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Dying to be Modern: Cataraqui Cemetery, Romanticism, Consumerism, and the Extension of Modernity in Kingston, Ontario, 1780-1900

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A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Doctor of Philosophy degree in History

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Abstract

Cataraqui Cemetery in Kingston, Ontario, is one of many garden cemeteries that were constructed in the nineteenth century as a marker of modernity and civility. Over the course of the nineteenth century, the changes to interment customs, spaces, and services that occurred in cemeteries like Cataraqui were key to the creation and expression of modernity in emerging Canadian cities. Garden Cemeteries not only provided more beautiful and healthful burial spaces, they gave expression to new configurations of the human relationship with the natural world, and provided new means of communicating spirituality, and respectability. Through the application of Romanticism and the absorption of consumerism, two dominant cultural trends of the nineteenth century, the cemetery became a central site of community and personal amelioration. The application of Romantic philosophical concepts to burial space allowed the creators of the garden cemetery to both extend and provide critique of the project of modernity and by the end of the nineteenth century, the cemetery was located firmly within the network of modern consumer society.

This dissertation seeks to reveal that burying the dead has always been about much more than burying the dead through an examination of the garden cemeteries of the nineteenth century as historically dynamic expressions of dominant social and cultural strands that developed over the course of the nineteenth century including Romanticism, Hygienic Reform, and consumerism.

Keywords

Cemetery, Death, Burial, Modernity, Romanticism, Consumerism, Canada,
Nineteenth-Century

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Introduction

Cataraqui Cemetery is only a few minutes' drive away from Kingston's city centre, though once inside, it feels as though it is worlds apart. Aside from the addition of modern monuments and headstones, the experience of a visit to the cemetery has changed very little. I visited Cataraqui Cemetery in October of 2015, after reading the Superintendent's reports, and was immediately struck by how the landscape I found was exactly the one that David Nicol had set out to create over 150 years before. The space is removed from the sights and noises of nearby Kingston, and in the silence, one is free to enjoy the sound of the birds, the rustle of the wind moving through the large trees, and the scrabbling of the squirrels—some of whom may be direct descendants of the two pairs of grey squirrels that David Nicol purchased from A.W. Bessas and liberated in the cemetery in an effort to create a more natural space.¹ The winding paths present a seemingly endless series of vistas featuring huge shade trees, tall, stately pines, and often-impressive monuments. If the more intrepid visitor ventures off the gravel path and across the lawn, the path almost immediately drops from view as it is swallowed by the rolling lawn. It is a space that seems untouched by time, and one that presents possibilities for reflection, exploration, and leisure, just as it did a century ago.

¹ Meeting, October, 1892. Cataraqui Cemetery Company Minutes, Book 2, 1890-1914, Cataraqui Cemetery Company Fonds, Queen's University Archives.



Plate 1 - Cataraqui Cemetery in autumn.

Modernity, Romanticism, and Consumerism

The garden cemeteries of the nineteenth century sit at the intersection of modernity, romanticism, and consumerism. The earliest example was Père Lachaise, founded in Paris in 1804, but it was the more naturalistic English garden cemeteries that were copied extensively. These new burial spaces represented one of many strategies for extending and confronting the project of modernity. In Britain and elsewhere, as cities grew and industrialized, inhabitants were compelled to create new means of confronting death that were progressive, but not wholly at odds with traditional forms. In the case of the garden cemetery, this was achieved through the reconfiguration of traditional burial spaces and cultural forms in order to create a more functional burial space that was still in keeping with Christian burial

practices. Although Protestant and Catholic communities constructed separate burial spaces for their dead, they were derived from a similar cultural impetus.² As in other cities, the Catholic diocese of Kingston created a separate garden cemetery called St. Mary's in 1856. According to an index housed at the Queen's University Archives, there are fairly extensive records associated with this cemetery, the Catholic Diocese of Kingston does not allow outside researchers access to these records. The records of the Presbyterian parishes in Kingston have similar limitations. Very little documentation from the nineteenth century remains and what is available is predominantly from the 1880s onward.

Modernity is best defined as a fundamental and all-encompassing phenomenon that is rooted in the industrial revolution and wherein the market economy, bureaucratization, rationalization, urbanization, and secularization prevailed.³ Although the formative strands of modernity were apparent long before the nineteenth century, it was not until the latter half of

² Examples of the presence of separate garden cemeteries for Protestants and Catholics respectively include, but are not limited to, Cataraqui Cemetery and St. Mary's Cemetery in Kingston, Mount Pleasant and Notre Dame des Neiges in Montreal, Beechwood Cemetery and Notre Dame Cemetery in Ottawa, and Woodland Cemetery and St. Peter's Cemetery in London, ON.

³ David Marshall, *Secularizing the Faith: Canadian Protestant Clergy and the Crisis of Belief, 1850-1940* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1992); Owen Chadwick, *The Secularization of the European Mind in the Nineteenth Century*, The Gifford Lectures in the University of Edinburgh (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975); David Collings, "After the Covenant: Romanticism, Secularization, and Disastrous Transcendence," in *Romanticism and Modernity*, ed. Thomas Pfau and Robert Mitchell (London: Routledge, Taylor & Francis, 2012), 65–82; Ramsay Cook, *The Regenerators: Social Criticism in Late Victorian English Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1985); Doug Oram, *The Government Generation: Canadian Intellectuals and the State, 1900-1945* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1986); Peter A. Baskerville, *Sites of Power: A Concise History of Ontario* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005).

the century that modernity was a hegemonic phenomenon that changed the way that people in North America and Europe lived and related to one another.⁴

As modernity subsumed many of the characteristics of Western life, it existed within a host of philosophical frameworks that served to extend, limit, and examine the modernist project. Romanticism was one such movement. Romanticism began as an artistic movement in late eighteenth-century Europe and was in part born out of a reaction to the reason and rationality of the Enlightenment. The movement reached its peak popularity around 1840, after which it fell out of fashion in literature and the visual arts. However, the philosophical underpinnings of the movement had helped give rise to modernism and proved well-suited to extending the modernist project. With an emphasis on subjectivity and the individual, Romanticism easily co-existed with growing industrial capitalism. Other elements, however, such as the need for emotional affect, authenticity, imagination, and beauty, allowed a sustained critique of many of the negative aspects of the modernist project without rejecting it altogether.⁵ Romanticism in its late nineteenth-century incarnation was at once a key strategy in extending the modern, progressive agenda and a sustained critique of that agenda. The result was a movement that was contradictory, flexible, adaptable, and greatly appealing to modern sensibilities.

Consumerism was also central to the project of modernity and was easily absorbed into the Romantic ethos because of its emphasis on the individual and its capacity for identity

⁴ Micheal Löwy and Robert Sayre, *Romanticism against the Tide of Modernity*, Post-Contemporary Interventions (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2001), 18-19.

⁵ Patricia Jasen, *Wild Things: Nature, Culture, and Tourism in Ontario, 1790-1914* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995), 7.

building.⁶ Though consumerism originated in the eighteenth century, and arguably had roots as early as the fifteenth century, it was not on its way to becoming the hegemonic phenomenon it is today until nineteenth-century mass production methods and the growing middle class allowed it to spread.⁷ The phenomena that allowed consumerism to take hold were replicated globally. Differences in consumer habits derived more geography and the availability of and access to goods rather than cultural inclination. Nineteenth-century consumerism was relatively homogenous and tended to focus on the acquisition of goods and services to enhance personal or familial status and comfort, and to bolster identity. The historiography of consumerism in Canada does not suggest the presence of “Canadian” consumer habits, but instead suggests that the consumption of goods and services in Canada was qualitatively similar to the experience elsewhere.⁸ Consumerism and Romanticism, both

⁶ Colin Campbell, *The Romantic Ethic and the Spirit of Modern Consumerism*, Blackwell Ideas (New York: Blackwell Publishing, 1989), 201.

⁷ Jan de Vries, *The Industrious Revolution: Consumer Behavior and the Household Economy, 1650 to the Present* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008); Frank Trentmann, *Empire of Things: How We Became a World of Consumers from the Fifteenth Century to the Twenty-First* (New York: Harper, an imprint of HarperCollins Publishers, 2016); Neil McKendrick, John Brewer, and J.H. Plumb, *The Birth of a Consumer Society: The Commercialization of Eighteenth-Century England* (London: Europa Publications, 1982); John Brewer and Roy Porter, eds., *Consumption and the World of Goods* (London: Routledge, 1993); John Brewer and Ann Bermingham, eds., *The Consumption of Culture, 1600-1800: Image, Object, Text* (London: Routledge, 1997).

⁸ Donica Belisle, *Retail Nation: Department Stores and the Making of Modern Canada* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2011); David Monod, *Store Wars: Shopkeepers and the Culture of Mass Marketing, 1890-1939* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996); Russell Johnston, *Selling Themselves: The Emergence of Canadian Advertising* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001); Susan Porter Benson, *Counter Cultures: Saleswomen, Managers, and Customers in American Department Stores* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1986); Vicki Howard, *From Main Street to Mall: The Rise and Fall of the American Department Store* (Philadelphia: University of Philadelphia Press, 2015); Micheal B. Miller, *The Bon Marché: Bourgeois Culture and the Department Store, 1869-1920* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981); Erika Diane Rappaport, *Shopping For Pleasure: Women in the Making of London's*

of which had their roots in the late eighteenth century, were intimately related to the nineteenth-century modernist project; in order to provide an account of the spread of modern attitudes through Canada's urban spaces, an exploration of these phenomena in relation to society and culture is necessary. The rise of the garden cemetery in Canadian cities is an excellent starting point for such a project. Burial practices and the cultural approach to death are as much a reflection of social attitudes towards life as they are to death. Additionally, burial practices were, and remain, one of the most intimate areas of life that is subject to outside surveillance, whether it be by religious authorities or the government. Examining the wholesale shift toward the use of garden cemeteries and the entrenchment of the funeral as a commodity in the nineteenth century in the context of Romanticism and Consumerism reveals that the garden cemetery was an expression of modernity and progress that was open to anyone who could afford it.

Romanticism was also intimately tied to the aesthetics of nature and how the natural world should be perceived, and eventually, consumed. There is an extensive British historiography that discusses the development of Romantic-era aesthetics and how they were eventually applied to the English landscape.⁹ In *Man and the Natural World*, Keith Thomas

West End (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000); Lise Sanders, *Consuming Fantasies: Labour, Leisure, and the London Shopgirl, 1880-1920* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 2006).

⁹ Keith Thomas, *Man and the Natural World: Changing Attitudes in England, 1500-1800* (London: Penguin Books, 1983); John Dixon Hunt, *Gardens and the Picturesque: Studies in the History of Landscape Architecture*. (Cambridge: Massachusetts Institute of Technology Press, 1992); D.D.C. Chambers, *The Planters of the English Landscape Garden: Botany, Trees, and the Georgics* (New Haven: Yale University Press for the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art, 1993); Peter Garside and Stephen Copley, eds., *The Politics of the Picturesque: Literature, Landscape, and Aesthetics since 1770* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995); Roger Turner, *Capability Brown and the Eighteenth Century English Landscape* (New York: Rizzoli International Publications, 1985); Stephen Daniels, *Humphrey Repton:*

traces the formative strands of Romanticism from 1500, when the place of humans as masters over the natural world was first challenged. Thomas traces the emergence of a new understanding of the relationship between humans and the natural world, one which situated humans within nature rather than separate from it. In England, the Romantic Movement changed not only how nature was described, but also how it was understood. The rise of Romanticism gave the features of the natural world, such as trees, flowers, and animals, new emotional resonance, and by 1800, the anthropocentrism of Tudor England had given way to the recognition that nature itself had intrinsic spiritual value.¹⁰ These developments were transported to British North America through exploration and subsequent colonization efforts when visitors to the new world increasingly applied vocabulary of the sublime, beautiful, and picturesque to the landscapes of the new world, and the encoded assumptions about “natural” reality along with them.¹¹ As nature was increasingly regarded as intrinsically valuable, the English aristocracy sought to surround themselves with it. The construction of professionally-designed landscape gardens was a key aspect of expressing taste and civility among the wealthy, and the aesthetic theory that gave rise to their development was deeply embedded in

Landscape Gardening and the Geography of Georgian England (New Haven: Yale University Press for the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art, 1999); W.G. Hoskins, *The Making of the English Landscape* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1977); David Watkin, *The English Vision: The Picturesque in Architecture, Landscape, and Garden Design* (New York: Harper & Row Publishers, 1982).

¹⁰ Keith Thomas, *Man and the Natural World*, 300-301.

¹¹ Patricia Jasen, *Wild Things: Nature, Culture, and Tourism in Ontario, 1790-1914* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995), 7; Marilyn J. McKay, *Picturing the Land: Narrating Territories in Canadian Landscape Art, 1500-1950* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2011), 49.

British society and transported abroad through the forces of colonialism and cultural transmission.

Accounts of the development and application of Romanticism in Canada are limited and tend to frame Romanticism as a key strategy in the colonization of the North American landscape by the British.¹² In *Wild Things: Nature, Culture, and Tourism in Ontario, 1790-1914*, Patricia Jasen describes “the enduring and central impotence of the Romantic sensibility to the culture, economics, and politics of the tourist industry and the role this played in the colonization process.”¹³ Jasen also suggests that the picturesque was key to the eventual commodification of the Ontarian landscape as a tourist destination after Confederation as Canada sought to assert its identity.¹⁴ Such an account provides a framework for the relationship between Romanticism, nature, and consumerism that helps elucidate the reasons for the rapid spread of the Garden Cemetery movement to British North America. Other interpretations of the place of the Romantic in Canada provide a more nuanced explanation of the place of Romanticism in Canada. In *Picturing the Land: Narrating Territories in Canadian Landscape Art, 1500-1950*, art historian Marilyn J. McKay describes how English Canada

¹² There is a fair amount of recent literature that explores the role of romanticism and the picturesque in the British imperial project: Elizabeth A. Bohls, *Slavery and the Politics of Place: Representing the Colonial Caribbean, 1730-1833* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014); Tim Fulford and Peter J. Kitson, eds., *Romanticism and Colonialism: Writing and Empire, 1780-1830* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998); Zahid R. Caudhary, *Afterimage of Empire: Photography in Nineteenth-Century India* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2012); C. A. Bayly, ed., *The Raj: India and the British, 1600-1947* (London: National Portrait Gallery Publications, 1990); Elizabeth A. Bohls, *Women Travel Writers and the Language of Aesthetics, 1716-1818* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995).

¹³ Jasen, *Wild Things*, 49.

¹⁴ For the constructions of Canadian identity in the nineteenth century, see: Carl Berger, *The Sense of Power: Studies in the Ideas of Canadian Imperialism, 1867-1914*. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2013); Jonathan F. Vance, *A History of Canadian Culture* (Don Mills: Oxford University Press, 2009).

turned to Romantic modes of representation and expression in the nineteenth century out of a combination of considering the viability of independence and in celebration of being part of the British Empire. As Canada was absorbed into the empire as a white settler colony, the aesthetic values and terminology that were developed in eighteenth-century Britain “comprised the perceptual baggage that the English brought with them [to Canada]” and the “visual language of the imperial centre tended to persist”¹⁵ McKay suggests that the application of romanticism to New World landscapes contributed to the “cultural monocentrism of the enterprise,” which helps explain the rise of the English-style garden cemetery in British North America, but does not necessarily account for the near-simultaneous development of these spaces in British North America, the United States, and Continental Europe.¹⁶ It seems that the Garden Cemetery Movement was part of a larger cultural zeitgeist that was bound to English Romanticism.

Death, Funerals, and Bereavement

The 1980 publication of the English translation of Philippe Ariès’ *At the Hour of Our Death* sparked an interest in the cultural underpinnings and meaning of death, funerals, and bereavement among historians in Britain and North America, and Europe.¹⁷ After 1980, historians began to examine grief and the changing rituals surrounding death and dying and demonstrated particular interest in the nineteenth century, which Ariès regarded as a seminal

¹⁵ McKay, *Picturing the Land*, 33, 49.

¹⁶ Ibid, 33.

¹⁷ James Stevens Curl, *The Victorian Celebration of Death* (Exeter: David & Charles, 1972); Bertram Puckle, *Funeral Customs: Their Origin and Development* (London: T.W. Laurie, 1926).

point when the cultural focus of death shifted away from the moment of an individual's death to focus instead on the grief of the survivors. In the Victorian era, society no longer focused on imminent death, but rather on the suffering associated with the loss of a loved one. Funerary and memorialization rituals consequently thrived.¹⁸ The shift was partly due to the rise of Romantic sensibilities in culture and literature that in turn caused death to be reconceptualised as an expression of the "sublime", which rendered grief an intense emotional and spiritual experience. Though *The Hour of Our Death* was a sprawling work that covered changes to death and funerary ritual from the middle ages to the late twentieth century, Ariès' insight into death and mourning as a mutable topic changed over time and spurred a generation of historians to examine the treatment of death. Many of them chose to focus on the Victorian period due to the significance that it was given in the work and the relatively large and diverse source base.

While British and American historians have explored the subject of death, burial, and bereavement extensively, the Canadian historiography remains limited to a handful of publications that do not represent a thorough treatment of the subject or a coherent

¹⁸ Philippe Ariès *The Hour of Our Death*, trans. Helen Weaver (New York: Vintage Books, 1981), 409-474.

historiography.¹⁹ The first Canadian publication that dealt with death was a 1998 article by David Marshall, who charted the changing understanding of death amongst the Protestant clergy through nineteenth-century funeral sermons and theological debates about the nature of the afterlife. According to Marshall, by the end of the nineteenth century Protestant clergy had altered their understanding of death from a terrifying inevitability to a release to a heavenly paradise. In order to soften death, sermons and religious publications increasingly articulated a pleasant afterlife in a heavenly paradise and deemphasized the doctrine of eternal punishment that was often invoked in the early nineteenth century.²⁰ Marshall attributes the shift in theological focus to the rise of biblical criticism and natural sciences that allowed death to be understood as the natural termination of life rather than as punishment for original sin.

¹⁹ Charles David Sloane, *The Last Great Necessity: Cemeteries in American History*, (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1991); Gary Laderman, *The Sacred Remains: American Attitudes Towards Death, 1799-1883* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996); Robert V. Wells, *Facing "the King of Terrors": Death and Society in an American Community, 1750-1990* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000); Aaron Sachs, "American Arcadia: Mount Auburn Cemetery and the Nineteenth Century Landscape Tradition," *Environmental History* 15, no. 2 (2010): 206–35; Pat Jalland, *Death in the Victorian Family* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996); Julien Litten, *The English Way of Death: The Common Funeral Since 1450* (London: R. Hale, 1991); Ruth Richardson, *Death, Dissection, and the Destitute* (London: Routledge, 1987); Julie-Marie Strange, *Death, Grief, and Poverty in Britain, 1870-1914* (Cambridge, London: Cambridge University Press, 2005).

²⁰ Michael Wheeler, *Heaven, Hell, and the Victorians* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994); David Marshall, *Secularizing the Faith: Canadian Protestant Clergy and the Crisis of Belief, 1850-1940* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1992); Daniel Pickering Walker, *The Decline of Hell: Seventeenth-Century Discussions of Eternal Torment* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1964); Ramsay Cook, *The Regenerators: Social Criticism in Late Victorian English Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1985); Michael Gauvreau, *The Evangelical Century: College and Creed in English Canada from the Great Revival to the Great Depression*, McGill-Queen's Studies in the History of Religion 5 (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1991); Owen Chadwick, *The Secularization of the European Mind in the Nineteenth Century*, The Gifford Lectures in the University of Edinburgh (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975); William Westfall, *Two Worlds: The Protestant Culture of Nineteenth Century Ontario*, McGill-Queen's Studies in the History of Religion 2 (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1989).

Clergymen shifted the focus of their sermons from encouraging mourners to repent through focusing on the terrifying moment of death, to comforting survivors with the immortality of the soul and a fulfilling afterlife.²¹ Though Calvinist doctrine had once dictated meditation on and preparation for death, Protestants increasingly avoided the discussion of their own death in favour of the elaborate funeral practices and prolonged mourning that characterized the latter half of the nineteenth century.²² The literature on the treatment of death in urban Catholic communities is similarly scant and is generally concerned with the Québécois. Though there were Catholic enclaves in Canadian cities, they tended to build and use separate socio-religious infrastructure for their education, health care, and burial.²³ The new focus on mourning in

²¹ David Marshall, "Death Abolished: Changing Attitudes to Death and the Afterlife in Nineteenth Century Canadian Protestantism," in *Age of Transition: Readings in Canadian Social History, 1800-1900*, ed. Norman Knowles (Toronto: Harcourt Brace & Co., 1998), 382-384.

²² Richard Cobb, *Death in Paris, 1795-1801* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1978); Robert V. Wells, *Facing "the King of Terrors": Death and Society in an American Community, 1750-1990* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000); Lisa Wilson, *Life After Death: Widows in Pennsylvania, 1750-1850*, (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1992); Serge Gagnon, *Mourir, Hier et Aujourd'hui* (Quebec: Les Presses De L'Université Laval, 1987); Pascal Hintermeyer, *Politiques de La Mort* (Paris: Payot, 1981); Julien Litten, *The English Way of Death: The Common Funeral Since 1450* (London: R. Hale, 1991); David E. Stannard, *The Puritan Way of Death: A Study in Religion, Culture, and Social Change* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1979); Candi Cann, *Virtual Afterlives: Grieving the Dead in the Twenty-First Century* (Kentucky: University of Kentucky Press, 2014); Michel Ragon, *The Space of Death: A Study of Funerary Architecture, Decoration, and Urbanism* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1983); Deborah Lutz, *Relics of Death in Victorian Literature and Culture*, Cambridge Studies in Nineteenth-Century Literature and Culture (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015); Adam C. Bradford, *Communities of Death: Whitman, Poe, and the American Culture of Mourning* (Columbia, MO: University of Missouri Press, 2014).

²³ Gagnon, *Mourir, Hier et Aujourd'hui*; Donald Harman Akenson, *The Irish in Ontario: A Study in Rural History* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1984); Terence J. Fay, *A History of Canadian Catholics: Gallicanism, Romanism, and Canadianism* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2002); Terrence Murphy and Gerald Stortz, eds., *Creed and Culture: The Place of English-Speaking Catholics in Canadian Society, 1750-1930* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1993).

Protestant communities was spurred by an increasingly worldly understanding of the afterlife, one that conceptualized heaven as a place of joyous reunion free from worry and anxiety and deemphasised the notion that eternal punishment in hell was the punishment for a life of sin.²⁴ Preparation for one's own death was no longer necessary, which resulted in a shift toward focusing on loss and the bittersweet consolation of heavenly reunion.

The idea of the heavenly reunion was predicated on the importance of the nuclear family as the central unit of social organization in the Victorian era. The impact of the broad doctrinal shifts that Marshall identified was never situated within the context of religious practice among laypeople and the nature of mourning within the Canadian family. This lack of literature is a stark contrast to the significance that historians in Britain and the United States have placed on death and the family. In *A World of Their Own Making*, American historian John Gillis analyses how the shift in the doctrinal understanding of eternal punishment had a parallel in the private space of the home where individuals ceased to focus on their own death and turned their concern to the period of grief and healing following loss of family and close friends. The focus on the loss of others privileged the family in death and served to emphasize and prolong grief and mourning.²⁵ This mid-century shift in the character of death made mourning respectable, and by late-century, fashionable, which left the personal space of mourning open to the influence of emergent consumerism.

²⁴ Ruth Richardson, *Death, Dissection, and the Destitute* (London: Routledge, 1987); Elizabeth Hurren, *Dying for Victorian Medicine: English Anatomy and Its Trade in the Dead Poor, 1834-1929* (London: Palgrave MacMillan, 2011); Various, "The Power of the Criminal Corpse: Academic and Staff Blogs from the University of Leicester," *Staffblogs*, n.d., <http://staffblogs.le.ac.uk/crimcorpse/>.

²⁵ John R. Gillis, *A World of Their Own Making: Myth, Ritual, and the Quest for Family Values* (New York: Basic Books, 1996), 211, 214.

While an examination of the impact of social and cultural changes on family mourning and individual grief has never been attempted in Canadian history, the intersection of gender, family, and the law was thoroughly explored in Bettina Bradbury's 2001 *Wife to Widow*. Through analysis of the experience of widowhood in nineteenth-century Montreal, Bradbury describes how the "separate spheres" ideology of the middle-class Victorian household was enshrined in both society and the legal system. Through focusing on the near-instantaneous loss of economic and social prestige that often went along with widowhood, Bradbury suggests that law and social custom conspired to render Victorian era women dependent on their husbands even after death. The legal system gave men control over family assets while society dictated elaborate mourning customs that a respectable widow was expected to adhere to. Bradbury describes the material character of Victorian widowhood as a material expression of a sexist and highly classed society. While Bradbury focused on the legal and social aspects of widowhood, Pat Jalland describes the emotional and cultural aspects of loss and of widowhood, which were often compounded by legal and social inequity. Jalland describes the "total disintegration" of the woman's life after the loss of a spouse in late nineteenth-century Britain.²⁶ In the absence of paid work, the identity of married middle-class women was drawn predominantly from her marriage; the death of a husband undermined social and economic status and personal identity to such a degree that they were often very difficult to re-establish.²⁷ Much of the historiography of gendered mourning and widowhood is focused on the way social and legal custom bound women to their husbands, even in death. While gender and women's historians have clearly articulated the legal and social implications

²⁶ Pat Jalland, *Death in the Victorian Family* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), 235.

²⁷ Bettina Bradbury, *Wife to Widow: Lives, Laws, and Politics in Nineteenth-Century Montreal* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2011), 10.

of widowhood, the connection between gendered mourning and Victorian consumer society has never been fully address. While there is generally passing mention of what Helen Rappaport refers to as the “cult of Christian widowhood”—a term which usually refers exclusively to Protestant women—the reader is left to make assumptions about how Victorian culture and society gave rise to gendered mourning based on previous knowledge.²⁸

Few historians discuss death without some description of gendered mourning, the cult of the widow, and the massive nineteenth-century mourning industry that arose in the United States, Britain, and Canada. Historians such as David Marshall, Bettina Bradbury, Lou Taylor, John Gillis, and Pat Jalland all describe in varying degrees how, for better or worse, consumerism provided a vehicle for the simultaneous expression of grief, respectability, and status.²⁹ While the link between mourning and consumerism is well acknowledged, historians generally emphasize the class and gender aspects of consumerism and mourning with no substantive examination of the broader context of modernity in which consumerism emerged. Lou Taylor’s 1983 *Mourning Dress: A Costume and Social History* establishes a causal relationship between the ostentation of funeral attire and accessories and the rise of a capitalist industrial economy, but aside from a brief note about Queen Victoria’s decision to remain in mourning long after Albert’s death, Taylor does little to describe the cultural changes that promoted funerary consumption.³⁰ Works like Jalland’s *Death in the Victorian*

²⁸ Lenore Davidoff and Catherine Hall, *Family Fortunes*, (London: Routledge, 2002), 111, 112, 114-15.

²⁹ Jalland, *Death in the Victorian Family*, 300-301; Marshall, “Death Abolished”, 382-384.

³⁰ Lou Taylor, *Mourning Dress: A Costume and Social History* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1983), 107.

Family also address the consumerism inherent in mourning, but treat it more as a quirk of the period than an expression of broad cultural change. For Jalland, the profusion of mourning clothing and goods in the nineteenth century was incidental; the period following loss was first and foremost a means of working through grief that was dictated by gender, class, and individual experience.³¹

The Corpse

The social and cultural history of death, the family, and society is fairly robust, though certainly not without its shortcomings. The historiography of the treatment of the corpse is in a similar state. The nineteenth century witnessed the emergence of the widespread use of embalming and, in the closing years of the century, the emergence of cremation. With the exception of Stephen Prothero's concise and comprehensive work *Purified By Fire: A History of Cremation in America*, cremation is generally treated as a controversial product of zealous late-century reformers. Pat Jalland describes disputes that emerged between reformers in the medical establishment who declared cremation "safe, speedy, wholesome, and economical" and those who opposed it on religious grounds, claiming that it was unnatural and antithetical to the Christian doctrine of the resurrection of the body.³² Embalming was not mired in the same level of controversy, and historical accounts describe it as a process that gained

³¹ Jalland, *Death in the Victorian Family*, 194.

³² Stephen R. Prothero, *Purified by Fire: A History of Cremation in America* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001); Pat Jalland, *Death in the Victorian Family*, Chapter 9, "Funeral Reform and the Cremation Debate", 194-209; Joanna Bourke, *Dismembering the Male: Men's Bodies, Britain, and the Great War* (London: Reaktion Books, 1996), 253-329.

widespread acceptance for both its practicality and its basis in scientific discovery and modern progress.³³

Embalming has not been treated as a subject in itself as cremation has, but instead is incorporated into the historiography of the rise of the funeral industry. No such materials exist in the Canadian context, but, American historians have done much to historicise the funeral industry as part of a wider story of American progressivism and capitalism. In *The Sacred Remains: American Attitudes Toward Death, 1799-1883*, Gary Laderman describes the acceptance of embalming and the subsequent rise of the funeral industry in the latter third of the nineteenth century. Widespread acceptance of embalming was the first significant development in the treatment of the dead in the United States.³⁴ The process entered the popular arena after the Civil War and although initially prohibitively expensive, it grew in popularity in the latter half of the nineteenth century due to its use in the preservation of President Lincoln's body. As a result, the closing years of the nineteenth century saw the "consolidation and professionalization of what became by the turn of the century a nationally organization confederation of market-conscious death specialists."³⁵ Laderman's subsequent work *Rest in Peace* continued the history of the American funeral industry. In this book, Laderman extended the narrative into the twentieth century and sought to provide a realistic and nuanced understanding of an often-controversial subject. Other historical accounts of the treatment of death in the United States also touch on the rise of the funeral industry, though

³³ Jalland, *Death in the Victorian Family*, 207.

³⁴ Gary Laderman, *The Sacred Remains: American Attitudes Towards Death, 1799-1883* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996), 113.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 8; Robert W. Habenstein and William M. Lamers, *The History of American Funeral Directing* (Milwaukee: Buffin Printers, 1955).

most generally do so in the context of the harsh criticism that Jessica Mitford levelled at the funeral industry in her highly popular and polemical work *The American Way of Death*.³⁶

While Americans have largely focused on the creation of the funeral industry and the debate over its merits and morality, the British historiography tends to conceptualize the treatment of remains as a matter of class. The treatment of the destitute has garnered particular interest due to the prevalence of “body snatching”, as the demand for corpses in medical schools outstripped the supply of executed criminals in the early nineteenth century. Thomas Laqueur first articulated the class aspects of the pauper burial in 1983 in the article “Bodies, Death, and Pauper Burials.” He argues that the pauper burial was diametrically opposed to the middle-class Victorian funeral. As a means of expressing respectability and status, the middle-class funeral was a materialistic affair that culminated in placing the remains in a privately owned, individualised plot of land, thereby providing a permanent indication of the status of the deceased. The pauper burial served the opposite purpose, and through the lack of service and an individual grave, it served to confirm the social invisibility and material failure of the deceased.³⁷ Laqueur also briefly addresses the 1832 Anatomy Act, which made it legal to send the bodies of the poor who died in workhouses and hospitals for dissection.³⁸ In 1987, Ruth Richardson’s *Death, Dissection, and the Destitute* expanded on Laqueur’s observations and suggested that the Anatomy Act not only reinforced class differences, but was

³⁶ Jessica Mitford, *The American Way of Death* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1963); Evelyn Waugh, *The Loved One: An Anglo-American Tragedy* (London: Chapman & Hall, 1969); James J. Farrell, *Inventing the American Way of Death, 1830-1920* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1980).

³⁷ Thomas Laqueur, “Bodies, Death, and Pauper Funerals,” *Representations*, no. 1 (February 1983): 113.

³⁸ *Ibid*, 124.

also passed as a means of preventing bodysnatching as the corpses of the poor were directed to the anatomists' table.³⁹ In Canada, "bodysnatching" has been briefly treated in a 1988 article by Royce MacGillivray and again in a 2012 unpublished Master of Science Thesis by Scott Balyea. MacGillivray's article connects the rise of grave-robbing to the establishment of medical schools at Queen's, The University of Western Ontario, McGill, and the University of Toronto. He suggests that the Anatomy Act passed in 1843 ensured that the practice continued into the early twentieth century in Ontario⁴⁰ The article fails to indicate why certain medical schools did not resort to the practice of bodysnatching in spite of the fact that there was a shortage of corpses for study.⁴¹ Additionally, MacGillivray's assessment of the public response is lacking and suggests only that there was public anxiety about the practice. Balyea's thesis seeks to provide a reconsideration of bodysnatching through examining the phenomenon in Kingston, but is dominated by narrative and does not provide adequate historical context for the events discussed.⁴²

Burial Practice

The historiography of burial is treated separately from mourning and the body, in spite of

³⁹ Richardson, *Death, Dissection, and the Destitute*; Laqueur, "Bodies, Death, and Pauper Funerals"; Elizabeth Hurren, *Dying for Victorian Medicine: English Anatomy and Its Trade in the Dead Poor, 1834-1929* (London: Palgrave MacMillan, 2011); Various Authors, "The Power of the Criminal Corpse: Academic and Staff Blogs from the University of Leicester," *Staffblogs*, n.d., <http://staffblogs.le.ac.uk/crimcorpse/>.

⁴⁰ Royce MacGillivray, "Body Snatching in Ontario," *Canadian Bulletin of Medical History* 5 (1988): 55.

⁴¹ *Ibid*, 54-55.

⁴² Scott Edward Balyea, "A Century of Bodysnatching: A History of Cadaver- Acquisition in Kingston, Ontario from 1820-1920" (MSc, Queen's University, 2012).

the fact that the emergence of the garden cemetery as a hegemonic burial space in the nineteenth century had a massive impact on urban burial and mourning customs. The historiography of burial is generally centred on the cemetery as a middle-class commodity that evolved and shifted predominantly in response to consumer demand.⁴³ The garden cemetery is treated as a middle-class enterprise, with the burial of the working class, working poor, and destitute being more simplistic. Explicit treatment of the class aspects of burial and funerary practices in Canada is limited to a brief analysis of working-class mutual benefit societies in Bradbury's *Wife to Widow*. She indicates that these "mutual benefit societies" insulated members from having to absorb the high cost of burial and assured them of respectable interment. In addition to helping the working class bear funeral costs, mutual benefit societies were a "form of popular resistance" against the "bourgeois initiatives" associated with the respectable middle-class funeral.⁴⁴ According to Bradbury, the corpses of the impoverished usually received "a pauper's burial, without a proper service of individualized grave" or were dissected in Montreal's medical schools.⁴⁵ Discussion of the lower classes is similarly limited in the American literature. The relationship between class and death is acknowledged only briefly in discussions of benefit societies, and in Gary Laderman's remark that "the history of death in nineteenth century urban America demonstrates a litany of class divisions", particularly in regard to burial practices, which were only egalitarian in the event of epidemics, when the

⁴³ Sloane, *The Last Great Necessity*; Ken Worpole, *Last Landscapes: The Architecture of the Cemetery in the West* (London: Reaktion Books, 2003); Brian Young, *Respectable Burial: Montreal's Mount Royal Cemetery* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2003); *Necropolis: London and Its Dead* (London: Simon and Schuster, 2006); Frederick Brown, *Père Lachaise: Elysium as Real Estate* (New York: Viking Press, 1973).

⁴⁴ Bradbury, *Wife to Widow: Lives, Laws, and Politics in Nineteenth-Century Montreal*, 165.

⁴⁵ *Ibid*, 164.

volume of dead necessitated mass burial in a common grave.⁴⁶

Cemeteries

The shift away from graveyard and churchyard burial was significant, as these spaced were normalized as burial sites early in the history of Christianity and persisted for centuries. Early graveyards were located on land designated for church use and were modeled after the churchyard burial spaces that were normalized in Britain and Europe in the high medieval period with the spread of Christianity.⁴⁷ Prior to that, cremation and burial coexisted, with the dominant custom determined by local belief and lifestyle.⁴⁸ When people were buried, they tended to be wealthy, and built tombs as a means of expressing that wealth. Roman cemeteries were built outside the boundaries of the city, according to Roman law, and were generally placed alongside roads for ease of accessibility.⁴⁹ By the late Roman period, burial practices were increasingly uniform and the geography of burial became a powerful means for constructing links to the past.⁵⁰ Once Christianity became widespread, burial customs shifted again and burial became the preferred method. By the high medieval period, burial near churches was the norm. The fate of the soul after death was the central aspect of medieval religion, and everything had to be done to ensure that the soul got to heaven as quickly as

⁴⁶ Laderman, *The Sacred Remains: American Attitudes Towards Death, 1799-1883*, 40.

⁴⁷ Ariès, *The Hour of Our Death*, trans. Helen Weaver (New York: Knopf, 1981). 41.

⁴⁸ J.M.C. Toynbee, *Death and Burial in the Roman World* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1971), 33, 39.

⁴⁹ Ibid. 73.

⁵⁰ Howard Williams, *Death and Memory in Early Medieval Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 23, 179.

possible.⁵¹ This meant that the deceased had to be buried in consecrated ground next to the parish church, though prominent figures in the community and the wealthy were actually interred in the church.⁵² The tendency to bury the dead in sacred ground near the church persisted from the medieval period onward. Graveyards were built in towns and cities adjacent to or near churches, on ground that was consecrated and controlled by the clergy. Though there were significant doctrinal changes over the course of the centuries, these had little effect on people's reaction to death and burial.⁵³ It was not until urban burial spaces were perceived as a threat to the living that customs shifted.

The shift in middle-class burial practices receives much more attention through examinations of the rise of garden cemeteries in Europe and North America. Changes to the management and appearance of interment space are also significant aspects of death in the nineteenth century, but, the emergence and dominance of garden cemeteries is usually attributed to progressive health reform rather than to broader cultural strands of Romanticism and consumerism.⁵⁴ Most scholars who have sought to historicise the garden cemetery have charted the nineteenth-century movement away from the urban churchyard burial, which was increasingly deemed unseemly and hazardous, to the emergence of the garden cemetery

⁵¹ Christopher Daniell, *Death and Burial in Medieval England, 1066-1550* (London: Routledge, 1997), 1.

⁵² Ibid. 89, 98.

⁵³ Clare Gittings, *Death, Burial and the Individual in Early Modern England* (London: Croom Helm, 1984), 59.

⁵⁴ Lee Jackson, *Dirty Old London: The Victorian Fight Against Filth* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2014); Ariès, Philippe, *The Hour of Our Death*, trans. Weaver, Helen, First American Edition (New York: Knopf, 1981); Sloane, *The Last Great Necessity*; Young, *Respectable Burial*.

movement in Britain and France, and its eventual spread to the United States and Canada.

The best account of the cemetery in Canada is Brian Young's *A Respectable Burial: Montreal's Mount Royal Cemetery*, which connects the garden cemetery movement to the reform-minded middle-class Protestant community in Montreal and addresses the space in the context of changing dominant aesthetic trends of the period.⁵⁵ Garden cemeteries like Mount Royal arose out of the desire for a beautiful space for the dead, preferably an area that inspired peaceful reflection on the part of mourners and urged them to use the surroundings as a comforting metaphor for the natural progression of life, death, and rebirth.⁵⁶ The role of the cemetery in the creation and maintenance of ethnic identity for new immigrant groups in Canada has recently been addressed by Frances Swyripa in *Storied Landscapes: Ethno-Religious Identity and the Canadian Prairies*. The act of burial is described as a tool used by new ethnic groups on the prairies to impart their ethnic and religious identity onto the landscape. Through the burial of the dead, immigrant groups claimed the land as their own and established the surrounding area as a new and permanent homeland. Pioneer burial grounds varied in appearance according to religion and ethnicity, and as such were concrete expressions of religious and ethnic affiliation.⁵⁷ Additionally, the inscriptions on the tombstone and the burial

⁵⁵ Young, *Respectable Burial*, 40. Young's book was commissioned by the Mount Royal Cemetery Company and the result is a work that is not always objective. However the book remains the only treatment of burial grounds in Canada.

⁵⁶ Marshall, "Death Abolished: Changing Attitudes to Death and the Afterlife in Nineteenth Century Canadian Protestantism", 379; Julie Rugg, "Lawn Cemeteries: The Emergence of a New Landscape of Death," *Urban History* 33, no. 2 (2006): 215; Young, *Respectable Burial*, 41.

⁵⁷ Frances Swyripa, *Storied Landscapes: Ethno-Religious Identity and the Canadian Prairies* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2011), 69-70. See photo plates 2.10 and 2.11 for visual examples.

of the deceased were often used as means of acknowledging ties to homelands and the confirming finality of settlement for the community.⁵⁸

In addition to the cultural significance of cemeteries, historians in Britain and the United States have placed cemeteries within the wider Victorian-era cultures of reform and respectability. The earliest historical account was James Farrell's social history of death, *Inventing the American Way of Death, 1830-1920*. Farrell describes how the cemetery emerged as a reflection of the emergence of natural science and Romanticism in American society.⁵⁹ While Farrell acknowledges that the aesthetic design of American cemeteries was adapted from the landscape gardening traditions of the English, he treats the cemetery as an American invention.⁶⁰ American cemeteries are situated within international aesthetic and hygienic reform movements in Charles David Sloane's *The Last Great Necessity: Cemeteries in American History*. Sloane charts the adoption of the garden cemetery in the United States as a function of both urbanization and capitalism. As America urbanized, burial grounds became inadequate. Seeking to avoid the putrid and overflowing British urban burial grounds that garnered international attention in the early nineteenth century, Americans embraced cemetery reform beginning with the construction of Mount Auburn in Boston in 1831.⁶¹ With the success and positive reception of Mount Auburn came an explosion of garden cemeteries that became increasingly commercialized and homogenized in response to the demands of capitalism, an

⁵⁸ Ibid, 44, 66.

⁵⁹ Farrell, *Inventing the American Way of Death, 1830-1920*, 99, 104.

⁶⁰ Ibid, 107.

⁶¹ Sloane, *The Last Great Necessity*, 44-64.

ever-expanding population, and more simplified aesthetic sensibilities.⁶² Laderman also briefly discusses the emergence of the rural cemetery and establishes a causal relationship between their growth, the creation of the middle class, and the rise of the culture of respectability.⁶³ Environmental historians in the United States and Britain have treated the transition from crowded graveyards and churchyards to garden cemeteries as an expression of nineteenth-century park reform.⁶⁴

Reform and respectability are also central to British accounts of the development and popularization of cemeteries. The garden cemetery emerged out of a period of reform that occurred in the early nineteenth century as a result of overcrowding and decay in urban burial grounds. Many urban burial grounds gave off foul odours, and often had coffins and even human corpses protruding from the ground. They were unsightly and increasingly perceived as a source of ill health. In 2014, Lee Jackson described cemeteries as a product of deliberate sanitary reform efforts in *Dirty Old London: The Victorian Fight Against Filth*. Jackson claims that the disposal of human corpses was one of London's greatest "waste removal" problems that produced agitation for burial reform.⁶⁵ By mid-century, the cemetery was seen as the best solution to the problem of balancing safe disposal of remains with the demands of respectability. By the 1860s, the garden cemetery was normalized in Britain and North America

⁶² Ibid, 104-106, 112-113.

⁶³ Laderman, *The Sacred Remains: American Attitudes Towards Death, 1799-1883*, 76.

⁶⁴ Aaron Sachs, *Arcadian America: The Death and Life of an Environmental Tradition* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013); Peter Thorsheim, "The Corpse in the Garden: Burial, Health, and the Environment in Nineteenth-Century London," *Environmental History* 16, no. 1 (April 2011): 38-68.

⁶⁵ Jackson, *Dirty Old London: The Victorian Fight Against Filth*, 105; Thorsheim, "The Corpse in the Garden: Burial, Health, and the Environment in Nineteenth-Century London," 39.

after a period of concurrent development.⁶⁶ The historical treatment of the cemetery in both Britain and North America is dominated by accounts of the reforming impulse that created the garden cemeteries, however, the cultural and aesthetic sensibilities that shaped them are often overlooked as a result. Such an omission is odd considering that the popularity of Romanticism and natural settings spurred the creation of garden cemeteries after the denominational churchyard was abandoned.

Sites of Local Memory

As a community institution, burial grounds and cemeteries have attracted the attention of local historians and genealogists. Many local historical and preservation groups have sought to preserve and restore cemeteries and to transcribe the inscriptions on headstones in an effort to maintain the artistic and genealogical record that cemeteries represent. While these works are not analytical in nature, they do represent a valuable contribution to the maintenance of historical sources.⁶⁷ Similarly, there is a robust body of antiquarian work on cemeteries written by local historians and historical societies. Most Victorian-era cemeteries also have historical guides designed for those who wish to visit the cemetery. Locally produced or digitally

⁶⁶ Jackson, *Dirty Old London: The Victorian Fight Against Filth*, 44; Sachs, *Arcadian America*; Sloane, *The Last Great Necessity*.

⁶⁷ Alexander Gabov and George Bevan, "Reflectance Transformation Imaging in Canada," Research Project Blog, *April 10 Workshop, the Final Day*, (n.d.), <https://rtiican.wordpress.com/2010/04/23/april-10-workshop-the-final-day/>; "Kingston Association of Museums, Art Galleries, and Historic Sites," *The Lower Burial Ground Restoration Society*, n.d., <http://www.kingstonmuseums.ca/the-lower-burial-ground-restoration-society>; Tamara Anson-Cartwright, ed., *Landscapes of Memories: A Guide for Conserving Historic Cemeteries, Repairing Tombstones*, Updated Edition (Toronto: Ontario Ministry of Citizenship, Culture, and Recreation, 1998); Verna Ronnow, *Inventory of Cemeteries in Ontario: A Genealogical Research Guide* (Toronto: Ontario Genealogical Society, 1987).

published guidebooks for the purpose of self-guided tours are common for more prominent cemeteries and some, like Cataraqui, offer fully guided tours of the space. These tours and the associated publications highlight the history of the space, with particular focus on the famous people interred there, whether they be people of national renown or those who contributed to the community.⁶⁸ Other works provide the public with a narrative history of the founding of cemeteries as Canadian cities grew and developed. While these works are not analytical and vary considerably in quality, they provide an important point of contact for the general public and a coherent narrative record of the founding of local cemeteries and demonstrate the continued importance of the garden cemetery as a community institution.⁶⁹

British and American historians have situated the changes to death in the Victorian era. In Canada, the subject has received only piecemeal treatment at best. By examining the cultural changes to death in late nineteenth-century Kingston in the context of changing economic conditions, social mores, and the dominant cultural paradigm of Romanticism, this work seeks to reveal how Cataraqui Cemetery was created and sustained as a symbol of modernity and

⁶⁸ Township of Rideau History Committee, *Who's Where: A Guide to the Cemeteries of Rideau Township* (North Gower, ON: Rideau Heritage Board, 1980); Cataraqui Cemetery Company, "History of Cataraqui Cemetery," Business, (n.d.), <http://www.catarauquicemetery.ca/history-genealogy/history-of-catarauqui-cemetery/>; Tod Benoit, *Where Are They Buried? How Did They Die?: Fitting Ends and Final Resting Places of the Famous, Infamous, and Noteworthy* (New York: Black Dog & Leventhel Publishers, 2015).

⁶⁹ Susan Smart, *A Better Place: Death and Burial in Nineteenth Century Ontario* (Toronto: The Ontario Genealogical Society and Dundurn Publishing, 2011); Douglas Keister, *Stories in Stone: A Field Guide to Cemetery Symbolism and Iconography* (Salt Lake City: Gibbs Smith, 2004); Township of Rideau History Committee, *Who's Where: A Guide to the Cemeteries of Rideau Township*; R. Adams, *Eternal Prairie: Exploring Rural Cemeteries of the West* (Calgary: Fifth House, 1999); Nancy Miller, *Once Upon a Tomb: Stories from Canadian Graveyards* (Calgary: Fifth House, 1997).

progress and how the changing social conditions of death and mourning were absorbed by Kingston's Protestant middle class. Death is a multifaceted event with many stakeholders and participants. In order to obtain a complete picture of the changes to death, participants, discourses, and rituals must be examined in relation to one another as well as in their historical context. Particular attention has been paid to the use of Romanticism as an expression of modernity in cemetery creation, and how the Romantic paradigm interacted with discourses of progress, technology, and class to create a modern institution with long-term significance and impact.

Chapter Summaries

Chapter one describes burials and funerals in Kingston before Cataraqui Cemetery was founded and demonstrates that prior to 1850, burial practices in the city were predominantly determined by religious belief and folk practice. Before the advent of the modern garden cemetery, the church controlled the burial grounds and oversaw funerals and interment. In Kingston, the Church of England had a monopoly over Protestant burials, which was a source of contention by 1825, when the Presbyterian Church sought to establish itself in Kingston. The interdenominational fighting that ensued provides a means to explore how religious and ethnic identity informed burial before the advent of the garden cemetery.

Chapter two explores Romanticism as it underpinned the creation of garden cemeteries, and places Cataraqui Cemetery within the broad cultural milieu that influenced the widespread creation of garden-style burial grounds. The application of Romantic aesthetic norms to burial spaces served to address concerns over crowded urban burial grounds at the same time as it indicated civic adherence to a set of modern principles, particularly civility and a belief in urban

reform.

Chapter three traces the modernization of Cataraqui Cemetery and its evolution into a consumer service from the time of its founding to the 1890s. The chapter places this development within broader changes in the cemetery industry and the growing financial health of the Cataraqui Cemetery Corporation.

Chapter four presents an overview of the developing consumerist society that went hand in hand with the changes to Cataraqui Cemetery, and argues that all of these developments were mutually supporting. Most significant was the impact of consumerism on mourning dress and goods, and the emergence of the undertaking industry and the subsequent fight to legitimize the profession.

The final chapter delves into the process of converting Kingston's remaining city graveyard into a park. While the process was impacted by denominational tensions, it was the increasingly powerful and modern machinery of municipal governance that dealt with the process of appropriating the land, exhuming the remains for re-interment, and constructing the park.

Chapter 1

The Early Years

Prior to the establishment of privately managed garden cemeteries and the consumer trappings that accompanied them, people in Canada's growing cities still had to contend with the problem of finding a space for the dead. Such matters were left in the hands of the church and burials were conducted in either parish churchyards or in church-run graveyards. Although the cultural impetus behind Romanticism was present in Canada by the early nineteenth century, Canadian cities were not of adequate size to justify the construction of a garden cemetery.⁷⁰ Instead of being handled by a private cemetery companies and undertakers, the family of the deceased and the appropriate clergy were responsible for funerary and burial customs. These in turn were dictated predominantly by a combination of religious doctrine and folk belief, and less by any modern consumer imperative. The modern trappings that came to dominate funerary customs were absent; people had neither the means nor the inclination to pay others to perform these duties as death, mourning, and burial were not yet enmeshed in the network of government bureaucracy, industrial production, and consumer demand that emerged as Canada modernized over the course of the nineteenth century. Similarly, prior to the creation of multi-denominational Protestant Garden Cemeteries, burial customs were dictated by denominational adherence and ethnicity, both of which eroded in significance as modern burial sites and consumer tendencies created a more homogenous, modern approach to death.

⁷⁰ McKay, *Picturing the Land: Narrating Territories in Canadian Landscape Art, 1500-1950* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2011), 10.

Placing the Dead

As populations coalesce into towns, one of the first problems to face them is what to do with the dead. In North America, there was a range of burial practices in existence prior to the growth of cities. Families living on isolated farms or large estates might have buried their dead in a small family plot, while those in small villages created burial grounds near churches or town centres, an effort to keep the dead nearby, not only so that they would be remembered but also so that they might serve as a reminder of the fate that awaited all people. As Kingston grew from the small military outpost of Frontenac to a bustling town in the late eighteenth century, one of the earliest concerns was the need to find a space for the dead. Many of Kingston's earliest burial spaces were improvised by the military or itinerant preachers and have no records associated with them. These are only now apparent when the city or a developer digs into the earth and disturbs the forgotten remains.⁷¹ Other spaces, like the original Garrison Burial Ground, were created for temporary military use and then persisted as the main burial space after the Church of England stationed a permanent minister in the city.⁷² Like countless other cities in North America, in Kingston, older church-run burial grounds can be difficult to find in the historical record. Outside of the church burial registers, there are often few records of how these graveyards came to be

⁷¹ Cataraqui Archeological Research Foundation, "Cataraqui Archeological Research Foundation Report on the Upper Burial Ground," (2003). Also, local lore is full of stories of "the forgotten graveyards of Kingston." Locals were eager to share these stories upon being told about my research.

⁷² Sworn Oath: Thomas Markland, 1825, Parish Records, Anglican Diocese of Ontario Archives.

and many of them have been built over as cities expanded and burial customs changed. They simply existed because they needed to exist.

Kingston's first burial grounds were typical of city burial grounds before the advent of the garden cemetery. Founded by the military and the Church of England, the two old burial grounds are now lost in the landscape of the city. The oldest of these, which is now being restored by a local historical association, was known variously as the Lower Burial Ground (LBG) or Anglican Burying Ground and was located roughly at the corner of what is now Montreal Street and Queen Street. The burial space that replaced it was known as the Upper Burial Ground or UBG and was located at the end of Clergy Street.⁷³ While the evidence of these spaces is scant, what is available tells a story of a period when burial spaces became contested as practical concerns over space collided with legal and denominational disputes. The leaders of the Presbyterian and Episcopal churches were the central characters in the disagreement and both acted in defense of their denominational rights.⁷⁴ The Church of England was represented by Reverend Stuart, who was the first clergymen originally sent to the Kingston area in 1812 by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. He was appointed the archdeacon of Kingston in 1827, nine years before Kingston was incorporated as a town. Reverend John Barclay, the Presbyterian minister, was a much more recent arrival, having only been charged with the care of the Presbytery

⁷³ "Kingston Association of Museums, Art Galleries, and Historic Sites," *The Lower Burial Ground Restoration Society*, n.d., <http://www.kingstonmuseums.ca/the-lower-burial-ground-restoration-society>.

⁷⁴ The term "Anglican" did not come into usage until the end of the nineteenth century. Instead, the terms "Episcopal" and "Church of England" were used. In an effort to be faithful to the source material, I use these throughout.

of Kingston in 1821. In spite of his relative lack of experience, Barclay proved a formidable opponent for the seasoned Episcopalian clergyman.⁷⁵

The Lower Burial Ground was the first formalized burial space in Kingston and was created around 1784 by missionaries from the Church of England who cared for it in subsequent years. In early British North America, the form and function of funeral practices varied more according to geographic location than denominational adherence. Modern government legislation of burial was many years off, and so burial practices were dominated by a combination of practicality, religiosity, and folk belief, rather than any legal imperative.⁷⁶ The first pioneer graves were often isolated and anonymous, and were created as needed, on homesteads or near the place of death.⁷⁷ Graves might be marked or not, depending on whether or not the creator intended to return to the site. On homesteads, the dead were laid to rest in small family plots with simple ceremonies performed by clergy, assuming that an itinerant preacher or missionary was available. More often than not, the male head of the family who, as paterfamilias, was the temporal and spiritual head of the household, conducted the ceremony.⁷⁸

For those living in towns and cities, funerals were a more communal affair and were already taking on the complexity that characterized those of the nineteenth-century middle

⁷⁵ Brian S. Osborne, *The Rock and the Sword: A History of St. Andrew's Presbyterian Church, Kingston, Ontario* (Kingston: Heinrich Heine Press at Grass Creek, 2004), 52.

⁷⁶ David Marshall and Norman Knowles, "Death Abolished: Changing Attitudes to Death and the Afterlife in Nineteenth Century Canadian Protestantism," in *Age of Transition: Readings in Canadian Social History, 1800-1900* (Toronto: Harcourt Brace & Co., 1998), 370.

⁷⁷ Charles David Sloane, *The Last Great Necessity: Cemeteries in American History*, Creating the North American Landscape (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1991), 14.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 13-17.

class. Funeral and burial traditions were brought to British North America by British settlers and deviated very little from the forms established in the old world.⁷⁹ The ideal funeral of the eighteenth and early nineteenth century was based on the heraldic funerals of the medieval era. A funeral procession moved through town with the casket, which was covered with a pall and was either transported by a horse-drawn hearse or by bearers on foot, depending on both the size of the town and the financial standing of the survivors.⁸⁰ Funeral processions were generally made up of relatives and members of the community, with those who had been closest to the deceased in life positioned closer to the remains. In early nineteenth-century Kingston, after the church service, the funeral procession accompanied the body to the gates of the Lower Burial Ground on foot. The bearers carried the casket to the burial plot and deposited it in the grave that had been previously prepared by the sexton.⁸¹ At that time, the rector of the Church of England said the appropriate prayers and the casket was buried. If the individual was a member of a different congregation, the appropriate prayers were said after the Episcopalian prayers, but before the body was buried.⁸² Regardless of location, death was handled by a

⁷⁹ Frances Swyripa, *Storied Landscapes: Ethno-Religious Identity and the Canadian Prairies* (Winnipeg: The University of Manitoba Press, 2011). 69-70.

⁸⁰ Mrs. Inchbald, "The History of Lady Julia Mandeville By the Translator of Lady Catsby's Letters, Nature and Art," in *The British Novelists with an Essay and Prefaces, Bibliographical and Critical.*, ed. Mrs. Barbauld, vol. XXVII (London, 1810), 362.

⁸¹ Sexton's Duties in St. George's Church Vestry Minutes, 1817-1827, Parish Records, Anglican Diocese of Ontario Archives.

⁸² Appendix A: Extracts from Parish Books of St. George's Church in the Town of Kingston., n.d., Vestry Minutes, 1817-1827, Anglican Diocese of Ontario Archives; Letter to Rev. Barclay from Rev. Okill Stuart, February 10, 1823. Appendix B: Copied Correspondence of Rev. Okill Stuart and Rev. Barclay, 1825, Vestry Minutes, 1817-1827, Anglican Diocese of Ontario Archives.

combination of family and church personnel. There was no perceived need or desire to pay a third party to perform services such as preparing the body for viewing, transporting remains to the graveyard, or the burial itself.

Church of England Supremacy

Although it was not incorporated as a town until 1838, by the turn of the nineteenth century, Kingston was slowly outgrowing its past as a military outpost and was developing into a bustling centre boasting a population of about 2,500 people. The first settlers arrived in the area around 1783 and by 1795, local farmers were producing a surplus. With this new prosperity, an effective and influential civil government was established.⁸³ Kingston was on its way to becoming a major trading and transport hub. By 1818, the town had mills, a market, and an array of available goods and services thanks to the presence of merchants.⁸⁴ With the influx of the living came an increased need for burial space, and so in addition to the various services for the living, Kingston also had two burial grounds, both of which became the site of protracted, and at times heated, denominational and legal debates. The older of the two was established and maintained by the Church of England, which therefore had the sole right and responsibility for the burial of Kingston's Protestant dead. The newer cemetery, the Upper Burial Ground, was first used as the garrison burial ground around 1816. In 1819 it was surveyed, divided in two, and the spaces formally

⁸³ Jane Errington, *Greater Kingston: Historic Past, Progressive Future* (Portland, ME: Windsor Publications-History Books Division, 1988)., 35, 65

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 66-67

granted to the established Episcopal and Catholic congregations in Kingston by colonial authorities.

From 1790 onward, the Church of England maintained its supremacy in Kingston, but by the 1820s, the growing Presbyterian congregation began to challenge the authority of the established church. The Presbyterian congregation of Kingston was not included in the petition for the Upper Burial Ground, nor did it have suitable burial space elsewhere. Instead, adherents were forced to bury their dead on Episcopalian grounds, which caused temporal and religious unrest and disputes between the two congregations. The exclusion of the Presbyterian Church from the burial grounds was in part due to the fact that the Church of England was both the established church in British North America, and the largest and oldest Protestant denomination in Kingston.⁸⁵ The Church of England had enviable financial resources, land grants, and a large pool of well-educated and organized missionaries.⁸⁶ Episcopal ministers were present as military chaplains, and correspondence between Bishop George Jehoshaphat Mountain, Bishop of Quebec, and Reverend Okill Stuart indicates that there was an Episcopalian presence amongst the civilian population as early as the 1780s and possibly even earlier.⁸⁷ The continued dominance of the Church of England throughout the nineteenth century in Kingston was

⁸⁵ Osborne, *The Rock and the Sword: A History of St. Andrew's Presbyterian Church, Kingston, Ontario*. 15.

⁸⁶ John Webster Grant, *A Profusion of Spires: Religion in Nineteenth Century Ontario*, The Ontario Historical Studies Series (Toronto: University of Toronto Press for the Government of Ontario, 1988). 86; Osborne, *The Rock and the Sword: A History of St. Andrew's Presbyterian Church, Kingston, Ontario*.

⁸⁷ Bishop Mountain's Correspondence, n.d., Ecclesiastical Records: Correspondence, Anglican Diocese of Ontario Archives.

the direct result of both the town's start as a British military base and the fact that subsequent settlers were predominantly English immigrants and Loyalists fleeing the United States.⁸⁸ Though there were Methodists and Presbyterians, as well as a smattering of dissident groups, in the area, the superior resources and organization of the Church of England allowed its ascendancy.

Methodists were not well represented in British North America in the early nineteenth century. The lack of clear organization or permanent meeting spaces, and the variable education of the itinerant preachers, meant that adherents did not always have access to a broader religious community, and instead created a religion characterized by heterodoxy in belief.⁸⁹ It was not until the middle of the nineteenth century, when Methodists had better educated clergy and more settled churches, that the religion was able to gather and maintain a permanent body of adherents. In spite of this, the Methodists did not maintain burial space in Kingston.⁹⁰ Growth of the Methodist movement in the early

⁸⁸ Errington, Jane, *The Lion, the Eagle, and Upper Canada: A Developing Colonial Identity* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1987). 15, 36; Osborne, *The Rock and the Sword: A History of St. Andrew's Presbyterian Church, Kingston, Ontario*. 7.

⁸⁹ Goldwin French, "The People Called Methodists in Canada," in *The Churches and the Canadian Experience: A Faith and Order Study of the Christian Tradition* (Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1963), 75; John S. Moir, *The Church in the British Era From the British Conquest to Confederation, A History of the Christian Church in Canada* (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson Ltd., 1972)., 84.

⁹⁰ Record Book, Methodist Church of Canada, Kingston (Second) Circuit, Queen's Street, 185-1887, United Church of Canada Archives; William Westfall, *Two Worlds: The Protestant Culture of Nineteenth Century Ontario*, (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1989), 68-69.

nineteenth century was further limited by the war of 1812-1814, as it stemmed the flow of itinerant missionaries from the United States and deepened internal divisions.⁹¹

Kingston's Presbyterians were in a similar bind. The ministers received very little support from the Church of Scotland, which was focused on missions to more exotic locales, and there was no regular place of worship in the Kingston area.⁹² In the absence of these resources, many Presbyterians simply converted to the Church of England in order to maintain regular church attendance, which was a powerful signifier of both respectability and an indicator of one's proclivity for community-building.⁹³ While it was not unusual for Protestants to change religious affiliation in this manner, in Kingston this tendency proved detrimental to the Presbyterian's ability to establish a stable congregation.⁹⁴ The Presbyterians in Kingston continued to be dogged by internal problems and divisions until 1818, when the parishioners of St. Andrew's Church split from those of Union Church, which was dominated by American Congregationalist Presbyterians.⁹⁵ With a newly coherent and organized body of worshippers, construction of a church at the corner of

⁹¹ S.D. Clark, *Church and Sect in Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1948), 96.

⁹² N.G. Smith, "The Presbyterian Tradition in Canada," in *The Churches and the Canadian Experience: A Faith and Order Study of the Christian Tradition*, ed. John Webster Grant (Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1963), 39, 41; Osborne, *The Rock and the Sword: A History of St. Andrew's Presbyterians Church, Kingston, Ontario*. 25

⁹³ Nancy Christie and Michael Gauvreau, *Christian Churches and Their Peoples, 1840-1965: A Social History of Religion in Canada*, Themes in Canadian History (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2010), 5.

⁹⁴ Ibid. 15; Osborne, *The Rock and the Sword: A History of St. Andrew's Presbyterian Church, Kingston, Ontario*. 19

⁹⁵ Osborne, *The Rock and the Sword: A History of St. Andrew's Presbyterian Church, Kingston, Ontario*, 39.

Clergy and Princess street began. Though the project was plagued by lack of funds and delays, St. Andrew's Presbyterian Church was opened for services on June 2, 1822. With a new place of worship and led by Reverend Barclay, an enthusiastic and obstinate man, the increasingly confident Presbyterian congregation proved a challenge for Reverend Stewart and Episcopal authority in Kingston as it sought to assert its rights.

The Presbyterian Challenge

The old burial grounds were the first site of conflict between the two ministers in what church historian Brian Osborne has dubbed "wonderful street theatre involving a cast of the leading Kingstonians of the day."⁹⁶ Though the Presbyterian congregation in Kingston had received a land grant for its church and burial ground in 1818, the thin, rocky soil was unsuitable for burials.⁹⁷ The lack of Presbyterian burial space was compounded by the fact that, although the Church of England was willing to provide interment space to other denominations, services had to be accompanied by the Church of England's funeral prayers. Such conditions made it clear that the Presbyterian Church was in a subservient position and 1822, Barclay mounted a challenge to the Church of England's authority in the form of a claim on Kingston's burial grounds.⁹⁸

Although Barclay had launched an appeal for space in both the Upper and Lower Burial Grounds, it was the dispute over the Lower Burial Ground that was the most

⁹⁶ Ibid., 49.

⁹⁷ Letter from Okill to Barclay, April 12, 1825 in Appendix B: Copied Correspondence of Rev. Okill Stuart and Rev. Barclay; Osborne, *The Rock and the Sword: A History of St. Andrew's Presbyterians Church, Kingston, Ontario.*, 24.

⁹⁸ Appendix B: Copied Correspondence of Rev. Okill Stuart and Rev. Barclay.

protracted and explosive and finally brought the issue to resolution. In response to Barclay's claim, Stuart and the leaders of the Church of England established an investigative council in an attempt to protect their authority over the grounds—and therefore any profits arising from it—through the establishment of an historical claim and a subsequent appeal to the government. Stuart argued that in spite of the lack of patents, the grounds had been ceded to the Church of England by an officer of His Majesty's Government in 1784 by way of the military chaplain stationed in the area.⁹⁹ The council also noted that any improvements made on the grounds had been done at the expense of the Church of England and that there were was a line for "graveyard monies" in the church financial records as early as 1784.¹⁰⁰ The sole Episcopal ownership of both burial areas had deeper spiritual implications, as any burial conducted in Kingston was done so with the prayers and rituals of the Episcopal Church, which created tension due to the importance of religious identity and community in the early nineteenth century. In Stuart's mind, there was no cause for complaint from those outside his church; it was not as if people were being denied a Christian burial, and to concede to the Presbyterians would have meant losing both spiritual and temporal control over the burial space.¹⁰¹ Such a concession would have meant a loss of both profit and prestige for the Church of England.

The formation of the special committee to protect the Church of England's burial spaces from the claims of "other denominations of Christians" had deeper implications than

⁹⁹ George Okill Stuart, Copied Petition to Sir Peregrine Maitland in St. George's Vestry Minutes, 1825, Parish Records, Anglican Diocese of Ontario Archives.

¹⁰⁰ Council Meeting, 1825. St. George's Church Vestry Minutes, 1817-1827.

¹⁰¹ George Okill Stuart, Copied Petition to Sir Peregrine Maitland in St. George's Vestry Minutes.

the protection of burial rights.¹⁰² Though only the Presbyterian congregation was mounting a challenge to the episcopal authorities, Stuart and the church wardens were concerned that giving in to the demands of Barclay and the Presbyterians would open the door to claims from other sects.¹⁰³ While the challenge Barclay posed obviously had the potential to reduce the property that the Episcopal Church controlled, it also represented a challenge to Kingston's religious and temporal elite, and more generally to the recognition of the Church of England as the established church of Canada. Because the Church of England was the established church of Canada until 1861, the leaders of the Anglican Church had a disproportionate amount of political influence and prominence as a result of the ownership of vast clergy reserves, government grants, and sole rights to perform religious ceremonies such as marriages and burials.¹⁰⁴ Because the Church of England maintained such a high degree of religious and temporal authority in Kingston and in Upper Canada generally, Barclay's challenge went beyond the demand for burial space and straight to the heart of the extension of the Church of England's authority into colonial settlements.

As the rectors of the Church of England attempted to refute the claim of the Presbyterians, the situation continued to degrade until it came to a head in 1824 and 1825. Trouble started over the burial of the son of Thomas McLean, a Presbyterian church elder. Typically in events such as these, the prayers of the Church of England were read before those the Presbyterian Church. In light of the status of the deceased, Barclay requested that

¹⁰² Council Meeting, 1825, St. George's Church Vestry Minutes, 1817-1827.

¹⁰³ Ibid.

¹⁰⁴ T.R. Millman, "Tradition in the Anglican Church of Canada," in *The Churches and the Canadian Experience: A Faith and Order Study of Transition*, ed. John Webster Grant (Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1963), 16.

the prayers of the Church of England be omitted and that Stuart be absent as his presence would “interfere with [Barclay’s] duty and do violence to the feelings of the parents.”¹⁰⁵ Barclay’s request was flatly refused by Stuart who was offended by Barclay’s challenge to the Episcopal Church’s religious and social primacy and to its sole control of the burial space. On December 24, 1824, the day of Thomas McLean’s funeral, Reverend Barclay took a shocking stand against the Church of England’s hegemonic control over Protestant bodies and souls.¹⁰⁶ When Barclay saw that Stuart was attendant at the graveyard, ready to perform the Church of England burial rites, Barclay simply refused to proceed. According to Stuart’s account, Barclay left the corpse at the gate of the Burial Ground, which was “unprecedented and extraordinary conduct publicly exhibited.”¹⁰⁷ Though the infant was eventually buried according to the will of Stuart, for Reverend Barclay, the matter was far from closed.

On April 8, 1825, Barclay arranged another demonstration at the burial yard. This time, he was prepared to interfere. The large funeral procession of the deceased Presbyterian included the family and the mourners, but also a good number of sympathetic members of the Catholic and Episcopalian congregations, as well as the Sheriff of Midland

¹⁰⁵ Letter to Okill from Barclay, April 8, 1825. Appendix B: Copied Correspondence of Rev. Okill Stuart and Rev. Barclay.

¹⁰⁶ Letter to Okill from Barclay, Feb. 7, 1825 & Letter to Barclay from Okill, January 3, 1825 Ibid.; Osborne, *The Rock and the Sword: A History of St. Andrew’s Presbyterian Church, Kingston, Ontario*.

¹⁰⁷ Okill’s Account of events as told in council. St. George’s Church Vestry Minutes, 1817-1827.

District.¹⁰⁸ Barclay intended to bury the body quickly and say the Presbyterian prayers before Stuart could complete the Church of England's service. In a darkly comedic scene of "duelling ritual and athletic shovelling", Stuart tried dutifully to read the funeral prayers "amidst [the] indecent and profane procedure." However when the gravediggers stopped for the prayers, Barclay emphatically commanded them to continue.¹⁰⁹ Ultimately, the burial "was performed in a violent and hurried manner" and Stuart was not given time to complete the Church of England's prayers. Barclay had managed to assert the rights of his congregation, however his actions represented not only an invasion of the right of the Episcopal Church of St. George, but also a violation of social and religious norms.¹¹⁰ To Stuart, Barclay's actions were an inexcusable affront to the sanctity of the burial space and the Church of England. To Barclay, though, his was a firm stand against English religious and social hegemony and a powerful assertion of his congregation's rights.

Episcopalian Rebuttals

The dispute over the burial of the Presbyterian dead demonstrates both the importance of the physical body and its resurrection in Protestant theology, and the way in which human remains can become disputed and politicized space. There is no account of how the McLean family felt about these proceedings, but even the most ardent defender of the Presbyterian faith must have felt a sense of unease at the unfortunate events in April of 1825. In the early nineteenth century, the majority of people in British North America

¹⁰⁸ Osborne, *The Rock and the Sword: A History of St. Andrew's Presbyterian Church, Kingston, Ontario.*, 54.

¹⁰⁹ Rev. Okill's account given to council, St. George's Church Vestry Minutes, 1817-1827.

¹¹⁰ Rev. Okill's account given to council, St. George's Church Vestry Minutes, 1817-1827.

belonged to a parish and attended services fairly regularly and though people often moved between congregations, formal membership in a congregation was intimately tied to ethnicity, class, and community standing. Such indicators of identity remained important even in death. While the church leaders were often acutely aware of the doctrinal and theological implications of burial with a different set of prayers, the average person was more concerned with the personal and social elements of community and belonging. To be buried with Church of England prayers as a member of the Presbyterian Church was an erasure not only of religious identity, but also of ethnicity and enduring ties to the community. The free expression of these elements of identity was of critical importance in a time when the church played a central role in significant social and cultural proceedings. Without the alternative that the garden cemetery would eventually provide, people were often forced to engage with denominational tensions in order to ensure that their rights were upheld.

In the months following the incident at the burial ground, the leaders of the Episcopal Church created a committee to prove the legitimacy of their sole control over the Lower Burial Ground. In order to do this, they sought to establish an historical claim on the space that could be buttressed by the Church of England's state-sponsored legitimacy. Barclay's first attempt to make a claim on Kingston's Episcopalian burial grounds occurred the same year that his congregation received a land grant from the colonial authority to build a church and burial yard. Barclay insisted that the space was unsuitable for both burial and church building and attempted to claim space in both the Upper Burial Ground and the Lower Burial Ground. The Presbyterian claim on the Episcopal section of the recently surveyed Upper Burial Ground was easily refuted in spite of the lack of patent, as

one could be easily obtained from the Lieutenant Governor.¹¹¹ The Lower Burial Ground proved more problematic, as there was no formal land grant from the government. Because the Church of England was the first established congregation in Kingston, the Lower Burial Ground was a de facto Episcopal burial ground and had always been in use. The age of the grounds compounded the issue of the Presbyterian claim, as space was increasingly at a premium, which had been part of the reason for the establishment of the Upper Burial Ground to begin with.

In order to negate Barclay's claim, Stuart wrote Barclay to inform him that his congregation had no claim on the Old Burial Ground due to fact that the space was historically Church of England and that his Presbyterian congregation was never included in the original petition for the burial ground, which suggested that the Presbyterians were more recent additions to the religious landscape of Kingston. The letter went on to extoll the "tolerant and catholic spirit of the Church of England" and remind Barclay "that the privilege of interment has been granted by the rector to all denominations" and was never denied to any Christian.¹¹² Stuart closed by saying that until the Presbyterians obtained their own burial grounds, burials would continue to be conducted in the same manner they always had been, with a Church of England minister present to say the prayers, a state of affairs which was unacceptable to Barclay.¹¹³ Though Stuart considered the matter closed, Barclay persisted with the claim that the Church of Scotland had equal right to bury

¹¹¹ Lord Peregrine Maitland, Church of England Land Patent, 1825, Ecclesiastical Records, Anglican Diocese of Ontario Archives.

¹¹² Letter to Barclay from Okill, February 10, 1823. Appendix B: Copied Correspondence of Rev. Okill Stuart and Rev. Barclay.

¹¹³ Letter to Okill from Barclay, December 30, 1824. Ibid.

Presbyterian deceased without the interference of the Church of England, as the grounds were never formally made over to any one church in particular. In his view, it was up to Stuart and his colleagues to prove Episcopal ownership of the Lower Burial Ground.

Though Stuart was confident in the strength of the Church of England's claim on their burial spaces, Barclay proved persistent. In the winter of 1825, he reported the incident of the previous spring and the lack of Presbyterian burial space to the attorney general, who recommended wresting control of some land with the government so that the space could in turn be applied for and divided evenly among the denominations.¹¹⁴ In the meantime, the Church of England worked to prove that ownership, and therefore control, of the Lower Burial Ground rested in its hands. Though the space had been in use as early as the 1780s, formal title was never granted. The age of the space combined with "the great acquisitions made by the civil and military population of the town was naturally attended with an increased mortality, and in a short time so little space was left unoccupied in the old church yard that it became necessary to apply to the government for another piece of ground—[T]his was accordingly done and a new place for burial was assigned in the upper part of the town which was subsequently enclosed and divided between the Episcopal Church and the Roman Catholic congregations."¹¹⁵ An influx of Episcopalian loyalists after the War of 1812 had taxed the Lower Burial Ground, and by the time the space was in

¹¹⁴ Copy of Executive Order in Council, York, 1825, City Comptroller Files, Queen's University Archive.

¹¹⁵ Council Meeting Minutes, Special Meeting, 1825. St. George's Church Vestry Minutes, 1817-1827.

dispute, there was very little left to fight over. However Barclay was insistent in his attempts to secure proper and exclusive burial space for his own congregation.¹¹⁶

In response to Barclay's repeated claims on the burial grounds, the Church of England appealed to the government for a more secure title to its portion of the Upper Burial Ground, and sought to prove unequivocally that the Lower Burial ground was and always had been the sole property of the Church of England. In light of Barclay's persistence, the Episcopal council recommended that the Church apply to the government for patents and title for both burial grounds. Obtaining the patent for the recently created Upper Burial Ground was just a matter of writing the Lieutenant Governor, but the lack of patent for the Lower Burial Ground made proving proof of ownership more difficult. The churchwardens had to prove that the burial space had always been the sole purview of the Church of England and its clergy. Included in the petition to the Governor for title to the Lower Burial Ground was a number of oaths sworn by various witnesses, including long-time Kingston residents and military personnel who had been stationed at Fort Frontenac. All of the witnesses confirmed not only that the burial space belonged to the Church of England, but also that the Church of England was the first established congregation in Kingston. As for the burial ground, witnesses swore that the Church of England erected a fence around the grounds in 1784 and that the space was always under the control of Stuart and was regarded by the people of Kingston as the property of his congregation. While there was a Presbyterian clergyman named Reverend Bethune stationed at Carleton

¹¹⁶ Moir, *The Church in the British Era*, 92.

Island, he was a military chaplain who did not reside in town and never preached, buried, or officiated anywhere in the Kingston area.¹¹⁷

Making Space for the Presbyterians

Once Stuart felt that he had sufficiently negated the Presbyterian congregation's claim on the Lower Burial Ground, he requested title to both burial grounds as confirmation and enclosed all of the relevant information and evidence with the petition. A response came from Government House in York on May 20, 1826. The letter expressed regret at the interruption of the harmony that had existed between the two churches in Upper Canada and went on to grant patent to the Lower Burial Ground to "some proper persons to be selected by the lieutenant Governor as trustees for the rector." In the case of the Upper Burial Ground, though the patent was never issued, the governor agreed to supply it in order to make the grant complete and thereby protect the claim from any appeal against the grant by the Minister of the Church of Scotland. Additionally, the governor suggested that he would "carefully confirm the arrangement made between the parishioners of the Church of England and those of the Roman Catholic Persuasion" so as to pre-empt any further land claim issues.¹¹⁸ The dispute between the Church of England and the Presbyterian congregations was ended in May of 1826 when the patents for the Upper Burial Ground were issued to the rectors of St. George's Church and the ownership of the

¹¹⁷ Sworn Oath of Thomas Maitland., n.d., Parish Records, Anglican Diocese of Ontario Archives; Sworn Oath, Robert Richardson., April 18, 1825, Parish Records, Anglican Diocese of Ontario Archives; "Sworn Oath: William Crawford of Fredericksburg, 1825, Parish Records, Anglican Diocese of Ontario Archives.

¹¹⁸ Copied Letter to Government House from Rev. Okill Stuart, May 20, 1826 in St. George's Church Vestry Minutes, 1817-1827.

Lower Burial Ground by the Episcopal Church was confirmed. Shortly after the Church of England obtained title for both burial spaces, the Presbyterian Church acquired one and one-third of an acre adjoining the north-eastern boundary of the Upper Burial Ground as Presbyterian burial space.¹¹⁹ The new Presbyterian section was added onto the northeast side of the burial ground and shared a border with the back ends of the Episcopal and Catholic sections and sat perpendicular to the northeast boundary of the Catholic and Episcopal grounds, which were laid out parallel to one another. The Upper Burial Ground was not constructed as one multidenominational burial yard occupied by Catholic, Episcopalian, and Presbyterian deceased; instead, each section was surveyed separately, fenced off, and given a separate entrance, which was reflected in both the original deed for the Catholic and Church of England portions and in the map that showed the new Scotch Burial Ground.¹²⁰ In death, as in life, Kingston's religious denominations existed alongside one another, but formed separate communities.

¹¹⁹ William H. Kilborn, "Map of the Survey of the Presbyterian Burial Ground, Laid out and Bounded upon the Rear of the Episcopal and Catholic Burial Grounds as They Were Originally Inclosed [sic].," 1815, MacBurney Park Subject Files, Queen's University Archive; Osborne, *The Rock and the Sword: A History of St. Andrew's Presbyterians Church, Kingston, Ontario*, 58.

¹²⁰ George Okill Stuart, Petition for a Copy of the Title Deed to the Episcopal Burial Grounds, 1823, MacBurney Park Subject Files, Queen's University Archive.

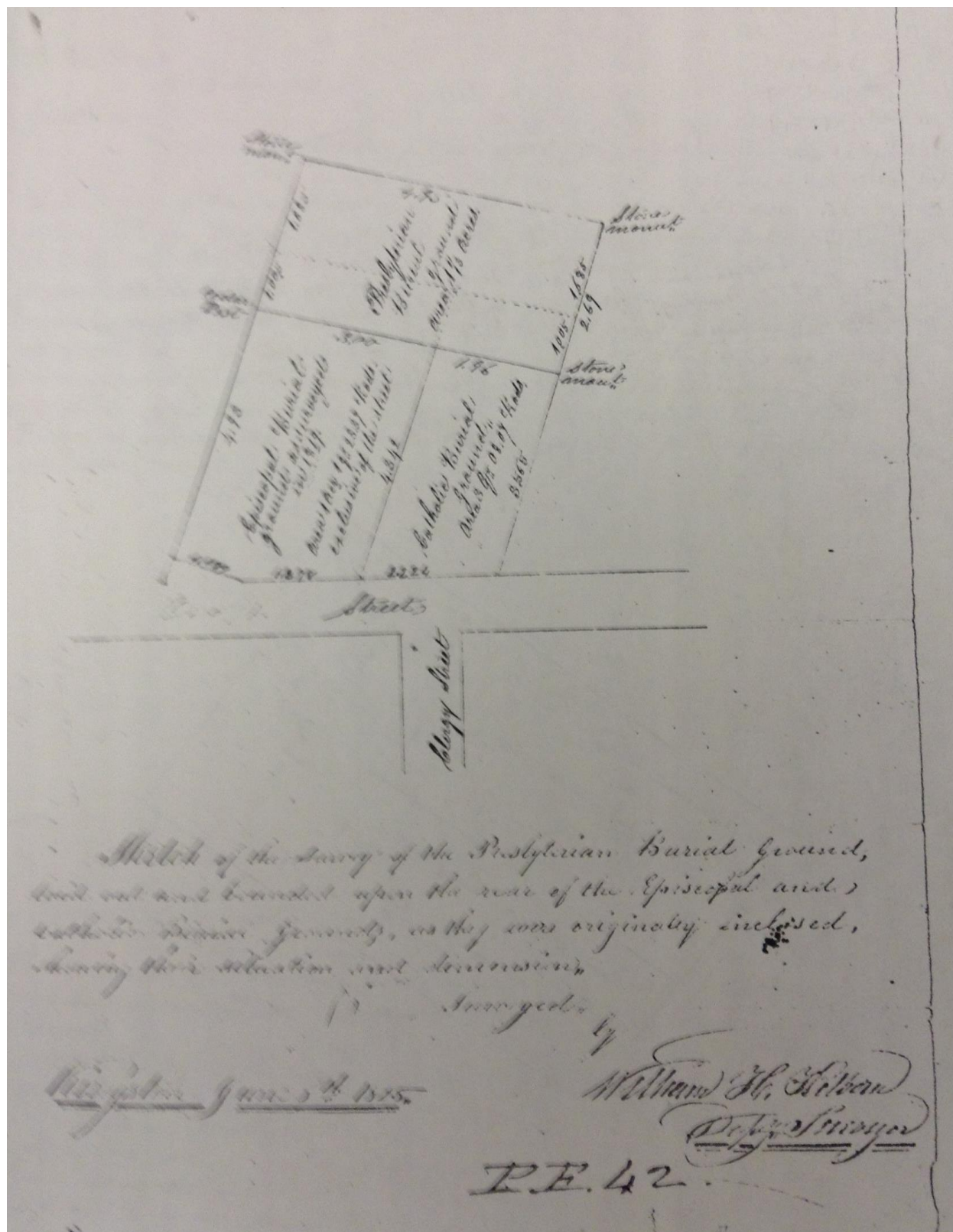


Plate 2 - A survey plan of the Upper Burial Ground with the layout of the Church of England, Presbyterian, and Catholic burial yards.

Space at a Premium

The Upper Burial Ground was the primary burial space for Kingston until the middle of the nineteenth century, when Cataraqui cemetery was opened and gained popularity. There was a ten-year period when both burial spaces were open and operational, but by 1845 concerns over available space were already emerging in the Episcopal congregations. At the Easter Vestry meeting of 1845, a committee was appointed “to investigate what means, if any should be adopted to provide a public cemetery for the interment of the dead and to report generally thereon.”¹²¹ The committee continued in operation until 1848 and, though it was never officially dissolved, the pending creation of Cataraqui Cemetery likely put an end to the congregation’s concerns, especially given that Reverend Stuart was one of the original investors and would therefore have been aware of the plans for a cemetery. The matter of the Lower Burial Ground on Queen Street also continued to be problematic. There were serious spatial limitations; however, closing the cemetery to burial altogether would have caused uproar amongst the congregation. Beginning in the nineteenth century, it was increasingly important that families be buried together. As a result, a special Vestry meeting was held in October of 1849 in order to decide who was entitled to the right of burial in the old burial space.¹²² Ultimately, the congregation voted to restrict burial to those who already had friends or relatives in the grounds, to avoid overfilling the space.

¹²¹ Easter Vestry Meeting, 1845, Vestry Minutes of St. George’s Church, 1835-1849, Parish Records, Anglican Diocese of Ontario Archives.

¹²² Special Vestry Meeting, 1849, Vestry Minutes of St. George’s Church, 1849-1889, Parish Records, Anglican Diocese of Ontario Archives.

From the 1820s onward, Protestant culture took root in what is now Ontario and reshaped the lives of its adherents and the landscapes of its cities and towns.¹²³ While the dominance of Protestant culture ensured a certain degree of hegemony in the growing towns and cities, it also promoted division and dispute as faith was tied to other important markers of identity, such as ethnicity and class. Sacred grounds like Kingston's Upper and Lower Burial Grounds became contested space as religious and ethnic divisions were played out. Symbolic disputes over the space were eventually subsumed into more practical concerns as Kingston's mainline Protestant denominations became bigger and more established. Maintaining the sanctity and integrity of denominational burial grounds was no longer the most pressing issue. Instead, religious leaders had to address the problem of full burial yards and the need for more burial space. With the church looking to divest itself of control over burial space and the increasing population putting pressure on existent burial grounds, Kingston was perfectly poised for the arrival of the garden cemetery movement.

¹²³ Westfall, *Two Worlds*. 10

Chapter 2

To Meet a Need Which Has Long Been Felt

Kingston was incorporated as a city in 1838, and was well established as a hub for trade, transport, service, and goods by the mid-nineteenth century.¹²⁴ By that time, manufacturing and industry had transformed the city. Shipbuilders, manufacturers, and cargo companies dotted the waterfront, ships transported people and goods back and forth across Lake Ontario, and the city boasted a tannery, rope factory, locomotive works, foundries, and distillers, among other things.¹²⁵ Kingston's stable economy and centrality to local trade made it a significant site of institutional development, and therefore, power. Kingston was thriving, but as it grew, so too did its neighbours. By the time Kingston emerged as a center of industry and transportation, Toronto was growing and Montreal was a dominant force in the Canadian economy. Kingston was at risk of being eclipsed.¹²⁶ In order to maintain its position, Kingston had to find a way to indicate its status as a modern and progressive city, to attract new business and more residents. One of the key strategies for enhancing a city's reputation in the nineteenth century was by developing institutions such universities, penitentiaries, hospitals, and garden cemeteries. Kingston already boasted many of these amenities by the mid-nineteenth century, but still lacked a garden cemetery, which had become a near-ubiquitous indicator of civility and modernity by

¹²⁴ Jane Errington, *Greater Kingston: Historic Past, Progressive Future* (Portland, ME: Windsor Publications-History Books Division, 1988), 66, 68.

¹²⁵ *Ibid*, 72.

¹²⁶ Keith Walden, *Becoming Modern in Toronto: The Industrial Exhibition and the Shaping of a Late Victorian Culture* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997), 71.

1850.¹²⁷ As Kingston grew, the pressures on municipal services like the burial ground increased. By the 1840s, the Lower Burial Ground was overburdened and space was at a premium in the Upper Burial Ground. The maintenance of the burial grounds was not a priority for the religious groups that controlled the spaces and the already crowded urban burial ground, known variously as the “Old Burial Ground” or the “Upper Burial Ground,” fell into disrepair and became a source of concern for the citizenry, who saw a clear need for new burial space in Kingston. The shift away from urban burial in favour of interment in garden-style cemeteries located a polite distance from the city paralleled developments in Europe and America and occurred in the midst of broad social and cultural changes that impacted the understanding of death, the afterlife, and the relationship between humans, nature, and God. These broad cultural changes served to alter what was considered acceptable burial practice in Kingston and in North America. The new cultural paradigm of death and interment demanded a return to the practice of exurban burial with a form dictated by the usage of visual elements derived from Romanticism, a movement that persisted due to its appeal to individual sentiment and its ability to both extend and critique the project of modernity.

Growth, Modernity, and the Problem of the Dead

Although the roots of modernity can be traced back to a much earlier period, the nineteenth century was the first time that industrial capitalism and consumer culture expanded and became normalized in most of the Western world. The modern character of society in the nineteenth century was evident through the growth of the middle class,

¹²⁷ Charles David Sloane, *The Last Great Necessity: Cemeteries in American History*, Creating the North American Landscape (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1991), 31.

urbanization, bureaucratization, and secularization.¹²⁸ For the first time, modernity became “a fundamental and all-encompassing phenomenon which was engendered by the Industrial Revolution and where the market economy prevailed.”¹²⁹ Populations coalesced as people sought work in industrializing urban centres, and municipal governments were established to govern the increased population. There were many problems associated with urbanization, including outbreaks of infectious disease and lack of proper waste disposal, and the growing middle class sought to develop programs of reform to address the moral and physical decay of the city.¹³⁰ In the nineteenth century, Kingston was no exception in this. By 1850, the city boasted approximately 12,000 residents. With this increase, problems of filth, disease, and poverty became apparent. Like other port cities, Kingston was also susceptible to outbreaks of infectious disease from passenger ships and the city fell prey to multiple outbreaks of cholera and typhus throughout the nineteenth century.¹³¹ Disposal of garbage and industrial by-products, the proper draining of cesspools, and care of urban livestock were also points of contention and contributed to the city’s lack of cleanliness.¹³² Over the course of the nineteenth century, Kingston’s middle class created a host of regulatory bodies and institutions in an effort to address the

¹²⁸ Micheal Löwy and Robert Sayre, *Romanticism against the Tide of Modernity*, Post-Contemporary Interventions (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2001), 21.

¹²⁹ *Ibid*, 18.

¹³⁰ First Meeting of the Board of Health, 1849. Kingston Board of Health Meeting Minutes, n.d., City of Kingston Fonds, Board of Health Files, Queen’s University Archive.

¹³¹ Errington, *Greater Kingston*, 66.

¹³² Meeting, 1853, Kingston Board of Health Meeting Minutes.

problems that came with urbanization and prosperity. By the time these regulatory bodies were established, Kingston's dead had already been problematized.

In spite of the presence of two sizeable burial grounds, finding space for the deceased was a challenge by 1845. The Lower and Upper Burial Grounds were both nearly full and church authorities sought new burial space for their parishioners. In 1845, the Church of England created a short-lived committee to investigate "what means, if any should be adopted to provide a public cemetery for the interment of the dead and to report generally thereon."¹³³ It was serendipitous that around this time, a group of civic-minded middle-class men were planning to found a garden cemetery in Kingston. Mention of the committee and its progress in the St. George vestry minutes ends in 1848, likely in anticipation of the 1852 incorporation of the Cataraqui Cemetery Company. Reverend Stuart Stuart was one of the original investors and so the Church Wardens would have been aware of the venture.¹³⁴ Pressure on the existing burial spaces created contention over burial rights even within parishes. The Old Burial Ground on Queen Street was nearly full, and the vestry was forced to decide who was entitled to the right of burial in the grounds, as there was very limited space.¹³⁵ Ultimately, it was decided that only those with family already interred could be buried there. The Upper Burial ground was similarly crowded

¹³³ Meeting, March 24, 1845. Vestry Minutes of St. George's Church, 1835-1849, n.d., Parish Records, Anglican Diocese of Ontario Archives.

¹³⁴ Cataraqui Cemetery Company, The Act of Incorporation of the Cataraqui Cemetery Company: Its Rules, Etc., and a List of Lot holders. 1854. 2,16.

¹³⁵ Meeting, October 9, 1849, Vestry Minutes of St. George's Church, 1835-1849.

and space was running out; once Cataraqui Cemetery was opened to burials, the Church of England placed the same limitations on the Upper Burial Ground.¹³⁶

The creation of Cataraqui Cemetery was a solution to the most pressing problems of Kingston's Protestant denominational groups. It removed the burden from the two burial grounds within the city limits and provided a new burial space that no one denomination had to maintain or manage. Though the new cemetery did not generate revenue for denominational groups, it removed the expense of maintaining burial grounds at a time when most of Kingston's parishes were under increasing financial pressure. Financial problems were not limited to a single denomination; rapid expansion, a glut of enthusiastic—and apparently premature—church-building, and expensive missionary efforts on the part of the mainline Protestant denominations characterized the first half of the nineteenth century and caused problems almost immediately.¹³⁷ Kingston's Protestant churches were hardly in a position to acquire, develop, and maintain new burial grounds. Furthermore, the public and religious groups saw the proposed garden cemetery as a superior solution to the problem of church-run burial grounds. As discussed below, such cemetery schemes had been successfully implemented elsewhere and were eventually normalized as the only acceptable model for burial, especially in urban areas. North America boasted dozens of them by the mid-nineteenth century, all built after the concept

¹³⁶ Ibid.

¹³⁷ Allan Anderson, *The Anglican Churches of Kingston* (Kingston: N.P., 1963); Brian S. Osborne, *The Rock and the Sword: A History of St. Andrew's Presbyterian Church, Kingston, Ontario* (Kingston: Heinrich Heine Press at Grass Creek, 2004).

was proven with Mount Auburn in 1831.¹³⁸ The new garden cemeteries were built outside the city limits, financed by private corporate structures, and were considerably bigger and better kept than urban burial grounds. The garden cemetery was a sensible solution to the problem of urban burial.

In addition to practical reasons for adopting the garden cemetery model, these spaces had tremendous cultural and social weight by the mid-nineteenth century. The garden cemetery model was so widely adopted that it is regarded as a cultural artefact in its own right and remains one of the iconic landscapes of the nineteenth century.¹³⁹ The emergence of garden cemetery as part of the “topography of civilization” emerged out of the convergence of cultural and social conditions as well as practical concern.¹⁴⁰

The Formative Strands of Cataraqui Cemetery

The earliest example of a carefully landscaped suburban cemetery was Père Lachaise in France, which opened in the spring of 1804 in response to the appalling

¹³⁸ Some more prominent examples of American garden cemeteries include: Oakland Cemetery, Atlanta, Georgia; Green-Wood Cemetery, Brooklyn, New York, Forest Hills and Mount Hope, both in Boston, Massachusetts, Springfield Cemetery, Spring Grove Cemetery, and Cedar Hills Cemetery, all in New York City.

¹³⁹ Government of Canada, “Cataraqui Cemetery National Historic Site of Canada,” Government, *Parks Canada, Directory of Federal Heritage Designations, Cataraqui Cemetery National Historic Site of Canada*, (n.d.), http://www.pc.gc.ca/apps/dfhd/page_nhs_eng.aspx?id=13020.

¹⁴⁰ Philippe Ariès, *The Hour of Our Death*, trans. Helen Weaver, First American Edition (New York: Knopf, 1981), 476.

conditions in the urban burial grounds.¹⁴¹ Visitors from abroad, especially from Britain, admired both the beauty of the space and the progressive idea of placing a cemetery outside the city. By the 1830s, reform-minded professionals like George Camden and George Alfred “Graveyard” Walker were pushing for similar schemes in London, England. As industrialization progressed, the city became crowded, dirty, and smelly. Outbreaks of virulent diseases such as typhus and cholera were frequent and deadly. In the nineteenth century, there was no clear understanding of how or why disease spread and several theories emerged, but miasma theory gained supremacy. Adherents to miasma theory believed that illness and disease spread through the inhalation of noxious gasses that were produced as living things putrefied, and by the 1840s, the belief in miasma was so deeply ingrained that it was more like a religious dogma than a scientific theory.¹⁴² The popularity of the miasma theory and the state of urban burial grounds had major implications for the discourse surrounding burial reform in Britain and North America. In 1834, Walker published his *Gatherings from Graveyards*, a comprehensive assessment of the degraded state of London’s city burial grounds, the threat they posed to public health, and the need for burial reform. Walker was a surgeon, and like many of his contemporaries he believed that the “exhalations from vaults and graves have not only produced sudden death from

¹⁴¹ John McManners, *Death and the Enlightenment: Changing Attitudes to Death Among Christians and Unbelievers in Eighteenth-Century France* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985), 308; Ariès, *The Hour of Our Death*, 465.

¹⁴² Lee Jackson, *Dirty Old London: The Victorian Fight Against Filth* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2014), 239.

asphyxia, but also have given rise to fatal disease”¹⁴³ Although Walker was wrong about graveyard miasma spreading disease, there was no question that London’s burial grounds were in a disgraceful state. Remains were often buried improperly due to overfilling and as a result those living around urban burial spaces “breathe on all sides an atmosphere impregnated with the odour of the dead” and were often forced to close their windows because of the smell.¹⁴⁴

For Walker, “burial places in the neighbourhood of the living [were] a national evil—the harbingers, if not the bringers of pestilence” and the most obvious solution was the construction of suburban cemeteries like Père Lachaise. British imitations like the Glasgow Necropolis and Kensal Green were established in the early 1830s, and while Walker admired these efforts, he proposed a more radical and regulated scheme of legislation that required every city, town, and village in Britain and the colonies have a suburban cemetery. He suggested that these be nationalized as they were in France rather than in the hands of joint-stock companies.¹⁴⁵ While the idea of a national board for the regulation of cemeteries never came to fruition, other cemeteries successfully imitated the

¹⁴³ George Alfred Walker, Surgeon, *Gatherings From Graveyards: Particularly Those of London: With a Concise History of the Modes of Interment Among Different Nations From the Earliest Periods. And a Detail of Dangerous and Fatal Results Produced by the Unwise and Revolting Custom of Inhuming the Dead in the Midst of the Living*. (London: Longman, 1834). 118.

¹⁴⁴ George Alfred Walker, Surgeon, *The Graveyards of London; Being an Exposition of the Physical and Moral Consequences Inseparably Connected with Our Unchristian and Pestilential Custom of Depositing the Dead in the Midst of the Living; With the Examinations of the Author Upon This Highly Important Subject, Before a Select Committee of the House of Commons* (London: Longman, 1841). 7-8. 19.

¹⁴⁵ George Alfred Walker, *Gatherings From Graveyards*, 5-6; Thomas A. Kselman, *Death and the Afterlife in Modern France* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1993), 186.

dominant garden cemetery model both in Britain and abroad. The South Metropolitan Cemetery Company opened Norwood Cemetery in 1837; the London Cemetery Company opened Highgate Cemetery in 1839 and Nunhead in 1840; Abney Park, Brompton, and Tower Hamlets cemeteries swiftly followed.¹⁴⁶ Known as “the magnificent seven” by cemetery enthusiasts, these British Garden Cemeteries arose as a similar craze was spreading across British North America.

The first garden cemetery in North America was an American venture, Mount Auburn, founded in Boston in 1831. While Mount Auburn was inspired by the British model, primarily Kensal Green, which emphasized decorum in landscaping over monuments, the form of North American cemeteries took the primacy of the landscape to an extreme due to both the availability of the land and the variability of the landscape.¹⁴⁷ By the mid-nineteenth century, British cemeteries increasingly resembled sculpture gardens, but their North American counterparts were generally focussed on encouraging nature to flourish into landscapes that encouraged authentic experiences. The primacy of the landscape and plant life was clear in the case of Mount Auburn, which was founded as both a cemetery and an experimental garden. Though it was a space for the burial of the dead, it was clear that it was also intended as a haven for flora and for the living people who wished to experience nature’s beauty away from the city.¹⁴⁸ With the success of Mount Auburn, imitations were founded across North America, and by the mid-nineteenth

¹⁴⁶ Lee, *Dirty Old London: The Victorian Fight Against Filth*, 115.

¹⁴⁷ Ariès, *The Hour of Our Death*, 532.

¹⁴⁸ Aaron Sachs, *Arcadian America: The Death and Life of an Environmental Tradition*, *New Directions in Narrative History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013), 64; Ariès, Philippe, *The Hour of Our Death*, 533.

century, they were a feature of every city that could justify it. Nor was justification for building a garden cemetery difficult. In addition to being attractive additions to increasingly unattractive urban spaces, they were a practical solution to the increasingly serious problem of urban interment. Just as the form of North American cemeteries was influenced by the appearance of Old World ones, their reason for existence was also derived from concerns over hygiene and public health that were expressed in Britain. Though the urban burial spaces did not have time to degrade to the degree that they did in the old world, miasma theory and the reforming spirit—and literature—of men like George Walker made its way to North America by way of immigration, education, and communication.

Suburban cemeteries solved or precluded the problems associated with urban burial grounds and represented powerful cultural symbols of modernity and civility. The multivalent nature of the space allowed the garden cemetery and its successors to persist as the only acceptable form of burial for over a century.¹⁴⁹ The need for a public declaration of modernity and civility was an important strategy for confronting urbanization and industrialization. The expansion of cities and industry brought with it a number of social ills including disease, pollution, and a general degradation in the appearance of urban spaces. Such factors could be mitigated by the construction of spaces that were intended to inspire, uplift, and beautify. By the time Cataraqui Cemetery was founded in 1850, Romanticism and the romantic-era landscape were entrenched as part of a broader “modern critique of modernity” that was predicated on the construction of picturesque

¹⁴⁹ Sloane, *The Last Great Necessity*, 90.

urban space as a means of correcting urban ills.¹⁵⁰ Romanticism, which had developed in the late eighteenth century as a response to the Enlightenment, was perfectly suited as a means of realizing modern utopian projections while casting a critical eye on the process of modernization.¹⁵¹

The garden cemeteries of the nineteenth century were a clear reaction to modernity, but were dependent on the apparatuses of modernization for their existence. The middle-class reformers of the nineteenth century sought to create Elysium on earth through the use of modern technology and financial management schemes. The form of the garden cemetery grew out of the nineteenth-century taste for sentimental melancholy and exuberant pastiche, which was rooted in the Romantic ethos. Garden cemeteries like Cataraqui were an excellent means of expressing modernity while allaying some of the anxiety it created. The shared cultural root of Romanticism in cemetery-building ensured uniformity of form, and in spite of the number of cemeteries that were founded at the time, there was little variability in their appearance. Nineteenth-century garden cemeteries like Cataraqui sought to achieve the picturesque and in doing so the builders achieved a homogeneity of form characterized by good use of the existing grounds, curvilinear pathways, expanses of green lawn dotted with ornamental trees, and sculpture and

¹⁵⁰ Patricia Jasen, *Wild Things: Nature, Culture, and Tourism in Ontario, 1790-1914* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995), 11; Micheal Löwy and Robert Sayre, *Romanticism against the Tide of Modernity*, 21; Thomas Pfau and Robert Mitchell, "Introduction," in *Romanticism and Modernity*, ed. Thomas Pfau and Robert Mitchell (London: Routledge, Taylor & Francis, 2012), 1-2.

¹⁵¹ Löwy and Sayre, *Romanticism against the Tide of Modernity*. 19, 23.

structures with neo-gothic, Egyptian, and occasionally neoclassical influence.¹⁵² Aside from expected variations in local vegetation, cemeteries founded in British North America looked similar to those founded elsewhere on the continent and overseas. The lack of vernacular cemetery forms in the nineteenth century can be attributed both to a shared reservoir of cultural forms and to the influence of the “nervous bourgeoisie temperament that wanted to do the right thing, that wanted to know whether gardening periodicals authorized this or that. Gardening had entered consumer society. An immediate consequence was the pervasiveness of bland uniformity of design: “keeping up with the Joneses meant having your garden look like the Joneses’ and sharing their values and meanings.”¹⁵³ The homogeneity that arose from the desire for socio-culturally acceptable spaces was not limited to private yards and gardens. Middle-class values found aesthetic expression in public spaces such as the cemetery as well. Garden cemeteries blended the tenets of eighteenth-century English landscape gardening with middle-class religiosity to create didactic landscapes that were intended to encourage a uniform emotional response from the viewer.¹⁵⁴ The similarity of appearance goes beyond the shared function of the space; at their founding, garden cemeteries were characterized by a shared set of cultural symbols and tendencies that were informed by similar pressures of modernization.

¹⁵² John Dixon Hunt and Peter Willis, eds., *The Genius of the Place: The English Landscape Garden, 1620-1820* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press, 1988); David Watkin, *The English Vision: The Picturesque in Architecture, Landscape, and Garden Design* (New York: Harper & Row Publishers, 1982).

¹⁵³ John Dixon Hunt, *Gardens and the Picturesque: Studies in the History of Landscape Architecture*, 1st ed. (Cambridge, Massachusetts. London, England: Massachusetts Institute of Technology Press, 1992), 291.

¹⁵⁴ Sachs, *Arcadian America*, 37; H.F. Clark, *The English Landscape Garden* (Gloucester: A. Sutton, 1980).

Articulating the Picturesque

Over the course of the nineteenth century, landscapes had an enhanced status under the influence of the Romantic Movement, the aesthetic branch of which was concerned with exploring the relationship between beauty, landscape, and humanity. The shift toward the Romantic, picturesque landscape of the nineteenth century started in the late eighteenth century amidst a wider rejection of the formality, rationality, and neoclassicism of the Enlightenment. The work of Lancelot “Capability” Brown exemplified the formality of the eighteenth century. Brown made a name for himself creating extravagant celebrations of artifice and the human dominance of nature in the form of vast estate gardens for Britain’s aristocracy, but by the turn of the century, the celebration of the organized and regimented landscapes of Brown and his contemporaries gave way under the influence of Romanticism.¹⁵⁵ In landscape architecture, gardeners such as Sir Uvedale Price railed against the artificial beauty of the formal garden; they advocated the creation of spaces that allowed nature to dominate and favoured the picturesque over mere beauty. Price articulated the idealized Romantic landscape in his 1810 treatise *Essays on the Picturesque as Compared with the Sublime and the Beautiful; and on the Use of Studying Pictures for the purpose of Improving Real Landscape*. The collection of essays was written in reaction to the organized, stilted gardens of the late eighteenth-century English gentry. Price saw the ordered garden as stifling both to nature and to individual emotional sensibility. Blatantly artificial landscapes could not induce the experiential emotional response that Romanticism demanded.

¹⁵⁵ Hunt, *Gardens and the Picturesque*, 170; Roger Turner, *Capability Brown and the Eighteenth Century English Landscape* (New York: Rizzoli International Publications, 1985).

Price and his contemporaries coined the term “picturesque” to describe objects with the appropriate level of affect, and the term was quickly applied exclusively to landscapes. By the middle of the nineteenth century, the term “picturesque” was an accepted and common descriptor for a specific aesthetic canon that promoted irregularity and spontaneity in order to elicit emotional response.¹⁵⁶ The need for emotional response to landscape was part of the broader Romantic cult of subjectivity and sentimentality.¹⁵⁷ Though Romantic landscapes were a reaction to the stifling artifice and order of estate gardens, the creation of a picturesque space demanded an unprecedented level of human intervention to be realized. In order to achieve the ideal picturesque space, which was rough, featured sudden changes and irregularities, and often aspects of age and decay, careful planning and execution by a skilled improver was required.¹⁵⁸ The idea was to use “the materials of nature” as an artist used paint to create vistas intended to provide the viewer with an intense and pleasurable emotional experience. The landscaper’s interventions converted the mundane into the extraordinary through striving to achieve the ideal picturesque landscape.

The Picturesque was the goal for Cataraqui, which was stated repeatedly in the local newspapers and by the board of directors.¹⁵⁹ The Picturesque denoted a landscape that

¹⁵⁶ Hunt, John Dixon, *Gardens and the Picturesque*, 106.

¹⁵⁷ Micheal Löwy and Robert Sayre, *Romanticism against the Tide of Modernity*, 52.

¹⁵⁸ Uvedale Price, Esq., *Essays on the Picturesque as Compared with the Sublime and the Beautiful, And, on the Use of Studying Pictures for the Purpose of Improving Real Landscape* (London: J. Mawman, 1810), 68.

¹⁵⁹ Meeting, May, 1855. Cataraqui Cemetery Company Minutes, Book 1, 1852-1889, Cataraqui Cemetery Company Fonds, Queen’s University Archives; “Cataraqui Cemetery,” *Daily British Whig*, June 2, 1853.

was contrived to present the viewer with vistas similar to those found in landscape painting so as to produce an emotional response. The use of disharmonious elements, variety of vegetation, and the artificial presence of controlled decay were all intended to encourage a reflective and meditative attitude in the viewer.¹⁶⁰ The irregularity and surprise of the picturesque contrasted to the beautiful, which was characterized by order and regularity with linear flowerbeds and straight rows of plants. These landscapes were intended to soothe the viewer and did not have the emotional power of the picturesque. The “Sublime” was the highest order of landscape, and was not attainable through human intervention. Sublime landscapes inspired many of the same feelings as the picturesque, but with an undercurrent of awe and terror. The more intense emotional affect of the sublime was derived from massive scale and human vulnerability. High mountains, thundering waterfalls, rugged coasts, and deep forests all fell into the category of the sublime. Human hands could not create scale and beauty of this nature—the sublime was reserved for God. The identification of a class of landscape outside the scope of human intervention was necessary in order to maintain the divine nature of the landscape.¹⁶¹

Refining the Picturesque

By the nineteenth century, the picturesque was subject to increasing criticism and distillation at the hands of writers like John Ruskin. Ruskin advocated for the rejection of

¹⁶⁰ Price, *Essays on the Picturesque as Compared with the Sublime and the Beautiful, And, on the Use of Studying Pictures for the Purpose of Improving Real Landscape*, 33, 89.

¹⁶¹ Price, *Essays on the Picturesque as Compared with the Sublime and the Beautiful, And, on the Use of Studying Pictures for the Purpose of Improving Real Landscape*, 33, 89.

the inauthentic sentimentality of the picturesque in favour of the intellectual and moral uplift of the “contemplative landscape.”¹⁶² The contemplative landscape was essentially a refined version of the picturesque where the depiction or construction of the landscape was exact rather than idealized and incited viewers to direct their attention to the observance of the power of nature. Through observing nature in its purest form, the viewer was encouraged to move beyond mere emotional reaction toward a deep contemplation of the mysteries of faith and life.¹⁶³ Rather than doing away with the picturesque, Ruskin reconfigured it so that the original overindulgence and sentimentality of the Romantic era could give way to authentic expression.¹⁶⁴ Ruskin’s elevation of the picturesque extended the style toward an increasingly unrefined and affect-driven style of landscape that was well suited to garden cemetery construction. By the time Cataraqui cemetery was built, cemeteries were increasingly constructed according to Ruskin’s articulation of the “moral landscape,” which compelled the individual to contemplate peacefully how nature expressed the power of God.¹⁶⁵ These landscapes provided space for memory and melancholy, but ensured that the sanctity of the cemetery was maintained.

Under the influence of Romanticism, God and notions of divine agency were reconfigured rather than done away with.¹⁶⁶ The shifting understanding of God and divine

¹⁶² John Ruskin, LL.D., *Modern Painters*, vol. III, (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1879), 199.

¹⁶³ Ruskin, *Modern Painters*, vol. III, 198.

¹⁶⁴ Gordon, Susan Phelps, “Heartsight Deep as Eyesight: Ruskin’s Aspirations for Modern Art,” in *John Ruskin and the Victorian Eye*, ed. Harriet Whelchel (Phoenix, AZ: Phoenix Art Museum: 1993), 37.

¹⁶⁵ John Ruskin, LL.D., *Modern Painters*, III, 197.

¹⁶⁶ Thomas Pfau and Robert Mitchell, *Romanticism Against the Tide* “Introduction.” 8.

agency in the nineteenth century linked the divine to the natural world. The newly emergent “natural theology” posited that nature was the product of divine activity and, therefore, religious insight could be gained from its study.¹⁶⁷ The picturesque landscape provided the ideal space for the consideration of the newly conceptualized divine. Surrounded by a peaceful landscape, visitors could see the workings of the divine in the trees, shrubs, and changing seasons. As a reminder of the natural way of things, the garden cemetery acted as a salve for grief. Experiencing the seasonal cycles of growth and decay provided reassurance that death was a natural part of life and was therefore not to be feared. Placing the dead in a naturalistic setting served to tame the “King of Terrors” while still allowing the mysteries of the divine to show through. Romanticism glorified the individual and treated nature as something that was esoteric, contradictory, and difficult to comprehend. Nature and its power were given primacy in the Romantic ethos as a means to authentic experience and emotion.¹⁶⁸ Themes of loss, especially pertaining to death, were popular in Romantic-era literature and signalled changing attitudes towards death that influenced the popularity of the garden cemetery.¹⁶⁹ Loss, love, and death were central features of popular culture in the English-speaking world and the nature of this loss had

¹⁶⁷ Carl Berger, *Science, God, and Nature in Victorian Canada*, The Joanne Goodman Lectures (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1983), 5, 31, 33.

¹⁶⁸ Robert Mitchell, “Cryptogamia,” in *Romanticism and Modernity*, ed. Thomas Pfau and Robert Mitchell (London: Routledge, Taylor & Francis, 2012), 199.

¹⁶⁹ Löwy and Sayre, *Romanticism against the Tide of Modernity*. 24.

shifted dramatically. The focus was no longer on the death of the individual, but was instead about the sustained, melancholic grief of the survivor.¹⁷⁰

Along with the influence of Romanticism on landscape design in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century, the burial reform projects of the nineteenth century encouraged the construction of garden cemeteries. Cataraqui Cemetery followed the same principles of form and function as elsewhere and was built in part as a means of circumventing the extreme degradation of burial grounds that occurred in Britain and Europe.¹⁷¹ By the 1840s, Kingston's urban burial ground was beginning to show evidence of the decay that characterized London's burial grounds decades earlier. Both graveyards were nearly filled to capacity and the neglect of the Upper Burial Ground was becoming a point of contention for the local population. Because the grounds were located within the city limits in the midst of residential housing, the space was subjected to both increased misuse and increased scrutiny. The Upper Burial Ground was often used as pasture land for animals, a dumping ground for household waste, a haven for drunks and reprobates, and the site of irregular, illegal burials.¹⁷² The churches did not take care of the graveyard and so the space was littered with bones, offal, and household trash and the headstones were

¹⁷⁰ Ariès, *The Hour of Our Death*, 472–473.

¹⁷¹ Most monographs that deal with burial and have an account of this: Ariès, *The Hour of Our Death*, 486.; Kselman, *Death and the Afterlife in Modern France*, 167; McManners, *Death and the Enlightenment: Changing Attitudes to Death Among Christians and Unbelievers in Eighteenth-Century France*, 308, 316; Jackson, *Dirty Old London: The Victorian Fight Against Filth*, 105-106.

¹⁷² "Untitled," *Kingston Chronicle and Gazette*, August 21, 1841, sec. News.

leaning and broken, all of which gave the space a terrifying gothic air.¹⁷³ The degraded space of the cemetery had a deleterious impact on the surrounding area and proved corrosive to the city's reputation. A handful of visitors over the course of the 1840s thought the situation was disgraceful enough to warrant a letter to the local newspapers. A visitor who identified himself only as "a sojourner" declared that such neglect "gives an unfavourable impression to strangers" and went on to admonish Kingston residents that "respect for the dead is a general feeling founded on the natural affection of kindred and the teaching and practices of Christianity." Similar admonitions were made in 1847 by "Conscience", who levelled an attack on Kingston's civility by declaring the neglected cemetery evidence of "a decline of those human sensibilities so necessary to the well-being of a society and manifests a disregard to the sacred and inviolable rights, which is a disgrace to any Christian church in any country."¹⁷⁴ The state of the graveyard was not only an affront to the aesthetic sensibilities of Kingstonians, but it also undermined their claim to civility and modernity.

Creating the Cataraqui Cemetery Company

The unrest concerning the cemetery coincided with the arrival of the garden cemetery craze in Kingston. In 1850, a group of prominent Kingston men, including the city's most influential, founded the Cataraqui Cemetery Company as an alternative to the city burial grounds and as a testament to Kingston's civility and modernity. The original

¹⁷³ A Sojourner, "Letter to the Editor RE: Burial Grounds," *Kingston Chronicle and Gazette*, October 30, 1843.

¹⁷⁴ Conscience, "Letter to the Editor," *Daily British Whig*, June 28, 1847.

shareholders list included many of the city's prominent doctors, lawyers, and politicians: George Stuart, the rector of St. George's church and later the Bishop of Kingston in 1863 when the diocese of Ontario was created; John Counter, the Mayor of Kingston; William Ferguson, a prominent Kingston merchant; Thomas Briggs, an award winning-horticulturalist; and John A. Macdonald and Alexander Campbell, both of whom were well respected lawyers and went on to become Fathers of Confederation.¹⁷⁵ The garden cemetery scheme was a significant improvement for a city like Kingston. Such a space addressed the practical concerns of burial space and provided Kingston with another marker of modernity and prosperity. In the mid-nineteenth century, Kingston was still a thriving trade hub and important economic centre for the area, but Toronto was growing quickly and was increasingly becoming the economic and cultural focus of Canada West. Founding a garden cemetery was not only a practical means of ensuring dignity for the dead, but was also a strategy for enhancing civic status at a time when the city was at risk of being eclipsed by larger centres. Cataraqui Cemetery's founders had high expectations for the cemetery and from its founding, the space was burdened with more than Kingston's dead.

The capital-intensive nature of the urban cemetery required a critical mass of population, the recognition of need by that population, and a wealthy segment of the population. In order to pay for such a massive and capital intensive project, the founders of Cataraqui cemetery followed the private non-profit model that had been pioneered in Britain by a number of cemetery ventures and replicated in North America by Mount

¹⁷⁵ Cataraqui Cemetery Company, *The Act of Incorporation of the Cataraqui Cemetery Company: Its Rules, Etc., and a List of Lotholders.*; "List of Prizes Awarded at the Provincial Exhibition at Kingston, September 22 to 25, 1863.," *The Canadian Agriculturalist and Journal of the Board of Agriculture*, January 1863, 432.

Auburn in Boston. The private, non-profit joint-stock model represented one of the few viable alternatives to publicly-funded cemeteries and was designed to ensure that the cemetery remained viable while avoiding the ethical issues associated with profiting from such a venture.¹⁷⁶ The joint-stock venture also ensured that the cemetery was not tied to any religious denomination and was freely accessible—to anyone who had the money to purchase a plot, of course. Cataraqui's incorporation documents also had stipulations designed to ensure that the cemetery did not fall into disrepair. Any profits arising from the sale of lots that were not needed for paying salaries had to be used "to improve or embellish the burial grounds."¹⁷⁷ The popularity of the non-profit and city-run models of cemetery corporations also suggests that death maintained a privileged place in society. Even after the church stepped back from the practical aspects of dealing with the dead, the habitations of the dead required special care and assurances so that they could remain testaments to the memory of the dead and to the sorrow of the deceased.

The Cataraqui Cemetery enhanced Kingston's prominence and provided residents with a point of pride as well as a place for burial. The cemetery was built with the intention of being not only "an ornament to the neighbourhood" but also a place of dominion-wide prominence.¹⁷⁸ Cemeteries like Cataraqui were a means of increasing civic pride and ensuring that outsiders viewed Kingston as a modern city. Enhancing the appearance and status of urban space was a key aspect of middle-class modernity in the nineteenth century.

¹⁷⁶ Cataraqui Cemetery Company, *The Act of Incorporation of the Cataraqui Cemetery Company: Its Rules, Etc., and a List of Lotholders*, 6.

¹⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 4.

¹⁷⁸ Meeting, May 27, 1854, *Cataraqui Cemetery Company Minutes*, Book 1.

The middle class dominated the public arena as businessmen, professionals, and white-collar workers assumed positions of leadership in the community.¹⁷⁹ The increasingly dominant middle class used reform as a means of cementing class and exerting authority. By the mid-nineteenth century, the influence of the middle class extended to the way people handled their dead. Burial reform was part of a larger project of middle-class reform and addressed both the practical need for newer, more healthful burial spaces and the enhanced status that a picturesque garden cemetery brought. Like the construction of the penitentiary, the hospital, or the university, the cemetery was a means of improving the quality of life for citizens while making a clear statement about Kingston's status as a modern city. Cataraqui cemetery was embedded in a larger push toward better urban life in Kingston, and although it was privately operated, the institution was knit into the fabric of civic life. In addition to burying the bodies of the middle-class individuals who could afford a plot, the cemetery laid aside space for the asylum, the penitentiary, and a potter's field for pauper burials.¹⁸⁰

Although there was no direct profit motivation amongst the shareholders or the directors, the construction of institutions for social and moral improvement was an important strategy in both class differentiation and a bid for class ascendancy by the middle class. In towns and cities like Kingston, the middle class was growing as a result of the development of business and the associated increase in demand for professionals like

¹⁷⁹ Andrew C. Holman, *A Sense of Their Duty: Middle-Class Formation in Victorian Ontario Towns* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2000), 97.

¹⁸⁰ Undated Entry RE: Burial of Criminals, Lunatics &c. Cataraqui Cemetery Company Minutes, Book 1.

barristers and accountants. This emergent class group was able to exert tremendous authority through the translation of economic power into social capital and through strength in numbers. The middle class encompassed a wide array of people ranging from wealthy industrialists to white-collar professionals. Although diverse in character, the middle class placed a high value on respectability and moral character, both of which were key to maintaining good standing in business. Through seeking to gain and express respectability, members of the middle class “built the edifice of public life in Victorian Ontario” through the construction of a series of institutions that allowed them to exert authority and influence over local affairs.¹⁸¹ Cataraqui Cemetery provided an excellent opportunity for individuals to amass social capital and gain respectability and for the middle-class project of respectability and social reform to move forward. In addition to furthering the middle class project as a whole, a project like Cataraqui Cemetery allowed those involved to build social capital through indicating a desire to enhance the health and well-being of the city. That investment did not generate income was of no consequence; income was never the point for those involved.

Constructing the Cataraqui Cemetery

It took about three years to obtain the capital for the purchase of the land from subscribers, and in 1853, seventy acres of land north of Kingston was acquired for construction of the Cataraqui Cemetery.¹⁸² The site was chosen both for its beauty and for its distance from the city, which addressed the concerns of “the many evils attendant on

¹⁸¹ Holman, *A Sense of Their Duty: Middle-Class Formation in Victorian Ontario Towns*, 97-98.

¹⁸² “Cataraqui Cemetery,” *Daily British Whig*.

intramural interment” and ensured that the space could be improved according to the tenets of the picturesque.¹⁸³ Cataraqui was to be the quintessential modern cemetery. The original plans featured artificial water features, serpentine paths, and expanses of verdant lawn. Small copses of trees would be planted to give the air of the natural, while lone deciduous trees added to the majesty and provided shade to visitors in the summer. The mimicry of nature was intended to remind visitors that death was the natural termination of the human lifespan, just as it was natural for the leaves to fall from the trees in the autumn. *The Daily Whig* greeted the new venture with the enthusiasm and assured readers “that a spot better adapted for a cemetery could not have been selected, and we rejoice that at last a rural cemetery is established; and we think whether the land be considered in respect to its position, its soil, the availableness of the entire ground for purposes of interment, of the beauty of the surrounding scenery, that the Cataraqui Cemetery will soon compare favourably with other rural cemeteries on the continent.”¹⁸⁴ Cataraqui was expected to indicate Kingston’s enhanced status while conferring even greater standing. Cataraqui Cemetery was founded amidst a glut of cemetery construction in North America. Growing centres all through the United States and British North America incorporated cemetery companies and built garden-style cemeteries of various sizes. The aim in the construction of Cataraqui Cemetery and others like it was not to make the space stand out or draw attention to the unique properties of the site, but instead to reproduce the Romantic English garden cemetery as closely as possible. The cemetery indicated that Kingston was just as modern and prosperous as any other city in North America.

¹⁸³ “Cataraqui Cemetery,” *Daily British Whig*.

¹⁸⁴ *Ibid.*

Construction of the cemetery began in 1854 and was ongoing for the remainder of the nineteenth century. Frederick Cornell, a surveyor from Rochester, New York, made up the original plans.¹⁸⁵ Cornell had laid out public spaces including parks and city plazas in and around New York and was well suited to the task of planning a cemetery. Though the site was attractive and suitable development, it required significant improvement. It was covered in brush, moderately wooded, and had several areas that were low-lying and swampy.¹⁸⁶ Significant effort and expenditure was required over the next fifty years in order to construct the hills, ponds, and clumps of ornamental shade trees that were expected of a “picturesque” landscape.¹⁸⁷ In the coming years, a team of labourers headed by the superintendent carved out a pastoral scene from the swampy wilderness north of the city. The space was laid out in sections so that the cemetery could be constructed a little at a time. The section-by-section layout also had the advantage of allowing lots to be sold and burials to begin before the whole space was laid out. Such an arrangement mitigated the potentially crippling expense. Work progressed as quickly as possible, but was hindered by inclement weather, long winters, and limited funds.¹⁸⁸

Laying out a section was straightforward, but labour-intensive. Land was cleared, and unsightly or unsuitable trees were removed. After the land was transformed into a blank canvas, the pathways were surveyed, cut, graded, and gravelled. The number of gravel roads and walks were kept to a minimum so that the effect of the “verdant expanse”

¹⁸⁵ F.J.M. Cornell, Linen Map of Cataraqui Cemetery, 1853, Queen’s University Archives

¹⁸⁶ Meeting, May, 1855, Cataraqui Cemetery Company Minutes, Book 1.

¹⁸⁷ Meeting, May 27, 1854, Ibid.

¹⁸⁸ Annual Stockholders Meeting, May 9, 1879, Ibid.

of lawn was not ruined.¹⁸⁹ Soil removed from the roads during cutting was used to create gently rolling hills that conformed to the curves of the walkways. Imported trees chosen for their beauty and symbolism were placed and the wide green lawns were seeded. Attaining the visual variety that the picturesque demanded took months, and was not fully realized in Cataraqui right away. Statuary, ornamental plants, and other embellishments were limited owing to the lack of available funds. Instead, the directors relied on the good taste and private expenditure of individual lot holders to enhance the beauty of the cemetery.¹⁹⁰ The expectation that lot holders would add to the beauty of the space was both shrewd and entirely too optimistic. The desire for decorative space and recognition of private ownership meant that the directors were hesitant to interfere. However, in order to realize the ideal picturesque garden cemetery, individual lots had to conform to high expectations of neatness and tasteful décor. The first by-laws did not place restrictions on lot decoration or monument style, noting only that lots should be well kept and monuments tasteful.¹⁹¹ Lot owners had near-total control over burial spaces and while the monuments that Kingstonians chose were generally tasteful, the hope of sustained and lavish private expenditure on lot decoration and consistent care and maintenance of cemetery lots was never really realized.

Conceptualizing, founding, and building the cemetery was a massive undertaking, especially given the relatively small size of Kingston. It was only through the determination

¹⁸⁹ Meeting, May, 1855, Ibid.

¹⁹⁰ Meeting, May 29, 1852. Ibid.

¹⁹¹ Cataraqui Cemetery Company, The Act of Incorporation of the Cataraqui Cemetery Company: Its Rules, Etc., and a List of Lotholders., 11.

and effort of a small group of powerful men that the cemetery came to fruition. By 1854, Kingston had its garden cemetery. Burials had started and the landscape was taking shape, but as with any large-scale project, expenses mounted, work progressed more slowly than hoped, and unexpected problems appeared.¹⁹² From 1853 onward, the board of the Cataraqui Cemetery Company struggled to ensure that the venture did not fail while still attempting to conform to changing imperatives of cemetery management. As the nineteenth century progressed, the expectations of the consumer grew and Cataraqui struggled to meet these obligations.

¹⁹² Meeting, May 27, 1856. Cataraqui Cemetery Company Minutes, Book 1.

Chapter 3

For Such Our Cemeteries Should Be

Although Kingston had lost the nation's capital to Ottawa and been outstripped in size and industrial capacity by Toronto, the city remained a hub of activity throughout the nineteenth century due to its busy harbour, proximity to the United States, and the presence of industry and commerce.¹⁹³ Like other North American cities, Kingston saw the late Victorian period as one of urban growth and progress. This was especially true of the institutions that had been established earlier in the century, which changed and developed in response to these population increases and to improved financial security.¹⁹⁴ Cataraqui Cemetery was no different, but the management structure and constant expansion and maintenance through the nineteenth century provided the directors and superintendent with the opportunity to shift subtly the appearance and function of the cemetery. From about 1880 onward, Cataraqui Cemetery was consciously transformed from a space that was exclusively for passive meditation into a service-oriented consumer product by the application of new management and care methods imported from the United States and the addition of amenities that were informed by emerging cultural norms of progressivism and consumerism. Though Cataraqui and other cemeteries like it were considered "modern" spaces throughout the nineteenth century, what constituted a "modern" cemetery shifted

¹⁹³ Jane Errington, *Greater Kingston: Historic Past, Progressive Future* (Portland, Maine: Windsor Publications-History Books Division, 1988), 79; Keith Walden, *Becoming Modern in Toronto: The Industrial Exhibition and the Shaping of a Late Victorian Culture* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997), 9.

¹⁹⁴ Errington, *Greater Kingston*. 74.

as modernity was increasingly driven by bureaucratization, technology, consumerism, and secularization.¹⁹⁵

For the first thirty years of its existence, the Cataraqui Cemetery Company struggled to meet its financial obligations and was limited in its capacity to improve the cemetery. Many of the subscribers defaulted on their loans, and profits from the sale of lots did not produce enough revenue for major improvements or expenditure at first.¹⁹⁶ Regardless of these constraints, the construction of new sections continued throughout the nineteenth century. In order to realize the grandiose dreams of the first directors, the superintendent hired labourers and cleared acres of brush, drained swamps, dug drainage culverts, graded the landscape, planted trees, and laid sod. In spite of the fact that the goal of the implanted picturesque ideal was an irregular and varied landscape, its creation demanded human intervention in order to create the scenic vistas—and the appropriate emotional response. The process of converting the wilderness north of Kingston into a cemetery was a huge undertaking that demanded the application of human labour, technology, and capital. The investment was seen as a good one, and the directors hoped that the cemetery would generate profit and prestige right away.¹⁹⁷ By 1854, construction was progressing well and about 120 lots had been sold, which nearly covered the cost of the cemetery land purchase. That the cemetery would become popular was a foregone conclusion for the board, which

¹⁹⁵ Doug Owsram, *The Government Generation: Canadian Intellectuals and the State, 1900-1945* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1986), IX-X; R. Douglas Francis, *The Technological Imperative in Canada: An Intellectual History* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2009), 2-4; David Marshall, *Secularizing the Faith: Canadian Protestant Clergy and the Crisis of Belief, 1850-1940* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1992), 6-7.

¹⁹⁶ Meeting, May 27, 1856. Cataraqui Cemetery Company Minutes, Book 1, 1852-1890.

¹⁹⁷ Meeting, May 27, 1854. Ibid.

believed that “the beauty of the Cemetery and other reasons will gradually force themselves upon the minds of the classes of the community” and create a demand for lots.¹⁹⁸ The board of directors also expected that the Lower and Upper Burial grounds would close soon after Cataraqui was opened, provided the company with a monopoly on Protestant burials in Kingston. In order to make the cemetery as desirable as possible, years were spent cutting roads and walkways, digging ponds, installing waterworks, and planting trees. In spite of the popularity of the space and the monopoly over burials the cemetery gained, realizing the original plan took over half a century and nearly bankrupted the company.

David Nicol, Superintendent

In spite of persistent financial problems, David Nicol, the superintendent who oversaw the cemetery from 1863 to his death in 1894, was committed to ensuring that the cemetery attained and maintained the level of prestige that was sought. The position of superintendent was a product of the rejection of churchyard and urban burials and the rise of the garden cemetery.¹⁹⁹ When the church oversaw burials, the grounds were small and the appearance of the space was not a priority. The task of caring for the grounds and conducting funerals fell to the Sexton, who was generally elected from amongst the

¹⁹⁸ Meeting, May 27, 1854. Cataraqui Cemetery Company Minutes, Book 1, 1852-1890.

¹⁹⁹ Charles David Sloane, *The Last Great Necessity: Cemeteries in American History*, Creating the North American Landscape (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1991), 109; Brian Young, *Respectable Burial: Montreal's Mount Royal Cemetery* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2003), 34.

congregation and was paid for his time.²⁰⁰ With the garden cemetery came a host of new imperatives associated with the construction and maintenance of the ideal picturesque landscape. The Romantic imperative articulated by men like Uvedale Price, H. A. Engelhardt, J. C. Loudon, and John Ruskin demanded not only the artistic and mindful layout of cemetery landscapes, but also an in-depth knowledge of horticulture, surveying, and landscape design and construction. As the task of landscape construction became increasingly professionalised, cemetery companies sought trained and experienced men for the role of superintendent. If a professionally trained landscape architect was unavailable or beyond the financial means of the cemetery, someone trained as a horticulturalist would suffice.²⁰¹ Initially, the board of directors hired a man named Alpine Grant as superintendent, however, he was dismissed amidst complaint over an unknown scandal in 1863 and replaced by David Nicol, who remained in the position until his death in 1894, when his son George succeeded him. David Nicol was the ideal candidate for superintendent. He had immigrated to the Kingston area from Glasgow, where he had trained as a horticulturalist under his father. Once in Canada, he made a name for himself with his apple orchards, which featured varieties that he had bred himself.²⁰² Nicol was expert in planting and landscaping and was a skilled and innovative superintendent who made the most of the limited means at his disposal. By the end of the nineteenth century, he was well known in the Canadian horticulture and landscaping community as a professional

²⁰⁰ Sexton's duties and funerary costs, St. George's Church Vestry Minutes, 1817-1827, Parish Records, Anglican Diocese of Ontario Archives.

²⁰¹ Young, *Respectable Burial*, 11.

²⁰² "Some Prominent Canadian Horticulturalists," *The Canadian Horticulturalist*, May 1892.

cemetery manager and an experienced landscape architect.²⁰³ His prestige was such that in 1892, just before his death, he was asked to design a two-acre burial ground for the town of Hawkesbury. His plans were published in *The Canadian Horticulturist* as an excellent example of how to design a small cemetery according to the demands of the picturesque.²⁰⁴ The request was a clear indication of Nicol's stature in the field, while the end result demonstrates both his skill as a superintendent and his knowledge of the current state of cemetery design. The plan was essentially a scaled-down version of Cataraqui and featured the large grassy expanses and gently curving pathways that ensured a pleasing, naturalistic space. In addition to the plans, Nicol recommended that the new cemetery be maintained and managed according to the suggestions provided in *Modern Cemetery* magazine.²⁰⁵ Nicol's status among local landscape gardeners also speaks to the status that Cataraqui Cemetery had obtained in the province. By the close of the nineteenth century, Cataraqui had become an object of admiration, as was evidenced by a continuous increase in visitors year over year, many of whom were from outside Kingston.²⁰⁶ Those from within Kingston noted "in the last seven years great progress has been made in beautifying the grounds"²⁰⁷

²⁰³ "Death of a Director," *Canadian Horticulturalist*, May 1894.

²⁰⁴ "Letter from George S. Watson of Hawkesbury, Ont. Asking about a 2 Acre Burying Ground," *Canadian Horticulturalist*, October 1892, 389.

²⁰⁵ *Ibid*, 390.

²⁰⁶ The Superintendent's Annual reports given at the Annual General Meeting of Stockholders note that there was an annual increase in visitors from 1880 onward; many of these visitors were from outside Kingston. Cataraqui Cemetery Company Minutes, Book 1.

²⁰⁷ Annual General Meeting, Saturday, May 30, 1885. *Ibid*.

Financial Limitations, 1855-1878

Though Nicol ran the cemetery effectively and ensured that construction and maintenance progressed smoothly, financial problems arose almost immediately. Concerns about funds emerged as early as 1855 when investors began to default on their stock payments, and the situation worsened as these concerns were compounded by the unexpectedly high expense of simultaneously constructing and maintaining the space.²⁰⁸ The poor state of the company's finances was further compounded by the decision to have lithographed maps of the cemetery printed for lot holders. The company paid for the printing outright and failed to gauge whether or not there would be any interest in the maps—there was not—and “the small sum charged for them barely covered the cost of printing.”²⁰⁹ Defaulters were also an issue; forcing them to pay up was not an easy matter, so the directors turned their attention to securing a monopoly over burials until a tactful solution to the defaulters could be found. Though burials in the Lower Burial Ground had largely stopped, the continued use of the Upper Burial Ground was seen an obstacle to the growth of the new cemetery and the board of directors felt it necessary to “urge upon the city authorities and the public the expediency of entirely closing the churchyards for burial purposes within city limits.”²¹⁰ The Kingston public already recognized the problems with urban burial, thanks to reform literature and complaints over the state of the Upper Burial

²⁰⁸ According to the meeting minutes, financial difficulties started in earnest in 1857 and grew steadily worse until July of 1878, when the private estate of Mr. George Fraser assumed the company's debt Ibid.

²⁰⁹ Director's Meeting, May 1855, Ibid.

²¹⁰ Meeting, May 27, 1856, Cataraqui Cemetery Company Minutes, Book 1.

Ground that had been mounting since the 1840s.²¹¹ While public opinion was in favour of the cemetery, the subject of closing the city grounds was one that the board recognized would require “cautious management” so as not to raise the ire of the churches and citizens of Kingston.²¹² Eventually, after a protracted political campaign by a few reform-minded aldermen, the urban burial grounds were closed to burial by city bylaw in 1864, giving Cataraqui Cemetery a monopoly on Protestant burials.

Though Kingstonians were compelled to use Cataraqui cemetery after 1864, financial problems persisted. By the 1870s, amidst mounting financial concerns stemming from defaulted stock payments, the company took drastic measures in order to fix the financial situation. In March of 1874, the company called in the stock and requested that the surviving stockholders cover the costs of the stock that had not been collected. Their efforts were in vain, and finally, in 1878 Mr. George Fraser, a member of the board of directors and one of the original investors in the cemetery, assumed the entire debt of the Company into his private estate.²¹³ Debts to the amount of \$929.05 were removed in the hope that the company could right itself financially, as developing the cemetery according to the imperatives of modern cemetery design was proving difficult.

After the debt was squared away the board of directors took steps to ensure that the financial health of the company was maintained in the hopes that the cemetery could be further improved. Lot pricing was aggressively restructured and the board re-negotiated

²¹¹ Lee Jackson, *Dirty Old London: The Victorian Fight Against Filth* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2014)., Chapter 5, “Vile Bodies,” 105-133.

²¹² Meeting, May 27, 1856, Cataraqui Cemetery Company Minutes, Book 1.

²¹³ Meeting, July 1878. Ibid.

the arrangements that had been made with the Kingston Penitentiary, the Kingston Asylum, and the Kingston General Hospital. In fall of 1878, the company recognised that “the funds of the company [were] not in such a state as will justify them in allowing further gratuitous occupation of the grounds” and resolved to charge the Kingston penitentiary and the asylum \$4.00 for each burial, half of which was used to pay for the land and half for the labour.²¹⁴ Free use of the common ground was also curtailed. Under the new pricing structure, interments were \$4.00 unless the remains were those of a patient from Kingston General Hospital or a child under the age of ten, in which case the cost was \$2.00. The city council was notified of the change, as these costs were paid for by the city.²¹⁵ City Council, the Medical Superintendent of the Asylum, and the Warden of Kingston Penitentiary were all notified of the change and all were amenable with the exception of the Warden of Kingston Penitentiary, who continued to haggle with the company over land prices to no avail. His final letter regarding the matter was sent in the summer of 1879; he offered \$25 for 400 square feet of land, which should have cost \$60.²¹⁶ The warden was notified that he could have the land at the price set by the company. The pricing of private lots was also restructured. Lot prices were by the square foot, with land fronting pathways costing twenty cents per square foot and all other land costing fifteen cents a square foot.²¹⁷ With the city burial grounds having closed in 1864 and the major debts of the company gone, the

²¹⁴ Undated Entry, c. Fall, 1878. Cataraqui Cemetery Company Minutes, Book 1.

²¹⁵ Director’s Meeting, November 2, 1878. Ibid.

²¹⁶ Director’s Meeting, July 7, 1878 note RE: Letter from the Warden of Kingston Penitentiary with low offer for prison burial land. Cataraqui Cemetery Company Minutes, Book 1.

²¹⁷ Director’s meeting, December 2, 1878. Ibid.

company was free to enforce whatever policies and pricing it wanted. Such efforts to secure the financial future of the company took a long time to be fruitful. It was not until 1883 that finances showed a noted improvement and it took until the spring of 1890 for the director to declare the finances of the company in a flourishing condition.²¹⁸

A Space for All Protestants

The goal of attaining and maintaining financial security was partly to ensure that the cemetery was an attractive product for the increasingly savvy and discerning modern consumer.²¹⁹ Although Kingston's Catholic population founded a separate cemetery called St. Mary's after the closure of the city grounds, Cataraqui still had to cater to all of Kingston's Protestant denominations. In the first decade of operation, the burial of multiple denominational groups in one place was not an issue. However the closure of the city burial grounds in 1864 caused the Church of England to raise concerns over consecration. The closure of the cemetery also coincided with a significant increase in Kingston's power within the Church establishment. In 1862, the Diocese of Ontario was formed and Kingston was chosen as the seat of the newly created See.²²⁰ This elevated the rector of St. George's Cathedral, John Lewis Travers, to the status of Bishop. Cataraqui Cemetery provided Travers with the opportunity to provide for his flock and test the limits of diocesan power in the community. In August of 1864, the Dean of the Church of England approached

²¹⁸ Annual Meeting of Shareholders, May 1883, and May, 1890. Ibid.

²¹⁹ Sloane, *The Last Great Necessity*, 131.

²²⁰ *Journal of the First Session of the Synod of the United Church of England and Ireland in the Diocese of Ontario, with an Appendix* (Kingston: The Canadian Churchman for the Church of England, 1862).

secretary of the Cataraqui Cemetery Company and requested that the Bishop of Ontario be allowed to consecrate the grounds in order to “dedicate the cemetery to holy purposes.” The Church of England also requested a mortuary chapel on the grounds.²²¹ The board of directors, being uncertain how to proceed, tabled the discussion and did not reply immediately.

The delay in response turned out to be a wise move on the part of the board, as the request sparked denominational tension. In September of 1864, the company received an irate letter signed by the leaders of Kingston’s other denominations. The clergy “[expressed their] astonishment at the proposed consecration of the Cataraqui Cemetery by the Bishop of Ontario,” as the cemetery was connected to people of all faiths. The letter went on to argue that the consecration of the cemetery by one church was unjust and “in opposition to the majority.”²²² The letter demanded that the service be denied and threatened the company with legal action if it failed to comply. The directors were forced to find a solution that avoided alienating the Church of England, which comprised a large and influential part of Cataraqui’s consumer base, but still appeased the leaders of the other denominations. The question of consecration was brought to the shareholders at an annual meeting, where it was resolved that the Dean’s request would be granted, but that the consecration applied only to those lots owned by members of the Church of England. Furthermore, the resolution explicitly stated “the service of consecration did not confer any special privilege,

²²¹ Director’s Meeting, May 1864, Copied correspondence between Secretary and Dean of the Church of England, Cataraqui Cemetery Company Minutes, Book 1.

²²² Copied Letter from “Undersigned Clergy” of Kingston, September 1864. Ibid.

right, or authority to one denomination over another.”²²³ Though the cemetery was still acknowledged as sacred space, it was increasingly being reconceptualised as a secular consumer product that needed mass appeal in order to succeed.

Visitors and Tourists: Defining Correct Usage

Although the clergy of Kingston saw the cemetery as sacred space, the public was more divided on the matter. Traditionally, city graveyards and burial grounds had been used as public space, whether for grazing animals, fairgrounds, gathering places, or refuse dumps.²²⁴ Kingston’s city burial grounds were no different, and were subject to a variety of uses by the residents. The creation of a garden cemetery in Kingston did not alter the perception of burial space as public space, though the garden-like setting encouraged the use of the cemetery as a place of leisure and relaxation rather than one for refuse and vandalism. The grounds were well suited to the enjoyment of visitors: the winding pathways were ideal for long walks and the beauty of the surroundings and monuments seemed designed for the enjoyment of the public. Large trees provided shade on sunny days, and the expansive lawns were perfect places to sit and muse. Space that was intended to encourage contemplation of God and the Afterlife and comfort in the grieving was increasingly being put to more secular uses.²²⁵ The board did not wish to curtail public

²²³ Copied Letter from “Undersigned Clergy” of Kingston, September 1864, Cataraqui Cemetery Company Minutes, Book 1.

²²⁴ Ariès, *The Hour of Our Death*, 41; Howard Williams, *Death and Memory in Early Medieval Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 109.

²²⁵ David Schuyler, *The New Urban Landscape: The Redefinition of City Form in Nineteenth-Century America*, *New Studies in American Intellectual and Cultural History* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1986), 54.

visits. The cemetery had to be freely accessible to lot holders as well as friends and family of the deceased who had been laid to rest there. Furthermore, ensuring that the public experienced the beautiful surroundings of the cemetery was the only strategy for promoting the cemetery as advertising was forbidden by convention and respectability.²²⁶ Though accessibility was key, alternative uses of the grounds ran counter to the idea that the cemetery was supposed to be sacred space and had to be controlled.

The annual reports of the Superintendent indicate that the number of visitors to Cataraqui rose consistently year after year. Cemetery tourism was a popular pastime in the nineteenth century and many visitors to Kingston would have wished to see the cemetery and compare it with that of their own city and with others they had seen. The cemetery was also a popular destination for locals, both for the purposes of paying respects and for enjoying a Sunday stroll. With more usage came more problems with visitor conduct. The silent contemplative air of the cemetery was disrupted by people on horseback, dog walkers, Sunday drivers, children playing games, picnickers, those seeking to imbibe, and, of course, those who wished to take a refreshing dip in one of the cemetery's water features.²²⁷

Critics blamed the application of the picturesque to the burial space for the erosion of decorum.²²⁸ They were convinced that the ostentation detracted from the quiet

²²⁶ Sloane, *The Last Great Necessity*, 131, 134.

²²⁷ Cataraqui Cemetery Company, Revised Bylaws of the Cataraqui Cemetery Company, with Rules and Regulations, 1879.

²²⁸ There is still a debate today as to whether or not running, walking one's dog, or cycling are appropriate in a cemetery. Conversely, others argue that the presence of memorial

reflection and meditation, and encouraged the use of the grounds for leisure and pleasure.²²⁹ Critics insisted that by mimicking the appearance and layout of gardens and pleasure grounds, cemetery managers were encouraging the use of the space for merriment and leisure. Such use by the public was objectionable on the grounds that the cemetery was a sacred space that should be used only for quiet meditation and as a monument to human mortality.²³⁰ Regardless of the objections, there was never a wholesale shift in cemetery culture. It was in the interests of cemetery companies to maintain a steady stream of visitors so as to ensure that the reputation of the cemetery was enhanced and spread by word of mouth. Still, though, the directors had to maintain some measure of decorum, and those who believed that cemeteries were strictly spaces of memorialization had the law on their side.

In 1850, an Act of Parliament was passed that made it easier for cemeteries to be established in Upper Canada. The legislation streamlined the process by automatically incorporating any company whose stated purpose was the establishment and management of cemeteries.²³¹ In addition to describing the management structure of these companies, the legislation devoted a fair amount of space to prescribing the conduct of visitors.

Causing damage or injury to a tomb, monument, tree, or shrub on the cemetery grounds

plaques, benches, and trees in city parks is an affront, as visitors may not wish to be reminded of death while on their evening stroll.

²²⁹ Cataraqui Cemetery Company, Revised Bylaws of the Cataraqui Cemetery Company, with Rules and Regulations, 1879.

²³⁰ *Ibid.* 19, 38.

²³¹ Canada. Parliament. Legislative Assembly. "An Act to Authorize the Formation of Companies for the establishment and management of Cemeteries in Upper Canada," 3rd Parliament, LXXVI § (1850), 1414.

was punishable under the criminal code as a misdemeanour, as was playing sports, discharging a firearm, or being a general nuisance.²³² While the companies were free to determine what behaviours constituted a “nuisance”, the law gave the freedom to press charges.²³³ The fact that decorum in cemeteries was enshrined in law indicated the desire to maintain the cemetery as a sacred space. However, the lack of serious action taken when rules were broken in Cataraqui suggests tension between the cemetery as a sacred space and the cemetery as a publicly accessible commodity.

The need for an attractive space that was desirable but still differentiated from a park or leisure ground was evident in changes to Cataraqui Cemetery’s bylaws. It was nearly impossible to create a garden cemetery that was not suggestive of a park due to the primacy of natural beauty and setting in cemetery design. Instead, differentiation was articulated in cemetery policy. The first bylaws for the cemetery were written in 1854 and said very little about visitor and lot owner conduct. However by 1879, a new and updated set of bylaws were adopted at a general meeting of the shareholders that sought to enforce the boundary between cemetery and park. These bylaws instituted new expectations with respect to visitors and limited the rights of the lot holder to an extent. Visitors were “requested to bear in mind that the grounds [were] sacredly devoted to the interment of the dead”²³⁴ and were expected to act accordingly. The years after 1880 brought a noted increase in the number of visitors to the cemetery, which the directors took as an

²³² Ibid, 1415.

²³³ Ibid.

²³⁴ Cataraqui Cemetery Company, Revised Bylaws of the Cataraqui Cemetery Company, with Rules and Regulations., 18.

indication of the general public's appreciation of the board's efforts to improve and maintain the grounds, but with the increased traffic came an increased need to police visitor behaviour. The 1879 bylaws were much more specific about what was permitted and forbidden in the cemetery. Dogs and unfastened horses were banned, as were specific activities such as bathing and swimming, picnic parties, smoking, or consumption of refreshment.²³⁵ Visitor conduct also posed problems for maintaining the appearance of the cemetery. The banning of dogs, horses, and refreshment ensured that the grounds and improvements were not damaged or sullied by litter or animal waste. Managing visitor conduct was a delicate balancing act between ensuring that the cemetery space did not decline into a mere pleasure ground while still ensuring that the space was a desirable place for the general public to visit. Though the bylaws attempted to address these issues, ongoing problems with visitors and trespassers alike suggests that the people of Kingston remained uncertain of Cataraqui Cemetery's place in their community.²³⁶

Though the new bylaws clearly outlined the expected behaviour, there were ongoing issues with the conduct of visitors and trespassers alike. In 1880, a persistent and problematic flower thief struck the cemetery so many times that in August of that year, Nicol hired a detective to find and arrest the offending party.²³⁷ Hitching posts were also installed near the gate to discourage people from bringing horses into the grounds, as they

²³⁵ Ibid.

²³⁶ Annual Meeting of Stockholders, May, 1881, Injury done to flowers, graves, and monuments. Cataraqui Cemetery Company Minutes, Book 1.

²³⁷ Director's Meeting, August 1880, Detective hired to prevent stealing flowers from graves. Ibid.

damaged the lawns and ate the plants.²³⁸ Problems continued throughout the 1880s and in June of 1882, a special meeting was held to consider the ongoing problem of “a number of people [who were] in the habit of drinking immoderately about the cemetery grounds and disturbing the sacredness of the place.”²³⁹ Sunday drivers were also a persistent problem, and so the board resolved to close the gates to all vehicles except those associated with funerals. A “man to keep order” was also hired at a rate of fifty cents per Sunday afternoon in the summer of 1889, as there were “so many visitors...many of them not so orderly as they should be.”²⁴⁰ Although the conduct of the public was problematic, the board of directors and superintendent did everything they could to encourage the use of the cemetery, including the installation of seats and resting areas around the grounds “for the comfort of visitors” and the placement of decorative statuary inspired by classical allegories and mythology.²⁴¹ The number of infractions that resulted from the people of Kingston using the area as leisure space suggests that there was a growing need for outdoor public space by the late nineteenth century. The ambivalence towards visitors demonstrated by the board of directors suggests that they were happy to meet this demand, as “experience [showed] that as the cemetery grounds improve[d] in appearance,

²³⁸ Director’s Meeting, May 2, 1881, *Ibid.*

²³⁹ Special Meeting, July 25, 1882 *Ibid.*

²⁴⁰ Director’s Meeting, May, 1889. *Cataraqui Cemetery Company Minutes, Book 1.*

²⁴¹ Annual Meeting of Shareholders, Superintendent’s Report, May, 1884. Director’s Meeting, December, 1883 *Ibid.*

so [did] a greater public interest arise and the demand for burial lots proportionally increase[d].”²⁴²

Other criticisms of Cataraqui Cemetery emerged as the century wore on. The location of the burial grounds outside the city proved a source of irritation for many Kingstonians. Although placing the cemetery outside the city limits was a solution to the problem of overburdened city burial space and the cemetery space was deemed both acceptable and beautiful, by 1868 complaints over the inconvenience of cemetery burial in the winter months emerged. In a letter to the editor, a reader of the *Kingston Daily News* complained of the senselessness of travelling four miles in the snow and cold just to see a coffin deposited in a dead house.²⁴³ In winter, funeral processions occurred as usual, but rather than the burial taking place immediately after, the body was put into a receiving vault until the ground softened enough for interment in the spring. By 1879, the Wardens of St. George’s cathedral proposed the construction of a winter receiving vault located in the Church of England section of the Upper Burial Ground.²⁴⁴

The Church wardens and other concerned parties met at St. George’s church in the fall of 1878 to discuss the possibility of building a vault and resolved to take the matter to city council. In November of 1878, the wardens of the Church of England inquired as to the legality of a mortuary chapel or vault, and in doing so, triggered a debate over the legality and necessity of the structure that continued into December of 1878. Those who wished to build a mortuary within city limits declared it “absolutely necessary in inclement

²⁴² Director’s Meeting, May 4, 1886. Ibid.

²⁴³ “A Victim,” “A Dead House,” *Daily News*, February 12, 1868.

²⁴⁴ “Receiving House,” *Daily British Whig*, November 5, 1878.

seasons.”²⁴⁵ However there was a great deal of opposition, particularly from the people living around the proposed site in the old burial ground, which had been closed by city-by-law over a decade earlier. The city council was also opposed to the mortuary vault on the grounds that “establishing a vault anywhere within the city limits [is] both illegal and offensive.”²⁴⁶ The city solicitor similarly declared that the mortuary chapel “would come within the evil intended to be remedied by the by-law” and that bodies stored above ground “would be justly considered a nuisance more objectionable than buried bodies” particularly in the event of a thaw or unseasonably warm winter.²⁴⁷ A decision regarding the proposed vault was made by city council in early December of 1878. Ultimately city council deemed the mortuary chapel in violation of the by-law as the vault “would come within the meaning of having graveyards in cities or centres of population.”²⁴⁸ The citizens of Kingston were forced to be content with the winter vault located on the cemetery grounds. The dispute over the legality of a mortuary chapel was the last time the Church of England, or any other denominational group, attempted to assert control over the fate of Kingston’s deceased. The final decision to uphold the law and the practical concerns of public health over the need for the Church of England to maintain some measure of control over the dead indicates that the public was increasingly less concerned with whether or not the Church had care or control of the physical remains and more aware of the threat that proximity to human remains posed to their health and their property value.

²⁴⁵ “City Morgue,” *Daily British Whig*, November 23, 1878.

²⁴⁶ “The Mortuary Vault,” *Daily British Whig*, November 30, 1878.

²⁴⁷ “The Mortuary Chapel,” *Daily British Whig*, December 3, 1878.

²⁴⁸ “The Proposed City Mortuary,” *Daily British Whig*, December 3, 1878.

Keeping Up Appearances

With the city firm in its decision that urban burials and body storage were unlawful, burial in Cataraqui Cemetery was the only option for Protestant Kingstonians. The enhanced use contributed to a shift in the management structure of the cemetery and its eventual transformation into a modern consumer service. In order to ensure that the space was desirable, Nicol was invested in ensuring that Cataraqui was managed and maintained according to progressive practices, and went to great lengths to do so. The original management model as articulated in 1850 was simple: people purchased burial plots from the company that were priced according to size, and were then left to decorate and care for the lots as they saw fit.²⁴⁹ While the directors acknowledged that the beauty of the grounds would mostly depend on the taste and care of lot owners, they trusted in the aesthetic sensibilities of the people of Kingston and their reverence for their dead, and assumed that that the appearance of the cemetery would be enhanced primarily by private expenditure and steadfast care. Such a state of affairs never materialized. By 1879, the appearance of the cemetery was a constant problem for Nicol and the board of directors. The combination of enhanced usage and an increase in visibility made the appearance of the cemetery paramount, but Nicol consistently reported that few lot holders did anything to keep their lots in order, which precluded the “tidy appearance that should characterize such a place.”²⁵⁰ Once they were occupied, most lots were left unattended. Evidently, most of the

²⁴⁹ Cataraqui Cemetery Company, *The Act of Incorporation of the Cataraqui Cemetery Company: Its Rules, Etc., and a List of Lotholders*. 1854, 16.

²⁵⁰ Director’s Meeting, May, 1879, *Cataraqui Cemetery Company Minutes, Book 1*; Sloane, *The Last Great Necessity*, 71.

visitors coming to Cataraqui were doing so for the enjoyment of the grounds rather than to care for family burial lots. The lack of care on the part of lot owners gave the space a decidedly gothic appearance and undermined the picturesque landscape Nicol sought to create. Overgrown cemeteries also echoed the muddy and degraded urban grounds that the garden cemetery was supposed to correct. The lack of care and investment in cemetery plots in the nineteenth century suggests that the fabled Victorian reverence for the dead may have been lacking, presenting a serious problem for Nicol and the board of directors.

In response to the ongoing issues with the appearance and care of the cemetery, starting in the 1880s, the board actively enhanced the level of service available to lot owners, to improve the appearance of the cemetery. Nicol's biggest obstacle was the state of private lots in Cataraqui, many of which were overgrown and unkempt. Ornamental shrubs, trees, and flowers that were planted just after burial never received care and were allowed to become wild and overgrown. Wrought-iron fences that were placed as a means of demarcating family plots were rusted and decrepit. The stone copings that were put to similar use shifted and heaved with the winter frosts and spring thaws. On top of ruining the modern vistas that Nicol had worked so hard to create, enclosures also made mowing the grass difficult. The emergence of so many maintenance problems caused new limitations on monuments and the appearance of lots to be written into the revised 1879 bylaws. Unlike the 1850 bylaws, which placed the selection of monuments and the care of the lots solely in the hands of the owners, the revised policies stated that monuments that were deemed offensive or inappropriate could be removed at the discretion of the board and

plans for large tombs or vaults had to be submitted for approval before they were built.²⁵¹ The company could also remove or trim unruly and unkempt trees, shrubs, and plants if they become problematic to adjacent lots or were deemed unsightly.²⁵² The expansion of the right of the company to intervene where the tidy appearance and proper form of the cemetery was violated was a response to the increasing tension between lot holder rights and the cemetery's new role as public space.²⁵³

In addition to overgrown private lots, the directors also had to contend with the unexpectedly large expense of maintaining the sections and spaces that were still owned by the company. The desire to transplant the English ideal of the picturesque cemetery with all of the modern amenities was soon pitted against the reality of long, harsh Kingston winters. Constant upkeep was required year round. Each spring as soon as the snow was gone, the grounds workers cleared debris and completed a flurry of repairs to water pipes and other improvements.²⁵⁴ Summer was a time of constant mowing and weeding, while in autumn, the leaves from the many ornamental trees had to be cleared. As the grounds expanded, the number of labourers required grew and the shortage of men and money to pay them was a constant source of trouble for the board until the finances of the cemetery

²⁵¹ Cataraqui Cemetery Company, Revised Bylaws of the Cataraqui Cemetery Company, with Rules and Regulations, 13.

²⁵² Ibid, 10, 14.

²⁵³ Sloane, *The Last Great Necessity*, 60.

²⁵⁴ Notes about the scale and cost of upkeep and labour occur annually in the Superintendent's report given at the Annual Meeting of Shareholders, 1879-1900, Cataraqui Cemetery Company Minutes, Book 1.

were “in a prosperous affair and every exceeding year [showed] a steady improvement.”²⁵⁵ The work required of the superintendent and the team of labourers he supervised increased exponentially as the cemetery both grew and modernized; for much of the nineteenth century, Nicol and his team were split between expanding the cemetery and maintaining the existing sections. Regular maintenance was punctuated with the cutting and building of new gravel roadways, grading new sections, and seeding grass. Increased access to modern technology also tended to create work. When waterworks were installed in the 1870s, the upkeep of the grounds was made easier and decorative water features and drinking water were installed, but the underground pipe system required extensive annual cleaning and repair. The desire for the picturesque quickly came up against the reality of the harsh Kingston winter and the vagaries of the weather in spring and fall. Early snows could disrupt fall clean-up and the ground often remained frozen and snow-covered well into the spring. When the grounds were not blanketed in snow, constant upkeep was required to maintain the appearance of the space, and spring was generally accompanied by a flurry of costly repairs.²⁵⁶

The work required to keep the grounds in order increased as the cemetery expanded and more modern amenities were put in. The “natural” picturesque landscape required a host of technologies and constant human intervention to maintain. The expansive green lawns required cutting, which was a constant project when done by hand with scythes. Although Nicol suggested that a “mowing machine” would be an asset in the

²⁵⁵ Annual Shareholder’s Meeting, 1887. Cataraqui Cemetery Company Minutes, Book 1.

²⁵⁶ Notes about the extensive clean-up needed in spring and fall and repairs made as a result of the harsh winters occur on an annual basis at monthly meetings from 1879 onward. *Ibid.*

fall of 1880, there was no money for a horse mower until 1884.²⁵⁷ As technology to maintain the grounds became more readily available and the cemetery was subject to increasing public exposure, the standard of care in cemeteries was raised. Though the practice of leaving lot owners to maintain their lots as they wished was common in cemeteries, increased pressure to maintain a pleasing appearance rendered this arrangement untenable.²⁵⁸ By the late nineteenth century, superintendents were seeking out ways to ensure that lots were maintained without upsetting the often-delicate financial balance of the cemetery. In an effort to ensure that Cataraqui was maintained appropriately, Nicol looked to American cemeteries for new and progressive management and care methods.

Importing Management Schemes: The American Connection

In June of 1883, Nicol toured a series of American cemeteries to “[observe] and [note] the methods of keeping and laying out the grounds” and “judge the plans and styles of monuments” to see how Cataraqui compared.²⁵⁹ The trip was also intended to allow Nicol “by the knowledge [gained] to fully advise [the] directors on the best and at the same time most economical methods of rendering the Cataraqui Cemetery one of the most

²⁵⁷ Director’s Meeting, October 1880, Director’s Meeting, May 1884, Cataraqui Cemetery Company Minutes, Book 1.

²⁵⁸ Sloane, *The Last Great Necessity*, 110, 134.

²⁵⁹ Annual Meeting of Shareholders, May 1884, Cataraqui Cemetery Company Minutes, Book 1.

picturesque and beautiful cemeteries in the Dominions.”²⁶⁰ The month-long trip was paid for by the company and represented the start of the Cataraqui Cemetery Company’s aggressive adoption of modern management schemes. The shift in Cataraqui’s provision of service and management structure was part of a larger cultural trend toward the creation of progressive, consumer-oriented spaces that was being spearheaded by cemeteries in the United States.²⁶¹ By the 1880s it was no longer sufficient to sell burial space to the public; the cemetery had to provide a host of services for the care of lots if the appearance of the cemetery was going to be maintained. Nicol’s trip took him through eight cemeteries of varying sizes from upstate New York to Boston. All of them were established around the same time as Cataraqui and all were predicated on the garden cemetery style. Nicol’s report revealed that there was a remarkable consistency in the appearance of these spaces and the problems they faced, and highlighted the variety of solutions to these issues. While the trip was ostensibly an opportunity to gather information, the report was clearly intended to be persuasive. Nicol’s aim was to convince the board of directors that Cataraqui needed to adopt his suggestions and modernize if it was to remain a desirable commodity.

One of Nicol’s primary interests was to see how Cataraqui’s appearance measured up to that of other cemeteries. The lack of lot care was an ongoing problem that was compounded by the fashion for lots fenced with black wrought iron, a custom which was a holdover from the period when record-keeping was poor and overcrowding the norm. By the mid-nineteenth century, these fences served no practical purpose and had a tendency

²⁶⁰ Annual Meeting of Shareholders, May 1884, Cataraqui Cemetery Company Minutes, Book 1.

²⁶¹ Damien-Claude Belanger, *Prejudice and Pride: Canadian Intellectuals Confront the United States, 1891-1945* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2011), 7, 17, 207.

to rust and eventually collapse over time. Additionally, they were difficult to mow around and broke up the lines of the cemetery lawn. By the 1880s, Nicol attempted to encourage people to remove them through a series of mailed circulars, but this met with limited success.²⁶²

Nicol's aesthetic standards for the cemetery remained firmly rooted in the picturesque, but evolved to incorporate changing public expectations of cemetery service standards. The most significant observations that Nicol made were concerned with various schemes for lot maintenance. The American cemeteries that Nicol visited were generally better kept than Cataraqui owing to the predominance of formalized lot-care schemes. Rather than leaving the care up to the lot owner, many cemeteries charged outright for lot care according to the amount of labour that was required. Brookside Cemetery in Watertown, New York, charged fifty cents per lot for grounds-keeping and offered dressing services that ranged from one to five dollars depending on the size of the lot and the customer's preferences.²⁶³ Rural Cemetery in Albany had a similar arrangement, but also offered a perpetual care scheme and sold most of their lots under that condition. Perpetual care entailed paying an additional fee at the time of lot purchase, which was then used to ensure that the lot was kept in good condition in perpetuity. Nicol was of the opinion that payment and perpetual care schemes would prove popular and solve the problem of the unkempt lots. Exploration of how these schemes operated helped provide the proof he needed to encourage the creation of a perpetual care scheme at Cataraqui.

²⁶² Monthly Director's Meeting, May 3, 1880, Cataraqui Cemetery Company Minutes, Book 1.

²⁶³ David Nicol, Brookside Cemetery, Watertown, June 16, 1883. Copied Letter From David Nicol RE: American Cemetery Tour, Cataraqui Cemetery Company Minutes, Book 1.

Brookside Cemetery was founded in 1854 and was recently expanded. At 135 acres, the space was comparable to Cataraqui. As he toured the cemetery with the superintendent's assistant, Nicol noted that the cemetery was composed of many small sections. Such a layout necessitated a large network of roads that Nicol noted took up a lot of space and required heavy labour to keep up. Additionally, he noted "many of the sections are laid out in geometrical figures, the stiffness of which does not well accord with the modern state of landscape architecture."²⁶⁴ Although Nicol did not think much of the cemetery layout and appearance, he was careful to mention the near absence of fences around the burial lots in his report. While they were not forbidden, "with the good taste and common sense of the people, they are dispensed with, and now none are created and there are only some ½ dozen remain."²⁶⁵ Nicol also noted that Brookside featured a payment system for lot care wherein those who did not wish to care for their own cemetery lots paid fifty cents per lot, per year for groundskeeping and between one and five dollars for dressing according to the size of the lot and the way it was kept. The scheme was similar to that already in place in Cataraqui, although it was not always effective because of the tendency of lot owners to default on the care payments.²⁶⁶

While Brookside was underwhelming, Rural Cemetery in Albany was more to Nicol's taste. Founded in 1844, it was managed by a superintendent who had been one of the original surveyors and was trained as a landscape gardener and surveyor. Nicol was

²⁶⁴ David Nicol, Brookside Cemetery, Watertown, June 16, 1883. Copied Letter From David Nicol RE: American Cemetery Tour, Cataraqui Cemetery Company Minutes, Book 1.

²⁶⁵ Ibid.

²⁶⁶ Monthly Director's Meeting, June 1883, Special Meeting, January, 1884. "Cataraqui Cemetery Company Minutes, Book 1."

impressed with the man, noting that “having a highly refined taste for rural architecture and being of an exceedingly obliging disposition, he is particularly adapted for the important position which he occupies.”²⁶⁷ In addition to his admiration of the superintendent, Nicol was quite taken with the 330-acre cemetery with its “exceedingly grand” entrance and the “diversity of the grounds with its hills and dales, rocks and shrubs, lakes and bridges, fountains and waterfalls, and trees and shrubs both native and foreign of almost every variety suited to the climate”²⁶⁸ The layout was similarly well executed, with large sections and minimal roadways that preserved the natural beauty of the space. Though a beautiful space, Nicol admitted that the appearance was marred somewhat by unsightly and unnecessary fences that had been erected early on and never removed. Just as in Cataraqui, these had a bad effect on the overall appearance. However in Rural Cemetery, most of the lot owners were convinced to remove them; although this had been attempted in Cataraqui, it met with very limited success.²⁶⁹ The method of upkeep was of primary interest to Nicol, particularly the condition of perpetual care under which many of the lots were sold. Alternatively, lot owners could pay for upkeep according to the amount of labour that was required or employ a private gardener to tend the plot. In order to designate which care scheme a lot fell under, the superintendent marked each one with a coloured star to indicate how it should be cared for. The care schemes at Rural Cemetery

²⁶⁷ David Nicol, Rural Cemetery, Albany, NY, June 16, 1883, Copied Letter From David Nicol RE: American Cemetery Tour, *Ibid*.

²⁶⁸ *Ibid*.

²⁶⁹ Monthly Director’s Meeting, June 3, 1880. Cataraqui Cemetery Company Minutes, Book 1.

were clearly successful, as Nicol had very high praise for the space and the appearance of the grounds.

In Hartford, Connecticut, Nicol visited Spring Grove Cemetery and Cedar Hill Cemetery, founded in 1845 and 1864 respectively. At Spring Grove, Nicol pithily observed that “[the cemetery] might well be described as 50 acres of cutstone (sic) and marble which cost seven million dollars” and noted the “deeply cut aisles, narrow driveways, and the untidy condition of many enclosed lots” that were not attractive to a stranger.²⁷⁰ While Spring Grove was too dominated by sculpture to compare favourably to the picturesque Cataraqui, Cedar Hill fared better in Nicol’s estimation. In contrast to Spring Grove’s cramped ostentation, Cedar Hill was designed and laid out “in the most approved modern style” with no aisles or walks cut in and no mounds raised over the graves.²⁷¹ The space was a large expanse of grass and the tract of land was particularly adapted to the purpose of a cemetery “being charmingly diversified with hill and vale, stately shade trees, lawn and forest, running water and lakes,” all of which contributed to a perfectly picturesque appearance. Nicol praised the management of the space as well, especially the use of the horse mower which was “most decidedly the best and most economical method of keeping a cemetery looking well.”²⁷² As he left Connecticut, Nicol observed that “any person who may take the trouble to see the two cemeteries at Hartford would at once be convinced of

²⁷⁰ David Nicol, Spring Grove Cemetery, Hartford, Copied Letter From David Nicol RE: American Cemetery Tour, June, 1883, Ibid.

²⁷¹ Cedar Hill Cemetery, Hartford. Ibid.

²⁷² David Nicol, Cedar Hill Cemetery, Hartford, Copied Letter From David Nicol RE: American Cemetery Tour, June, 1883, Cataraqui Cemetery Company Minutes, Book 1.

the great advantages of the landscape plan over the old style of enclosures of every description.”²⁷³

The problem of enclosures and railings was also present at Springfield Cemetery, as were issues of topography. Though the space was suitably picturesque with shade trees and lakes, the site had proven unfavourable for cemetery use as it was hilly and washouts occurred frequently.²⁷⁴ Like Cataraqui, Springfield Cemetery had many copings and railings erected in the early years of its operation, and while few new ones had been erected, they remained detrimental to the overall appearance of the cemetery. Springfield also lacked the coherent lot care structures that other cemeteries had adopted, and while there was a limited perpetual care program, most lots were kept at the expense of the owners who paid annually according to the size of the lot. Nicol wrote that as a result “many lots are neglected as is the case in Cataraqui Cemetery and for want of harmony, the whole looks somewhat untidy.”²⁷⁵

Nicol’s final stop was Boston, where there were three cemeteries to visit. Forest Hills was noted to be a site of “great natural beauty,” enhanced by the excellent order that characterized the space and ingenious human interventions such as ornamental rockeries and ornamental gardens. Nicol attributed the impeccable appearance of the grounds to both the deep interest of the lot owners and the sale of the lots under the condition of

²⁷³ Ibid.

²⁷⁴ Ibid.

²⁷⁵ David Nicol, Springfield Cemetery, Massachusetts, Copied Letter From David Nicol RE: American Cemetery Tour, June, 1883, Cataraqui Cemetery Company Minutes, Book 1.

perpetual care.²⁷⁶ Mount Hope was adjoining Forest Hills, and while it was naturally very beautiful, the appearance was “sadly marred by a very large number of unsightly railings,”²⁷⁷ a state of affairs to which Nicol could relate. The final cemetery Nicol viewed was the famous Mount Auburn, the space that had started the North American cemetery craze in 1831 and had subsequently provided a model for other cemeteries on the continent.²⁷⁸ While the grounds were formerly regarded as an ideal picturesque space, evidently its age was beginning to show. Instead of being characterized by verdant, picturesque lawns and shade trees like the newer cemeteries, Nicol found a space dominated by an “immense number of heavy granite copings” and monuments.²⁷⁹ Nicol wrote “it seems as if the lot owners had vied with each other in erecting the most elaborate and expensive enclosures so much as that it appears monstrous—and in some parts it seriously detracts from the natural beauty of the grounds.”²⁸⁰ For Nicol, the modern cemetery was one where the beauty of the setting dominated the grounds while the tasteful application of monuments and ornaments complimented and enhanced the natural beauty of the area.

The Cemetery as a Service

²⁷⁶ Copied Letter RE: Forest Hills Cemetery, Boston. Ibid.

²⁷⁷ Copied Letter RE: Mount Hope Cemetery, Boston. Ibid.

²⁷⁸ Aaron Sachs, *Arcadian America: The Death and Life of an Environmental Tradition* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013); Sloane, *The Last Great Necessity*.

²⁷⁹ David Nicol, Mount Auburn Cemetery, Massachusetts, Copied Letter From David Nicol RE: American Cemetery Tour, June, 1883, Cataraqui Cemetery Company Minutes, Book 1.

²⁸⁰ Ibid.

After returning from his tour of the American cemeteries, Nicol wanted to ensure that the picturesque vistas of Cataraqui remained in spite of lot owner neglect and the careless behaviour of visitors. After his trip, Nicol sought to model Cataraqui Cemetery after the most well-run and progressive of the American cemeteries he had seen. Changes to the management structure through the adoption of a fee model and the introduction of program of perpetual care were made in order to improve the appearance of individual lots. By the summer of 1884, Nicol's improvement schemes came to fruition. A circular was created and distributed to inform lot owners that lot dressing was now offered for a fee and that a new perpetual care scheme was offered at a cost of \$40 per lot, \$60 for two, and \$20 extra each additional lot over two.²⁸¹ Additionally, in an effort to rid the cemetery of unsightly rusting railings, the circular implored lot owners to remove fences, railings, and copings from their lots, as "they prevent the mowing of grass and very much detract from the natural beauty of the grounds and even from the appearance of the placed monuments." Furthermore, the circular informed lot owners that modern American cemeteries dispensed with enclosures of all kinds.²⁸² Evidently, if the shareholders of Cataraqui cemetery wished to maintain the space as a modern marvel and ornament to the city of Kingston, they would have to do their part. By December of 1884, the bylaws were officially amended to include perpetual care conditions and in the spring of 1885, 125 zinc stars were ordered to mark the lots that the company was obligated to care for.²⁸³ The new

²⁸¹ Lot Care Circular, Tuesday, August 5, 1884, "Cataraqui Cemetery Company Minutes, Book 1."

²⁸² *Ibid.*

²⁸³ Monthly Director's Meeting, April, 1885. *Ibid.*

care schemes proved popular and many people opted to allow the cemetery to care for the resting places of their loved ones. Many new customers purchased lots under the condition of perpetual care.



Plate 3 - A rusting iron fence. Though it is certainly worse off now than it would have been in the nineteenth century, with their tendency to rust and the difficulty mowing around them, one does understand why Nicol objected to the fences.

The new lot care methods that Nicol introduced coincided with the achievement of fiscal health on the part of the cemetery company, and more improvements to the grounds were possible as a result. From 1884 onward, Nicol recommended the purchase of several statues in an effort to beautify the space. The addition of statuary and other decorative elements to cemetery grounds was popular by the close of the nineteenth century and was influenced in part by the rise of public park space in urban areas. Urban parks became a popular way to enhance the beauty of the city and borrowed many design elements from cemeteries, which provided an early model for public green spaces.²⁸⁴ By the close of the

²⁸⁴ Sachs, *Arcadian America*; Heath Massey Schenker, *Melodramatic Landscapes: Urban Parks in the Nineteenth Century* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2009); Alan Tate, *Great City Parks* (London: Spoon Press, 2001).

nineteenth century, there was little distinction made between the two from the perspective of beautification and care.²⁸⁵ As a result, placing monuments and decorative elements in the cemetery was no longer as contentious as it had been, and with Cataraqui's finances in robust condition, there was no reason not to engage in a programme of cemetery beautification. Nicol chose statuary that was appropriate to the setting; because they were chosen from a catalogue and mass manufactured by J.D. Peel of London, Ontario, they were in line with the popular public sculpture of the late nineteenth century.²⁸⁶ Allegorical representations of the four seasons as classical goddesses were placed as an aesthetic enhancement and a reminder of the natural cycle of the seasons, while a statue of Hebe, the goddess of youth, pouring water from a pitcher into a cup was placed in the center of a group of flowering shrubs as a celebration of life. Nicol also wished to plant more varied foliage and trees and to remove the ugly pines that dominated the space. In addition to improvements to the cemetery's appearance, Nicol also enhanced the level of service and comfort available to visitors through the inclusion of an office and a waiting room—which was a feature of every American cemetery Nicol had seen and he felt was very much needed in Cataraqui—and the installation of benches and water fountains.²⁸⁷

²⁸⁵ "Editorial," *Park and Cemetery Magazine: A Monthly Journal Devoted to Parks and Cemeteries*, February 1896, 1.

²⁸⁶ Cuttings of advertising matter pasted into minutes, Winter 1884, Cataraqui Cemetery Company Minutes, Book 1.

²⁸⁷ Director's Monthly Meeting, April, 1885 Annual Shareholder's Meeting, 1886, Monthly Director's Meeting, May, 1888, Annual Shareholder's Meeting, May, 1889, *Ibid.*; Monthly Director's Meeting, August, 1893 Cataraqui Cemetery Company Minutes, Book 2, 1890-1914.



Plate 4 - The statue of Hebe ordered by Nicol. New technologies such as zinc coatings allowed the creation of statuary that did not weather or degrade.



Plate 5 - The swan fountain near the entrance of the cemetery, placed in the 1890s.

The consistent improvement of the grounds created greater public interest and increased the number of visitors, which in turn increased the demand for burial plots.²⁸⁸ The aggressive improvement of the grounds continued as the company's funds grew. From 1885 onward, Cataraqui continued to modernize and add amenities. In 1886, a proposal for the replacement of the winter vault was accepted and many of the "common slab headstones and other objectionable erections [were] taken away," presumably by lot owners.²⁸⁹ A new wagon for the transportation of bodies was also purchased in an effort to enhance the service provided and maintain the beauty of the space at all times. Prior to the purchase of a black wagon in 1890, bodies were transported in the superintendent's market wagon, which was "not as decent looking as some who come seem to desire."²⁹⁰ The public wanted a better level of service in a cemetery and Nicol and the Board of Directors were happy to oblige in order to ensure that the cemetery was "appreciated by the citizens of Kingston as a beautiful resting place for the departed."²⁹¹ The efforts to improve the grounds were generally successful, although problems with lot owners who had neither purchased perpetual care or paid for lot care persisted. The death of Prime Minister John A. Macdonald and his subsequent burial in Cataraqui Cemetery also enhanced the reputation of the cemetery. The Prime minister's funeral was reported widely across North America, and the beauty of the cemetery was often noted. *The Detroit Free Press* declared that the

²⁸⁸ Monthly Director's Meeting, May, 1886. Cataraqui Cemetery Company Minutes, Book 1.

²⁸⁹ Annual Meeting of Shareholders, Superintendent's annual report, 1886, Ibid.

²⁹⁰ Director's Monthly Meeting, Feb 4, 1890, Cataraqui Cemetery Company Minutes, Book 2.

²⁹¹ Annual Meeting of Shareholders, May, 1890, Cataraqui Cemetery Company Minutes, Book 2.

space would thereafter be an historic spot. The burial of such a prominent statesman as John A. Macdonald enhanced the desirability of cemetery lots in Cataraqui Cemetery and increased the number of visitors.²⁹²

David Nicol's care of the cemetery continued until May 1, 1894, when Mr. Nicol was "suddenly removed by the hand of providence."²⁹³ There is no indication of what happened in either the company minutes or his obituary in *Canadian Horticulturalist*, but his death was unexpected and left the cemetery in need of a superintendent. David Nicol's loss was keenly felt by the board, which announced his death at the 1894 Annual Meeting and declared its sorrow at the loss of one "whose sole care and object wish was in the proper care, improvement, and beatification of the cemetery."²⁹⁴ Though David Nicol's loss was a blow to the cemetery company, his son George replaced him and proved to be equal to his father when it came to the care of the cemetery and the implementation of innovative solutions. As George Nicol settled into the role, it was clear that he shared his father's desire to maintain the grounds through innovation and modernization. In the spring of 1898, he visited the Dominion Experimental Farm in Ottawa in order to look at the new plant varieties and seek advice from Professor Sanders on what would be best to plant in

²⁹² "The Late Premier's Remains Buried Beside His Wife and Parents." *The Plain Speaker [Hazelton]*, June 12, 1891; "Sir John Laid to Rest." *The Detroit Free Press*, June 12, 1891; "Laid to Rest: Burial of Sir John A. Macdonald at Kingston." *The Atlanta Constitution*, June 12, 1891. "City and Country." *The Manitoba Free Press*, June 20, 1891.

²⁹³ Monthly Director's Meeting May, 1894, Ibid.

²⁹⁴ Monthly Director's Meeting May, 1894, Ibid.

Kingston.²⁹⁵ He received several plants that Sanders felt would be suited to the soil and climate and noted that they seemed to grow well. Nicol also proposed the prohibition of Sunday funerals as a means of ensuring that the presence of death did not darken the day of those who were visiting the cemetery. Such a practice was becoming widespread in rural cemeteries as they evolved into popular tourist destinations and important public spaces.²⁹⁶ Other amenities such as wastebaskets and more drinking fountains were also installed for the comfort of visitors.²⁹⁷

By the end of the nineteenth century, the focus of the cemetery was shifting away from simply providing a beautiful space for the dead to rest, and toward creating a service that the living would desire and consume, ideally within the limitations of decorum. The grounds increasingly resembled a park and the cemetery company was happy to reinforce the use of the cemetery by the living through the addition of decoration and services that could be enjoyed by lot owners and strangers alike. After all, anyone who set foot in the cemetery was a potential customer, so it was imperative that the cemetery experience be as pleasing as possible. The dead were increasingly hidden from view behind grand monuments and beautiful flowerbeds as the modern cemetery evolved to serve the living.

The aim of Cataraqui Cemetery's management had always been to create a modern burial space to replace the crumbling graveyards of the early nineteenth century. Over the course of the century, what constituted an appropriately modern cemetery shifted in response to changing cultural and economic norms. When the cemetery was founded, the

²⁹⁵ Monthly Director's Meeting, June, 1897, *Ibid.*

²⁹⁶ Young, *Respectable Burial*, 70.

²⁹⁷ Monthly Director's Meeting, September, 1899, Cataraqui Cemetery Company Minutes, Book 2.

modern cemetery was loosely defined as a space that was designed and constructed according to dominant Romantic-era tenets of Landscape gardening. Over the course of late nineteenth century, there was increasing pressure to reconfigure the cemetery as a service for the living rather than a space for the dead. Spurred on by the accumulation of capital, modern cemeteries were expected to offer a wider array of amenities to visitors and services to lot owners that could be enjoyed well before death. By the turn of the twentieth century, Cataraqui cemetery had been transformed from a modern, picturesque burial ground to a comprehensive service.

Chapter 4

Consuming Grief

While modernization and the emergence of consumerism encouraged the commodification of burial and the cemetery, mourning and funerary customs were also altered in response to the process. As industrialization rendered consumer goods more accessible and technological advances expanded the materials available, mourning, grieving, and memorialization became more focused on the individual survivor and a greater emphasis was placed on the individual. In the urban middle class, funerals and mourning required a large cash outlay, both for the burial space and for the material trappings of grief. By the 1870s, urbanization, industrialization, and increased economic and cultural exchange with the United States and England encouraged Canadian society to become increasingly consumer-oriented. Though agriculture and resource extraction remained important parts of the Canadian economic landscape, industrial capitalism was beginning to take hold by the mid-nineteenth century and the emerging middle class had disposable income and wanted things to spend it on.²⁹⁸ Although consumer items had been available as early as the eighteenth century, they were more widely available by the nineteenth and were used by the middle class to signal and maintain respectability, an act made possible by income changes brought about by the industrial revolution.²⁹⁹ The rise of the new mass-production methods, more efficient supply chains, and better retailing

²⁹⁸ Andrew C. Holman, *A Sense of Their Duty: Middle-Class Formation in Victorian Ontario Towns* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2000), 3.

²⁹⁹ Woodruff D. Smith, *Consumption and the Making of Respectability, 1600-1800* (New York: Routledge, 2002), 3, 181.

methods gave Canadians unprecedented access to consumer goods, while a host of printed materials and cultural pressures turned Canadians, especially Canadian women, into consumers. In much the same way that the reconfiguration of the garden cemetery as a consumer-oriented service altered burial practices, access to consumer goods changed the way that Canadians lived and altered how they responded to death.

The Middle Class , Separate Spheres, and Consumerism

The new middle class emerged in the wake of the Industrial Revolution and was a diverse group that ranged from struggling small storeowners and white-collar professionals to wealthy industrialists who made vast sums of money in business and commerce. While the amount varied by degrees, members of the middle class were characterized by access to disposable income and its use in a process of attaining and maintaining respectability and social status.³⁰⁰ The disposable income of the middle class developed alongside a massive expansion of industrial capacity that made consumer goods more accessible and easily attainable, and by the mid-nineteenth century, consumption was a key strategy in the attainment and expression of respectability for the Victorian-era middle class. The tasteful display of material wealth allowed the middle classes to demonstrate their success and hard work, while elaborate social and cultural rules surrounding the consumption and display of goods ensured that middle-class consumption

³⁰⁰ Holman, *A Sense of Their Duty: Middle-Class Formation in Victorian Ontario Towns*, 72-75; David G. Burley, *A Particular Condition in Life: Self-Employment and Social Mobility in Mid-Victorian Brantford, Ontario* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1994), 233.

did not soar to the excesses of the aristocracy or decline into tacky overspending.³⁰¹

Appropriately directed public indications of class status were important in the development and proliferation of the Canadian middle class, and like many things in the Victorian era, these were dictated heavily by gender. The delineations of middle-class life were based loosely on separate spheres ideology, which was the dominant social construction expressed in middle-class prescriptive literature.³⁰² According to this ideology, life was divided into the public and the private. The public sphere was inhabited by men whose lives were primarily focused outside the home, which they had to leave in order to earn money to support the family. Similarly, involvement in politics and associational life provided additional public spaces for men and allowed them to gain respectability and status in the community. The private sphere was the opposite and was inhabited by women who were expected to devote their energies to creating a domestic haven for the family, a refuge of love and morality for her children and her spouse. This is not to say that the idealized gender roles outlined in separate spheres were watertight. Men had to exist within the family, and as a result a range of domestic roles and spaces emerged as men sought to carve out space for themselves within domestic life.³⁰³ Similarly,

³⁰¹ Mariana Valverde, "The Love of Finery: Fashion and the Fallen Woman in Nineteenth-Century Discourse," *Victorian Studies* 32, no. 2 (Winter 1989): 175.

³⁰² Smith, *Consumption and the Making of Respectability, 1600-1800*, 175; Lenore Davidoff and Catherine Hall, *Family Fortunes* (London: Routledge, 2002), 450; Amanda Vickery, *Behind Closed Doors: At Home in Georgian England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009).

³⁰³ John Tosh, *A Man's Place: Masculinity and the Middle Class Home in Victorian England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999), 26.

the dominant Protestant religion provided women with an outlet for public activities in the form of reform movements and benevolent societies while growing consumerism positioned women as communicators of familial social position.³⁰⁴ Charity work and shopping were socially acceptable public outlets for women, as a way to extend their inherent morality and domesticity to those in need.³⁰⁵

Maintaining a balance between the public and private lives of men and women was imperative in order to preserve respectability. Respectability was shorthand for a complex set of personal and social norms that provided a new framework in which the emerging middle class could acquire and consume without moral condemnation. Though respectability was rooted in the gentility of the eighteenth-century English aristocracy, it was differentiated by the inclusion of a moral imperative derived from Calvinist values of work ethic and correct personal conduct. Respectability outlined appropriate behaviour for the individual within the family and the community, and described the means to achieving personal cultivation through the pursuit of rational recreation, participation in community initiatives, and sound moral character.³⁰⁶ Through acting correctly in both the private and public spheres, members of the middle class could cement their status in the community and in the business world. The emergence of virtue as a desirable quality in the middle class was partly due to participation in the world of business and commerce. An upstanding

³⁰⁴ Christopher Breward, *The Culture of Fashion: A New History of Fashionable Dress* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995), 164.

³⁰⁵ Tosh, *A Man's Place: Masculinity and the Middle Class Home in Victorian England*, 168.

³⁰⁶ Andrew C. Holman, "'Cultivation' and the Middle Class Self: Manners and Morals in Victorian Ontario," in *Ontario Since Confederation*, ed. Edgar-Andre Montigny and Lori Chambers, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000), 125; Smith, *Consumption and the Making of Respectability, 1600-1800*, 7, 105, 206.

and moral businessman was one who acted ethically, participated in associational life, and worked hard to provide for his family. Similarly, respectable women adhered to the ideal of the Christian wife and mother, which entailed sound household management, thrifty use of resources, and participation in church-sponsored activities of social and community improvement.³⁰⁷ A respectable individual acted according to broadly accepted standards of proper conduct, dress, speech, and deportment, while the respectable household contained certain goods and furniture items that were seen as markers of respectability. Similarly, the respectable middle-class family preferred that their funerals and burials be conducted according to the new consumer imperatives encouraged by the garden cemetery.

The emergence of consumerism as a driving cultural force for the Victorian-era middle class occurred over the course of the early nineteenth century. Beginning in the eighteenth century, consumerism and conspicuous consumption became fixtures in Europe's aristocracy, who consumed luxury goods for their rarity, fashion, or elegance in order to express status and wealth.³⁰⁸ Middle-class consumption evolved out of these tendencies but was differentiated by modern economic phenomena, including mass production and advertising. The industrial revolutions of the nineteenth century allowed the cost of manufacturing, and therefore the price of finished goods, to drop considerably over the course of the century. The consumption patterns of the Victorian middle class

³⁰⁷ Lynne Marks, *Revivals and Roller Rinks: Religion, Leisure, and Identity in Late-Nineteenth-Century Small-Town Ontario*, Studies in Gender and History (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996). For men's associational life, see: Chapter 5, *Mostly Male Worlds: Gender and Associational Life*, 107-139. For women's activities, see Chapter 2, *Gender, Class, and Power: Church Associations and Church Improvements*, 52-80.

³⁰⁸ Thorstein Veblen, *The Theory of the Leisure Class: An Economic Study of Institutions*, (New York: Random House, 1934).

were also guided by social mores of respectability and Protestant moral values of thrift and self-improvement. Initially, consumption was predominantly that of household goods and other items that were purchased for their utility or convenience.³⁰⁹ Household goods, appliances, personal care items, and foods were not considered decadent, but instead enhanced the efficiency of the home and freed time for rational recreation and self-improvement, both of which were central to middle-class respectability.³¹⁰ The consumption of useful items ensured that nineteenth-century consumer patterns were not immediately at odds with the moral imperative of the Protestant work ethic, though as the century wore on the consumer patterns of the middle class shifted toward more conspicuous consumption as goods became more accessible and middle-class incomes rose.

The new models of consumerism that emerged in the nineteenth century were easily subsumed into the gendered means of class construction that characterized the Victorian-era middle class. The ability to use income and consumerism as a means of class management was essential to the vision of the “angel of the household.”³¹¹ In order for income to confer status, it had to be spent in a manner that was consistent with taste, fashion, and respectability.³¹² By the time industrial capacity allowed goods like decorative items, clothing, and jewellery to be cheaply produced, consumerism was almost exclusively

³⁰⁹ Smith, *Consumption and the Making of Respectability, 1600-1800*, 181.

³¹⁰ Holman, “‘Cultivation’ and the Middle Class”, 110.

³¹¹ Lori Anne Loeb, *Consuming Angels: Advertising and Victorian Women* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994).

³¹² Elizabeth Langland, *Nobody’s Angels: Middle-Class Women and Domestic Ideology in Victorian Culture* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1995), 8, 25.

considered a female activity. Though fashionable dress was central to the nineteenth-century middle-class women's experience, it generated was a great deal of ambivalence, and debates over its morality and frivolity were common.³¹³ Women's costume was certainly rife with opportunities for gaudiness or excess and as a result, dress was conditioned by the tension between the growing commodification of fashionable trends and middle-class moral codes.³¹⁴ In spite of the fact that women were conceptualized as consumers and communicators of social position, they had to tread with particular care. Failure to keep up with the latest fashions might suggest that a woman lacked refinement and taste, or worse that her husband was struggling for money. However, slavish adherence to fashion was unbecoming and indicated decadence. Unobtrusive styles were always best.³¹⁵

Women, Mourning, Fashion, and Fantasy

Regardless of the complications surrounding women's dress, the growing fashion industry was one of the most aggressive in pushing conspicuous consumption. Seasonal fashions dictated by European royal courts and the fashion houses of Paris were disseminated to women through fashion magazines, periodicals, and shop windows. Many middle-class women either made their clothes themselves or, if they had the means, had their clothes made by dressmakers, who would have been willing and able to show

³¹³ Christopher Breward, *The Culture of Fashion: A New History of Fashionable Dress* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995), 146.

³¹⁴ *Ibid*, 147.

³¹⁵ "Descriptions of Mourning Attire Shown on Opposite Page," *The Delineator: A Journal of Fashion, Culture, and Fine Arts*, September 1896, 378.

customers the latest styles and encourage the purchase of new pieces every season. In Kingston, there were several dressmakers, tailors, and haberdashers in operation by the late nineteenth century, so residents had ample means and desire to look fashionable. The ever-increasing array of inexpensive dress materials, trimmings, and accessories added still more choice, and opened up the possibility of seasonal wardrobes and participation in the fashion cycle to more women than ever. To many women, the choices must have seemed endless. However the codes of respectability and fashion provided a limiting framework.

The simultaneous profusion and limiting of consumer choice was most apparent in women's mourning wear in the second half of the nineteenth century. Specialized mourning garments had been in use for centuries, but like so many other things, the rise of industrial capitalism and consumerism radically altered the landscape of mourning wear. The latter half of the nineteenth century was characterized by the growing intrusion of commercial enterprise into the lives of women and by the end of the nineteenth century, the fashion industry was the primary dictate of how women should dress for mourning. Control over what women wore was easily achieved through the proliferation of fashion magazines that were wildly popular in the late nineteenth century. Canadian women had access to American and European publications such as *Vogue* and *Harper's Bazaar* as well as long-running Canadian magazines like *Delineator*, *Canadian Queen*, *Young Ladies' Journal*, and *Ladies' Bazaar*. Magazines provided women with articles, advice columns, and fashion plates that simultaneously prescribed correct appearance and behaviour, and presented consumerism as an indispensable aid in their endeavours. Appropriate conduct in mourning was a constant source of anxiety for subscribers. Women wrote in to *The Delineator* for assistance with everything from how best to accessorize mourning dress to

the appropriate period for mourning a fiancé. The response was always in line with the dictates of respectability and fashion: fancy jewellery should not be worn while in mourning; six months to a year was an appropriate mourning period for a fiancé, though crape should not be used.³¹⁶ Through establishing themselves as credible sources of expertise, Victorian-era fashion magazines emerged as a key strategy in selling mourning to women. While the choices seemed endless on paper, the restrictions expressed in the advice columns ensured women's consumption patterns were appropriately directed.

Fashion magazines also provided a new means of communicating the latest fashion trends to women and encouraging them to obtain new pieces in seasonal fabrics several times per year. The illustrated fashion editorials that were released almost monthly ignited the imagination by describing the season's latest fashions in great detail and provided fantasy fulfillment through offering patterns for sale. The December 1893 issue of *The Delineator* contains an exacting description of a ladies' mourning toilette:

... made up for deep mourning wear in black henrietta cloth and crape. The skirt is given a pleasing air of novelty by the introduction of a panel over-skirt, the long, unbroken lines of which will render the style universally becoming. The skirt consists of five gores and is shaped by darts to fit smoothly at the top of the front and sides, while the bottom displays a fashionable flare. The back is arranged in well defined fan pleats and the front-gore which is cut from crape, is revealed effectively between the flaring front edges of the panel overskirt....³¹⁷

The appearance and construction of the overskirt, basque, and sleeves are described in the same manner over the following page. In addition to enticing the female consumer to purchase the pattern, materials, and trimmings, exhaustive descriptions also served a

³¹⁶ "What Shall I Do?," *The Delineator: A Journal of Fashion, Culture, and Fine Arts*, April 1892, 399.

³¹⁷ "Fashions Of To-Day," *The Delineator: A Journal of Fashion, Culture, and Fine Arts*, December 1893, 622.

practical purpose. Detailed explanations of how garments should fall, fit, and be trimmed provided sewing instructions for either the home sewist or the professional seamstress.



FIGURE NO. 511 D.—LADIES' MOURNING TOILETTE.—This consists of Ladies' 'Jasque-Waist' No. 6571 (copyright), price 1s. or 25 cents; and Skirt No. 6584 (copyright), price 1s. 6d. or 35 cents.
(For Description see Page 621.)

Plate 6 - The mourning toilette described in the Holiday, 1893 issue of *The Delineator*.

The article ends with material recommendations which included “the various fabrics devoted to mourning wear” as well as “less sombre materials” including “handsome combinations such as brocade and satin, velvet and peau de soie, or satin antique and mohair crepon.” Embellishments were limited for mourning dress, but the article suggests the tasteful use of “Hercules or serpentine braid, gimp-edged fur bands, galloon, [and] passementerie” for suitable decoration.³¹⁸ By providing fanciful descriptions and extensive construction notes, magazines could sell women the fantasy of fashionable mourning and provide a guide to fulfilling it.

Though the desire for mourning goods was not new, it expanded noticeably in the late Victorian period, spurred on by a set of social and cultural customs that were absorbed into a network of prescriptive literature and advertising that normalized consumer-driven mourning, as did the commercial cemetery. The establishment of mourning dress as a social requirement was key to selling women on mourning. Articles on mourning dress and etiquette aimed at the middle-class lady were highly effective in selling women on an image of mourning that was graceful, charming, tasteful—and, of course, demanded consistent expenditure. Advice columns like Mrs. Roger A. Pryor’s “The Social Code” published special mourning editions periodically. The October 1891 edition provides a window into the demands of fashionable mourning in late nineteenth-century Canada. In the event of any loss, mourning of some sort had to be worn, as there was “no mitigation of rules and

³¹⁸ Ibid.

customs tolerated in fashionable life.”³¹⁹ In the event of the loss of a parent or sibling, the mourning period was one year; for more distant relatives and friends, three to six months was appropriate depending on the depth of the emotional bond.³²⁰ Women were expected to “find refuge, even solace in retirement from society and in the envelopment of serious garments and sombre draperies.”³²¹ While some certainly felt relief at having an outward indicator of inner emotional turmoil, others resented the way mourning broadcast their most private affairs to the public.³²²

Regardless of personal feeling, few women dared forgo the mourning period. Mourning was deeply ingrained in the fabric of respectable society and the observation of the mourning period was “a concession to custom and tradition” that was not always tied to true grief. Writers for women’s magazines frequently admitted that the intensity of sorrow could not be gauged by the depth of mourning worn, but reminded readers of the need for mourning. Fashion magazines also frequently attached a moral imperative to mourning so as to avoid encouraging excess. The midsummer number of *The Delineator* for 1897 explained that “the woman who really feels her bereavement will prefer simple, unobtrusive mourning. Elaborate mourning is less suggestive of grief than of a desire for

³¹⁹ Mrs. Roger A. Pryor, “The Social Code, Eighth Paper: Mourning,” *The Delineator: A Journal of Fashion, Culture, and Fine Arts*, October 1895, 492.

³²⁰ Ibid.; “Mourning Customs and Attire,” *The Delineator: A Journal of Fashion, Culture, and Fine Arts*, October 1891.

³²¹ Mrs. Roger A. Pryor, “The Social Code, Eighth Paper: Mourning,” *The Delineator: A Journal of Fashion, Culture, and Fine Arts*, 492

³²² Mary Elizabeth Blake, “A Tilt at a Black Monster,” *The North American Review*, July 1892, 118.

display and is apt to provoke uncharitable criticism.³²³ While it was imperative for women to consume mourning dress and accessories, it was equally necessary for this consumption to remain within the bounds of decency.

Mourning periods for parents, friends, and relatives generally lasted no more than one year, however for the widow, the mourning period was protracted and prescribed. The two-year mourning period started with “deepest mourning “ that lasted at least a year. Only dull material like bombazine and henrietta trimmed with crape was permissible, and only in conservative and simple cuts. Jewellery was unacceptable unless it was made of dull jet or imitation jet, which had the advantage of being both fashionable and tasteful. In deep mourning, though “simplicity [was] essential, it [could] be rendered as elegant as personal preference [elected].”³²⁴ Even in deepest mourning, fashion was key. In addition to a new wardrobe, deep mourning demanded a withdrawal from society that was only really practical for middle-class women of means. While in deep mourning, social obligations were lifted and social freedom was curtailed. Families in mourning were not expected to send or return cards in the first year after a loss, nor were they expected to plan the funeral; they were expected to retreat from public life and to avoid attending parties, paying visits, or attending entertainments.³²⁵ After deep mourning, widows were permitted to transition to second mourning. White could now be worn in limited quantities, but as the mourner was now allowed in public, “sorrow’s sombre garb” did not have to “approximate

³²³ “Fashionable Mourning Attire,” *The Delineator: A Journal of Fashion, Culture, and Fine Arts*, August 1897, 195.

³²⁴ “Mourning Customs and Attire.”, 345

³²⁵ Maud C. Cooke, *Social Etiquette or Manners and Customs of Polite Society Forming a Complete Guide to Self-Culture* (London, Ontario: McDermid & Logan, 1896), 88, 323.

the severity of the cloister” nor could it “approach the opposite extreme.”³²⁶ Throughout the mourning period, the balance of respectability and fashion had to be maintained.

After second mourning, but before a woman could transition back to her regular wardrobe, a period of light or half mourning was recommended. During this period, women were free to wear grey, violet, blue, and pale pink with their black, the amount of which advanced by degrees over time.³²⁷ Jewellery such as pearls and solitaire set diamonds were also permissible. Lest women be tempted to skip the second mourning period, magazines emphasized the elegance and charm of second mourning by describing the grey second mourning worn by “a well-known leader in European society” and insisting that “no attire can be lovelier than light mourning dress. Many a face that had not been extraordinary in pinks and blues becomes angelic in violet.”³²⁸ For the middle-class widow who wished to adhere to social custom, the period of mourning demanded constant expenditure on an array of consumer goods that were more readily available and in greater variety than ever before.

Men’s Mourning

While women’s mourning reached previously unseen heights of elaboration and volume, men’s mourning was more austere. Though a widower went into mourning for the

³²⁶ “Mourning and Its Attire,” *The Delineator: A Journal of Fashion, Culture, and Fine Arts*, October 1895, 480.

³²⁷ Mrs. Frank Learned, “Social Observances, Responses to Correspondence,” *The Delineator: A Journal of Fashion, Culture, and Fine Arts*, August 1900, 239.

³²⁸ Mrs. Roger A. Pryor, “The Social Code, Eighth Paper: Mourning,” 493.

same period prescribed for a widow, his wardrobe was not significantly altered.³²⁹ This is partly due to the fact that men's fashion had less variation than women's, and dark coloured suits were worn daily by many middle-class men. The only article that differentiated the male mourner was a black band on his hat. By the end of the nineteenth century, crape armbands were "no longer customary unless officially prescribed by a military or civic organization."³³⁰ The contrast in practice between men and women was related to both social custom and the dictates of consumerism. The Victorian-era cult of domesticity and ideology of separate spheres painted women as highly emotional and sentimental beings who were firmly tied to home and family. The loss of any member of that family was assumed to be devastating. Men, on the other hand, were assumed to have better control over their emotions and were not as prone to bouts of excessive grief. Similarly, they could not withdraw from society, as their livelihoods depended on active participation in the public sphere. Victorian-era society allocated an excessive amount of social space for women's grief and an insufficient amount for men's.³³¹ Consumerism compounded the gendering of mourning. Common wisdom in the nineteenth century dictated that men did not shop unless it was absolutely necessary. Women were the primary agents of consumerism; the majority of commercial efforts that encouraged consumption were directed at women.³³²

³²⁹ Ibid.

³³⁰ Mrs. Roger A. Pryor, "The Social Code, Eighth Paper: Mourning.", 493.

³³¹ Bettina Bradbury, *Wife to Widow: Lives, Laws, and Politics in Nineteenth-Century Montreal* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2011), 212.

³³² That is not to say that men did not consume as well; good accounts of masculine consumption are: Brent Shannon, *The Cut of His Coat: Men, Dress, and Consumer Culture in*

“A Tilt at a Black Monster”: Critiques of Mourning

Though fashionable mourning for women grew in popularity from mid-century onward, the practice was not without its critics. Occasional polemics against mourning were published in magazines and were the subject of debate in ladies' publications. In 1851, Susannah Moodie decried mourning as an “absurd custom that the sanction of time and the arbitrary laws of society have rendered indispensable.”³³³ Although acknowledging that “There is something so beautiful, so poetical, so sacred, in this outward sign of an inward and heartfelt sorrow,” she went on to suggest that, more often than not, mourning dress was worn out of modern vanity and hypocrisy. After all, “ancient man did not array himself in silk, and wool, and fine linen, and garments cut in the most approved fashion like our modern beaux and belles, when they testify their grief for the loss of a relation, or a friend in the most expensive and becoming manner” but instead “sat on the ground and fasted with rent garments, and ashes strewn upon [his] head.”³³⁴ For Moodie, the increasingly fine and fashionable mourning available by mid-century was evidence of excess and immorality.

Moodie also condemned the perceived need for mourning wear as a source of financial burden for poor widows. Although social decorum demanded that they wear

Britain, 1860-1914 (Athens, OH: Ohio University Press, 2006), and Howard P. Chudacoff, *The Age of the Bachelor: Creating an American Subculture* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1999).

³³³ Susanna Moodie, “Wearing Mourning For The Dead,” *Literary Garland and British North American Magazine*, December 1851, 540.

³³⁴ *Ibid*, 541.

mourning for two years, many were impoverished by the loss of their husbands and could not afford the expense. She described the common scenario of “hearing a knot of women exclaim as some widow of a gentleman of fallen circumstances glides by in her rusty weeds ‘what shabby black that woman wears for her husband, I should be ashamed to appear in public in such mourning’ and yet, the purchase of that *shabby black* cost the desolate mourner and her orphan little ones the price of many a necessary meal.”³³⁵ Indeed, the social imperative surrounding respectable widowhood was paramount, and women went to great lengths to ensure that they had respectable mourning by dyeing or altering existing garments, or even borrowing money or clothes from a friend or relative.³³⁶ This ensured that the reputation of their deceased husband remained intact and helped maintain social position.

Questions about the morality of fashionable mourning persisted through the nineteenth century and took on a decidedly anti-consumerist tone by the 1890s. Mary Elizabeth Blake’s 1892 article “A Tilt at a Black Monster” made waves in several Canadian publications, including religious periodicals and the women’s magazine *Canadian Queen*.³³⁷ Blake suggested that mourning was an “intrusion of worldliness on grief” and “an anachronism in the nineteenth century”³³⁸ that was “essentially vulgar... as it thrusts claims

³³⁵ Susanna Moodie, “Wearing Mourning For The Dead,” *Literary Garland and British North American Magazine*, December 1851, 541-542.

³³⁶ “‘Crape Renewed’ Advert for A. James, Dyer of Crape and Dresses for Mourning,,” *The Delineator: A Journal of Fashion, Culture, and Fine Arts*, December 1894, Back Matter, p. X.

³³⁷ “Current Topics of Interest to Women,” *The Canadian Queen: Art, Fashion, Culture, Literature: Devoted to Canadian Homes*, November 1892, 125.

³³⁸ Mary Elizabeth Blake, “A Tilt at a Black Monster,” 117.

of fashion and frivolity upon a time which most greatly moves the heights and depths of being; and it forces superficial worldliness into the fiercest throes which can ever rend human nature.”³³⁹ Similar objections to the intrusion of fashion on sentiment were raised in the opinion column of *The Delineator*, which stated that “black is fashionable and this outward and visible sign of grief often signifies only that its wearer thinks it becoming ... mourning is put on by Mrs. Fin-de-Siècle for her most remote relative and when her family is large, she is kept in mourning most of the time.”³⁴⁰

While women’s magazines were happy to devote space to the musings of women like Blake and Moodie, these condemnations of mourning were published alongside stories that romanticized the “deep mourning dress” worn by a grieving young woman after the loss of her mother and a fashion editorial that assured readers that “for evening mourning costume, nothing is more appropriate and elegant than black crepon studded with jet beads. For street wear, black crepe cloth or Henrietta is very stylish and serviceable.”³⁴¹ Even *Young Ladies’ Journal* declared that “mourning should not be subject to the changes and whims of fashion” but subsequently reminded the reader that “it feels their influence in a great measure” and provided detailed advice for the “skilful combinations and no little amount of taste and tact” required of young women coming out of mourning.³⁴² Although

³³⁹ Ibid, 118.

³⁴⁰ Edna S. Witherspoon, “The March Tea-Table,” *The Delineator: A Journal of Fashion, Culture, and Fine Arts*, March 1897, 356.

³⁴¹ Susanna Moodie, “Noah Cotton: A Tale of Conscience” *Literary Garland and British North American Magazine*, December 1851, 535; “Current Topics of Interest to Women,” 139.

³⁴² “Paris Fashions,” *The Young Ladies’ Journal: An Illustrated Magazine of Fashion, Fancy Work, Family Reading ETC. ETC., Canadian Edition*, August 1890., 122.

Victorian-era women were aware of the hypocrisy of mourning, it was so deeply ingrained in society and in the consumer cycle that mourning apparel, especially fashionable mourning apparel, was nearly impossible to give up. If a woman engaged in mourning half-heartedly, she risked being the subject of gossip and social exclusion like the woman in Moodie's article. Few middle-class women would have risked the social devastation of being cut off from feminine networks of influence like charity associations and Ladies' Auxiliaries, and so most acted within the bounds of respectability and civility.

Consumerism, Mourning, and the Cemetery

By the closing years of the nineteenth century, consumerism was not just a phenomenon of the urban middle class, but a large-scale economic and cultural shift in which anyone with purchasing power could participate. The Victorian-era cult of mourning was an ideal match for the growing consumer society, as mourning demanded expenditure on goods that consumerism was happy to provide. By the end of the nineteenth century, as the availability of consumer goods expanded, so too did the material requirements of mourning. Special black-edged stationery, black household goods, crape bunting, ostrich plumes, a decorative casket, and flowers for the service were all considered necessary elements of the nineteenth-century funeral.³⁴³ The template for the ostentatious funerals of the nineteenth century was provided by the funeral for Lord Nelson in 1805 and the Duke of Wellington in 1841.³⁴⁴ With the ready availability of cheap consumer goods, the middle

³⁴³ Mrs. Roger A. Pryor, "The Social Code, Eighth Paper: Mourning," 494.

³⁴⁴ Peter W. Sinnema, *The Wake of Wellington: Englishness in 1852* (Athens, OH: Ohio University Press, 2006); Iain Pears, "The Gentleman and the Hero: Wellington and Napoleon in the Nineteenth Century" in Roy Porter, ed., *The Myths of the English*,

class was able to follow the fashions dictated by the court and the aristocracy. As funerals and burial transitioned from churchyards to commercial cemetery operations, mourning followed the same trajectory as traditional forms were coopted by consumer culture.

The rise of the garden cemetery also contributed to the rise of the elaborate middle-class funeral. The picturesque setting of the rural cemetery combined with its removal from the city provided the opportunity for consumer spending on the part of the survivors and encouraged the treatment of the funeral as an event wherein respectability and status could be obtained and expressed. The distance from the city meant that carriages, or at the very least a hearse, had to be hired to transport the mourners and remains to the gravesite, while the beauty of the space encouraged survivors to don clothing that was appropriate for such an event and suitable to the surroundings. Access to burial in the picturesque setting required expenditure from the family. The plot had to be purchased and cared for, and an appropriate monument had to be purchased. Detractors insisted that excessive funeral expenses were little more than vanity at best, and at worst contributed to the financial ruin of families.³⁴⁵

The conception of what defined an appropriate grave marker also shifted drastically once burial in the garden cemetery was normalized. In graveyards and churchyards, burial markers were uniformly white or grey slab-style headstones with didactic and symbolic

(Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1992); Neville Thompson, "Immortal Wellington: Literary Tributes to the Hero", (1999.); Alison Yarrington, *The Commemoration of a Hero, 1800-1864: Monuments to the British Victors of the Napoleonic Wars* (New York, 1988): 167-88; David Cannadine, *Admiral Lord Nelson: Context and Legacy* (Houndsmills: Palgrave MacMillan, 2005); Donal Fallon, *The Pillar: The Life and Afterlife of the Nelson Pillar* (Stillorgan: New Island Books, 2014).

³⁴⁵ Susanna Moodie, "Wearing Mourning For The Dead", 543; Mary Elizabeth Blake, "A Tilt at a Black Monster", 117.

carvings at the top and the name of the deceased along with the date of death. Often, the date and place of birth was also noted. Favourite decorative motifs included weeping willows, clasped hands, a hand pointing heavenward, crosses, and open books. Many examples of slab-style headstones survive in the older parts of Cataraqui. Most of these have been laid flat on the ground due to their tendency to lean, and, eventually fall and break. By the 1880s, tastes had moved away from traditional slab headstones and towards taller obelisk-style monuments set on square bases and placed in the middle of the plot. The new grave markers were much larger; many stood well over five feet high. They were also made from more expensive materials, and were doubtless more costly overall. In spite—or perhaps because—of the ostentation and expense of these funerary monuments, by the 1880s they were the dominant style in Cataraqui Cemetery and by 1886 “the common slab headstones and other objectionable erections [had] been taken away—and altogether a better taste in regard to such things [was] manifested.”³⁴⁶ The clear preference for the new monument-style grave markers was due in part to the fact that they enhanced the picturesque and garden-like appearance of the cemetery and deemphasized its use as a place of interment. Even today, when walking through a section of the cemetery populated by tall pink and grey granite obelisks topped with urns and draperies, it is easy to forget that Kingston’s dead are at rest below them.

³⁴⁶ Annual Meeting of Shareholders, May, 1880, May, 1883, May, 1884, Superintendent’s Annual report, May 1886 Mrs. Frank Learned, “Social Observances, Responses to Correspondence,” *The Delineator: A Journal of Fashion, Culture, and Fine Arts*, August 1900.



Plate 7 - A monument style grave marker in Cataraqui Cemetery, c. 1860s. This style coexisted with the slab gravestones, but the directors sought to encourage the construction of monuments like this to enhance the beauty of the grounds.



Plate 8 - A slab style gravestone, c. 1871. These were often laid flat by the grounds keeping crew to prevent leaning and breakage. In spite of their efforts, many broken gravestones are present in the cemetery.

The Consumer-Oriented Cemetery and the growth of Undertaking

The increased elaboration of burial, mourning, and memorialization had implications beyond the consumption of goods. As the cemetery transitioned into a service-oriented commodity, there was a shift in the way that human remains were handled. By the end of the nineteenth century, a professional undertaker was a fixture in funeral proceedings. These middle-class professionals served as mediators who not only cared for the remains, but also obtained the casket, notified friends and relatives of the death, arranged the service, contacted the appropriate clergymen, and coordinated burial with the cemetery staff.³⁴⁷ It was no coincidence that James Reid, Kingston's first undertaker, opened his business in 1854, one year after Cataraqui Cemetery was opened. Like many undertakers, Reid expanded into the new industry from another trade; the Reid family was originally in the furniture industry, and the family still operates two funeral homes and two furniture stores in Kingston.³⁴⁸ Privately-managed garden cemeteries moved the responsibility for coordinating the funeral out of the hands of clergy, which left space for undertakers to set up shop. The emergence and professionalization of undertaking followed a similar pattern in Europe and North America, but the development and expansion of the profession was uneven, dictated as it was by demand, access to training,

³⁴⁷ Gary Laderman, *Rest In Peace: A Cultural History of Death and The Funeral Home in Twentieth Century America* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 5.

³⁴⁸ James Reid Funeral Home, "James Reid Funeral Home, Kingston, Ontario," Business, *James Reid Funeral Home and Reception Centre*, (n.d.), <http://jamesreidfuneralhome.com>; Arbor Memorial, "Robert J. Reid & Sons Funeral Home, by Arbor Memorial, Kingston, Ontario," Business, *Robert J. Reid & Sons Funeral Home, by Arbor Memorial*, (n.d.), <https://www.arbormemorial.ca/en/reid?gclid=CPXfvKjm09ICFQwIaQodDCUK6g&gclsrc=aw.ds>.

and population density. Undertaking emerged as a discreet profession in England and North America concomitantly in the mid-Victorian period. The profession emerged out of a perceived need to amalgamate occupational tasks that were formerly scattered across trades, such as casket-making, funeral planning, and preparing the body, into a single occupational task.³⁴⁹ In Canada, the popularization of garden cemeteries, a growing network of merchants of funeral goods, and the emergence of embalming schools helped the profession develop.³⁵⁰ In Kingston alone, there were four undertakers operating in the city by 1893: Mr. Samuel S. Corbett, Mr. James Reid, Mr. Henry Brame, Mr. W. M. Drennan, who advertised himself as “the cheapest Undertaker in the city, open day and night.”³⁵¹ Evidently the competition was intense, as Drennan and Brame operated as furniture makers as well.

The complete authority over funeral proceedings that characterized the undertaker by the turn of the twentieth century was the result of the convergence of market forces, applied technology, and a conscious push toward professionalization.³⁵² With the church unable to maintain complete authority over funerary rituals and the corpse, new mediators

³⁴⁹ Robert W. Habenstein and William M. Lamers, *The History of American Funeral Directing* (Milwaukee: Buffin Printers, 1955), 187.

³⁵⁰ Advertising Matter, *Furniture and Upholstery Journal and Undertaker's Gazette*, June 1901, 329, 333, 335.

³⁵¹ “City of Kingston, Street, Alphabetical, General, Miscellaneous, and Classified Business Directory Including the Residents of Barriefield, Garden Island, and Portsmouth” (W.H. Irwin & Co., Publishers, July 1893), Local History and Genealogy Reference, Queen’s University Archive.

³⁵² Gary Laderman, *The Sacred Remains: American Attitudes Towards Death, 1799-1883* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996), 175.

emerged to fill the void.³⁵³ Similarly, the rise of Cataraqui and other garden cemeteries, the services of a professional undertaker became an essential part of the experience. Prior to the emergence of service-oriented cemeteries, the undertaker's role was limited to providing the casket and, in most cases, arranging the body for viewing in the parlour.³⁵⁴ Funeral planning was between the family and the clergy. However, as the act of burial moved out of the sphere of the church, the undertaker took on increased responsibility in funeral planning. With this came an increase in the material complexity for the average funeral and the task of securing the paraphernalia needed for a respectable funeral increasingly fell to the undertaker.

The presence of a professional undertaker was an indispensable part of the respectable funeral by the closing years of the nineteenth century. The increased demand for undertaking services increased the number of undertakers being established. The lack of regulation in the early years of the industry made the barrier of entry into the profession very low.³⁵⁵ All a man really needed to establish himself as an undertaker was access to a wholesaler of funerary goods and a willingness to promote himself as such. Of course, the lack of regulation also meant that undertakers were under no obligation to be scrupulous in their dealings. The dishonest undertaker was free to overcharge for funeral goods and to offer embalming services with no real knowledge or experience in the methods. In the

³⁵³ Habenstein and Lamers, *The History of American Funeral Directing*, 187.

³⁵⁴ Interviews with Witnesses in N.C. Wallace, MP, Chairman, "Report of the Select Committee Appointed 29th February 1888, to Investigate and Report Upon Alleged Combinations in Manufactures, Trade, and Insurance in Canada," Committee Report (Ottawa, ON: Government of Canada, May 10, 1888), 408-409.

³⁵⁵ Gary Laderman, *Rest In Peace: A Cultural History of Death and The Funeral Home in Twentieth Century America*, 3.

nineteenth century, undertakers were often viewed with suspicion and were the brunt of satire and denigration by the public. Magazines such as *Grip*, which was devoted to humour and political satire, published cartoons and short articles that painted the undertakers as sad and dour sub-professionals who had only ended up undertakers because they were unsuccessful in the medical profession.³⁵⁶ A similar variant of the joke poked fun at the fact that many undertakers had side businesses and were not so much middle-class professionals as itinerant jacks-of-all-trades:

First Undertaker – “I’m going out West to try my luck.”

Second Undertaker – “Do you think there’s a better show for you out there than there is in the East?”

First Undertaker – “Yes, much better. You see, I can always find plenty to do laying out town sites.”³⁵⁷

Creating and Maintaining a Profession

In an effort to combat negative publicity and prevent unscrupulous conduct, the undertakers of Ontario organized themselves into a professional association in July 1884. The organization was based on those in the US, and like those associations, it was intended to elevate the profession, protect the industry, and disseminate correct principles of business management among members.³⁵⁸ At the first meeting, the association established a code of ethics and a set of bylaws that served as the first regulation of the funeral industry

³⁵⁶ “More Money in It,” *Grip*, December 27, 1890.

³⁵⁷ “A Joke,” *Grip*, December 27, 1890.

³⁵⁸ *Constitution, Bylaws, Rules of Order etc. of the Undertakers Assoc. of Ontario, and Proceedings of the second Annual Convention held at Toronto, On the 16th Day of September, 1885, Instituted at Toronto, on the 3rd Day of July, 1884*. Copied in “Appendix to the Twenty-Second Volume of the Journals of the House of Commons, Dominion of Canada, from the 23rd February, 1888 to the 22nd May, 1888, Being the Second Session of the Sixth Parliament of Canada, Session 1888” (B. Chamberlin, 1888), A3-706.

in Canada. The code emphasized the need for the funeral director to maintain purity of character, moral standing, and professional accountability. The undertaker was obligated “to exert his best abilities to maintain [the profession’s] dignity and honour, to exalt its standing, [and] to extend the bounds of its usefulness.”³⁵⁹ The twin emphasis on personal conduct and professional development suggests that the funeral directors of Ontario were engaged in a campaign to legitimize their profession in the eyes of the public and shed the perception of the undertaker as unprofessional, unscrupulous, and eager to squeeze families for money when they were at their most venerable. The founders of the association wished to give undertaking the same status as other middle-class professions. However in practice, these associations served to insulate the profession from the vagaries of competition and the association came under harsh criticism only a few years later³⁶⁰

In order to ensure that the industry attained and maintained a membership base that was consistent in its conduct, it was important that all undertakers join the association. The 1884 Bylaws were designed with this aim in mind. Members could be discharged for unscrupulous conduct and membership standards were set so as to ensure a degree of professionalism and uniformity. Those seeking to establish themselves as funeral directors first had to get the permission of the undertakers already established around them, to prevent saturation of any one marketplace.³⁶¹ If a new undertaking business was

³⁵⁹ Ibid.

³⁶⁰ Laderman, *Rest In Peace: A Cultural History of Death and The Funeral Home in Twentieth Century America*, XXIII.

³⁶¹ *Bylaws of the Undertakers Association, Article II*, in “Appendix to the Twenty-Second Volume of the Journals of the House of Commons, Dominion of Canada, from the 23rd February, 1888 to the 22nd May, 1888, Being the Second Session of the Sixth Parliament of Canada, Session 1888,” A3-709

allowed to open by the existing members, the proprietor had sixty days in which to obtain a stock of undertaking supplies worth not less than five hundred dollars; these could not be purchased on credit, as they had to be free of encumbrance.³⁶² The financial restrictions outlined in the bylaws established a major barrier of entry into the undertaking business, which helped existing business owners maintain an air of middle-class professionalism. Restrictions persisted even after the establishment of a business; after six months, new members had to either build or purchase a hearse, thereby ensuring that only those who were successful—or who had the ability to bankroll the business themselves—could remain in the association.³⁶³ In addition to restricting entry into the undertaking business, the Undertakers' Association pushed to ensure that all undertakers in Ontario were also members of the association. Participation was ensured in part by providing advantages to members, but more importantly by ensuring that operating outside the association was impossible. In order to make membership an indispensable part of undertaking, the associations wasted no time in drawing up agreements with similar associations, such as the Dominion Burying Case Association, that were established by Canadian manufacturers of mourning goods at around the same time. These agreements were reciprocal and restricted the sale of mourning goods to members of the Ontario Undertakers Association while allowing manufacturers to better control prices.³⁶⁴ Of course, those who wished to do

³⁶² Ibid, A3-708.

³⁶³ Ibid.

³⁶⁴ "Canada Royal Commission on the Relations of Labour and Capital. Report of the Royal Commission on the Relations of Labour and Capital in Canada: Evidence, Ontario" (Ottawa, ON: Government of Canada, 1889), 637-368.

so circumvented these agreements by purchasing mourning goods from manufacturers in the United States. Because the Ontario Undertakers Association was not yet affiliated with the American Undertakers Association, there was no recourse.

The need to prevent undertakers from operating outside the association was the main point of discussion and concern at the second annual meeting of the association, held in September 1885. After only one year, the association boasted 294 members, with Robert Ried and W.M. Drennan of Kingston among them. The need to enhance the professionalism of the industry remained pressing. The president of the association acknowledged that “[since] we cannot reduce the number doing business, we must look around us for some means to prevent any more from starting” and proposed that the membership fee be doubled from twenty-five dollars per year to fifty.³⁶⁵ The president also recommended that the Ontario Association join the American Undertakers’ Association in order to prevent outside undertakers from purchasing goods from Michigan and New York. The association also established a price-fixing scheme in order to prevent undertakers from undercutting one another, a proposal that was eventually amended due to protests from those operating in rural areas.³⁶⁶ It was ultimately decided that minimum prices would be established. The campaign to join the American Undertakers Association and prevent the sale of American funeral goods in Canada was also successful. J.B. MacIntyre was sent as the delegate to the fourth annual meeting of the National Undertakers Association of America. The Ontario

³⁶⁵ *Proceedings of the Second Annual Convention Held at Toronto on the 16th day or September, 1885* in “Appendix to the Twenty-Second Volume of the Journals of the House of Commons, Dominion of Canada, from the 23rd February, 1888 to the 22nd May, 1888, Being the Second Session of the Sixth Parliament of Canada, Session 1888.”, 720.

³⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 724.

contingent was well represented and had the second largest delegation present at the meeting. They were successful in ensuring the cooperation of American manufacturers, who agreed to cease the sale of mourning goods to Ontario undertakers operating outside the association.³⁶⁷

The Association Under Fire

By the close of the 1880s, the undertakers association of Ontario was the object of derision and hostility from those who felt they had been unfairly excluded from the profession. In 1888, it was subject to parliamentary investigation along with a host of other organizations that were suspected “trade combinations.”³⁶⁸ Though effective, the cartel-like practices of the association were officially under fire by 1889, when the association was subject to parliamentary debate and investigation as part of an effort to draft improved antitrust legislation.³⁶⁹ The agreements between the manufacturers and undertakers were made at a time when citizens and legislators in Canada and the United States were suspicious of protectionist practices. Anti-competitive activities occurred with greater than usual frequency in the 1880s and combinations like that of the undertakers were often used as means of insulating a business or industry from market forces.³⁷⁰ The need for such

³⁶⁷ Ibid., 712.

³⁶⁸ Michael Bliss, “Another Anti-Trust Tradition: Canadian Anti-Combines Policy, 1889-1910,” *Business History Review* 47, no. 2 (July 1973): 179.

³⁶⁹ N.C. Wallace, MP, Chairman, “Report of the Select Committee Appointed 29th February 1888, to Investigate and Report Upon Alleged Combinations in Manufactures, Trade, and Insurance in Canada.”

³⁷⁰ Bliss, “Another Anti-Trust Tradition: Canadian Anti-Combines Policy, 1889-1910,” 182

measures was attributed to the second wave of industrialization and technological advancement, which resulted in over-production, over-expansion, and a general fall in prices.³⁷¹ In Canada, many blamed the National Policy of the 1870s. Those who opposed Prime Minister Sir John A. Macdonald's scheme argued that the protectionist tariffs caused new firms to enter markets, which resulted in oversaturation and the increased presence of trade combinations in Canada. In response, the House of Commons created a select committee to investigate alleged combinations and determine the degree to which they were detrimental. The undertakers' combination was of specific concern in Ontario and Mr. Wallace, who chaired the committee and later introduced the relevant trust-busting legislation, received a number of letters from people requesting investigation into the matter. One such letter reads:

Mr. Wallace,

*Dear Sir – I hope you will enquire into the undertakers' ring. It is stronger than coal ring. You cannot buy goods at any price unless you are a member of the association, and when you apply to the association they will tell you that there are too many in the business now.*³⁷²

Another letter from M. Teefy of Richmond Hill also requested an investigation of the “grievous monopoly known as the undertakers' association.” He went on to describe the state of affairs in Richmond Hill, where only one firm existed, not because of lack of interest but because the association demanded that new members get the permission of existing

³⁷¹ Ibid.

³⁷² Exhibit 7, Letter dated March 7, 1888 in N.C. Wallace, MP, Chairman, “Report of the Select Committee Appointed 29th February 1888, to Investigate and Report Upon Alleged Combinations in Manufactures, Trade, and Insurance in Canada.”, 517

firm owners before being considered for membership. As a result of the Association's policies, the sole firm in Richmond Hill had a monopoly, the result of which was "a list of prices, and the suffering public have to submit to exorbitant charges for extremely doubtful value at a time when families are bereaved."³⁷³ The Association's tendency to keep out new members combined with its ability to ensure that no one practiced the trade outside the association made it worthy of investigation. A series of interviews with undertakers, former undertakers, and those who were kept out of the business began on April 10 of 1888.

The interviews provide a window into the strength of the association and give insight into the rising cost and complexity of even the simplest funeral. The undertakers supplied the casket, put on the hardware, and sewed the lining into the casket. These materials could be obtained at a variety of costs, but a funeral in a Canadian city could not be had for less than \$25—around \$600 dollars in today's terms—while a "well-to-do" funeral cost at least \$40 to \$60 dollars, well over \$1000 dollars in modern terms.³⁷⁴ Of course, this cost only included the casket, the undertaker's services, and the use of the hearse. There were many opportunities for additional charges, including the rental or purchase of crape bunting and black ostrich plumes, the use of superior quality materials in the casket, and even the use of a better hearse. While the presence of the undertakers' combination certainly drove up prices for the consumer, the more pressing matter for most of the interviewees was how the association made it impossible for new firms to enter the

³⁷³ Exhibit 30, Letter dated March 10, 1888, Mr. Teefy of Richmond Hill in *Ibid.*, 562

³⁷⁴ Interview of Samuel Rogers. Undertakers Association Member in *Ibid.*, 403-405

industry.³⁷⁵ A.E. Bolton of Ottawa described how he lost his father's undertaking business when his father's estate went into probate and the hearse and supplies were sold to a rival undertaker, who, of course, would not give Bolton permission to enter the association. Robert Moffatt of Toronto was also refused sponsorship by the other undertakers in the area, both of whom accused him of trying to take away their livelihood. Moffatt's testimony also sheds light on the peculiar case of Mr. Bolton. According to the company's by-laws, inheriting and buying out a firm were two very different things. When inheriting a firm, the inheritor was required to re-apply to the association, but when a man bought out a firm, the membership transferred to the buyer.³⁷⁶ Evidently, it was more important to maintain an association of well-off and respectable undertakers than it was to uphold the family lineages that were traditionally important to establishing trust and rapport within a community.

The prohibition of the sale of goods to outside undertakers was also cause for concern. The interviews revealed that there was no viable way to purchase funeral goods and undertaking supplies outside the combination. The tariffs in place on American goods made importing materials prohibitively expensive, while the domestic manufacturers who would sell outside the association sold inferior quality goods.³⁷⁷ Furthermore, the

³⁷⁵ Interview of William W. Halpen, Montreal Undertaker in "Canada, Royal Commission on the Relations of Labour and Capital, Report of the Royal Commission on the Relations of Labour and Capital in Canada: Evidence, Quebec, Part I" (Ottawa, ON: Government of Canada, 1889), 635-638.

³⁷⁶ Testimony of R. Moffat, Undertaker in Toronto in N.C. Wallace, MP, Chairmen, "Report of the Select Committee Appointed 29th February 1888, to Investigate and Report Upon Alleged Combinations in Manufactures, Trade, and Insurance in Canada.", 415-420

³⁷⁷ Interview of A.E. Bolton, Painter, Former Undertaker in Bolton, ON. *Ibid.*, 409-413

association seemed to have eyes everywhere. An Ottawa manufacturer who mistakenly sold a second-hand hearse to two non-members lost several accounts over the matter. Moffatt confirmed the presence of committee surveillance in his interview and described the difficulty of being constantly watched “by a lot of scoundrels.” The committee on alleged combinations ultimately ruled that the undertakers association was “extensive in operations, most arbitrary in character, and [exercised] unjustifiable interference with personal freedom.”³⁷⁸ The result of these activities was “exorbitant charges to bereaved families.”³⁷⁹ After the report was released, Bill 11 was drawn up and read in parliament twice, before going to the Senate. While the initial piece of legislation was a straightforward attack on combines, it was subsequently weakened and the end result was an ineffectual piece of legislation that was clogged with modifiers.³⁸⁰

Continued Professionalization

Though the association certainly limited competition in the industry and likely helped drive up the price of funerals, it was also responsible for the establishment and enforcement of professional standards in the industry. The presence of the industry prevented the establishment fly-by-night operations that might perform embalming incorrectly or substitute inferior goods for quality ones without the consumer’s knowledge. By the turn of the twentieth century, undertaking had managed to shed this negative image and was firmly on the path to becoming the highly regulated central fixture of the funeral

³⁷⁸ Interview of Robert Moffatt, Toronto Undertaker in *Ibid.*, 415-420

³⁷⁹ Exhibit 30, Letter dated March 10, 1888, Mr. Teefy of Richmond Hill., 562

³⁸⁰ Bliss, “Another Anti-Trust Tradition: Canadian Anti-Combines Policy, 1889-1910,” 188.

industry that it is today. In the early twentieth century, embalming schools like the Myers' College of Embalming began to appear all over Canada and offered week-long sessions to certify Canadian undertakers.³⁸¹ The certification offered by these schools was required to get permission to offer the service from the Undertakers' Association, and permission was not given unless proper training and equipment had been secured. Similarly, trade magazines such as *Undertakers' Gazette* appeared. These featured articles that described how to conduct business in a respectable manner and advertisements for all of the latest equipment, fluids, and mourning goods. In addition to formal regulation, the association and other organizations like it helped to develop the appearance of professionalism and fair-dealing in business. An article by J.B. McIntyre, the president of the Ontario Undertakers' association, provided advice on how to best run a profitable and respectable undertaking business. The article addressed the importance of remaining abreast of new developments in technology and scientific thought and to ensure that the selection of goods available was the most up-to-date. However the emphasis was clearly on the need for an undertaker's conduct to be above reproach, as the profession was "the most important and delicate work any man can engage in" and "in cases of bereavement the undertaker stands closer to the family than either the physician or the clergymen, therefore secrecy and delicacy should be strictly observed."³⁸² The primacy that McIntyre gives the undertaker in helping families deal with death is doubtless informed by professional pride, but also suggests that the character of funerals had changed drastically since the mid-nineteenth

³⁸¹ Advertisement, Myers School of Embalming, *Furniture and Upholstery Journal and Undertaker's Gazette*, June 1901, 335.

³⁸² J.B. McIntyre, "How Can a Successful Undertaking Business be Built Up?" *Furniture and Upholstery Journal and Undertaker's Gazette*, 329.

century.

Though the clergy and other nineteenth-century trappings were still present, the commodification of death had won out, from the elaborate array of goods and services offered by undertakers to the purchase and care of plots in the garden cemeteries. The fact that Kingston's undertakers all began their operations within a year or two of Cataraqui's opening further confirms the increased preference for allowing a paid professional to handle funerals and burials. As the use of modern, progressive services offered by trained professionals, including the undertaker and the Cemetery Superintendent, became normalized for middle-class families, the cultural and social focus shifted from the moment of death to the grief of the survivor. Professional undertakers relived the family from the burden of caring for the corpse and planning the funeral, while the service-oriented cemetery ensured that interment and subsequent plot maintenance was taken care of. Such services freed the survivors to grieve without distraction, while modern mass production gave them the materials to do it in style.

Chapter 5

Nature Copied and Encouraged: From Cemetery to Park

Though the closure of the city burial grounds effectively made Cataraqui Cemetery the only interment option in the Kingston area, the dead that remained in the city posed a problem to be solved. The 1864 bylaw that closed the grounds to future burials was carefully worded so as not to render past burials illegal, which would have necessitated their removal, and so city burial grounds were never removed or remediated.³⁸³ Over the course of the nineteenth century, the Upper Burial Ground became more and more dilapidated and was the source of consistent concern and complaint amongst the citizens. In order to address these complaints, church leaders and the city officials had to negotiate a feasible solution to the problem of the urban dead. Ultimately, both the city and the church acquiesced to the conversion of the burial grounds into a new city park, which was in line with the progressive values of the time and was a common practice in Britain.³⁸⁴ Though the park was proposed only a few years after the closure of the burial grounds, it took almost thirty years to come to fruition due to delays caused by a clash of modern and traditional ideals. Many Kingstonians thought that the transformation of a burial ground into a park was sacrilege and would have preferred that the burial yard remain under church control. However, none of Kingston's denominational groups were in a position to assume the financial burden of restoring and maintaining the grounds. Ultimately, the

³⁸³ "City of Kingston Consolidated Bylaws," 1883, City of Kingston Fonds, Queen's University Archive, Title 4, Bylaw 487 - The Interment of the Dead, 146.

³⁸⁴ Peter Thorsheim, "The Corpse in the Garden: Burial, Health, and the Environment in Nineteenth-Century London," *Environmental History* 16, no. 1 (April 2011): 39.

churches gave up the burial grounds for the park and the transfer of the land was given parliamentary assent in 1893.

Offensive Spaces

Even before the closure of the Upper Burial Ground to new burials, the space was a source of public complaint. As early as 1843, Kingstonians complained that the burial ground had “become the receptacle of filth, of bones and offals [sic] of dead beasts; the playground of idle and mischievous boys, and the place where some of the neighbours hang out their washings to dry.”³⁸⁵ Degraded burial spaces were a common problem in the cities of Europe and North America; they tended to fill quickly as cities grew and the burials were often conducted haphazardly. Church burial registers were not always complete records of burial. They indicated when a person was buried, their occupation, marital status, and generally the cause of death, but did not indicate the location of burial in the graveyard.³⁸⁶ The only indication of where an individual was buried was the placement of a slab-style tombstone, but these did not stand up well to the elements and tended to fall over and break. Church graveyards were not laid out in an orderly fashion and the burial grounds tended to become overcrowded as the sexton worked to make the best use of the available space. The discussion of formal closure of the city burial grounds began in fall of 1863. Cataraqui Cemetery had proven a preferable alternative for most people and the Upper Burial Ground was increasingly disused and in a state of disrepair; pieces of caskets and

³⁸⁵ “A Sojourner,” “Letter to the Editor RE: Burial Grounds,” *Kingston Chronicle and Gazette*, October 30, 1843.

³⁸⁶ St. George’s Parish Burial Records, 1849 1817, Parish Records, Anglican Diocese of Ontario Archives.

even human remains had started to force their way above ground and the graveyard was the “nightly resort of very bad characters.”³⁸⁷

The closure of the Upper Burial ground was in the interest of both the city and the newly founded Cataraqui Cemetery Company, which had sought “to urge upon the city authorities and the public the expediency of entirely closing the churchyards for burial purposes within city limits” as early as 1856, but recognized that it was “a subject which will require cautious management.”³⁸⁸ In spite of the state of the city graveyard, the matter of where individuals were interred was one of some delicacy due to the increasing predominance of family plots in the Victorian era. As the importance of the domestic nuclear family grew, survivors took comfort in the fact that their deceased loved ones were buried together and that they, in turn, would be buried near their families. The creation of family plots mirrored the dominant popular understanding of heaven and the afterlife.³⁸⁹ By the mid-nineteenth century, the notion of eternal punishment in hell was increasingly being called into question amongst the mainline Protestant clergy, to be replaced by the idea of universal redemption from a loving God.³⁹⁰ As hell faded in the mainstream Protestant religious landscape, the perception of heaven as a place of eternal prayer was eschewed in favour of a more worldly perception of heaven with an emphasis on the

³⁸⁷ “City Council,” *The Daily British Whig*, July 12, 1864.

³⁸⁸ *The Daily British Whig*, May 27, 1856

³⁸⁹ Colleen McDannell and Bernhard Lang, *Heaven: A History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988), 275.

³⁹⁰ Bishop John Lewis, “Bishop’s Address,” in *Journal of the Third Session of the Synod of the United Church of England and Ireland in the Diocese of Ontario, with an Appendix* (Kingston: The Canadian Churchman for the Church of England, 1864).

continuation of domestic life and on reunion with loved ones.³⁹¹ Though the closure of the city burial grounds revoked the possibility of burial near loved ones for some, the directors of Cataraqui Cemetery and burial reformers won out, and in July of 1864 the urban burial grounds were formally closed by city council through a new bylaw, as it was “imperative for the preservation of health that the dead should not be interred within [Kingston]”³⁹²

After the Upper and Lower Burial grounds were closed to burials in 1864, the state of the spaces, especially the larger and more visible Upper Burial Ground, continued to degrade. In the aftermath of the closure, Alderman Allan, who was responsible for the original bylaw that closed the burial ground, sought to have the graveyard declared a nuisance, a move that he hoped would force church leaders to repair and clean up the space at their own expense. While the municipal government attempted to legislate the problem away, the citizens of Kingston, especially those who lived near it, were increasingly agitated over the “wretched and dilapidated state” of the grounds.³⁹³ The state of the graveyard was the result of years of neglect that promoted frequent vandalism of the grounds and provided a haven for drunks and other unsavoury characters.³⁹⁴ The unkempt grounds were littered with broken and leaning gravestones, the fences were gone, either fallen over or deliberately torn down to be sold as scrap, and cattle and livestock were often at large in the burial yard.³⁹⁵ Many in Kingston wanted the dead relocated to Cataraqui Cemetery so

³⁹¹ McDannell and Lang, *Heaven: A History*, 274-275.

³⁹² “City of Kingston Consolidated Bylaws.” 146.

³⁹³ “Cataraqui Cemetery,” *Daily British Whig*, June 2, 1853.

³⁹⁴ “City Council,” *The Daily British Whig*, July 12, 1864.

³⁹⁵ “The Easter Vestry Reports,” *The Daily News*, April 1884.

that the land could be repurposed, as the grounds were a disgrace “not only to Kingston but to civilization.”³⁹⁶ The derelict graveyard was not only an eyesore, but a source of fear and anxiety over the moral decay that was associated in the nineteenth century with ruined graveyards.³⁹⁷ While concerns over the appearance of burial grounds were not new, the sinister appearance of the dilapidated graveyard played to particular nineteenth-century fears about immorality, filth, and disease. Many of these anxieties were rooted in a fear of urban space as dangerous and crime-ridden, but with the combination of dark shadows, debris, and the presence of the dead, graveyards were extreme in the reactions they triggered.³⁹⁸ In addition to providing dark corners for criminal activity, unkempt burial grounds were suggestive of the immorality associated with lack of respect for the dead, disease, and filth. Kingston’s Upper Burial Ground was already a vector for anxiety by the time of its closure and these concerns only worsened in the following years.

After the space was closed to new burials in 1864, the Upper Burial Ground was virtually abandoned by the churches. The appearance of the space worsened continually as denominational groups failed to maintain it due to a lack of funds and of desire. For most Kingstonians, the burial space was out of sight and out of mind, but as the city expanded, residential buildings surrounded the grounds and those who lived in the vicinity were

³⁹⁶ “The Old Burial Grounds,” *The Daily British Whig*, June 3, 1868, sec. Letters to the Editor.

³⁹⁷ Thorsheim, “The Corpse in the Garden: Burial, Health, and the Environment in Nineteenth-Century London,” 40.

³⁹⁸ *Ibid*, 45.

increasingly concerned with the dilapidated state and the immorality and unsanitary conditions it promoted.³⁹⁹

The Municipal Government and the Urban Graveyard

The criminal activities that occurred were policed in a piecemeal fashion, but it was the bureaucratic machine of the municipal government that was best suited to permanently improve the area. City governance boards and departments were created over the course of the nineteenth century to control the activities of an increasing number of citizens.⁴⁰⁰ Municipal agencies were designed to regulate activities that were potentially harmful or disruptive in order to ensure that the mass of people living in the city remained healthy and safe. The degraded burial yard was a source of concern and some city councillors, including Alderman Allen, who was later instrumental in the creation of Frontenac Park, used municipal legislation to address the issue. Under Kingston city bylaws, the Upper Burial Ground could be declared a nuisance to public health, as it was muddy, derelict, and often filled with household trash and animal waste. Alderman Allen and those reforming councillors who had led the charge to close the yard wanted it declared a nuisance as early as 1865. Such a motion would have required the city to issue formal notice, a date by which the situation had to be rectified, and possibly a fine to the church leaders. While some councillors and citizens were supportive of the idea, the Mayor in particular was not.⁴⁰¹ The

³⁹⁹ Brian S. Osborne, *The Rock and the Sword: A History of St. Andrew's Presbyterians Church, Kingston, Ontario* (Kingston: Heinrich Heine Press at Grass Creek, 2004).

⁴⁰⁰ David G. Burley, *A Particular Condition in Life: Self-Employment and Social Mobility in Mid-Victorian Brantford, Ontario* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1994).

⁴⁰¹ "City Council," *The Daily British Whig*, July 12, 1864

fact that the burial yard was run by the church evidently made some people more willing to be lenient. The conflict that ensued was a test of the efficacy of Kingston's governing structures and an opportunity for the city to secure its position of authority and power over the citizens and the church. By 1874, the public outcry over the state of the grounds was so great that there was talk of indicting the Church of England for the neglect of the grounds.⁴⁰² In spring of that year, the burying grounds were formally declared a nuisance. In the wake of these threats, the church leaders were forced to erect a fence and to bring the grounds up to a more acceptable standard. However complaints over the state of the grounds persisted.⁴⁰³

Although objections to the state of the city burial grounds were usually framed as moral outrage over the treatment of the dead, concerns over health and cleanliness were usually articulated alongside moral concerns. In the Victorian era, cleanliness, health, and morality were inextricably linked for both the individual and for society.⁴⁰⁴ As urbanization and industrialization took hold, cities became increasingly crowded and dirty. People, particularly the working class and working poor, lived in close quarters and in impoverished conditions that were ideal for the spread of disease such as typhus, diphtheria, and cholera. With public health a growing source of concern, urban living as a whole was increasingly problematized, and new regulatory apparatuses were put in place

⁴⁰² "A Case Ahead," *The British Whig*, March 22, 1874.

⁴⁰³ "The Graveyards," *The British Whig*, April 28, 1864; "The Burial Ground Nuisance," *The British Whig*, April 6, 1874.

⁴⁰⁴ Lee Jackson, *Dirty Old London: The Victorian Fight Against Filth* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2014); Mariana Valverde, *The Age of Light, Soap, and Water: Moral Reform in English Canada, 1885-1925* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2008).

over the course of the nineteenth century.⁴⁰⁵ Kingston was not immune to the problems associated with urbanization and established a board of health in the spring of 1854 in order to better monitor and regulate public health.⁴⁰⁶ Early efforts centred on managing “nuisances” such as refuse piles, sewage pits, and standing water in an effort to maintain the cleanliness of the city.⁴⁰⁷ New initiatives were added later in the century when germ theory was accepted and new technology came available for monitoring microbes. By the end of the nineteenth century, the board of health was responsible for monitoring the import of fresh food, slaughterhouses, industrial waste, water quality in the Kingston Harbour, microbe content in ice cut from the lake, and the upkeep of private and public property.⁴⁰⁸ The board’s regulations were given weight through city bylaws; anyone in violation of these could be fined. The enhanced regulatory and punitive powers of the board of health allowed city authorities a measure of control over privately-owned spaces like the burial grounds.

The enhanced ability of the city to intervene where there was a perceived threat to public health had serious implications for the dilapidated Upper Burial Ground. The anxieties of the surrounding residents went beyond the aesthetic, as many of the deceased who were originally buried in the Upper Burial Ground had died of communicable

⁴⁰⁵ George Rosen, *A History of Public Health*, Revised Edition (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1958).

⁴⁰⁶ Kingston Board of Health Meeting Minutes, 1854-1855, Vol. 235, City of Kingston Fonds.

⁴⁰⁷ “Nuisances” in City of Kingston Consolidated Bylaws, 133-136

⁴⁰⁸ Various, “Board of Health Ephemera,” 1901-1838, City of Kingston Fonds, Queen’s University Archives.

disease.⁴⁰⁹ Many Kingstonians were concerned that if the space continued to degrade, the remains could be exposed and cause the outbreak of an epidemic. Although miasma theory had been gospel in the medical communities of the early nineteenth century, the notion that illness was spread by bad smelling air was being superseded by germ theory by the 1860s due to the work of John Snow, Louis Pasteur and Robert Koch.⁴¹⁰ Once the root of communicable disease was traced back to invisible viruses, bacteria, and parasites, public health officials and medical professionals were better able to monitor and even prevent the spread of disease. Measures such as quarantine and recording the addresses of the ill could limit the spread of epidemic disease, while public education on the spread of disease, how to prevent it, and what to do if one fell ill helped to inform the public and keep virulent killers like diphtheria, yellow fever, and cholera at bay. A key aspect to securing public health was the enforcement of city bylaws surrounding the maintenance of private property. Because the grounds were filled with refuse and mud, the graveyard was in such a state as to qualify as a public nuisance. However, to make such a declaration would put Kingston's churches in violation of municipal law.

⁴⁰⁹ Anti-Park, "The Burying Ground," *The Daily News*, September 16, 1887.

⁴¹⁰ Micheal Worboys, *Spreading Germs: Disease Theories and Medical Practice in Britain, 1865-1900* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2000); Carl H. Pforzheimer, "Contagion: Historical Views of Diseases and Epidemics," University Website, *Harvard University Library Open Collections Program*, (n.d.), <http://ocp.hul.harvard.edu/contagion/germtheory.html>; Alie Metchnikoff, *The Founders of Modern Medicine: Pasteur, Koch, Lister* (New York: Walden Publications, 1939); Christoph Gradmann, *Laboratory Disease: Robert Koch's Medical Biology*, trans. Elborg Forster (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009); Jack D. Ellis, *The Physician-Legislators of France: Medicine and Politics in the Early Third Republic, 1810-1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990).



Plate 9 - A photo showing the state of the Upper Burial Ground prior to its conversion to a park. Note the exposed dirt, debris, and leaning tombstones. The grounds would have been very muddy after rain and in spring.



Plate 9 - Children sitting on the grass in Upper Burial Ground. To the right is the monument to Reverend George Barclay built by his congregants upon his death in 1826. The monument was restored and is still present in McBurney Park today.

What Shall Be Done With the Old Burying Ground?

Allan and his supporters began a protracted campaign to formally declare the space a threat to public health and safety. Church leaders managed to prevent formal reprimand for a while by replacing the fence, but the problems persisted and Allan's campaign was finally successful in 1874.⁴¹¹ Photos of the grounds taken at the end of the nineteenth century by local photographer David Culcheth provide some context for the complaints of the local population. The graveyard was a fairly large, open space with residential buildings surrounding it on all sides. Any problems that arose in the space had a direct impact on the people living nearby. The images also indicate that the complaints over the hygienic state of the space were legitimate. Photos of the area show a field full of leaning, fallen, and broken tombstones, overgrown vegetation, worn dirt footpaths, and long, patchy grass, all of which would have been a muddy mess every spring and after every rainfall. Because these photos were taken late in the century after the local clergy were impelled to address the state of the graveyard, it is likely that they do not fully capture the deplorable state of the grounds.

The formal reprimand made it clear to both the church that something had to be done to address the state of the grounds and assured the citizens that the city planned to take action. Four different solutions emerged and found popular support among Kingstonians. First, it was suggested that the city appropriate the grounds and build a park. Those opposed to the park suggested that the space be restored into a picturesque city cemetery that both honoured the dead and beautified the city. Others wanted a mortuary built on the grounds to avoid the trip to Cataraqui in the winter, while others felt that the construction of a new chapel was the best use of the space. Ultimately, the creation of a city

⁴¹¹ "The Old Burial Ground," *Daily News*, September 14, 1887.; "Will Fence It In," *Daily News*, August 25, 1887.

park won over, but not until after years of negotiation among the church, city councillors, and the citizens. The ultimate fate of the land was influenced strongly by who was willing to claim financial responsibility for the project. The city had access to more revenue and resources than the churches and the clergy were increasingly careful about how money was spent. The proposals to restore the burial grounds and create an inner-city garden-style cemetery as a commemoration to the dead was never seriously considered. Restoring the grounds would have demanded extensive landscaping and huge cash outlay on the part of religious groups, which was not something they were willing or able to do. Additionally, restoration of the graveyard would not have achieved the aim of the bylaw that closed the cemetery—the protection of the living from the dead. Furthermore, while restoration of the graveyard would have provided public park space, the place of death and the afterlife in Canadian society was shifting and most people no longer wished to have a constant reminder of their mortality present in the city.

The proposal of building a mortuary vault on the cemetery grounds met with a similar lack of enthusiasm. Those in support of the idea wanted a vault in the city to avoid the inconvenient journey to Cataraqui cemetery in the winter.⁴¹² Ultimately, the idea was rejected by the city on the grounds that it was a violation of the bylaw that had closed the cemetery to begin with, as a vault was ruled to constitute an urban interment. It was clear that the city of Kingston perceived the dead as a potential threat to public welfare. The construction of a new church or chapel in the Church of England's section was also rejected almost immediately due to the financial strain it would have placed on church coffers and

⁴¹² "A Perplexing Question: What Shall Be Done With the Old Burying Ground?," *Daily News*, January 19, 1892.

the fact that the construction of a chapel in one section of the grounds did not solve the problem of the space as a whole and had the potential to reignite the denominational tensions that emerged in the early nineteenth century.⁴¹³

The lack of funds available to Kingston's denominational groups combined with the increasing aversion to close proximity to the dead to render most of the proposed alternatives to the creation of a city park impossible. Building a park seemed to be the only way forward. The creation of Frontenac Park—now known colloquially as “Skeleton Park” because of its former use— was not an easy process. Before construction could even begin, the city had to appropriate the land from the Church of England, the Presbyterians, and the Catholic Church. Each of these denominational groups was granted title to the land for use as a burial ground between 1819 and 1825 by order of the Lieutenant Governor, so the city had to negotiate with these groups to get title transferred. Additional complications came from the layout of the space; though there were three separate graveyards, all of these were adjoining, which meant that the city needed all three groups to agree to transfer title. The idea of converting the space into a park was first proposed only a few years after the burial ground was closed, but it met with many obstacles including public outcry over decency and respectability and hesitation on the part of the churches to cede the land. While it was clear that something had to be done about the space, church leaders, particularly the Church of England, were under immense pressure from their congregations to do the right thing. Many Kingstonians blamed the clergy for the sorry state of the grounds and felt that the churches should pay for the repairs.

⁴¹³ David Marshall, “Death Abolished: Changing Attitudes to Death and the Afterlife in Nineteenth Century Canadian Protestantism,” in *Age of Transition: Readings in Canadian Social History, 1800-1900*, ed. Norman Knowles (Toronto: Harcourt Brace & Co., 1998), 382.

While the city worked to appropriate the land from church, the problems with the cemetery persisted. Throughout the 1870s and 1880s the grounds were unkempt, animals were allowed to pasture there, and local boys made a game of breaking or knocking over tombstones in the burial yards.⁴¹⁴ Citizens directed their outrage at the church authorities for their lack of reverence “for the resting place of the dead in the hearts of the proper caretakers of this consecrated spot.”⁴¹⁵ By the spring of 1874, those with loved ones interred in the Old English Burial Ground were considering legal action against St. George’s for allowing the burial ground to degrade so much.⁴¹⁶ The threats of litigation proved idle and the condition of the grounds continued to decline. In spring of 1885, a gruesome discovery was made in the dilapidated burial ground. On April 1, the *British Whig* reported that the body of an infant wrapped in clothes had been found buried in the snow in the English section of the Upper Burial Ground. The infant was the stillborn child of a Mr. Goodman, who had been ordered to bury the baby properly but failed to comply.⁴¹⁷ Goodman claimed that the child was not his, although his wife had delivered a stillborn infant the previous night. Ultimately, the city paid for the burial of the infant, as the authorities could not prove decisively that the baby belonged to Goodman, but the sad event turned public attention back to the problem of the city burial grounds.⁴¹⁸

⁴¹⁴ “Desecration,” *Daily British Whig*, May 16, 1871; “Disgraceful,” *Daily British Whig*, May 16, 1871.

⁴¹⁵ “Disgraceful,” *Daily British Whig*, May 16, 1871.

⁴¹⁶ “A Case Ahead,” *Daily British Whig*, March 22, 1874

⁴¹⁷ “An Infant Wrapped in Clothes Picked up On Alma Street,” *Daily British Whig*, April 1, 1885.

⁴¹⁸ “That Dead Child Again,” *Daily British Whig*, April 2, 1885.

The Church of England bore an especially large part of the blame in the public mind. Letters to the editor sent to both the *Kingston Whig* and the *Daily News* indicate that the Church of England was the target of the most vitriol. Many felt that it was the duty of St. George's parish to fence and remediate the graveyard, as it received the lion's share of the revenue from burials due to the early monopoly on funerals and burials and the fact that the Episcopal church represented the largest and most prominent denominational group in Kingston.⁴¹⁹ While no one overtly accused church officials of misusing funds, it was implied that some revenue should have been allocated for the maintenance of the graveyard. Additionally, unlike the Catholic and Presbyterian leaders, who were very public in their desire to see something done about the degraded grounds, Dean Lyster of the Church of England was ambivalent and was hesitant to commit to any one plan forward. The Catholic congregations had already transferred many of the remains to the recently built St. Mary's Cemetery and readily gave up their section of the Old Burial Ground to the city.⁴²⁰ Similarly, Reverend Mackie of St. Andrew's Presbyterian Church publicly referred to the space as "an insult to Christianity" where "not a single sign of love or joyful hope of a blessed resurrection is to be seen" and declared his commitment to ensure that the space "be made not only decent, but beautiful" and his confidence that "St. Andrew's Church ... will not allow their share of the work to remain much longer undone."⁴²¹ However, the Episcopal

⁴¹⁹ "The Old Burial Ground." *Daily British Whig*, June 3, 1868.

⁴²⁰ "Dr. Cleary Makes a Magnanimous Offer and Council Accepts," *Daily British Whig*, July 15, 1887.

⁴²¹ "Old Burial Ground: Rev. Mackie's Impressions- Something Must Quickly Be Done," *Daily British Whig*, August 23, 1886.

authorities continued to equivocate until they were forced into action by a combination of growing public pressure and the decisive actions of the Catholic and Presbyterian clergy.

For many years after the closure of the grounds, the church leaders were able to avoid the question of what to do with the grounds, but by the 1880s, the leaders of the major denominations in Kingston were forced by the city to make a decision. Church leaders could either cede the land to the city for use as a park, or they could retain title and, with it, the problem of what to do about the space. The Catholic section of the Upper Burial Ground was the first to be granted to the city by Bishop Cleary in 1887, a decision that met with criticism and accusations of sacrilege from Kingston's Protestant majority.⁴²² The unexpected outrage surrounding Cleary's decision slowed the acquisition of the Protestant sections; the leaders of the Church of England and the Presbyterian Church were forced to consider the matter carefully in consultation with their congregations before giving up the land. The special meetings of the St. George's vestry to consider "the advisability of placing the Church of England burial burying ground on the corner of Alma and Ordinance streets in the care of the Corporation of the City of Kingston" continued, and meetings were held between the clergy and city council throughout 1885, 1886 and 1887.⁴²³ While the church leaders agreed that the air of "melancholy neglect" could not be maintained, not all clergy were confident in their ability to obtain consensus from their congregants. While church leaders acknowledged that the state of the grounds undermined its sacred status, there

⁴²² "Dr. Cleary Makes a Magnanimous Offer and Council Accepts," *The Daily British Whig*, July 15, 1887; "The Old Burial Ground," *The Daily News*, September 14, 1887.

⁴²³ "Vestry Minutes of St. George's Church, 1849-1889," 1889 1849, Parish Records, Anglican Diocese of Ontario Archives.

were concerns from citizens that removal of the remains and converting the space into a mere leisure area was an erasure of that status altogether.⁴²⁴

The public debate over whether or not the land should be converted to a park was fairly heated and contributed to the delays in transferring ownership of the land from the churches to the city. The debate over the fate of the graveyard lands played out in a series of letters to the editor published in the Kingston daily newspapers. A writer identified as “Cemetery” felt that the transfer of remains and the building of a park was an affront to morality and civilizations chastised those in support for “exhibiting ghoulish greed to be possessed of a pleasure ground at the expense of their decency” and implored the citizenry to “let the dead alone.”⁴²⁵ A letter signed “Kingston” insisted that transfer to the new cemetery was preferable to interment in a neglected burial ground and reminded those who opposed the proposal that the transfer of remains had scriptural support and reminded readers that the burial ground was “a public nuisance to the living and a dishonour to the dead.”⁴²⁶ Replies to both of these letters were issued in the following days. “Decency” presented a rebuttal to “Kingston” and argued that the consecrated home of the dead should remain so and suggested that the bodies be left and the grounds improved into “a handsome cemetery, pleasant to the eye and conveying a moral lesson to the heart.”⁴²⁷

The idea that a graveyard could be used to convey a moral lesson was the result of the

⁴²⁴ Decency, “In Response to ‘The Old Graveyard,’” *Daily News*, May 27, 1887; Anti-Park, “The Burying Ground.”

⁴²⁵ Cemetery, “The Old Burial Ground,” *Daily British Whig*, May 20, 1887.

⁴²⁶ Decency, “In Response to ‘The Old Graveyard’”; “Kingston,” “The Disused Old Graveyard,” *Daily News*, May 20, 1887.

⁴²⁷ “Kingston,” “The Disused Old Graveyard,” *The Daily News*, May 20, 1887.

tendency of eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century evangelical preachers to use death as a means of redeeming backsliders and reminding the living of the importance of living a moral life, as death could come at any time.⁴²⁸ City burial grounds and cemeteries were an integral part of this tendency, as they provided tangible reminders of the brevity of life and a warning to live well. However by the second half of the nineteenth century, death was no longer being portrayed as the “king of terrors.” The popularity of Universalist theology and the increasingly worldly understanding of the afterlife encouraged an eschewing of funerary gloom in favour of melancholic recollection and memorialization. The new garden cemeteries were especially suited to this. Unlike the slab style gravestones carved with overtly didactic symbolism such as fingers pointing heavenward, weeping willows, and funerary urns that dominated the Upper Burial Ground, the monuments that were in fashion for most of the late nineteenth century did not look like grave markers. Instead, they were constructed on the model provided by monuments that memorialized great men and their achievements. Those wishing to pay their respects could walk among the memorials and reflect on the natural order of things without actually being confronted with mortality. Death was easily hidden among the sculptural memorials and trees, but not so in an urban burial yard. The notion of maintaining a graveyard in the city limits as a moral lesson was increasingly out of fashion by the end of the nineteenth century.

The changing fashion associated with death and burial, combined with denominational cash-flow issues and tangible concerns over the decaying cemetery, made the park the only viable option. The Churches could not afford to restore the grounds and the placement of a mortuary or vault was a violation of the bylaw that closed the grounds

⁴²⁸ Decency, “In Response to ‘The Old Graveyard,’” Ibid.

to begin with and was therefore not possible. In September of 1887, the churchwardens of the Church of England met with representatives from the Presbyterian congregation to consider what to do with the grounds. Though denominational burial spaces were separated by fences, the space was essentially one large burial ground, so there had to be consensus amongst the leaders of the Catholic, Church of England, and Presbyterian clergy regarding what to do with the grounds if they were to be converted into a park. In the fall of 1887, the Church of England was clearly interested in divesting itself of the property and turning it over to the city, but the Presbyterians were not so eager. The burial space that the Presbyterian Church was granted in 1825 was hard won after a prolonged dispute between Reverends Barclay and Stuart, and they were not eager to relinquish title. In September of 1887, following a meeting with the other denominations, it was decided that the sections would be fenced but that title would remain in the hands of the churches. The transfer of title from the churches to the city for the creation of a park was fraught with moral, legal, and cultural issues. In order to convert the burial grounds into a park, the space would have to be completely transformed and all indications that it had been a burial ground would have to be erased. Some Kingstonians objected to the erasure of the dead from the urban landscape on the grounds that such an act was the destruction of sacred space.

Legislating Frontenac Park

It was not until January of 1892 that the Special Committee on the Old Burial Grounds was able to secure title from the last of the three denominational groups. The committee was established to negotiate with the various congregations to acquire the land

for a park. The Catholics and Church of England handed over title directly, but the Presbyterians insisted on restitution for the land and granted the city a ninety-nine year lease at a rate of one dollar per year, to be paid up-front.⁴²⁹ Once the land was transferred, permission to build a park was granted by an act of parliament that also outlined how the park was expected to look. According to the act, which was assented to May 27, 1893, the City of Kingston was given one year from the passage of the act to create a new park from the ruins of the old graveyard. The appearance and requirements for the construction of the park were outlined in the act and were very specific: The fences that separated the three graveyards had to be taken down, and the ground made into a level green sward. The grounds were to be planted with trees, shrubs, and flowers, with footpaths throughout, but no driveways.⁴³⁰ Before the design could be realized, remains had to be transferred to other burial spaces at the expense of the city.⁴³¹ The transfer of remains was done at the request of individuals, and while the Catholic diocese transferred the majority of its deceased to its new cemetery, comparatively few bodies were actually moved to Cataraqui cemetery.

⁴²⁹ Report of the Special Committee on Old Burying Grounds to the Mayor and City Council, January 1892, "City of Kingston, Report Book 'G,'" 1891-1895, Queen's University Archive.

⁴³⁰ Schedule B, "An Act Respecting Certain Burial Grounds in the City of Kingston," § 67 (1893), 288.

⁴³¹ *Ibid.*



Plate 10 - Officials surveying the Upper Burial Ground in preparation for the exhumation of remains and the construction of Frontenac Park.

Exhumation and Panic

The exhumation and transportation of the remains caused a stir among Kingstonians and on the first day, hundreds of people turned up to watch the work.⁴³² Many citizens found the process ghoulish, macabre, and even dangerous. Locals knew that many of the deceased in the former Upper Burial Ground had died of infectious disease and there were serious concerns that disturbing the remains “might lead to the dissemination of disease which do not now exist.”⁴³³ The medical health officer’s statement that “the idea of disease culminating from the lifting of the bones out of the old cemetery is ridiculous” did little to put Kingstonians at ease.⁴³⁴ In addition to sanitary concerns, many people felt that exhumation amounted to desecration and was therefore sacrilege. One Robert Dalzell Knox wrote to the *British Whig* to express his hope that “in the interests of humanity, decency, and our common Christianity, that this disgusting work will soon be at an end. As a respectable citizen expressed it to me yesterday, ‘it is a terror.’”⁴³⁵ The process of exhumation and clearing the grounds to make way for a park was captured by a local photographer known as Culcheth and was an involved process that required over a dozen labourers. The work was supervised by Mr. George Adsit, who estimated that the remains

⁴³² “Removing the Bodies,” *Daily British Whig*, May 23, 1893, sec. City and Vicinity. The Practice of exhuming and reintering remains was commonplace in the overfilled graveyards of England and Europe, see: Catherine Arnold, *Necropolis: London and Its Dead* (London and New York: Simon and Schuster, 2006); Ariès, *The Hour of Our Death*; More notable exhumations include that of Oliver Cromwell and Sir Isaac Brock: Jonathan F. Vance, *Building Canada: People and Projects That Shaped the Nation* (Toronto: Penguin Books Canada, 2006).

⁴³³ “Removal of Dead Bodies,” *Daily British Whig*, May 23, 1893.

⁴³⁴ “The Old Burying Ground,” *Daily British Whig*, May 30, 1893.

⁴³⁵ “The Forbidding Work,” *Daily British Whig*, May 30, 1893.

of around 2,500 people would have to be removed from the grounds.⁴³⁶ The exhumations were paid for by the city and remains were transferred to the garden cemetery of the relative's choosing; over the course of the exhumation, people with relatives interred in the burial grounds visited the site to point out the gravesites of dead relatives, but many bodies could not be located, whether owing to forgetful relatives or unscrupulous resurrectionists.⁴³⁷ The Bishop of Kingston's Catholic diocese requested that remains be moved to St. Mary's Cemetery on behalf of his parishioners and as many bodies as could be located were exhumed. The exhumations of the Presbyterian and Episcopal faithful were done at the request of family and relatives, as any bodies that were reinterred in Cataraqui had to have a burial plot purchased for them.

⁴³⁶ "Many Empty Graves," *Daily British Whig*, May 27, 1893.

⁴³⁷ *Ibid.*



Plate 11 - Labourers and local children pause for a picture with a gravestone. Note the broken coffin pieces in the foreground.

The exhumations were a remarkable event that took place over several weeks and were more time-and cost-intensive than expected.⁴³⁸ In addition to the images of the graveyard before its transformation, David Culcheth also photographed the exhumation. As a testament to the state of the grounds, the photos of the area taken before and during the exhumations are differentiated only by the presence of labourers and the disturbed ground; it was no wonder that such a gothic, macabre space was imbued with a sense of danger and immorality. The exhumation was clearly an event of some note. Photographs feature men who were likely city or church officials surveying the grounds and overseeing the labourers as well as a few children who had come down to the site from the surrounding houses to see what the fuss was over. Objections to the process also appeared in local newspapers where concerned citizens expressed fears over disease and disgust with the prospect of seeing Kingston's deceased unearthed and on display in such a ghastly manner. When a body was exhumed, it had to be placed in new container, as the old coffins had rotted and tended to fall apart when they were dug up. One photo of the exhumations shows the ground littered with pieces of broken caskets; while no remains are shown, bones and other half-decayed debris would have been visible to onlookers. While the exhumation and interment of bodies was a necessary step to the creation of a new urban leisure space, the process was perceived of as unnecessarily macabre and even sacrilegious to many, especially those who were against the construction of a pleasure ground on space that was supposed to be sacred to the memory of the deceased.

⁴³⁸ George Adsit, "Statement Shewing the Actual Expenditure in Connection with Old Burial Ground, Etc.," September 1893, MacBurney Park Subject Files, Queen's University Archive; Report of the Committee on Parks to the Mayor and City Council, June 1893, "City of Kingston, Report Book 'G.'"

In addition to concerns relating to morality and sensibility, many Kingstonians were concerned that opening long-sealed graves could result in the spread of communicable disease or even trigger an epidemic. As a port city, Kingston was no stranger to epidemics of virulent diseases. Though improved knowledge about how diseases like these were spread made them easier to control in theory, in practice outbreaks of communicable disease could still have devastating consequences due to a combination of crowding in lower-income areas and the lack of effective treatments. Although the transmission of disease was better understood by the end of the nineteenth century thanks to the discovery of bacteria by physicians in the 1840s and 1850s, the association of disease with bad odour was deeply embedded in popular wisdom.⁴³⁹ As a result, people assumed that disturbing the remains in the graveyard could have potentially deadly consequences. On the whole, the fears surrounding the transmission of disease from long-dead remains were unfounded. Most of the deceased had perished due to bacterial infections such as cholera, typhus, tuberculosis, and typhoid fever; such infections require a living host to survive and cannot live for long outside a human or animal body. The possibility for transmission does exist with viral infections like smallpox or measles, however no epidemics of viral diseases were recorded in Kingston and the risk was minimal.⁴⁴⁰ Whether or not the burial yard posed a real threat to public health, it was a looming risk in the minds of the public. Apparently, whether the graveyard was left as it was or wiped from the landscape for the creation of a park, the dead were perceived as a potential threat to the living.

⁴³⁹ Michael Bliss, *Plague: A Story of Smallpox in Montreal* (Toronto: Harper Collins Canada, 1991), 173.

⁴⁴⁰ Bliss, *Plague: A Story of Smallpox in Montreal*, 257; Charles E. Rosenberg, *The Cholera Years* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987).



Plate 12 - Moving the bodies from the Upper Burial ground. One can assume that the box the children are posing with in the right of the photo was used to hold remains.

Constructing Frontenac Park

Once the remains belonging to the families that had requested exhumation were removed, the construction of the park could begin. The requested remains were exhumed and transferred; the tombstones were laid level over the graves and covered with soil. In order to ensure that the gravesites were kept track of, the city was required to make a plan indicating the various gravesites.⁴⁴¹ While a map of the gravesites seemed like an ideal plan, it seems that it was never created. Many of the graves in the dilapidated graveyard were no longer marked owing to vandalism and theft of tombstones, and unless the deceased had a living relative to identify the burial site, it was very difficult to discern where gravesites were located. As a result, many of those laid to rest remained and have been discovered periodically. Local lore tells of children unearthing the flattened gravestones to use as baseball bases and stealing skulls and bones that were pushed to the surface of the earth, while police reports from the early 1990s indicate that human remains were found while a crew was digging a routine utilities line.⁴⁴² Once the grounds were prepared, the construction of the park could begin. The Act of Parliament dictated that the space had to feature a sward of green lawn interrupted by footpaths and planted with trees and flowers. The aesthetic demands for the park were very similar to those articulated by the founders of Cataraqui Cemetery fifty years earlier.

The aesthetic parallels between public parks and garden cemeteries were no coincidence. The creation of public spaces like Frontenac Park was predicated on the

⁴⁴¹ Schedule "B", An Act Respecting Certain Burial Grounds in the City of Kingston, 288.

⁴⁴² Sgt. L. Carroll, Incident Report (Kingston, Ontario: Kingston Police Force, September 18, 1992), Marjorie Simmons Fonds, Queen's University Archives.

existence of garden cemeteries. They were required not only as a repository for the relocated remains, but also as an aesthetic precursor to the city park and a framework for its construction. Prior to the craze for urban parks in the late nineteenth century, the garden cemeteries of mid-century were the only garden spaces that were available for public use, and they were very popular as leisure space for those seeking a respite from the city.⁴⁴³ On weekends, especially Sundays, the cemetery was filled with visitors, many of whom were not there to pay respects to the deceased. Derived as they were from large private estate gardens, the new cemeteries like Cataraqui provided the ideal model for the layout of the urban parks of the progressive era. The closing decades of the nineteenth century and early years of the twentieth saw the construction of myriad urban public parks in Canada: Stanley Park in Vancouver, Mount Royal Park in Montreal, Assiniboine Park in Winnipeg, Strathcona Park in Ottawa, Queen's Park in Toronto, and Victoria Park in London, Ontario. Paradoxically, these spaces were both a hallmark of modern, progressive city governance while serving as an appeal to a deeply antimodern strand of anxiety over the deleterious effects of the city and faith in the restorative power of the natural.⁴⁴⁴ The enthusiasm for public park space in Kingston and elsewhere was born out of the same set of progressive, modernizing values that gave rise to Cataraqui Cemetery. City parks were popularized as a reaction to what social scientists and urban planners regarded as the deleterious effects of urban living.⁴⁴⁵ As people crowded together and industry expanded,

⁴⁴³ Heath Massey Schenker, *Melodramatic Landscapes: Urban Parks in the Nineteenth Century* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2009), 4.

⁴⁴⁴ Schenker, *Melodramatic Landscapes*, 7 Sean Kheraj, *Inventing Stanley Park: An Environmental History* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2013), 60.

⁴⁴⁵ Schenker, *Melodramatic Landscapes*, 4.

living conditions in the cities of North America worsened, especially in working-class neighbourhoods. Many reformers asserted that increased exposure to nature and fresh air could combat many of the physical and psychic ailments associated with urban life.⁴⁴⁶

Park and Cemetery: Blurred Distinctions

As the Upper Burial Ground was transformed to serve the living, the cultural understanding of the purpose of the cemetery was also shifting in response to the growing desire for outdoor recreation space. Increasingly, superintendents and cemetery boards were pushing to blur the distinction between park and cemetery. Park spaces had drawn much of their original inspiration from the garden cemetery in terms of both layout and cultural meaning. The first urban parks were built in accordance with the Romantic ethos that directed the layout of the great garden cemeteries of the nineteenth century. Like the garden cemetery, the urban park was a didactic and restorative space, though in a much more implicit sense. The cemetery used landscape as a means of comforting the bereaved and serving as a reminder of the power of God.⁴⁴⁷ In the urban park, nature was imitated and encouraged as a means of leading the viewer to the realization of their embeddedness within larger natural processes, and reversing some of the deleterious effects of city living.⁴⁴⁸ As parks were physically replacing graveyards in urban spaces in Canada, the US,

⁴⁴⁶ Thorsheim, "The Corpse in the Garden: Burial, Health, and the Environment in Nineteenth-Century London."

⁴⁴⁷ Carl Berger, *Science, God, and Nature in Victorian Canada*, The Joanne Goodman Lectures (Toronto, Buffalo, London: University of Toronto Press, 1983).

⁴⁴⁸ Robert Mitchell, "Cryptogamia," in *Romanticism and Modernity*, ed. Thomas Pfau and Robert Mitchell (London: Routledge, Taylor & Francis, 2012), 199–220.

and England, the functionality of park space, with its focus on the living and their leisure, was seeping into the form of the cemetery as directors purchased statuary, placed benches, and began to think more about the needs of visitors. The newly professionalized landscape architects were no longer restricted to the planning and construction of garden cemeteries to make their name. Now they could be part of the next wave of urban progressivism by designing and building park space.⁴⁴⁹

The shifting character of landscape construction and its new obsession with park space is overt in the transition that *Modern Cemetery*, a prominent trade magazine, underwent in 1895. *Modern Cemetery* was first launched in the 1880s as a resource for those involved in the cemetery industry, including superintendents, board members, and landscape architects. The publication featured coverage of the continent's most beautiful cemeteries and described successful innovations in management. In 1893, the board of Cataraqui Cemetery subscribed to the magazine at the suggestion of George Nicol, who felt that it would aid the cemetery's modernization project. *Modern Cemetery* was considered an authority in matters pertaining to landscape gardening, so the inclusion of the increasingly popular and visually similar city parks was a logical extension of the magazine's content. In the spring of 1895, the magazine was renamed *Park and Cemetery*,

⁴⁴⁹ Robin S. Karson, *Fletcher Steele, Landscape Architect: An Account of the Gardenmaker's Life, 1855-1971* (New York: Abrams/Sagapress, 1989); Cynthia Zaitzevesky, *Frederick Law Olmsted and the Boston Park System* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1982); John Hockaday, *Greenescapes: Olmsted's Pacific Northwest* (Pullman, WA: Washington State University Press, 2009); John Emerson Todd, *Frederick Law Olmsted* (Boston, MA: Twayne, 1982); Soja Dumpelmann and John Beardsley, *Women, Modernity, and Landscape Architecture* (New York, New York: Routledge, 2015); Robert E. Grese, *Jens Jensen: Maker of Natural Parks and Gardens* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992); Anita Berrizbeitia, *Roberto Burle Marx in Caracas: Parque Del Este, 1956-1961* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2005). Frieda Wishinsky, *The Man Who Made Parks: The Story of Park Builder Frederick Law Olmsted* (Toronto, ON: Tundra Books, 1999).

to cement this relationship. The publication also expanded its scope to include profiles of the new urban parks and advice for how best to construct a modern, tasteful park. These were included among profiles of garden cemeteries that highlighted the enduring beauty of the original Romantic-era, picturesque designs and praised the progressive, service-oriented changes being made.⁴⁵⁰ The shift was natural as, according to the editor in the first issue of the refocused publication, “The Superintendents of our leading cemeteries, generally, have for a long time recognized that the requirements for the cemetery, apart from the burial of the dead, are very largely those of the park.”⁴⁵¹ Where the burial of the dead was once the sole focus of those in charge of the cemetery, it was increasingly deemphasized in favour of ensuring that “progressive cemetery management... result in the transforming of the gloomy and forbidding graveyards into burial parks, for such our cemeteries should be”⁴⁵² While the purpose of the garden cemetery had always been to strip burial places of their air of Gothic gloom, by the close of the nineteenth century, the park and the cemetery were being explicitly equated. The model of accessible, well-designed and natural-looking outdoor space upon which the cemetery was predicated was taken up by the enthusiastic proponents of city parks. In their hands, the design was rendered more egalitarian and presented “for the enjoyment and education of man.”⁴⁵³

Urban Parks and Modernity

⁴⁵⁰ “Editorial,” *Park and Cemetery Magazine: A Monthly Journal Devoted to Parks and Cemeteries*, February 1896, 1.

⁴⁵¹ *Ibid.*

⁴⁵² *Ibid.*

⁴⁵³ *Ibid.*

Urban boards of health and newly created city parks departments were enthusiastic in their support for the creation of city parks for many reasons beyond the provision of leisure space to the average citizen. Parks were thought to provide space for exercise, which would enhance physical health, and space to be close to nature, enhancing both mental and moral health. Natural space and landscape continued to be burdened with the task of imparting deep lessons to those experiencing it. The Romantic-era tendency toward the valorization of aesthetic experience, combined with the realization that nature represented a potentially harmful, very alien force, persisted and was put in the service of the modernizing project.⁴⁵⁴ In the early and mid-nineteenth century, the natural landscape was employed in the cemetery as a means of encouraging quiet meditation and a deeper connection with the natural order of things, and therefore with the divine. These landscapes were intended to be the opposite of a *Memento Mori*. Instead of reminding the living of their impending death, the landscape was tied to memorialization; while it was an expression of the finite nature of human life, the moral lesson it imparted that situated humans within a natural cycle of death and rebirth. As the natural landscape was used in urban parks, the natural itself became the site of a positive transformative experience.

In addition to being good for the citizens, the newly built urban parks were the newest and most popular means of creating and indicating modernity. Parks beautified the city and signalled that those in charge were a part of a shared progressive project that sought to better the lives of all through enhanced civic well-being. Park space also had the

⁴⁵⁴ David Collings, , "After the Covenant: Romanticism, Secularization, and Disastrous Transcendence," in *Romanticism and Modernity*, ed. Thomas Pfau and Robert Mitchell (London: Routledge, Taylor & Francis, 2012), 71; Thomas Pfau and Robert Mitchell "Introduction," in *Romanticism and Modernity*, ed. Pfau, and Mitchell (London: Routledge, Taylor & Francis, 2012), 10.

benefit of making the city more attractive. By the close of the nineteenth century, Kingston's prominence as a manufacturing centre and shipping port was waning as centres like Montreal, Toronto, and Ottawa grew. Many felt that enhancing the city's beauty was the best way forward, as it would encourage the city to grow into a "headquarters for Summer tourists" and pave the way for "hundreds of opulent Americans [to] live in Kingston during the summer months and avail themselves of our facilities" to spend their summers relaxing in Kingston's public parks and musing over the historic sites.⁴⁵⁵

As the nineteenth century drew to a close, parks overshadowed cemeteries as the best space for the public to commune with nature. City parks had all of the picturesque beauty of a cemetery, but were more readily accessible, featured more amenities, and—unlike today—had no potentially uncomfortable or sorrowful reminders of mortality and loss. The cemetery had changed to meet the park in being a space for the living and this was as true of Cataraqui as it was of the Upper Burial Ground, which has been known variously as Frontenac Park, MacBurney Park, and Skeleton Park. As the modernizing project that began in the early nineteenth century continued, the dead and their spaces were increasingly used to service to the living. However over the course of the nineteenth century, the nature of this service shifted; instead of the dead imparting a grim moral lesson, they provided an impetus for the persistence and development of Romantic ideals that were used as a means of extending the project of modernity while offering a sustained critique of that process.⁴⁵⁶ Romanticism as expressed in landscape allowed people to confront and negotiate modernity by presenting the modern in cultural forms that were

⁴⁵⁵ "Our New Parks," *Daily News*, April 28, 1894.

⁴⁵⁶ Micheal Löwy and Robert Sayre, *Romanticism against the Tide of Modernity*, Post-Contemporary Interventions (Durham: Duke University Press, 2001), 1.

easily understood and absorbed. Death and the spaces it necessitated provided an ideal context for this negotiation through combining the desire for sentiment and feeling with the need for reform and resolution. The garden cemetery represented the convergence of these imperatives, and eventually the notion of landscape in service to human betterment found its logical conclusion in the form of the urban park.

Conclusion

In September of 1992, workers from McMillan Construction were digging a new gas line on Alma Street west of MacBurney Park (formerly Frontenac Park) when work was abruptly halted by the discovery of an old headstone. The police were called to the site in order to “determine if the location was an irregular burial site or an unapproved Cemetery,” which suggests that Kingstonians were either unaware that MacBurney Park was formerly the Kingston city cemetery.⁴⁵⁷ The headstone was found opposite 16 Alma Street and read “In Memory of William Reynolds, Native of Pembrokeeshire, South Wales, Who Died August 12, 1834 Age 48 Years”⁴⁵⁸ When the grave marker was disturbed, a human femur—presumably that of the late Mr. Reynolds—was uncovered and subsequently returned to its original site so that the area could be secured for the Cataraqui Archaeological Research Foundation and the medical officer from the board of health to perform an investigation.

A review of the police report and the subsequent Archaeological reports, and the months of correspondence between the City of Kingston, the Cataraqui Archaeological Research Foundation, and the Ministry of Consumer Affairs of Ontario confirm that no one in Kingston was aware that the largest urban burial ground in Kingston had been formally made into a park about a century before.⁴⁵⁹ The correspondence also reveals a lack of

⁴⁵⁷ Sgt. L. Carroll, Incident Report (Kingston, Ontario: Kingston Police Force, September 18, 1992), Marjorie Simmons Fonds, Queen’s University Archives.

⁴⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

⁴⁵⁹ Correspondence RE: remains on Alma Street and in MacBurney Park, MacBurney Park Subject File, QUA, c. 1992.

awareness of the difficulties inherent in transferring remains. One such communiqué from Hugh J. Daeschel of the Cataraqui Archaeological Research Foundation stated rather indignantly that “the city could have placed itself in a serious position with the contravention of the 1893 Act [of Parliament] and especially with the continued desecration [sic] of the cemetery through its use as a recreational space area.” Daeschel added, “it is unfortunate that the city continues to regard recreational land use as compatible with cemeteries.”⁴⁶⁰ Such a statement reveals deep ignorance not only of Kingston’s history, but also of the historical milieu of Romanticism and modernity that provided the backdrop for the creation of McBurney Park. While there were always those who felt that the conversion of the urban graveyard into a park and the use of Cataraqui Cemetery as leisure space represented indecent desecration, they were a minority. Most of the citizens and government officials in Kingston viewed the conversion of the dilapidated urban graveyard into a city park as a new monument to modernity and civility. Transforming the graveyard into a public park erased the last vestiges of antiquated modes of interment from the urban landscape while enhancing the beauty of the city and the health of the citizens. Such an undertaking was predicated on the presence of Cataraqui Cemetery, which was a preferable resting place for the dead. In truth, it was not the city council’s original intent that Mr. Reynolds remain under Alma street; he should have been peacefully at rest in Cataraqui Cemetery with the rest of those who were reinterred.

Cataraqui Cemetery is one of many garden cemeteries that were constructed in the nineteenth century as a marker of modernity and civility. Their creation was driven by the perceived need for more hygienic burial spaces and the sentimentality and emotional affect

⁴⁶⁰ Communiqué, Hugh Daschel, McBurney Park Subject Files, QUA, 1992.

of the Romantic Movement, and garden cemeteries radically altered the urban and cultural landscapes of Victorian-era cities in Europe and North America alike. By the middle of the nineteenth century, garden cemeteries could be found just outside the limits of almost every major city and town in North America. These spaces were seen as a modern, progressive remedy for crowded, dilapidated urban graveyards, or, in some cases, as a means of preventing such a state of affairs altogether. Through providing progressive and picturesque burial space, garden cemeteries helped to articulate the place of death in the modern cultural scheme and thereby further the project of progress. The Picturesque was a landscape gardening style derived from the private gardens of the English aristocracy, but altered to appear naturalistic. According to philosophers and landscapers who adhered to the Romantic ideal of the picturesque, such naturalistic landscapes were superior to those that were merely beautiful, as they produced an emotional response and encouraged spiritual awareness of the relationship between humans and nature. By the mid-nineteenth century when populations began to coalesce into cities, such naturalistic spaces were imbued with even greater cultural significance, as they were thought to be a remedy to the ills of the city: the degradation of the body brought on by overcrowding and industrial waste could be righted with fresh air and exercise; the strain that fast-moving modern living placed on the mind and spirit could be reversed by time communing with the natural world. The creation of garden cemeteries in cities across North America demonstrated that modernity was both a source of problems and a solution to those very problems.⁴⁶¹

⁴⁶¹ Brian Young, *Respectable Burial: Montreal's Mount Royal Cemetery* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2003); Charles David Sloane, *The Last Great Necessity: Cemeteries in American History*, Creating the North American Landscape (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1991); Susan Smart, *A Better Place: Death and Burial in*

Although the plans for Cataraqui Cemetery were easily realized in theory, in practice, ensuring that the landscape conformed to the rigorous demands of the picturesque proved difficult. While the public visited the cemetery with the expectation of beautiful vistas and naturalistic settings, most lot owners were not keen to contribute to this project, nor were visitors entirely cooperative when it came to respecting the grounds. In order to maintain the space and increase business to the cemetery, the management structure underwent major change in the last third of the nineteenth century. Lot care was offered to ensure that the appearance of the cemetery was maintained, and by the close of the century, most of the lots in Cataraqui Cemetery were sold under the condition of perpetual care. The development of consumer culture in the latter third of the nineteenth century provided a framework for the transformation of the cemetery into a consumer product that was offered alongside a series of services. Additionally, the garden cemetery was evolved easily alongside the growing consumerist funeral industry; the beauty of the space combined with its distance from the city encouraged the already-present elaboration of funeral customs and fit well within the conception of the funeral as an event of note.

While Cataraqui Cemetery was popular with Kingstonians and tourists alike in the nineteenth century, the beauty of the cemetery served to highlight the problem of the urban burial yards that had been left to decay after their closure in 1863. However in underlining the deplorable condition of the urban graveyards, the cemetery also provided a framework for solving the problem. The idea of large-scale public green space for leisure purposes was incidentally pioneered by garden cemeteries, and the model proved not only popular, but easily translated into purpose-built public parks. When the time came for

Kingston to address the problem of the muddy, litter-strewn city graveyard, the transformation into the space immediately seemed to be the best remedy. Though not everyone was in favour of the idea, it had precedent in many of London, England's, city parks and proved to be one of the easiest and most cost-effective ways to rid the city of the threat of the dead.⁴⁶² By the close of the nineteenth century, there was no visible trace of the dead in Kingston's city limits; instead, they rested at a discreet distance under a majestic landscape had evolved to become a space that was as much a means to reassure and invigorate the living as it was for housing and memorializing the dead.

The popularity and dominance of the garden cemetery also helped pave the way for consumerism to become further entrenched in Canadian mourning practices. While mourning clothes and goods had been available long before the nineteenth century, the arrival of burial space as a commodity provided more avenues for consumer mourning than ever before. The popularity of the garden cemetery movement roughly coincided with the advent of industrial consumerism, which had a great deal of influence on the way that burial and memorialization occurred. Cataraqui Cemetery was typical of the privately owned non-profit cemeteries that introduced the modern corporate structure into an area that had been largely untouched by consumer capitalism. In Kingston, the Protestant denominational groups were not in a position to fund the creation of a large capital-intensive cemetery, and so a group of Kingston's wealthy and respectable Protestant citizens set out to create a garden cemetery, and planned it according to the dominant

⁴⁶² Peter Thorsheim, "The Corpse in the Garden: Burial, Health, and the Environment in Nineteenth-Century London," *Environmental History* 16, no. 1 (April 2011): 40.

aesthetic trends of the picturesque.⁴⁶³ The withdrawal of the church from control over the cemetery ensured a broad consumer base and provided the cemetery company with a monopoly over Protestant burials in Kingston and the surrounding area. The establishment of the cemetery and its transformation into a commodity helped encourage the integration of other consumer services into the burial process. Undertakers proliferated after garden cemeteries increased in popularity, and women's mourning reached previously unseen levels of ostentation and volume of consumption. The emotional affect that the garden cemetery setting encouraged demanded a degree of elaboration in ritual; costumes and stage dressing were increasingly as important as a Christian burial.

Over the course of the nineteenth century, the changes to interment customs, spaces, and services that occurred in cemeteries like Cataraqui were key to the creation and expression of modernity in emerging Canadian cities. Garden Cemeteries not only provided more beautiful and healthful burial spaces, they gave expression to new configurations of the human relationship with the natural world, and provided new means of communicating spirituality and respectability. Through the application of Romanticism and the absorption of consumerism, two dominant cultural trends of the nineteenth century, the cemetery became a central site of community and personal amelioration.⁴⁶⁴ Through the application of Romantic philosophical concepts to burial space, the creators of the garden cemetery provided both an extension and a critique of the project of modernity. Garden cemeteries encouraged the spread of modern ideologies through the provision of

⁴⁶³ "Kingston's Cemeteries," Local Historical Association, (n.d.), <http://lowerburialground.ca/history/kingstons-cemeteries/>.

⁴⁶⁴ Colin Campbell, *The Romantic Ethic and the Spirit of Modern Consumerism*, Blackwell Ideas (New York: Blackwell Publishing, 1989).

progressive reform-minded burial space that was intended to improve public life and health in increasingly crowded cities.⁴⁶⁵ However, by the end of the nineteenth century, the cemetery was also an aspect of the development of modern consumer society. The cemetery company offered a range of services including annually paid maintenance, perpetual care, and seasonal floral arrangements and provided the public with an emotional experience that could be consumed at will. Although garden cemeteries like Cataraqui were undeniably modern, they also represented a critique of certain aspects of modernity such as urbanization and industrialization, which were increasingly seen as deleterious to spiritual and physical health. Naturalistic spaces like the cemetery, and later the city park, were thought to be a remedy that provided both a spiritual salve for the stresses of city life and physical benefits like leisure space and fresh air.

The study of Victorian-era cemeteries and their consumption as multifaceted and multivalent cultural artefacts provides a framework for the examination of other phenomena, particularly public spectacles and experiences that are deeply tied to emotional affect and consumerism. The cemetery was one of the earliest examples of a space that was purposely built as a site where people could go to emote freely. Unsafe emotions like grief, sadness, and fear of mortality were given a designated space in society where one could feel them safely.⁴⁶⁶ The cemetery represents a permanent public spectacle

⁴⁶⁵ Michael Bliss, *Plague: A Story of Smallpox in Montreal*, First Edition (Toronto: Harper Collins Canada, 1991); George Rosen, *A History of Public Health*, Revised Edition (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1958); George Alfred Walker, Surgeon, *Gatherings From Graveyards: Particularly Those of London: With a Concise History of the Modes of Interment Among Different Nations From the Earliest Periods. And a Detail of Dangerous and Fatal Results Produced by the Unwise and Revolting Custom of Inhuming the Dead in the Midst of the Living* (Longman, 1834).

⁴⁶⁶ Mourning wear served a similar purpose and was essentially a portable designated space for negative emotions associated with loss and grief.

that has maintained a significant place in the physical, historical, and emotional landscapes of many Canadian cities. By the same token, other spaces, such as battlefields, prison camps, and historic sites, and transitory events such as parades, concerts, exhibitions, festivals, and sporting events also provide the consumer with access to a particular set of ideologies and a space in which to feel frisson and obtain emotional release. Transitory spaces are just as significant in terms of the values and ideologies that they present for mass consumption and the emotional response they are designed to induce. The frequency of and access to such events has increased exponentially as the consumer society that was established in the nineteenth century has gained momentum with better production methods, higher income, and globalization. Having grown from its roots in the nineteenth century, consumer society has become an all-encompassing strategy for the construction and expression of identity through the search for authentic experience.⁴⁶⁷ Through consuming experiences deemed “authentic”, individuals are not only free to absorb, reconfigure, or reject these ideologies; they are free to feel emotions that are increasingly taboo outside of these designated spaces.

Burying the dead has always been about much more than burying the dead; as a result, an analysis of Cataraqui Cemetery is about much more than a city and its graveyards. Like any cemetery, Cataraqui is burdened with the hopes, ideologies, and expectations of generations of Kingstonians. Although they are no longer the markers of

⁴⁶⁷ *Holidays in the Danger Zone: Entanglements of War and Tourism* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2016); John Lennon and Malcolm Foley, *Dark Tourism: The Attraction of Death and Disaster* (London: Continuum, 2000); Peter Gray and Kendrick Oliver, eds., *The Memory of Catastrophe* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004); Michael Welch, *Escape to Prison: Penal Tourism and the Pull of Punishment* (Oakland: The University of California Press, 2015).

modernity and respectability they once were, the grand garden cemeteries of the nineteenth century maintain a position of cultural significance and persist as spectacles waiting to be experienced, in a way that is both like and unlike the way they were experienced over a century ago. Visitors to the cemetery care for the burial sites of loved ones, or seek out the resting places of the famous and infamous alike. Some walk their dogs along the shaded paths, others walk among the monuments and muse. Though they are not the majestic tourist attractions and monuments to modernity they once were, the cemeteries had cultural and social significance that endures; many garden cemeteries have been given status as national historic sites, and most continue to provide interment services to their communities. The garden cemetery remains much the way it has always been: a historically dynamic expression of dominant social and cultural strands that is as much a consumer product as it is a cultural space.

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