Manchester Crematorium during its early years.
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"The first cremation took place at the new crematorium on Monday and was very successfully performed. The body cremated was that of the late Mr. Thomas Morgan Brown a gentleman of the age of 84 who had resided at Carlisle. The process of reducing the body to ashes took over an hour. The removal of the deceased from Carlisle to the Manchester Crematorium was carried out under the supervision of Messrs. Kendal Milne & Co. of this city". (Manchester Courier, August 1892)

Cremation of the dead is an ancient practice. There is evidence of cremation dating back to 3000BC and it was extensively practiced until the Roman invasion. It then fell from favour in the second century as Christian beliefs in resurrection took hold and was not to be revived until almost the end of the 19th century.

The Return of Cremation to England

The start of modern cremation may be traced to a paper on the subject presented to the Medical International Congress of Florence by Professors Coletti and Castiglione in 1869. A period of debate and experimentation followed. One of the early experiments was carried out at Dresden in October of 1874 with the testing of a cremation furnace designed by Herr Siemens. What makes this notable is neither the process nor the venue but the subject, Lady Dilke, who had died in London some weeks before and whose body had been brought to Dresden for cremation. The process, which was viewed by a large number of scientists and is described in grisly detail in a report to The Times of 14 October, was concluded successfully, reducing the body to 6lb of ash within 75 minutes.

Cremation societies began to appear throughout Europe during the 1870s but Italy remained in the forefront and A "Temple of Cremation" opened in Milan early in 1876 with the cremation of a Signor Kelter. The practice was promoted by Garibaldi who requested in his will that his body should be cremated. His wish was carried out at Milan following his death in 1882 though not without some opposition from his family. That Italy, given Papal opposition to the practice, should be in the forefront of its development, may appear odd but this was a period of anti-clericalism in Italy. Cremation provided a focus for opposition to church teaching. Germany's first official crematorium opened at Gotha at the end of 1878 and over the next two years some 34 bodies were cremated there. Around the same time cremation was legalised in both France and Switzerland.

There was considerable public debate about the practical benefits and the theological reservations which surrounded this controversial practice. The 1850s had seen a significant change with Burial Acts introduced to prohibit further burials in city churchyards and church vaults, both of which had become insanitary as a result of excessive numbers of interments. This had
led to the creation of new municipal cemeteries but at the same time it was recognised that this new capacity was finite and in the longer term provided only a temporary solution. Argument in favour of cremation both to avoid the need for ever-expanding cemeteries and as a more hygienic method of disposal became more widespread.

Manchester was in the forefront of this argument. In 1874 the Bishop of Manchester, James Fraser, when consecrating the new cemetery at Halliwell, near Bolton, pointed to the need to consider alternative methods to dispose of the dead. He commented that he “felt a certain shudder at the idea of burning the dead and yet felt that the time might come when the idea would have become familiar to their minds and in an hundred years or so it might become the custom for bodies to be burnt”. He rejected theological arguments that cremation would prevent the resurrection of the deceased at the day of judgement saying he " wished his hearers to disassociate the resurrection from the physical condition" and that “the omnipotence of God is not limited and he would raise the dead whether he has to raise our bodies out of churchyards or whether he has to call our remains like the remains of some ancient Roman out of the urn in which they were deposited 2000 years ago”.

The Cremation Society of England, formed in 1874, had established the first British crematorium at Woking in 1876 under the supervision of an Italian expert, Professor Gorini. The Society was, however, prevented by the Home Office from operating the facility until the landmark court case of R vs Price in 1884 when Sir James Stephen ruled that cremation was not unlawful provided there was no nuisance to others. The first cremation, that of the body of Miss Jeannette C. Pickersgill, took place the following year and thereafter a small but steadily increasing number of cremations was conducted at Woking.

The Establishment of the Manchester Crematorium

With the de facto legalisation of cremation, Manchester was quick to follow Woking's lead. A cremation society was formed in 1888 and in 1890 established the Manchester Cremation Company with capital of £10,000 raised by subscription. The list of subscribers is headed by the Dukes of Westminster and Sutherland and one of the most vocal proponents of cremation in England, Sir Henry Thompson. The subscriber list includes representatives of many prominent Manchester families including the mercantile family of Behrens and the solicitor Richard Marsden Pankhurst, husband of the more famous Emmeline.

The company originally hoped that a crematorium could be constructed at Southern Cemetery but the Municipal Parks and Cemeteries Committee rejected their approaches on the grounds that they had no authority to carry out cremations. It seems probable that this was a convenient excuse to avoid involvement in what was likely to be a controversial development. In the end, the company purchased 6.75 acres of land on Barlow Moor Road close to Southern Cemetery for £750 from the Egerton Estate and at the further cost of £6,560-19s-8d built a crematorium with chapel and columbarium (a covered
walk with niches for urns) to the Romanesque design of Alfred E. Steinthal (1859-1928) of the company Steinthal and Salomons.

The new crematorium was officially opened on 2 October 1892 by the Duke of Westminster, one of its leading subscribers, a prominent campaigner for cremation and who was himself subsequently cremated at Woking. By this time, however, two cremations had already been carried out. The first cremation, that of Thomas Morgan Brown, was a decidedly low-key occasion. Mr. Brown was not a Mancunian. At the time of his death he was a resident of Carlisle but he had previously spent some 40 years in the United States. He had requested in his will that his body should be cremated and on 22 August 1892 the hearse, with his body in a plain spruce coffin, arrived at the crematorium accompanied by a single coach carrying one of his executors. There was, at Mr. Brown's wish, no religious service. Mr. Henry Simon, whose company had supplied the cremation apparatus, set the process in motion and "the doors opened, the coffin ran on the level into the furnace. In about an hour all that remained of the body was a handful of calcined dust which was placed in an urn and handed to Mr. Brown's executor". Despite the lack of ceremony, the report which appeared in the Manchester City News the following day commented "The supporters of the cremation movement are to be congratulated upon the handsome appearance of the building, the completeness of the arrangements for cremation and the simple and reverent manner in which they have arranged for the same to be carried out".

The registers and most other early records of the Crematorium were lost when the company's office in York Street, Manchester, was destroyed during the winter blitz of 1940. The company, however, did publish an annual report and a number of these covering up to 1912, sadly with many gaps, are deposited at Manchester Central Library. We are fortunate though that the company chose in 1900 to include in that year's report a list of the first 412 persons cremated up to that time. The report lists the name of each person together with their age and town of residence as well as the date of their cremation. This limited information allows us some insight into the nature of those individuals who chose cremation over burial. It is not surprising that the names of a number of the subscribers to the Company or members of their families appear in the list.

Despite the arguments in its favour, the uptake of cremation was far from rapid. In the eight years since the first cremation at Woking only 360 cremations had taken place in Britain. Following Thomas Morgan Brown's cremation on 22 August 1892, there were only two further cremations at Manchester that same year. In the following years the numbers were:

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The national total by 1912 stood at 10648 of which Manchester accounted for some 16%.

The Demographics of Manchester’s Early Cremations

From the surviving list of the names of those cremated up to 1900, we may arrive at some conclusions about the nature of those who chose or whose families chose cremation in preference to burial. We are fortunate that many of these people were born before 1881 and so some further information can be obtained from the census returns for that year which have helpfully been transcribed and published on CDROM by the Mormon Church in association with the Federation of Family History Societies. We can see that the list consists of predominantly middle class male adults, the majority of whom lived in or close to Manchester but with significant numbers from further afield. There is also a noticeable number of names which appear to be of European, predominantly German, origin.

The gender of those cremated can only be inferred from their names. There are, however, none which are ambiguous in this respect and only two stillborn babies cannot be assigned a gender. Of the remaining 410 names, 273 were male and 137 female. This is almost exactly two to one. There seems to be no obvious reason why this should be the case. Does it perhaps reflect a divergence of theological belief between men and women? Did men take a more pragmatic and women a more cautious position on the issue?

The register does not provide any reliable information by which we can judge the social class to which the deceased belonged. It is here that the 1881 census has its value. From the ages and dates of cremation recorded we can calculate that 364 of the 412 were born before 1881 and should, in theory at least, be found in the census returns for that year. Some are, of course, not identifiable. Some of the younger women possibly appear in the register under their married name but were unmarried in 1881 and their maiden name is unknown. A small number will have been born outside mainland Britain and so do not appear in the census. Still more may appear but their names have been mis-recorded or mis-transcribed during enumeration or mis-read during indexing. The great majority have fairly common names and simply cannot be identified with certainty. Nevertheless, 185, a little over half, have been identified with a measure of confidence.

Of the families identified in the census, it is apparent that they come predominantly from the middle classes. Typical occupations of individuals or their spouses or parents include merchants (38), manufacturers (20), agents of various types (15) retailers of various types (11), schoolteachers (9), doctors (7), engineers (7) and solicitors (5). Ten of those identified described themselves as "gentleman/woman" or as living on dividend income. There were also three ministers of religion, an Anglican, a Methodist and a Unitarian.
By contrast, only about ten per cent of those identified could be described as working class. Seventeen of those identified might be described as working class including three railway workers, four warehousemen/storekeepers, two fitters and a bricklayer, a gardener and a silk weaver. One of the working class individuals was a servant to one of the Cremation Company's subscribers and another was sufficiently prosperous to employ a domestic servant. There are no labourers or other unskilled workers amongst those families identified.

It is possible that the working classes were to some extent excluded from cremation by its higher cost when set against burial. The price of a basic cremation was £5-5s-0d and to this could be added a further £1-1s-0d for the clergyman and 15s-0d for burial of the ashes in the grounds. A niche would cost a further £2-12s-6d in the outside columbarium or £5-5s-0d inside the chapel to which a further £1-1s-0d would be added for carving the inscription on the slab. By comparison, a simple burial for an adult might cost as little as 10s or for a child 7s with the clergyman charging a further 2s 6d. Furthermore, burial might be available close to home while cremation would involve a time-consuming and costly journey to the one crematorium in south Manchester. The company was not unaware of the high cost of cremation to poorer families and from the outset introduced a reduced scale of charges for "the working classes or those of limited means" though it is unclear how this qualification was determined. The reduced charge of £2-2s-0d covered cremation and a simple urn. A niche in the outside columbarium could be obtained for a further £1-1s-0d. Nevertheless, this still compared unfavourably with the cost of a simple burial and the poorest would still have a strong financial dis-incentive. There are no figures available for the number of cremations undertaken at the reduced rate until 1909 by which time they accounted for 46 of that year's 117 cremations (39%) so there would seem to have been some change by this time in the social background of those cremated. In addition to the economic barriers, the working classes may have held more traditional attitudes to burial and perhaps took longer to accept the practice.

The ages of the deceased are recorded in the register in every case. Only 54 cremations (13%) involved a person under the age of 21, the age at which the deceased might have had some say in the matter before his death. More strikingly, only 19 cremations (4.6%) involved infants of one year or younger. This appears considerably lower than might be expected given the high levels of infant mortality at the time (in the UK in 1900 there were 147 infant deaths per 1000 live births). One might have expected around 180 individuals under 21 and 90 infants had typical mortality patterns been reflected in the register. It seems unlikely that the disproportionate cost of cremating a child (reduced rates for infants did not appear until somewhat later) is the explanation since, as we have seen, these were not families for whom cost would have been a serious consideration. Neither does there seem to be an answer in the legal requirement for cremation that the deceased had expressed a wish for this means of disposing of their remains. If this was the case we might expect to find no minors at all in the register. A part of the explanation may be that given
the middle class nature of those cremated infant and child mortality was lower than the average for the population as a whole. This does not seem, however, to explain the size of the difference.

Did parents, perhaps, believe that it was acceptable to make a decision for themselves which might imperil their bodily resurrection but that it was not acceptable to make the decision on behalf of their children? Did grieving parents choose burial so as to have the focus of a grave for their grief and by which to remember their child? This is an intriguing question which would bear further examination.

The substantial majority but by no means all of those cremated at Manchester during this period were from the Manchester area including north Cheshire. By 1900 there were still only four crematoria in operation, Liverpool and Glasgow having opened in 1895 and 1896 respectively. One might reasonably expect the clientele to be drawn from further afield and this is borne out by the records for this period. While the considerable majority (259) of the 412 cremations up to 1900 gave Lancashire addresses (with Manchester and it suburbs predominating) and a further 57 Cheshire addresses, 23 came from Yorkshire and 11 from Warwickshire. Other counties with significant numbers were Leicester (8), and Nottingham and Durham (7 each). Eight came from various Welsh towns and two individuals from as far afield as Devon and Essex. The addresses for two ladies are given respectively as Berlin and Wiesbaden in Germany and it may be that they were visitors to German families resident in Manchester or the wives of visiting businessmen. One of these, Louise Merttens, might possibly have been a relation of the merchant Frederick Merttens, one of the Crematorium Company's subscribers.

There was a German connection with the Crematorium from the outset. One of the driving forces for its construction and one of only two subscribers of £500 was the merchant Henry Simon of Didsbury. Simon, despite his apparently English name, was born in Silesia in 1835 but left Germany as a young man and completed his studies in Switzerland. In the 1860s he arrived in Manchester where he became a successful civil and mechanical engineer. Simon also, in the best traditions of successful industrialists, was involved in both cultural and philanthropic activities. He was a substantial benefactor of Manchester University and supporter of the Halle orchestra. In addition to his support for education and culture, he was also an active supporter of the cremation movement. He brought not only financial support to the enterprise but also his practical skills by personally designing the cremation furnaces. Simon lived to see the venture well on the way to being a commercial success but died before cremation had become widely accepted and was cremated at Manchester in 1899. The Simon family connection with the venture was not, however, severed and the family remain involved in the running of the Company up to the present day.

Henry Simon was a prominent member of Manchester's German community. For a time he was President of the Schiller Society and a member of the committee of the "Society for the Relief of Really Deserving Distressed
Foreigners" along with several other German-born businessmen. It seems likely that he would have canvassed the support of Manchester's German businessmen when it came to raising funds for the Crematorium. The list of subscribers to the Crematorium Company published in 1892 names 288 subscribers. No fewer than 65 of these have names such as Baumann, Melhaus and Stadelbauer which suggest continental, predominantly German, origins and there is, of course, Simon himself. These names represent some 23% of the number of subscribers and £1692 (28%) of the £5993 capital subscribed to date). Many of these subscribers are described as merchants.

Whilst it is not, perhaps, so surprising that Manchester’s German mercantile community should invest in an undertaking promoted by one of its members, it is perhaps a little more surprising that the names of Manchester's German and other European families should appear prominently in the register of cremations. There are, in fact some 51 persons whose names are of foreign, predominantly Germanic, appearance. This suggests that as many as 12% of those cremated were of European extraction.

Returning to the 1881 census, 28 of the 51 with "foreign" names were positively identified and with two exceptions (Victor Julius Möller was born in Stretford but the umlaut strongly suggests foreign-born parents and Charles Kurtz was English-born though clearly not of an English paternal line) each was found either to have been born in continental Europe, to be the son of a European father or, in one case, to be the nephew of a German-born head of household. Twenty of those identified as "foreigners" were found to be either German-born or to have German-born parents. The others included three Swedes, two Frenchmen and one each Belgian, Swiss and Spanish.

While one would have wished to find all of the names of those apparently foreign-born, there are good reasons why this might not be possible. Firstly, eight were born after the census date and others may not have been in England as early as 1881. Secondly, it is quite possible that "foreign" names were recorded phonetically by the enumerator or have been mis-transcribed during the compilation of the index (or both). Finally, some of the women may have been unmarried in 1881 and recorded under their maiden names. The sample is sufficient, however, to confirm a "foreign" name as a sound basis to assume the person was of European birth or had European-born parents.

Manchester had a substantial foreign-born population by the late 19th century, many of whom had come to the city as merchants. It is difficult to arrive at a meaningful total for the city since those of foreign birth are distributed throughout the city's many suburbs and it is easier to look at the totals for the county as a whole. Lancashire, according to the 1881 census, contained a total of 3,467,851 people. Of these 5044 were born in Germany or one of the Germanic states. The number of those recorded as German-born is approaching 0.2% of the population of the county. Against this, their representation in the Crematorium register looks considerably greater than would be expected.
This disproportionate number of European, particularly German people in the register calls for some explanation. Clearly, given the significant number of Europeans among the subscribers, one would expect this to carry over into the register but only 23 of those cremated were either subscribers or appeared to be related to subscribers and of these only 7 were of European extraction. It is tempting to think that European immigrants were already familiar with cremation in their own countries and brought a preference with them. This does not seem a particularly promising explanation, however, since although cremation had been introduced into Germany and other continental countries a decade earlier many of the families concerned had been living in England since well before the opening of the Gotha crematorium. It is almost certain, however, that those in England would have been aware of developments in Europe both through family connections and through the extensive coverage by the newspapers of the time.

That many Europeans in Manchester were merchants or professionals such as doctors, schoolteachers or manufacturing chemists would place them well within the middle classes and we have already seen that cremation was much more common among this group than among the working class. A part of the answer may simply be that Europeans formed a higher percentage of Manchester's middle class than they did of the population as a whole.

Another part of the answer may lie in religious belief, particularly concerning the resurrection of the dead on the Day of Judgement. When cremation was first introduced into this country, the reaction of the Church of England was broadly hostile. Opposition by the Roman Catholic Church was absolute and a ban was imposed by the Pope in 1886. Those involved in organising a cremation were to be excommunicated. In 1890, the Roman Catholic Archbishop Vaughan warned Catholics "not to become involved with the Cremation Society as he regarded cremation as a pagan rite". The Papal ban remained in place until 1963 though it appears to have been a dead letter after the 1940s. The Continental Protestant churches appear to have had fewer reservations and while not actively promoting cremation raised fewer dogmatic objections. It seems likely that Manchester's European residents were simply more open to the idea than the indigenous population.

It is interesting to note that in 1881, some 1437 people in Lancashire gave their birthplace as France. France was at this time a predominantly Roman Catholic country and papal opposition has already been noted. It is perhaps then unsurprising that only two people of French extraction appear among those whose origins were positively identified. The name of one of these, Charles August Wilkens, suggests he was possibly born in France of English parents and so may be discounted. A third person, whose name suggested French extraction (Felix Cateaux), was, in fact, born in Belgium in which there were both substantial Catholic and Protestant communities.
Crematorium Costs and Income

Cremation, as we have seen, was slow to gain popularity. The earliest profit & loss accounts available are those published in 1909 which show a profit on operations of only £49-19s-5d and an accumulated surplus of £240-18s-6d. This is based upon a total of 106 cremations during that year. For the first six years, fewer than half this number of cremations took place and so income was probably reduced pro-rata. While operating costs would also have been somewhat lower, it seems unlikely they would have been halved and the crematorium would have struggled to break even. The Company probably moved into profitability shortly after the turn of the century.

Business was increasing slowly but interest (or curiosity) was growing rapidly and the crematorium found a useful source of income in the 3d charge levied upon visitors who in 1909 totalled some 1130 and generated a quarter of the profit for the year. Over 5000 more visited over the following three years. Possibly these visits helped the gradual change of attitudes to cremation. From 1909 onwards, profit increased steadily and by 1912 had reached £428-3s-0d. The crematorium began 1913 with operating reserves exceeding £1000.

Even by 1910 the reports comment that the small number of cremations did not allow the furnaces to be operated efficiently. The average cost of fuel (coke) for each cremation was about 10s 4d. This cost was to be dramatically reduced both by the increased level of use and particularly by the introduction of gas furnaces in the early 1930s. By 1948 fuel was estimated to cost 6d per cremation which rose, as a result of inflation, to 6s 11d by 1957. During this same time, the standard charge for cremation rose only to £6-6s-0d.

Another snapshot of the Crematorium's profitability comes in a newspaper report of the Company AGM in 1944. Manchester Crematorium Ltd. was by this time a very profitable concern and the gross profit for 1944, despite charging a price which had risen by only 20% over 52 years, was £6018. A shareholder dividend of 10% was declared as a result.

The Development of Cremation in the 20th Century

At a national level, by 1908 only about 800 cremations were taking place each year despite the construction of several further crematoria. By the end of the Great War burial still accounted for 99% of all funerals. Attitudes to death and the disposal of remains began to change following the carnage of 1914-18. The theological argument that the body had to be preserved and given a "decent burial" so as to be ready for resurrection on the Day of Judgement became untenable in the light of the 50% of those killed whose remains were never discovered and in many cases had probably been totally destroyed. What sense could there be in denying these brave men resurrection? One of the principal arguments against cremation had become less convincing.
Between the wars there was steady growth in the preference for cremation. 1,279 cremations in the year the first world war began had grown to nearly 20,000 by the start of the second. By 1946 the number had leapt to over 50,000, carried out in 58 crematoria. Whilst still the choice for the minority of funerals, the preference for cremation was now growing strongly. Over the previous two decades the Church had become more supportive and the cremation firstly of Archbishop Temple in 1944 and of Archbishop Wells in 1946 clearly demonstrated a change in church thinking. Several minor members of the Royal Family had also been cremated which added a further seal of respectability and acceptability of the practice.

At the beginning of 1945 Manchester Crematorium was operating close to full capacity. Plans were made for a second chapel at the crematorium following a total of 2515 cremations in 1944 - an increase of 34% over the previous year. This second chapel was to be built on land purchased 2-3 years previously but post-war constraints on building prevented the immediate implementation of this plan and the new chapel did not open until 1954.

As the popularity of cremation increased, the landmark one hundredth crematorium was opened in 1957 in Salford. The number of cremations at Manchester reached its peak level (5088) in 1952 and began thereafter to decline. This was not because of any falling off in the popularity of cremation, quite the contrary. It was becoming ever more likely that there would be a crematorium closer to home with new crematoria opening at Middleton in 1952, Oldham and Dukinfield in 1953, Bolton in 1954 and at Eccles in 1955. As a result, the number of cremations at Manchester quickly fell to around 3000 per annum and has declined somewhat further in more recent years. Manchester, however, retains an impressive record. In just over a century, there have been some 218,000 cremations at Manchester, a total exceeded only by the Golders Green (219,000) and and City of London (303,000) crematoria.

It was not until 1968 that cremation finally overtook burial in popularity as religious attitudes continued to change and the relative cost of cremation fell below that of burial. Bishop Fraser's 1874 comment that cremation might become widely accepted in 100 years time was surprisingly prescient. Cremation today accounts for about 72% of Britain's funerals, placing us amongst the countries with the highest percentage of cremations. Despite this, over 150,000 burials take place each year and many of those municipal cemeteries established in the wake of the Burial Acts of the 1850s are reaching capacity. Serious thought is again being given to the problems created by the disposal of the remains of the dead.

During the extensive debates which attended the introduction of cremation, one strong argument against the practice was that it would result in the inability to produce forensic evidence if foul play was suspected at a later date. The Brodick Committee Report published in 1971 concluded, in respect of this problem "...the present system of medial certification applying only to cremation should be ABOLISHED. The Committee considers that it gives only an illusion of security against a threat which it believes to be VIRTUALLY
NON-EXISTENT". The recent case of Dr. Harold Shipman has put this problem back into the spotlight since several of his suspected victims were cremated and without forensic evidence it may be impossible to prove the cause of their deaths conclusively. It remains to be seen whether this case will prompt a review of the regulations.

Although the trend towards cremation and away from cemetery burial continues, crematoria have in recent years become subject to increasingly stringent environmental controls and this has resulted in substantial increases in costs. The climate change levy is but the latest of these impositions. There are stirrings of interest in ecologically friendly "woodland" burial and perhaps there will be a further change in our approach to the disposal of the remains of the dead over the next century though for the moment there does not appear to be any reversal of the trend towards cremation.

If you have been having problems finding your ancestor's last resting place and they died after 1892, have you considered the possibility that they were cremated at Manchester? The list of the first 412 cremations up to 1900 is available in the library at Clayton House (RM75). From 1900 to 23 December 1940, the records have been lost though you may still find a reference in a local newspaper death notice or there may be a memorial plaque at the crematorium. The Crematorium staff will answer enquiries relating to cremations after 1940 at no charge. Only the most recent records are on computer so it is recommended that you supply as precise a date of death as possible to assist them. Please address enquiries to Manchester Crematorium, Barlow Moor Road, Manchester M21 7GZ.

Acknowledgements and References

Particular thanks are due to Andrew Helsby, the Superintendent of Manchester Crematorium for his assistance.

Those wishing to know more about the history of the Manchester Crematorium are recommended to Chris Makepeace's excellent history of the company (below). A short biography of Henry Simon can be found in Anthony Simon's "The Simon Engineering Group". A good summary history of cremation and both national and international statistics can be found on the Cremation Society's Internet website at:

http://members.aol.com/cremsoc/CremHomeAlt.html

Further historical background appears in Curl's "The Victorian Celebration of Death"

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