THE EVOLUTION OF THE BRITISH FUNERAL INDUSTRY IN THE 20TH CENTURY: FROM UNDERTAKER TO FUNERAL DIRECTOR

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FROM UNDERTAKER TO FUNERAL DIRECTOR

BRIAN PARSONS



United Kingdom - North America - Japan India - Malaysia - China

Emerald Publishing Limited Howard House, Wagon Lane, Bingley BD16 1WA, UK

First edition 2018

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British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

ISBN: 978-1-78743-630-5 (Print) ISBN: 978-1-78743-629-9 (Online) ISBN: 978-1-78743-672-5 (Epub)



ISOQAR certified Management System, awarded to Emerald for adherence to Environmental standard ISO 14001:2004.

Certificate Number 1985 ISO 14001



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Abbreviations

Publications:

BMJ British Medical Journal FSJ Funeral Service Journal TUJ The Undertakers' Journal

TUFDJ The Undertakers' and Funeral Directors' Journal

BUA Monthly British Undertakers' Association Monthly

TNFD The National Funeral Director TFD The Funeral Director (Monthly)

Trade Associations:

BES British Embalmers' Society

BFWA British Funeral Workers' Association BIFD British Institute of Funeral Directors

BIE British Institute of Embalmers
BIU British Institute of Undertakers
BUA British Undertakers' Association

IBCA Institute of Burial and Cremation Administration
FBCA Federation of British Cremation Authorities/Federation

of Burial & Cremation Authorities

ICCM Institute of Cemetery and Crematorium Management

LAFD London Association of Funeral Directors

NACCS National Association of Cemetery (and Crematorium)

Superintendents

xii Abbreviations

NAFD National Association of Funeral Directors

NCDD National Council for the Disposition of the Dead

SAIF National Society of Allied and Independent Funeral

Directors

Others:

MMC Monopolies and Mergers Commission

OFT Office of Fair Trading

SCI Service Corporation International

Acknowledgments

I acknowledge the help of the following in the writing of this book:

Wellcome Library; London Library; British Library Newspaper Library; National Archive; New England Institute at Mount Ida College; David Kaye; Jacqui Lewis; Julie Callender and Tim Morris at the ICCM; the Revd. Dr. Peter Jupp; Dr. Julie Rugg; Stephen White; staff at J.H. Kenyon (the late Simon Constable and Dr. Philip Smyth); the late Barry Albin; Bunny and Michael France; Andrew and Peter Miller; Professor Robin Theobald; Jeremy and Charlie Field; colleagues at the University of Bath, particularly Dr. Kate Woodthorpe and Dr. John Troyer; Dr. Pam Fisher; Christopher Henley for access to material from his late father Des Henley; Jason Downing; Robert Lodge; Adrian Haler; the Revd Paul Sinclair; Sam Kershaw; Drawn Trigg and Sue Harvey at the F.W. Paine Museum in Kingston; Dean Reader and Sandra Mitchell of the Classic Hearse Register.



Preface

In 1963, Robert Habenstein and William Lamers published *The History* of American Funeral Directing. Now in its sixth edition, the volume traces the origins of funeral service in the United States from the Egyptians to contemporary times. The subject has since been brought even further upto-date by Gary Laderman's Rest in Peace: A Cultural History of Death and the Funeral Home in Twentieth-Century America. This side of the Atlantic, those wishing to investigate a similar period of history need only refer to Julian Litten's authoritative work *The English Way of Death: The* Common Funeral Since 1450. His survey, however, concludes towards the end of the nineteenth century. The intention of this book is to start at this point by providing a comprehensive account of how funeral service developed in Britain during the following 110 years. In a period that has seen a shift from burial to cremation, the replacement of the horse-drawn hearse by motor vehicles, the introduction of embalming and the growth of large funeral firms operating on a centralised basis, there has also been an increasing preference by the industry for the description 'undertaker' to be replaced with 'funeral director'. Endorsing the desire to be perceived as a professional, this new term reflects the increase in responsibility and complexity of funerals acquired during the twentieth century.

This book draws together research I have carried out over the last 20 years. Some material was presented in 1997 to the University of Westminster as a thesis entitled 'Change and Development in the British Funeral Industry, with Special Reference to the Period 1960–1990'. Teaching on the foundation degree in Funeral Service at the University of Bath prompted the revision of the original along with new material, a move greatly assisted by unlimited access to the *Undertakers' Journal/Funeral Service Journal* and the *BUA Monthly/National Funeral Director/Funeral Director Monthly*.

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The development of the British funeral industry is a vast subject. It is hoped that this first text on the subject will provide a good starting point for anyone wishing to become acquainted with a fascinating but largely unexplored part of our social and industrial history.

Brian Parsons

Introduction

The occupation of the undertaker first emerged in the seventeenth century as a supplier of coffins, funerary paraphernalia and the means of transport to the place of burial. However, as the disposal of the dead has gradually increased in complexity, the work and role of the undertaker has mirrored this change by beginning to include care for the body and provision of the place of repose in the interval between death and the funeral. This responsibility for the custody of and access to the dead has also presented the opportunity to carry out embalming. Other developments have also impacted on the role, such as changes to the production of coffins and the shift to motorised transport. These factors, together with the issue of succession for family funeral businesses, have coincided with the growth through acquisition of the large organisation. Managing funerals on a centralised basis where all capital-intensive resources are organised in a single location enables operational efficiencies to be achieved through the control of high fixed overheads. Despite this structural change, the independent/family owned business continues to dominate funeral service in the UK in terms of market share.

It is against this background of organisational change that the occupation has sought to reposition itself from 'undertaker' to 'funeral director' in an attempt to gain recognition as a professional service provider. The formation of a trade association, the launch of a code of practice, the education of funeral directors and attempts at registration have been components of this process. In striving for this status, however, the funeral director has been hindered by two key issues of stigmatisation: handling the dead and making a profit from loss.

Predominantly historical in approach, the first six chapters explore how care towards the body, coffins, transport and the structure of the industry have changed over the twentieth century. Chapter 1 examines the emergence of the first undertakers, followed by an appraisal of change during the nineteenth century. The concluding section identifies the three key factors that have impacted upon funeral directors during the twentieth century: custody of the dead body, cremation and the funeral reform movement. Chapters 2-6 explore the effects of these changes. Possession of the body and the provision of chapels of rest and embalming are covered in Chapters 2 and 3, while Chapter 4 examines how coffins have changed through increased use of technology and the impact of cremation. The shift from animate power to motor hearse together with the use of alternative funerary transport is considered in Chapter 5. The combined effects of these changes and the challenges facing small firms have enabled the growth of the large firms. This period of expansion is appraised in Chapter 6. The penultimate chapter assesses attempts by external organisations to regulate the industry in an attempt to control funeral costs, while the final chapter identifies seven key areas in the process of professionalisation as the undertaker has sought to become the funeral director.