The cemetery and cultural memory: Montreal region, 1860 to 1900.

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ABSTRACT

The common conception that the cemetery holds the memory of all who died and were buried before us is a false one. There were certain biases in who was being commemorated, a form of selectivity to the memorial process, that caused a great number of people to erode from the landscape. The argument is based on observations from a sample of seventeen hundred individuals from the latter half of the nineteenth century in Montreal and surrounding villages. A selection of twelve surnames from archival data includes the three main cultures present in Montreal in the nineteenth century (French Canadians, Irish Catholics and English Protestants) and allows me to reconstitute families, to identify their kinship ties, and to determine their situation in life. Records from the cemeteries on Mount Royal and from the parishes of three rural villages confirm the burial of individuals from the sample. The presence or absence of these individuals in the cemetery landscapes depends on different commemorative practices influenced by religion, culture, gender, status and age.

RÉSUMÉ

L'idée que le cimetière nous remémore tous ceux dont les corps y sont enterrés se révèle fausse. De la plupart on ne retrouve, au bout d'un siècle, aucune trace dans le paysage commémoratif. La sélectivité de ce processus d'érosion est démontrée à partir d'un échantillon de 1 700 individus prélevé au cours de la deuxième moitié du XIXe siècle et ce, parmi trois groupes: Canadiens français, Anglo-protestants et Catholiques originaires de l'Irlande. À partir des registres de sépulture des paroisses, l'échantillonnage par nom de famille permet de situer chaque décédant dans un réseau familial, d'en préciser le sexe, le statut social et l'âge au décès. Les registres des cimetières du Mont-Royal et de trois villages de la Plaine de Montréal permettent d'observer l'effacement séculaire dû aux pratiques commémoratives influencées par la religion, la culture, le sexe, le statut et l'âge.

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Introduction

The cemetery is an evolving cultural landscape that represents, albeit slowly, social changes in communities. The individual gravestones are crystallizations of the emotions and ideas of the deceased, of the people who mourned them, and of the society within which they lived, and the cemetery as a whole is a residue which we can use as evidence of social trends, cultural patterns and prevailing ideologies. My research provides an analysis of present cemetery landscapes as cultural artefacts of nineteenth-century Montreal and surrounding villages, including comparisons between Catholic and Protestant, rural and urban communities.

There is a common misconception that the cemetery is a landscape that conserves memory, a visual remembrance of deceased individuals dating back decades or centuries, but this is not the case for all. Why? Who is no longer commemorated? Does the social status, age, sex or culture of the deceased have any bearing on this erosion process?[1] For those who continue to be represented in the landscape, who are they? Does status, age, gender or culture have an effect on whose monument is present? Do these same factors have any correlation to the shape, size or style of the gravestone?

By examining the history of cemeteries in Europe and North America, I discovered changes in commemorative practices at all levels of society. To create a context for the research I needed to review the story of the *rural* cemetery movement,

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[1] The term 'erosion' is used here to describe a slow process of removal.

how it emerged as a response to urbanization or 'crowding', and how this very problem arose in Montreal in the nineteenth century. New ideologies, associated with the movement, brought about the design of the "picturesque landscape" as seen in the Catholic and Protestant cemeteries on Mount Royal created in the 1850s. These two cemetery landscapes were designed according to a popular trend first adopted in the creation of Père Lachaise Cemetery (1804) in France, and later utilized in such cemeteries as Mount Auburn (1831) in Boston.

Even though the cemetery has been a focus of study in many different disciplines, none addresses the issue of who has eroded from the landscape. The book *Cemeteries and Gravemarkers: Voices of American Culture* is a good example of the cemetery's wide appeal as "an emerging field of study" (Meyer 1989, 329). The edition is a collection of scholarly essays contributed by folklorists, anthropologists, geographers, and art and cultural historians. Each one of these disciplines approaches the cemetery as an evolving cultural landscape, a sort of "miniaturization" of the "settlement patterns" that occurred in rural and urban areas (Francaviglia 1971, 501). The gravestone is the focus of many of these studies, and the researchers use the inscriptions, symbols, style of monument and records of engravers to 'read' the cemetery landscape. They correlate dates of death with historical events, and styles of stones with what the epitaphs reveal of social origins and status.

Past and present examinations of cemeteries have involved what exists in the cemetery and what is known historically about its conception and development and about the community within which it was established. My research differs because it goes

beyond what is visible today in the landscape. The gravestone provides an indication as to where an individual's remains are buried, and the inscription often gives date of birth, death, age and sometimes origin, but I took this analysis a step further. I needed a comparative analysis of the cemetery landscapes of the Catholic and Protestant faiths in both rural and urban settings over a forty-year span, from 1860 to1900, to allow for cultural and religious distinctions. I selected the cemeteries on Mount Royal, in Montreal, and in three rural villages as case studies, where we find present all three of the main cultural groups present in the city: French Canadians, Irish Catholics and Protestants of British origin. Also, with the use of archival records and a pre-established sample of the three cultural groups, I was able to compare the individual's situation in life to the monument situated in the cemetery landscape. And because of this unique approach, going from the records to the landscape, I discovered who from the sample was no longer visually commemorated and used what I knew of the individuals and their families in an attempt to determine whether age, gender, culture and status were influential factors in the disappearance of any gravestones that may have existed.

From what we know of large cities in the late nineteenth century I anticipated effects of class; great variation in the treatment of infant and child deaths, a subordination of women, and some differences between the two religions, and among the three cultures. I expected to find in the Protestant and Catholic cemeteries, along with differences in location, design and layout, different levels or forms of commemoration. Rules and regulations continue to be set by each cemetery company or corporation, creating limitations on individual expression, but the problem was to discover the

reasons for the different forms and to discern whether these differences were religious or arose to a moment in history. I use the term 'individual expression' in reference to the gravestone (style, shape, and size) which in many cases commemorated more than one person. Family monuments are representative of the kinship networks that existed within each culture. I further expected that a great number of the sample would not be located primarily because of status, but also because of age and of time.

The results of my research will be of interest to the general public as well as geographers and other cemetery researchers. Through the use of a systematic method and a controlled sample, I discovered that there are more individuals missing from the landscape than are present, and I have been able to interpret what it means not to find a gravestone. Montreal has a greater wealth of records (civil registry, rental tax roll, notarial archives) than is available in most cities in North America; therefore, the conclusions that I have drawn may help those researchers who do not have access to such records. The assessments that I have made of kinship networks, gender, and cultural distinctions add to the cemetery literature and to our understanding of cultural landscapes.

Literature Review

In the course of my research I have consulted resources in many different disciplines such as anthropology, archaeology, architecture, folklore, geography and history. Each one of these disciplines focuses on individual interests such as the study of artefacts, class representation, spatial organization, landscape architecture and settlement patterns. While few were written by geographers, many contain extensive geographical content. Past research done on nineteenth-century Montreal provides insight and context to the way in which different classes lived in the city and in rural areas, and how they interacted.

The literature that I have chosen to discuss is essential to the understanding of the cemetery landscape as it is today. I will first summarize the well researched 'perceptions of death' in the nineteenth century and highlight the changes they brought forth in the location, design and layout of cemeteries. The literature on the country cemetery landscape is much smaller, so I turned to the well-documented settlement histories of southern Quebec to interpret village morphologies. I will then highlight research on nineteenth-century lives in Montreal and its surrounding rural villages to create a context for my analyses. Then, I will conclude by outlining four studies that have influenced my research strategies.

Nineteenth-Century Cemetery Landscapes

The cemetery, its monuments and its landscape, can be viewed as a form of material culture, and as with all objects, it is imperative to understand the milieu in

which it was created and influenced. There are three general types of cemetery design[2]: *rural*, urban, and country. I will first discuss the *rural* cemetery.[3]

The main purpose of cemeteries was, of course, to provide 'a decent place' for burial. Burial practices of the eighteenth century were very different from what they are today. The cemetery was the church's way of reminding its citizens of their mortality. It represented the ideal that one lived to die and to be resurrected into eternal life. Burial practices were not the highest priority of the church, and this neglect compelled citizens in Europe and later in America to criticize the dilapidated state of their cemeteries.

In the eighteenth century in Europe and nineteenth century in North America, urbanization gave rise to bourgeois communities that developed particular "perceptions and complaints about social inequities of the sepulchral system" (Linden-Ward 1989, 30). The sheer growth of cities inevitably augmented the number of corpses for burial, so that cemeteries became overcrowded and were brought under public scrutiny. Citizens rebelled against the burial practices as they considered it shameful to be buried en masse in a large unmarked pit (Kselman 1993). As displeasure intensified, medical officials claimed that the poor sanitary conditions of cemeteries contributed to the spread of

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2 I have chosen to discuss only those types of cemeteries that have a bearing on my research. There are other classes of cemetery design, for example memorial gardens established in the twentieth century.

3 The nineteenth century saw a radical change in the location, design and layout of the cemetery. These changes began in France but it was not until these innovations came to America that the expression "*rural* cemetery movement" was coined. It is important to note that the term *rural* today is used only to describe the design of a cemetery. When established in the nineteenth century, they were in fact located in rural areas outside of major city centres. As cities grew, they once again incorporated burial grounds within their limits and they became urban cemeteries by location but remained *rural* cemeteries by design.

epidemics (Ariès 1974; Etlin 1984; French 1975; Kselman 1993; Linden-Ward 1989, 1995; Simeon 1887; Zanger 1980). Because of the combination of overcrowding and foul odours, city officials wanted to relocate cemeteries outside of city limits and placed the church in direct opposition to the state. The removal of city cemeteries brought on the realization that there was a need to change the main function of the cemetery from the disposal of corpses to the commemoration of individuals.

Ideas shared among philosophers and designers created a new frame of mind associated with Romanticism, and the cemetery became an important vehicle through which people were able to construct identities and convey the meaning of their lives to others. Along with attempts to ensure dignity came the desire to create a landscape that could be appreciated by the living; hence the *rural* cemetery movement, which treated the cemetery landscape as a school of instruction in morality, sentiment, and taste

Landscape designers fashioned the new cemetery after the English garden, with winding paths through open spaces and wooded areas, around streams and ponds, up and down hill, and with selected plants and flowers (Ariès 1974; Beveridge and Rocheleau 1995; Etlin 1984; French 1975; Kselman 1993; Linden-Ward 1989, 1995; Simeon 1887; Sloan 1995; Weed 1912; Zanger 1980). British landscape designers created picturesque landscapes with the use of pastoral and sublime scenery. The idea was to design a landscape that differed at every turn, creating a sense of anticipation and curiosity (Weed 1912). The Père Lachaise Cemetery in Paris, established in 1804, was the first *rural* cemetery. Its location, layout and design are evidence of the Romantic period's influence on the commemorative practices of the living toward the dead. This cemetery became a

unique landscape, a garden of the dead to be enjoyed by the living.[4]

The *rural* cemetery movement did not reach Canada, more specifically Montreal, until the 1850s. The city was walled in until 1817 and its fortifications restricted growth; therefore, as population density increased, so did the need for more space. The walls affected town planning with respect to land use, traffic patterns and cemetery space until they were taken down. As the rate of urban growth increased, buildings and traffic encroached upon burial space within city limits. Montreal's population quadrupled in forty years, and by the end of the century the city was a thriving industrial centre (Lambert and Stewart 1992). In response to the pressure of crowding, both Protestant and Catholic Churches made attempts to purchase cemetery space that would sustain burials for several decades, but again the parcels of land were not large enough. Unable to expand their existing sites, the churches had to look for alternative locations. As in Europe, the outbreak of epidemics was a risk, and the removal of cemeteries was a sanitary issue:

> At this period [i.e.: the beginning of the nineteenth century], the grand jury having noticed these cemeteries, so near habitations, were causes of unhealthiness and a danger for public health, addressed a report to the Attorney General, Mr. Sewell, calling his attention to the danger resulting from these cemeteries and asking him that they be transferred (Simeon 1887, 43).

Although the cemetery was not the only source of unhealthiness in the city, it was continually criticised as the main one. This had as much to do with changing sensibilities

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[4] The location of the Père Lachaise Cemetery is no longer a rural one. Its landscape no longer shows evidence of the influence of English garden design as the vegetation has been replaced by concrete roads and elaborate monuments, and the open stretches have been used to maximize burial space.

as it did with hazardous emissions. The Protestant and Catholic cemeteries had both been relocated to new locations several times in the rural outskirts to accommodate urban growth, only to be reincorporated as the population grew and the city expanded. The Catholic cemetery moved to seven different locations between 1642 and 1855.

The Mount Royal Cemetery Corporation (formed by representatives of six churches) was first to purchase a tract of land (155 acres) on Mount Royal in 1847. Because there was no precedent in Canada, the Protestant corporation turned to American planners, who had been designing picturesque landscapes in cemeteries since 1831, when Mount Auburn Cemetery was created in Boston, for models of the first *rural* cemetery. J.C. Sydney, surveyor and civil engineer, was commissioned to design the Mount Royal Cemetery. He was said to follow in the school of Andrew Jackson Downing, who had been the corporation's first choice but died suddenly in 1852. President Smith of the Laurel Hill Cemetery in Philadelphia recommended Sydney to lay out the first two thousand lots (Collard 1947; Bodson et Ferron 1991; Linden-Ward 1995).

A few years later the Notre-Dame-des-Neiges Catholic Cemetery Company purchased adjacent land on the mountain, starting with 115 acres in 1853 and gradually expanding to over 365 acres between 1865 and 1908, and commissioned surveyor and architect Henri-Maurice Perrault to develop it (Collard 1947; Pinard 1991). He was sent to the United States, to places such as Boston and New York, to study cemeteries (Bodson et Ferron 1991; Linden-Ward 1995; Pinard 1991).

Both tracts of land on Mount Royal had varying topography, an essential

component to creating a picturesque landscape:

> C'est ainsi qu'ils fixèrent leur choix sur un grand espace, de topographie variée, qui convenait parfaitement à l'aménagement d'un paysage funéraire pittoresque, en accord avec les goûts du jour pour les sentiments et la commémoration. (Linden-Ward 1995, 10)

Once the commitment was made to establish cemeteries on Mount Royal, the previous cemetery locations were neglected and eventually obliterated to satisfy demands for roads, construction, and open spaces (Mappin 1995).

Art contributed to the Romantic ideal of 'taste' in the cemetery. The grounds were created to educate the population about nature and about the architecture that was used by past civilisations to commemorate the dead. The Gothic revival is reflected in both cemeteries on Mount Royal. The romantics in England were content with Gothic design because it was non-classical and closely connected to Christianity and national history (Addison 1938).

In his master's thesis entitled *The Evolution of Montreal's Cemetery Space from 1642 to the Present*, Charles Mappin (1995) addresses the difference between *rural* and urban cemeteries. The term 'urban' refers primarily to the cemetery's location but as the so-called *rural* cemeteries are also in urban areas, the distinction is a matter of design and layout. The urban burial ground is organized very systematically in rows and columns with plots uniform in size and orientation, creating a sense of consistency. This is in direct contrast to the *rural* cemetery, whose founding principle was to create a sublime, pastoral and picturesque landscape with irregular scatterings of gravestones among the trees and over the slopes. The urban burial grounds that exist in Montreal and

surrounding suburban areas today were established after the turn of the century; therefore a discussion of their design and layout is not relevant to my research.[5]

The country cemetery, not to be confused with the *rural* cemetery, is located in a rural village, and there are three different types. Churchyard cemeteries are located directly behind or beside the church, and they are usually associated with Catholic churches because the Protestant sects have often collaborated to establish non-denominational cemeteries outside village limits, as will be seen in the village Hemmingford. The third genre is the family plot, located on private property, and established only by Protestants.

The organization of southern Quebec's country cemeteries varies in part because of the different settlement patterns. Once the English acquired Quebec territories in 1760, they dispatched surveyors beyond the seigneurial lands, to establish 'townships' for the practice of free and common socage (Booth 1984). They employed a method of division very different from the French *arpentage*. Varennes exemplifies one of the types of village common to the French system, laid out in long lots at right angles to the river, so that houses were close together along the main road that followed the river. The heart of the village was formed by a group of institutional buildings: the church, presbytery, school, cemetery and convent, all located on the long lot belonging to the church. The church faced the river and was flanked by the other buildings. Behind it was the cemetery, its central axis aligned with the altar and a pathway led to a cross planted on a small island (Schoenauer 1959).

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[5] Save for the Anglican churchyard cemetery (1834) which no longer has space for burials.

The Eastern Townships, located in southern Quebec, have a very well documented settlement history. They were not colonised prior to 1791 due to a policy of exclusion originally established by the French. The English used this area to serve as a buffer zone between the Canadians and the Americans. Once the policy was revoked, the area was surveyed and divided into townships. Because concessions were made to individuals from a diversity of religions, Protestants (Methodist, Presbyterian, Anglican) set up their own churches but often established a non-denominational cemetery. Such cemeteries were located at the edge of the village, these parcels of land were often donated by wealthy farmers; therefore the land was flat and cleared. French Canadians did not begin to migrate into the townships until some fifty years after they were opened (Hunter 1939).. The French Canadians imposed their seigneurial land tenure system on the lands they acquired in the townships. The differences between the French and English settlement patterns are still visible in the landscape.

Private family plots, the third type, are situated in the corner of pasture fields or upon a little knoll under a tree, usually on the least favourable land on the property (Sargent 1898). This type of burial ground was perhaps the first to offer a pastoral mourning landscape, and its most central feature is its focus on the family unit and kinship networks. The existence of private family plots in rural areas may explain the influence of Romanticism first seen in poetry and painting. The early eighteenth century displayed images of death through what Etlin (1984) described as gloomy art and graveyard school poetry. Art and poetry exhibited the horrors of decomposition and mortality. At the onset of the Romantic period (1775-1840), art changed from a bleak

portrayal of death to one of individuals mourning their loved ones in a picturesque landscape, and poetry began to express the naturalness of death (Addison 1938). Stanley French (1975) states that these transformations in poetry and art occurred prior to the establishment of any *rural* cemetery in Europe or North America. He hypothesises that artists of this period depicted mourning in a picturesque landscape because of funerals they witnessed given by families on their private grounds.

Once I familiarized myself in the histories of the cemeteries, I selected case studies and established a base with which to compare what existed then and what exists now. I needed to understand the social climate of the city of Montreal and the surrounding rural villages.

Nineteenth-Century Montreal and Surrounding Villages

To understand the social climate that existed in nineteenth-century southern Quebec, I needed to understand and determine an individual's social status. I used a three-part classification of occupations, discussed in depth in chapter three. The bottom tier consists of labourers, the middle of semi-skilled and skilled workers, and the top for the middle-to-upper class. The tiers are referred to as low, medium and high. An individual's status during life is extremely important to the analysis because it allows me to determine the importance of respectful burials in different cultures and, of course, different classes. Does social status have a bearing on who is not 'found' in the cemetery landscape? Do families from the lower tiers of society strive for greater status after death through commemoration?

Hanna and Olson (1983) conducted earlier studies (mid-nineteenth century) on

the social and economic organization of the city of Montreal, establishing patterns in rent-occupation. Housing types exhibited a father's occupational status, and families of similar status were located in clusters or "groups of kin, neighbours, and friends to whom an individual is tied socially" (Johnston 1994, 567). Families of lower economic standing were known to move frequently, in response to a change in income, to a new job location, or to the addition of family members, children or grand-parents. Residential mobility was usually maintained within the same districts (Gilliland 1998). Typical housing at that time was in duplexes. The top floor was more favourable than the lower level because it usually had one and a half floors. These upper levels were "occupied by skilled workers, artisans or small local businessmen" (Bradbury 1993). I expect to see social segregation in the cemetery along these same lines; for example the location of larger lots on higher elevations and of clusters of individuals and families of the same status.

Classifying the occupations of individuals in the surrounding villages was not as obvious. Not all who lived in the country were farmers and questions about social status and economic class are not easily answered (Barron 1996). Families did not live in such high-density housing as did the city tenants. Therefore, infants and children were less exposed to illness due to poor sanitation. The ownership of property was common in the countryside, but possession of land was not necessarily an indicator of status.

Socio-economic differences among the three main cultural groups in Montreal are also identifiable by infant mortality rates (1860 to 1880) that show that French Canadians experienced two-fifths more infant deaths than the Irish and one-third more than among

Protestants (Smith-Rosenberg 1975; Thornton and Olson 1997). After the death of a child, parents performed funeral rituals to help them work through their emotional and intellectual suffering. During the nineteenth century, families attempted to find a private way to cope with death, and they began to preserve memories of their dead children through art, portraits, photographs and hair crafts (Hoffert 1987; Nelson & George 1981). Figure 1 is a reproduction of a William Notman photograph of a dead child. Although the child may look as if he is sleeping, there are many symbols that indicate that he is dead. For example, the keepsake books are

Figure 1: 'Mrs. Barrett's Dead Child', Notman Collection, McCord Museum.

metaphors of the reality of a life cut short, the roses pointing downward indicate the child's altered condition, and the watch indicates the hour of death. This form of funerary art was a way to "guarantee that the dead would continue to exist so long as

there is a viewer to remember" (Lloyd 1986, 37-8).

Social segregation in the nineteenth-century cemetery landscape was addressed in literature and often became an issue of controversy. The Catholic cemetery set aside a portion of unconsecrated land that was for the burial of individuals who died outside of the faith. To be buried in consecrated ground one had to be baptised, and burial in consecrated ground meant that the souls of the departed were purified before entering paradise. The burial of questionable individuals who would have had any influence on the course of public life was refused, and burial was denied to those who died 'notorious sinners' (Gagnon 1987). In essence, the Catholic church controlled the behaviour of its parishioners by being able to deny the rite of passage. There were violent feelings with respect to secularism. The nineteenth century was a transitory phase, seeing the privatisation of death and religion, whereby the church had less control over the public.

There was also a section in the cemetery, both Catholic and Protestant, that was called the pauper ground. It was reserved for those unable to pay the regular fees. When buried in the pauper ground, the individual was denied the right to commemoration. The burial of Joseph Guibord, a printer by trade, is an example of the polarization of religious feelings and the need "to secure a respectful internment" as it "was the strongest and most widely diffused feeling among labouring people" (Cannon 1989, 438). He was a member of the *Institut Canadien*[6], a group of young French Canadian liberals who organized a literary society in 1844. Members of the *Institut* were excommunicated by

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6 For some further discussion on the *Institut* and Guibord's burial, see: Author unknown (1871); Clark. (1971); Collard (1976); Dougall (1875); Hébert (1992); Hudon (1938); Lemire (1992); Knopff (1979).

the church[7]. Guibord died in November 1869 and Bishop Bourget, who carried on a long battle with the *Institut*, seized this incident to make an issue of his opposition.

Henriette Brown, the wife of Joseph Guibord, was denied the right to bury her husband in their plot in the Notre-Dame-des-Neiges Cemetery on Mount Royal but instead was offered a pauper's burial for her husband. Given Guibord's socio-economic status, being buried in his plot was an important part of the commemorative process. There was a social competition among all classes "and even the poor would spend comparatively large sums of money on a funeral rather than suffer the shame and loss of dignity connoted by a pauper's burial" (Pearson 1982, 109). A petition in the name of Henriette Brown was brought against the *Fabrique de Montreal*, which controlled the cemetery. The petition went to four courts and took five years before it was appealed at the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in England. The council ordered that Joseph be buried in his plot with his wife, who had passed away in the five-year interim, a decision that elicited public displeasure.

There were several attempts to bury Guibord because the hearse containing his remains (which had been kept over the six-year period in the vault at the Mount Royal Cemetery) was blocked by an angry mob armed with stones. After the second attempt at burial, the Bishop published a pastoral letter to calm the public and to let the body of Guibord be buried without intervention (Dougall 1875).[8] He was finally laid to rest with

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[7] To be buried in consecrated ground, members of the *Institut* had to denounce their affiliation to the organization to their priest.

[8] The letter was entitled "Concerning the ecclesiastical burial demanded for an unfortunate Catholic dead in the disgrace of the church." The Bishop urged the Catholic population to let the burial take place without violence.

the help of a police escort and a small 'army' of marshals. Joseph's coffin was placed in a stone sarcophagus and sealed in cement, and a large oblong stone was used as a marker to ensure that the grave would not be damaged or raided. And the Bishop promptly 'deconsecrated' the plot where he was buried.

The families of individuals who were buried in the pauper ground were not permitted to erect memorials. This type of burial accounts for a number of individuals who are not found today, and although there were never any markers to commemorate them, their disappearance from the landscape contributes to the hypothesized erosion process, because over time the locations of their burials were obscured.

Selected Cemetery Studies

Literature is one way to enrich our knowledge of nineteenth-century society's response to death, but the examination of material artefacts in context records that behaviour as well (Ames 1981). The inscriptions on monuments in the cemetery are in some cases the only lasting verbal representation of the people that rest beneath the markers.

Dell Upton (1997), in an article on the urban cemetery and its relationship with the urban community, argues that the *rural* and the urban cemetery are more similar than historians have suggested. The New Orleans Cemetery, the focus of his article, was relocated to the periphery of the city as opposed to a rural location. The cemetery mirrored the "urban spatial order appropriate for maintaining individuality", redefining the relationship between the living and the dead, and mimicking the city in its planning and architecture (142). The Montreal cemeteries that I have selected for my research are

rural, not urban. However, Upton's analysis of the urban cemetery can be applied to the country cemetery. It is also a reflection of individuality represented in the same spatial order as the village settlement. When the Scriver family donated land to the village of Hemmingford for a Protestant cemetery, for example, they retained a portion for the burial of their family members. They defined this area with a fence as they did for their mansion and ample grounds. As the years passed, family members located in other parts of the village and were buried in various locations in the cemetery.

There has been extensive research done on gravestone design. James Deetz studied "design evolution, and relationships between a folk-art tradition and the culture which produced it" (Dethlefsen and Deetz 1966, 502; Deetz 1977). He was interested in the individual gravestone and the wealth of information provided in its inscription: Kinship data, socio-demographic data, values regarding death, and historical events such as epidemics. From records of engravers, Deetz identified three predominant symbols used in colonial times: death heads, cherubs, and willow trees. He claims that the turn of the nineteenth century saw the depersonalization of the gravestone as it shifted from a marker of the location of the deceased to one of commemoration, the deceased not necessarily being buried there. Deetz's research made me aware of the influence that engravers had on the inscription and the symbols used on gravestones, especially in situations when the purchaser of the stone was illiterate. Deetz refers specifically to the use of symbols such as the urn as the beginning of the trend towards the depersonalization of death. The urn is a recurring symbol in both the Catholic and Protestant cemeteries on Mount Royal.

Francaviglia (1971), a geographer, made an elaborate analysis of the size, shape and design of gravestones, which he considered to be "miniaturizations and idealizations of larger American settlement patterns" (501). He identified nine types of monuments and recorded their occurrence in five cemeteries in Oregon. His results produced a 'popularity chart' of the nine different monument styles between 1870 and 1970. Although he did not discuss class, ethnicity, and gender, the stylistic trends that he recorded helped me to establish my own categorization of monuments using his terminology.

Aubrey Cannon (1989), an anthropologist, also classified monument shapes into preferred time periods, in England. He takes his analysis a step further by incorporating the competitive expressions of status during the Victorian era. The dead did not bury themselves; the gravestone reflects the "status and aspirations of the mourners rather than the social position of the deceased" (Bradley 1989, 448). I agree that the survivors did play a role in the form of commemoration, but the deceased often purchased plots before death or indicated in a will how much money they wanted to allot to their burial.

Pearson (1982), an archaeologist, performed a study in the 1970s on mortuary practices in Britain and places his results "within a framework of social change over the last 150 years" because without historical perspective it is impossible to understand the relationships that have developed through time "between mortuary practices, material culture and social trends" (101). He incorporates data such as cost of funeral, coffin, and tombstone as indices of the deceased's economic status. He concludes that the expenditure at funerals and on monuments did not correspond with social position, as

those of lower class often spent the same amount of money as those from higher economic classes. I anticipate that the spatial patterning of the cemeteries on Mount Royal will reflect the fading of hierarchies as the need for a respectful burial and for higher status at death became more prevalent among the lower ranks of society.

With the information and historical facts provided in this chapter, I was able to anticipate what I was going to find in present-day landscapes. In the Mount Royal cemeteries I anticipated finding evidence of the influence of the *rural* cemetery movement and how the changing perceptions that accompanied this movement influenced commemorative practices. I expected that class segregation would be evident in the organization of the cemetery landscapes, but that there would be examples of families of lower economic standings that strove for greater status after death through memorialization. Differences among the three predominant cultures in Montreal during the nineteenth century were not only defined by ethnicity, but also by status, and I projected that these differences would be evident in the monuments of individuals found and the number of individuals not found. I anticipated that the landscapes of country cemeteries would not display social segregation to the same extent as the city, but would show signs of the influence that the city had on the styles and forms of commemoration. The existence of private family plots in rural areas indicated to me that there would be many individuals not located from the Protestant samples.

Methodology

In order to answer my research questions, I needed to devise a systematic method. My first step was to select a time period and a set of urban and rural cemeteries.

The time period 1860 to 1900 was chosen for several reasons. Between 1860 and 1900 Montreal experienced a period of rapid industrialization, and surges of immigration quadrupled the city's population. There were three predominant groups: English Protestants of British origins, Irish Catholics, and rural French Canadians, each with distinct traditions and social characteristics that may be reflected in cemetery landscapes. These three cultural communities made up 95% of the urban population; one-half French Canadians, one-fifth Irish Catholics, and one-quarter Protestants of British origins (Gilliland and Olson 1998).[9]

There are some practical constraints which favour this time span. The cemeteries on Mount Royal were established in the 1850s and earlier ones have been built upon. The decennial manuscript censuses are available as public documents from 1861 to 1901[10]. To establish differences in commemoration by class, gender and ethnicity, I will rely on such documents to provide information about age, sex, occupation and place of origin. Quebec civil registers of burials, forwarded to the archives by the parishes, are readily available for public scrutiny down to 1899.

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9 These figures are more representative of the first half of this forty-year span. By 1900, French Canadians made up close to two-thirds of the total population.

10 For the city, the manuscript census of 1851 was apparently destroyed in a fire.

I chose the Catholic and Protestant cemeteries on Mount Royal in Montreal, and have selected two rural villages, Hemmingford and Rawdon, in which all three cultures were present. The French village of Varennes was selected to provide an example of the French-seigneurial landscape. Studies involving a sample of twelve surnames, representative of the three identified cultures, indicate that several families were present in the villages mentioned.

In order to address my research questions, I established two levels of analysis. The first level consisted of an analysis of the cemetery landscape as a whole, paying particular attention to its design, location and layout, and to the influence of the *rural* cemetery movement. The country cemeteries are of a manageable size; therefore I was able to observe their entire landscapes. In order to study the large area of the two cemeteries on Mount Royal, I used a variation of the point-quarter method of sampling. The method consisted of tracing a transect through the cemetery incorporating sections known to have been used in the 1860-1900 period, and locating random observation points along this line.[11] This approach allowed me to experience the landscape and make systematic appraisals of the topography, vegetation, layout, design and the organization of gravestones.

Landscape analyses are essential to interpret the changes that have occurred in the cemetery since the latter half of the nineteenth century to better understand what is present today. Photographs and sketches are fundamental archival data which help to

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[11] Once I collected all the plot information for the surname sample, I was able to map out the various sections referenced. I then drew a transect through these areas to be sure that my observations of the landscape were being taken from the relevant sections of the cemetery.

reconstruct the landscape of a city or a village as it was, and provide insight into the conditions that its population lived in. The William Notman collection at the McCord Museum in Montreal, for example, has a wealth of photographs of the two mountain cemeteries in their early years. Descriptions of these two burial grounds in literature further helped me to understand the changing ideologies of the nineteenth century and the effect these changes had on organized landscapes. As we shall see, the *rural* cemetery movement had an undeniable influence on the two urban landscapes. The country cemeteries are lacking the historical evidence that is available for the city.

The second level of analysis was that of the gravestones located within the selected cemeteries. To do this analysis I needed a sample population, and I created manageable small subsets of individuals. I started from twelve surnames that were part of a database assembled by Thornton and Olson for their demographic research. The surnames are representative of the French and Irish Catholics, and the English Protestant populations of Montreal. The names begin with 'B' or 'R' because the letters were easily relayed by mouth to ear, easily legible in handwritten records, and efficient for sounding nineteenth-century ledgers (Bardet 1983; Olson 1998). The database, as a whole, consists of seventeen hundred death records from 1860 through to 1900, and has sufficient numbers to represent each of the three groups (French Canadian 800, Irish Catholics 500, and English Protestants 400). The pre-established database offered the advantage of links already established to census and tax roll records and to life course events of the families over the entire forty years.

Individuals from the surname sample were traced to the villages previously

mentioned. Because the numbers of deaths in the samples of Rawdon and Hemmingford were low, I supplemented them (on a continuous basis for all years) by several additional surnames in order to enlarge the sample size, and to observe kinship networks and the evolution of family identity. By going back to the available censuses, starting in 1851, I chose the new surnames based on the family's persistence in the area.

The manuscript census was used to provide an overview of the lives of the deceased. Burial records of parishes and cemeteries usually provide occupation for a man, marital status of a woman, age at death, and sometimes an address. For the urban population the census information helped to trap class distinctions through variables such as 'occupation', 'type of dwelling', and 'rent of dwelling' (which was collected from municipal tax rolls in connection with the same database) . The census indicates birthplace and origin of the individual, members of his or her family, and possibly even extended family living in the same household.

A family's position in society was a key variable in order to compare its situation in life to its commemoration. Does a family's social standing have any bearing on the size of plot, or the type and style of monument? Is there evidence for the idea that lower classes were striving for greater status after death through memorialization?

Interpreting urban occupational titles is problematic because they often changed from one census to another. Did this change signify a different occupation, synonymous title, vertical mobility or inconsistencies in reporting? In order to minimize mistakes I adopted a simple as possible classification of occupations into three parts: the bottom tier consisting of labourers, the middle of semi-skilled and skilled workers, and the top of

clerks, storekeepers, professionals and upper class (Katz 1972; Lewis 1991; Olson 1989). Although this classification does not differ greatly from Katz's (1972), it is based upon local controls: the median rent of household heads of each reported occupational title. Male occupations for the majority of fathers or husbands have been verified in the census and gaps in the death records filled in from records of baptisms and marriages.

Trapping class distinctions in rural areas was more difficult, indeed nearly impossible. Occupation is the readily available variable but since so many villagers were farmers, it is difficult to determine the relative economic position of the individual. Titles varied from year to year; for example, Bouchard (1998) discovered individuals who claimed to be a farmer in one census and a day labourer in another.[12] The frequency of the use of these two occupations by the same individual indicated that there had not been a job change. Rather, it proved to be associated with poor farmers. An extensive study of the rural records would have to be done to determine the social status of the occupation 'farmer' and other ambiguous titles. The census was helpful in assessing ownership of property and acreage, but it was not feasible to devise a classification for rural occupations because we would "need to know more about the relationships between farmers, tenants and labourers" to be able to explore the concept of class and discover how those relationships developed and changed over time (Barron 1996, 143).

Cemetery surveys, collected by volunteers or historical societies, are compilations of the information given in the inscriptions on gravestones. They often contain more information about origins, and often provide clues to family relationships which could be

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[12] Bouchard used the BALSAC population register for the Saguenay region.

developed only by very tedious matching of births and marriages. Once I established the surname samples for Hemmingford and Rawdon, I consulted the cemetery surveys available for both villages. The convenience of these surveys facilitated my search for gravestones because I was able to find out who was present before I entered the cemetery.

Cemetery surveys are generally only available for country cemeteries. The management companies of the two cemeteries on Mount Royal have their own compilations. The Protestant company has a card catalogue, accessed by staff only, which records name, date of death, lot number, cause of death and address. The Catholic corporation is technologically further advanced as it has provided the public with a computerized index that provides such information as date of death and location of a monument, but that contains many discrepancies (which will be addressed in Chapter five).[13] It was necessary for me to consult the original ledgers to obtain lot size, lot owner, and price. I then cross-referenced the lot information with the contracts written by the corporation. These had information on the conditions of the purchase and stipulations set by the owner with respect to who was entitled to be buried there.

When I located a gravestone, I took note of the shape and size of the monument, any symbols, and the inscription, including verses. To determine the size of a tombstone, I used my height as a measuring tool; I stand at approximately 180 cm (5'11"). I developed five categories of size, flat stone, small (below my waist), medium (waist to shoulders), large (above shoulders), and extra large for those monuments that clearly

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[13] The Mount Royal Cemetery Company is in the process of computerizing its records.

stood taller than 305 cm (10').

The inscriptions were telling of the kinship ties that existed. Riley and Kwon[14] (1992), in studying the burial rituals of nuclear families, established four categories to classify burials of husbands and wives. First-generation wives were typically buried with their husbands, indicating the patrilineal emphasis on inheritance patterns, as the spouses (wives) inherited movable property rather than land. Virilocal burial occurs when the wife is buried with her husband's family. Natal means that the deceased is buried with members of the family of birth. When the husband is interred with his wife's family, the burial is termed uxorilocal. It is termed neolocal when a couple purchases their own family plot. This practice is useful for my research because the placement of the deceased in the second and third generations becomes a kinship pattern.

How where women referenced in the inscriptions? I paid particular attention to the language used when commemorating women. The study of spousal residence will highlight the way women were referenced in epitaphs, and the location of their burial will emphasize the importance of their ties to the nuclear family, to the maternal or paternal filiation. I also took note of the verses, because inscribed stones are visual representations of human existence and, more importantly, of the mindset of individuals and society at a particular time. The symbols used, whether they were engravings or adornments atop a monument, were either of a religious nature, as in the case of crosses,

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[14] Riley and Kwon only sampled non-church related burial grounds to eliminate external influences and constraints such as economics, space and mobility that cloud kinship patterns. I used their methodology to determine if these constraints did blur the importance of kinship to Catholics and Protestants in the Montreal region.

or metaphors such as clinging vines. My main point of interest in this exercise was to discover recurring themes.

The research strategy was intentionally designed to allow for the analysis of cemetery landscapes in urban and in rural habitats through the comparison of historical literature and photography to what is present today, and to allow for the analysis of gravestones with the use of a systematic search for individuals from pre-established samples with some control over the range of social status, gender, age, and ethnicity of the individuals.

The Cemeteries

This chapter outlines the results of the first level of analysis on the landscapes of cemeteries located in the city and in rural villages. Many factors influenced their design and it is important to address these factors to better understand what cemeteries were like more than a hundred years ago compared to what they are today. I will first draw upon the available literature to highlight these influences and to determine how they affected cemetery location, layout, and design first in urban centres and second in villages. I will follow each with my observations of present-day landscapes in seven cemeteries: the Catholic and Protestant cemeteries in Montreal, Hemmingford, Rawdon and the Catholic cemetery in Varennes.

Montreal Cemeteries

The Mount Royal Cemetery incorporates all the principles underlying the *rural* cemetery movement. The tract of land purchased by the company was located "in a valley between two summits and its topography effectively cut it off from the city around, making for an even more secluded feel" (Mappin 1995, 45). In this topography Sydney had the freedom to design winding paths and create small islands of burial space of various shapes and sizes. The entrance gates are neo-gothic with a main carriageway and pedestrian passage on either side (see figure 2). The gateway was considered an important feature because "first impressions of a cemetery . . . should be so pleasing that visitors will wish to be buried therein" (Weed 1912, 72). The effect is enhanced by lawns with groupings of shrubs and flowers adding colour to the landscape. Following the

model of *rural* cemeteries, Mount Royal is an arboretum containing more than five hundred different species of trees and shrubs. The company still prides itself on the collection of tree and shrub specimens, many of which have identification plaques for visiting naturalists.

Figure 2: Mount Royal Cemetery Gates, Notman Collection, McCord Museum.

Figure 3: Notre-des-Neiges-Dame Cemetery Gates, Notman Collection, McCord Museum.

While Notre-Dame-des-Neiges Cemetery drew upon the pastoral English garden, it did not follow so closely the prototype of the *rural* cemetery. Its layout was not as free-flowing, paths and drives following more of a grid pattern and there was very little slope. The original parcel of land (155 acres) was rectangular in shape. Subsequent acquisitions added a greater slope to the property. The cemetery has a repertory of only twenty-six species of trees. Although the design broke with traditional views of the Catholic church by incorporating naturalism into the memorial landscape, it also integrated many religious symbols, of which Catholicism had an immense repertory, without risk of scandal, in contrast to the array of Protestant denominations which objected to many of them. The entrance was Victorian in design with a carriageway in the centre and two pedestrian entrances on the sides. Two houses were attached, rented to employees in

charge of securing the grounds. Atop the entrance was a cross flanked by "two statues representing the Angel of the Last Judgement bearing a trumpet" (Linden-Ward 1995, 12), and underneath the cross was a small statue of Saint Jean-Baptiste (see figure 3). Inside the gates, a forking drive created a small island with a large cross adorned with an hourglass placed in the middle of it (Bodson et Ferron 1991). The archways of the entrance have since been removed as hazards.

Although the two cemeteries have the same basic functions, their landscapes differ. This is partially due to the existence of two distinct cultural visions of death. As Bodson and Ferron (1991) point out, the Catholic cemetery has two associated ideologies: Catholicism and nationalism. The religious monuments are conceived as moral guidance for the living. The Protestant cemetery on the other hand does not display evidence of these traits, indicating respect for the diversity of cultures and religions.

Both companies provide visitors with pamphlets describing the history of the cemetery and its plant and animal species. The Mount Royal brochure boasts that the company plants one hundred deciduous and coniferous trees under a continuous program of forestation, that the trees house one hundred and forty-five species of birds, and that the site is intended to provide its visitors with an educational experience. The pamphlet offered at the Notre-Dames-des-Neiges Cemetery lists the trees and animals but places more emphasis on the historical persons who are buried on its grounds.

Now what can be deduced from the present-day landscape? As discussed in the methodology outlined in chapter three, I collected plot information using my sample of names for the two cemeteries on the mountain, mapped out the sections referenced, and

drew a transect through the sections along which to collect observations of vegetation, topography, layout, recurring themes, and shapes and sizes of monuments.

Certain differences featured in the literature are readily apparent, but I would first like to address the similarities. Most notable is the vegetation. Both cemeteries have, in their older sections, large, old, statuesque trees, as a result of the founding principles of the *rural* cemetery movement. Topography is another important element, and in both cemeteries the higher elevations tend to have larger monuments and family mausoleums. The Catholic cemetery has many more mausoleums, and they are organized in rows, whereas the Protestant mausoleums are scattered between the trees and amongst all shapes and sizes of monuments. Older sections show great variety in plot sizes and in the orientations of monuments, while the sections used for twentieth-century burials stand in stark contrast, with fewer family plots and more single graves, creating row and column formations, with markers placed back to back. The original founding ideals were altered to make efficient use of the space, as seen in figure 4 where the creation of ground for new burials has eliminated all trees and shrubbery. Instead of gravestones scattered amongst trees in a rolling landscape, the new sections are a sea of memorial blocks perfectly arranged in linear formations (see figure 5).

Along the transect in the Mount Royal Cemetery, vegetation is more abundant, and the rich variety of tree species is apparent even to an untrained eye. The transect through the Catholic cemetery shows less variation in the tree types, and a distinctive planting strategy: trees were often positioned on the perimeter of a section, with low-growing shrubs like hydrangeas in the interior. This pattern matches the arrangement of

Figure 4: New sections in the Notre-Dame-des-Neiges Cemetery.

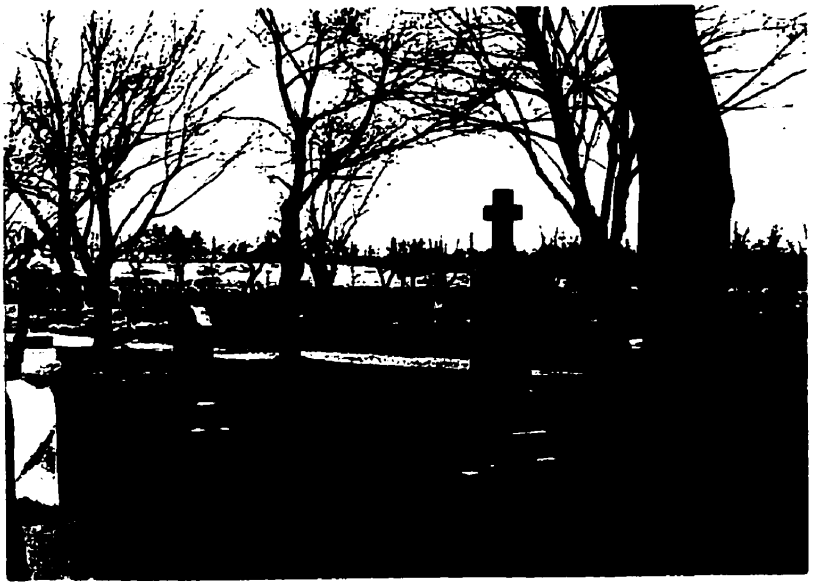

Figure 5: Notre-Dame-des-Neiges Cemetery, older section overlooking new area.

gravestones: larger monuments and larger family plots are placed on the border of the section, the smaller lots and smaller monuments in the centre. No such pattern is evident in the Protestant cemetery: both large and small lots, and large and small monuments, are interspersed throughout the landscape. Granted there are sections, such as Pine Hill Side, that do not have lots less than 100 square feet and that show less variation in monument size.

Cemetery handbooks[15] prescribed trees with 'individual merit' and slow growth, such as oak, weeping birch for its fantastic shapes, Norway maple because of its fall colours, and the Kentucky coffee tree for its peculiar trunk, branches, and feathery and

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15 The *rural* cemetery movement spurred the publication of manuals intended to educate cemetery companies. Examples of such handbooks are the Association of American Cemetery Superintendents' *Modern Cemeteries* (1898); *The Cemetery Handbook* (n.d.); John C. Loudon's *On the Laying Out, Planting and Managing of Cemeteries* (1843); J. Jay Smith's *Design for Monuments and Mural Tablets Adapted to Rural Cemeteries, Churchyards, Churches and Chapels* (1846); and Howard Weed's *Modern Park Cemeteries* 1912.

graceful foliage (Parsons n.d.). Many nineteenth-century authors recommended a sparing use of weeping willows along a border of water because cemeteries contained enough sorrow (Simonds n.d.; Parsons n.d.; Weed 1912). In several of the older sections in the Catholic cemetery, we do find weeping willows (see figure 6), and they have a profound effect on visitors. The willow was a common symbol of grief on gravestones, especially on older tablets. One of the founding ideals of the *rural* cemetery was to create "a quiet resting place for the dead and an inspiration to the living" (Weed 1912, 73). The use of the weeping willow forces visitors to address their own mortality.

Figure 6: Weeping willow in the Notre-Dame-des-Neiges Cemetery.

I observed differences in monument design along both transects. Basic marker shapes, like the tablet and the block, are common throughout the two cemeteries, but the adornments differ. The obelisk was a very common shape for monuments during 1860-1900, but the tops differed. In the Catholic cemetery it was often adorned with a cross, in

the Protestant cemetery with an urn (see figures 7 and 8).[16] In Catholic iconography the urn was a symbol of death and mourning. The cross, on the other hand, dramatized resurrection, the central tenet of Christian faith, presumed to be the ultimate 'consolation'.

Figure 7: The popular use of the cross, Notre-Dame-des-Neiges Cemetery.

Figure 8: The popular use of the urn, Mount Royal Cemetery.

Mount Royal Cemetery shows signs of old brick-lined streams that used to lead to

16 The terms used to describe monuments will be addressed in chapter five, see figure 10.

a pond at the base of the slope beside the office. Water was a prerequisite of the *rural* cemetery, an essential element in creating a picturesque landscape. With the establishment of Mount Royal Park and higher roadways, the streams became trickles, and the pond dried up. Other evidence of times past is the fence which used to enclose family plots. Figure 9 is an excellent illustration of how the landscape appeared in 1895.[17] Railings have since disappeared save for remnants of old corner stones and for a few enclosures around large family plots. The removal of aging enclosures made general upkeep easier, especially mowing the lawn.

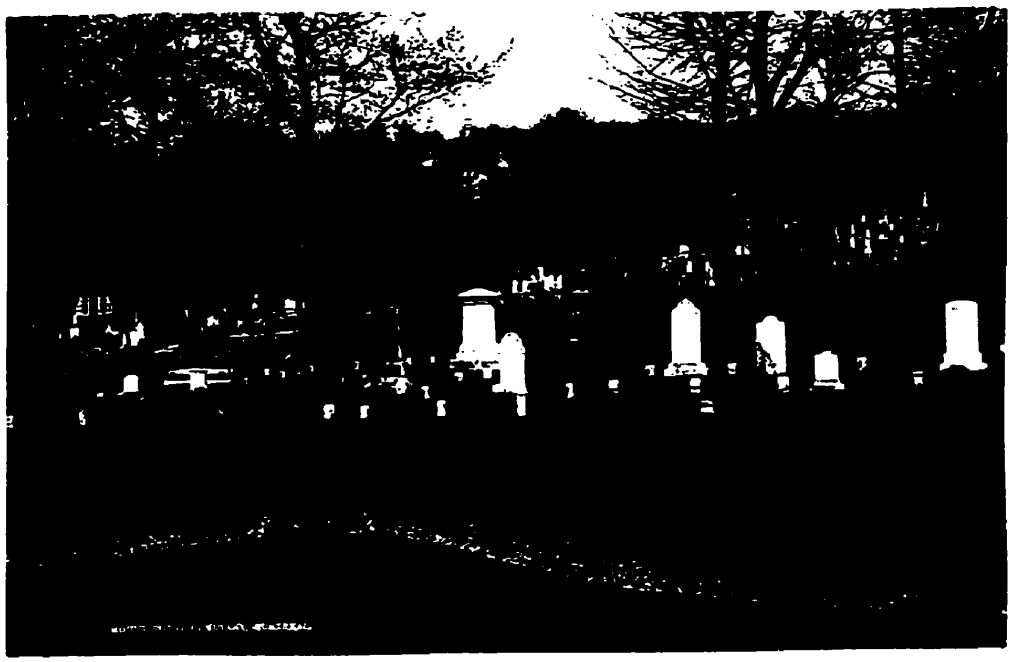

Figure 9: Mount Royal Cemetery circa 1895, Notman Collection, McCord Museum.

Village Cemeteries

As discussed in chapter two, there are three types of country cemeteries.

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17 Note the pond in the foreground of the photograph. Also take note of the sloping landscape and the grand Molson mausoleum in the background.

Churchyards located directly behind or beside the church are more often associated with Catholic churches, but the Anglican church (closer to Catholic practice) often had its own very small burial ground, and in the village of Rawdon, each denomination still has its own churchyard cemetery. This is in contrast to Hemmingford and other culturally diverse villages that I observed in the Montérégie and the Eastern Townships where there is a Catholic churchyard and a non-denominational cemetery for all other churches in the village. Why the difference? With respect to Hemmingford and Rawdon, the difference is population; size and composition. The Lovell's Canadian Directory for 1851 reported that the population of Hemmingford was 700. In 1853, Rawdon had 3,607 inhabitants (Fournier 1974, 60). Both villages, however, experienced population declines in the latter half of the nineteenth century. In 1902, Hemmingford had 338 villagers and in 1901, Rawdon's population decreased to 1,117. The village of Hemmingford has a larger number of private burial grounds, which may also be linked to this population difference.

Country cemeteries faced the same problems of neglect that the urban cemeteries endured during the early nineteenth century in North America. Families moved to the city, leaving no one to care for their ancestors' graves, and private plots were often sold with the property outside the family lineage. Due to the lack of literature on country cemeteries it is difficult to determine how they evolved through time and how they were influenced by the changing views on the representation of death. But the origins of settlers and their pattern of settlement help to clarify why country cemeteries are in their present locations.

The French and the English had distinct settlement patterns that ultimately

affected the location of the church and the cemetery. They chose strategic geographical locations such as lands close to waterfalls, or high lands (Gagnon 1970), and isolation experienced by the first settlers caused farmers to join together to form villages to provide services to the whole rural community (Hunter 1939; Ross 1967). The church was rarely the first structure to be built by Protestant communities, but a school house was often constructed and then sometimes used for worship and community meetings. The French and the Irish Catholics were sure to have a parish established as soon as possible and they used the church or presbytery for other community functions. Among both Catholic and Protestant, clergy travelled and visited villages to perform marriages and baptisms but those who died before their arrival, were buried with minimal ceremony (Gagnon 1970; Ross 1939; Sellar 1888).

The country cemeteries were of such a small scale that a transect was not necessary. I was able to study the whole landscape, but I did not succeed in locating any historical photographs or descriptions that would enable me to provide comparison between what exists today and what existed in the nineteenth century.

Three cemeteries in Rawdon have burials with individuals from the sample of deaths. For the Catholic cemetery, which serves both the parishes of Marie-Reine du Monde and of St. Patrice, the history is sketchy. Marcel Fournier (1974), in his book *Rawdon: 175 ans d'histoire,* discusses at length the history of the churches and briefly mentions their burial grounds.

Rawdon, as of the thirteenth of July 1799, had 64,000 acres, but roads were opening up the area in 1816 and in 1819 the population was reported to be 60, most of

them Irish squatters. Thanks to the potential water power of four rivers and eight lakes, by 1844 there were already thirteen flour mills, nine sawmills and twenty-one potasheries (Fournier 1974, 53-4).

The Catholic grounds are located across the street from the church; its original structure was built in 1837 and was renovated and reconstructed several times, the last in 1956. Fournier (1974) reports that the cemetery was relocated in 1844. It is tucked away behind a convent, with three sections and a crucifix at the back of the middle section. There is very little vegetation within the cemetery, and a few trees line the perimeter. The grounds are enclosed by a fence, reportedly erected in 1925. At the entrance is a billboard listing the names of those buried in the various lots, as obtained from the stones present in the landscape. A notice on the billboard forbids individual plantings. This rule is usually established because flowers and bushes make it difficult for those caring for the cemetery to cut the lawn and maintain the grounds. This was also a founding principle of the *rural* cemetery movement. It was thought that an "individual grave is but a small detail of the whole grounds -- individual plantings mar the appearance" and draw attention to the individual rather than the whole (Weed 1912, 73). The Notre-Dame-des-Neiges Cemetery in Montreal allows individual plantings and even has greenhouses offering a variety of flowers to the clientele.

I found only three stones dated prior to 1861 and the majority of inscriptions that are dated during the forty-year span of this study are from 1880 to 1900. It is possible that the markers have disappeared, but with the low number of individuals found in the Catholic cemetery (to be discussed in chapter five) it seems more likely that the grounds

have been relocated and in such cases not all monuments are moved.

The Anglican cemetery is located behind Christ Church, established in 1822. The present church of gothic design replaced the first in 1861. There are more trees in this graveyard, on the perimeter, and some empty spaces indicate that trees have been cut down. The Anglican cemetery is a picturesque landscape with its lofty trees, low growing shrubs, and irregular pattern of gravestones.

The third cemetery is that of the United Church Emmanuel de la Pentecôte. A Methodist church was constructed in 1838, and the building that stands today was built in 1895. The cemetery is located on the west side of the church. As in the Anglican burial grounds, the markers face the side of the church. In the case of the United cemetery, the stones all face east. The layout resembles the other two cemeteries with trees lining the perimeter, but is much smaller, and only a few trees remain.

Varennes, as noted earlier, was a seigneurial village, and the church is located in the traditional central long lot, with its affiliated buildings and the cemetery. *Les églises et le trésor de Varennes,* written by Morisset (1943), states that the first recorded burial occurred in 1697, inside the church, which means that the church must have been made of stone. A diagram from 1780 reproduced in this book shows that the cemetery was located on the side of the church. Morisset only indicates that the cemetery was enlarged in 1849. The church was rebuilt several times, the last time in 1885, and it is possible that the cemetery was relocated more than once. Its present locale is on highway 132, a main route along the St. Lawrence River. The cemetery is fenced and has much the same layout as the Catholic burial grounds in Rawdon, with a crucifix situated in the

background in a central position.

Land in the township of Hemmingford was surveyed in 1794 and divided into three sections, 'granted', clergy and Crown, but not recognized until 1799. The granted lands were issued in uniform 200-acre lots (Sellar 1888; Somerville 1985), and the village was incorporated in 1877 from four of them. By that time it claimed a population of 324:

> The business attractions of the place include 5 general stores, drug store, tin shop, 2 boot and shoe shops, 2 hotels, 2 secretarial schools, 4 churches - Methodist, Presbyterian, Anglican and Roman Catholic - office of Montreal Telegraph Company, and a number of small shops necessary to enumerate. (Cumming 1972, 77)

The village was founded by people from Scotland, England, Ireland and by French Canadians, each bringing distinct traditions and social characteristics.

The village of Hemmingford has eight cemeteries, five of which started out as private family burial grounds. Only three contain individuals from the death sample. The Catholic site was chosen in 1840, the first fieldstone church was built within the next few years, and the present church was built in 1894. The cemetery is located behind the church and has a typical layout: a central drive arrives at an island with a crucifix at the back of the cemetery. Because this cemetery has never been relocated, it is possible to observe the shapes, sizes, and materials of monuments. The oldest stones belong to the Irish because the French did not arrive in large numbers until mid-century. The first parish priest was Irish but since 1854 the priests have all been French. Although there is little vegetation today, there is evidence that trees once lined the perimeter, and a couple of trees survive within the grounds.

The Protestant Cemetery is located at the edge of the village. A two-acre portion was donated to the village for a public burial ground by Julius Scriver, and the earliest stone still standing is April 26 1822, in memory of Thomas Cleland, a blacksmith who was "struck by a falling bent" at a barn-raising bee (Sellar 1888, 541). *Graveyards in Hemmingford*, a document available at the village archives, describes the cemetery as follows: "It is pleasantly situated and is enclosed by a handsome and substantial fence". A drive circles the property with hints of past smaller drives that have now been used for burials. The roadway and the paths are not lined with gravel, they are only detectable because they are worn from use.

A disturbing alteration to the landscape occurred a couple of years ago when the Cemetery Association wanted to level the cemetery to make for easier mowing and upkeep. They purchased some soil and used a bulldozer to flatten it, but the operator was not careful about displacing gravestones and up to ten disappeared[18]. This creates voids in the landscape and discrepancies in records. The oldest burials are located in the northeast corner, progressing west and then south in an 'L' formation. Although there are few trees inside, the whole landscape was carved out of a forest and is still surrounded by woods and an adjacent farm.

The third cemetery is called James Fisher, located west of the village. James Fisher, a United Empire Loyalist from Scotland, was one of the first settlers (1800), and the cemetery is located across the street from his property. The graveyard began as a

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[18] I obtained this information in an informal interview with Bob Curry, who is the head of the Cemetery Committee in charge of maintaining the grounds.

family burial ground but was later opened to other villagers, and three individuals from the Protestant sample are buried here.

The five other cemeteries located in the environs of Hemmingford include St. Paul's Anglican Church and graveyard, which is in a state of ruin. All that is left of the church built in 1840 and abandoned in 1860 are two walls. Vegetation has taken over the old cemetery, only a few stones are still standing. The other four burial grounds are all located on small private properties, in which the first burial was usually a child of the owner. The Hemmingford Archives and the present owners of the properties have made great effort in their restoration and maintenance.

The nine cemeteries I studied seem reasonably representative of the situation in southern Quebec, and most possess features of the mid-nineteenth-century model known as 'the *rural* cemetery movement' with its idealization of the garden. While all share such symbolic elements as plantings and carvings of the weeping willow for grief, I found a stronger religious iconography in the Catholic cemeteries, and more of the metaphors of classical and Romantic poetry in the Protestant.

Many of the cemeteries have been relocated, several of them repeatedly, and their grooming and upkeep vary between city and country, Catholic and Protestant. The disruption and re-working of landscapes dedicated to memory and to the everlasting prepare us to consider the possibility that individual graves, too, may have been disturbed or effaced from the landscape. I turn, therefore, to an exercise which tests this possibility.

The Gravestones

The second level of analysis consists of working our way from a sample of deaths, rural and urban, to the individual gravestones present in the landscape based on the initial assumption that all the people were buried in cemeteries. The names in the sample, drawn from death registers of the churches, were matched with the records kept by the cemetery companies or organizations. I discovered early in my field work that in the rural villages there were other burial options such as private grounds, and that the documentation kept by the local cemeteries rarely indicates the specific plot of an individual. Hence in most cases if a monument is not present, it is impossible to determine where the individual was buried or even whether that individual was in fact buried in the local cemetery.

The following section discusses the field work, case studies and analysis of the results. I first explain the categories used to classify individuals from the three samples and the categories developed to classify located monuments. I have grouped together the urban and the rural samples, starting first with the urban, and then further subdivided populations by religion. The discussion begins with who is present in the landscape, and then focuses on who is not. The final portion of this chapter makes a comparison of commemoration as practiced in the city and in the villages.

As I did my field work I established four categories in which to place each individual with a plot number, ordered from most ambiguous to most firm and precise: 1- 'Ambiguous' means that I found a gravestone in the plot referenced in the cemetery

records but it did not belong to the individual(s) in question nor did it have any apparent relation to the surname I was seeking; 2- In 'empty plots' there was no gravestone; it may have been destroyed or may never have been erected; 3- The category 'identified family' refers to cases where the inscription made no mention of the individual(s) but I could see some connection between the deceased and the names inscribed, for example a maiden name or the surname of a son-in-law. Many of these markers were erected in the twentieth century with no mention of family members buried earlier. One exception is worth mentioning. The inscription on the gravestone of an Irish family reads:

Sacred to the memory of
Mr. Thomas Ryan and family
also Daniel Jm Ryan
who departed this life July 9 1919
May they rest in peace
Erected by Miss M Lachapelle.

Daniel James Ryan, who died at the age of 53 years, was the son of Thomas and Margaret. Seven individuals are recorded as having been buried in this plot, including children of the couple and Thomas' brother and sister. Who is Miss Lachapelle? Was she a friend, a fiancée? I have also included in this category monuments which were illegible or had no inscription. For example, I was searching for Justine Beauchamp, the widow of Albert Bourbonnière, who was a farmer during his life. I located the monument and it read *Famille Louis Roch Bourbonnière*, Louis being either the father or brother in-law; 4- In the 4th category, 'identified individual', inscriptions clearly refer to the individual(s) from the death record and plot number.

The monuments found in the cemeteries are classed in four groups, based loosely

on categories established by Francaviglia (1971): flush, tablet, block and obelisk (see figure 10). The lawn type marker was used mainly for infant/child deaths. There are two examples from the Protestant sample, both located in a section designated for child burials. The tablet was the most common type of marker employed for centuries until the use of granite and other hard materials. The block was the successor to the tablet because the new harder materials were not easily cut into thin slabs. The obelisk shaped monuments are the most elaborate and in general commemorate several generations of a family. There are five different obelisks: a simple column or a column adorned with an urn, a cross, a cross vault or a pediment.

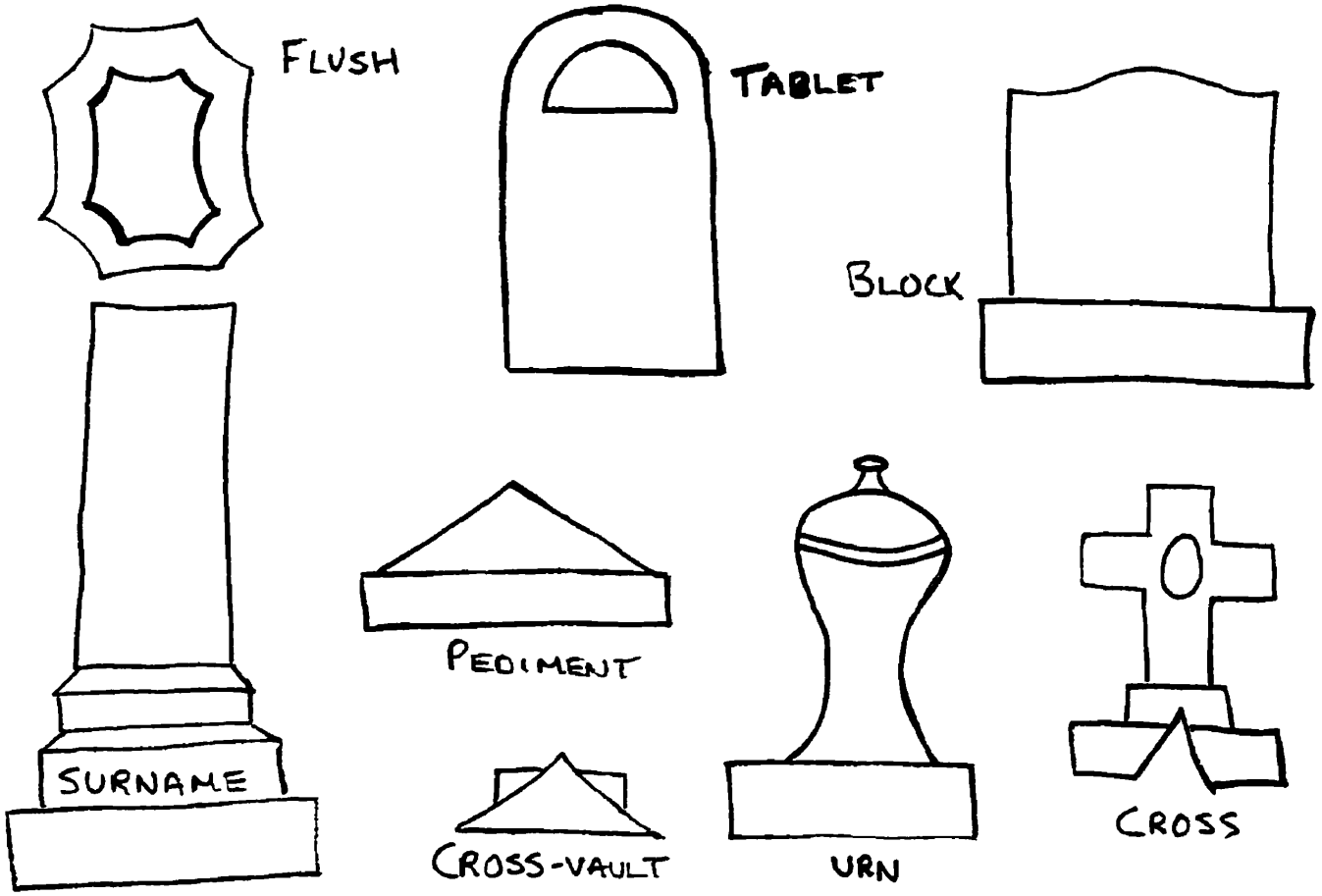


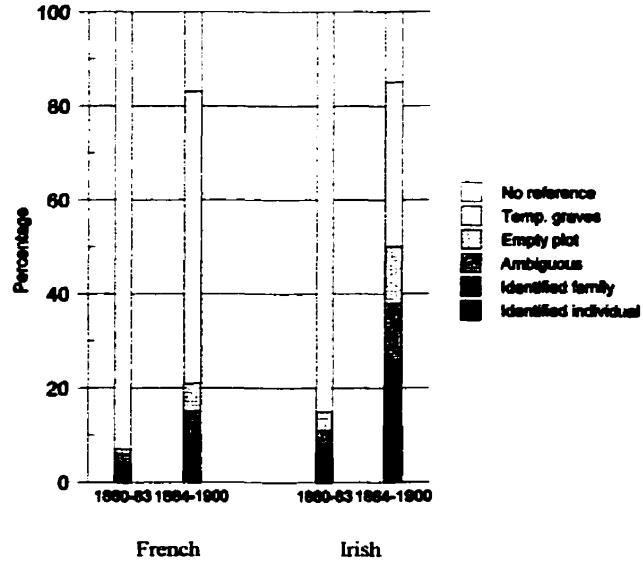
Figure 10: Monument Classifications

Urban Catholic Samples

The urban Catholic sample consists of about 800 French Canadian and about 500 Irish deaths from Catholic records. I attempted to find plot and burial information on the 1300 individuals at the archives of Notre-Dame-des-Neiges Cemetery. A fire damaged the cemetery's office, destroying all original records prior to 1884. The corporation managed to gather plot information for the missing twenty-nine years and they, with all burials since its opening, are accessible on a database that is provided to aid visitors in finding family members and loved ones but that is not without discrepancies. For the period 1884 to 1900 I was able to use the original burial registers. Because there is such a great difference in the percentages of individuals located in the records before and after 1884, I have divided the data into two categories: 1860-1883 and 1884-1900. Prior to 1884, only 6% of the French and 14% of the Irish sample can be referenced to plot numbers (bottom four categories), and after 1884 we find one-quarter of the French and one-half of the Irish.

Figure 11 is a breakdown of the Catholic sample into the four categories I have mentioned, with two additional categories: 'temporary graves', to be discussed, and 'no reference', meaning, of course, that there is no reference to a plot in the cemetery records. First I would like to

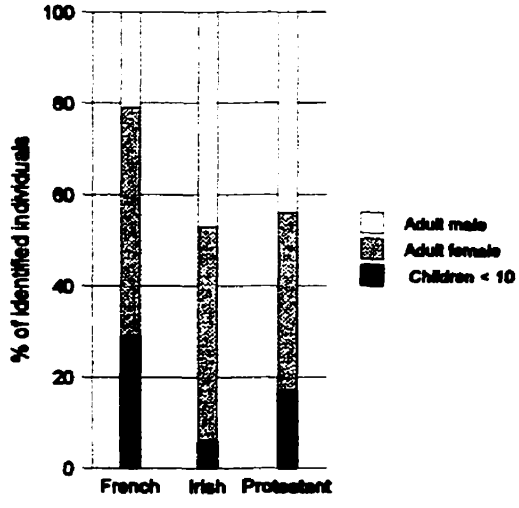
Figure 11: Samples of Catholic Deaths in Montreal



address the identified individuals. Again there are notable discrepancies between the two time divisions. There is only a one-percent difference in the 'identified individual' category between the two time periods in the French sample, but in the Irish there was a more significant distinction, a difference of 8%. More meaningful, I think, is the fact that more of the Irish are identifiable than of the French.

When divided into three subsets by age and gender, the French had a greater percentage of children under the age of ten buried in the located plots (see figure 12). These figures correspond well with research on infant mortality rates (Thornton and Olson 1991, 1997). The Irish population experienced one-third fewer infant deaths and those infant mortality rates were not greatly influenced by social status. In both communities, however, children are underrepresented in the samples as throughout the second half of the nineteenth century they amount to one-half of all deaths.

Figure 12: 'Identified Individuals': by age and gender



Because the monuments of notable and influential citizens are often reproduced in literature, and are easier to locate and identify, I have chosen to highlight examples of the working class. From archival sources available for Montreal, I know the identity of the individuals in the samples and the genealogies of their families. What about the 'everyday' citizens of the nineteenth century? How were they commemorated? How much money did they allot for the purchase of a family plot? It is easy to assume that

bourgeois communities would purchase large plots and erect monuments larger than those of the working class, but my sample has proven that this assumption is not always correct, especially among Irish Catholics. I have chosen one example from the Irish and one from the French samples to illustrate commemoration practices of the working class.

James Ryan, a labourer, and his wife Anne Reilly were born in Ireland and married in Montreal in 1846. Of their eleven children, two died before the age of seven. James Ryan purchased the family plot in 1873 at the price of $40 for 100 square feet (9.3 square meters). This was a substantial sum, comparable to a year's rent ($44/year in 1871). The gravestone is of average height, a cross-vault obelisk with an engraved cross at the top and the family name engraved on the base. The inscription names the father, the mother and five of their children.[19] When was the monument erected? I can only speculate. The inscription is in the format typical for that time period, that of paternal reference: 'in memory of' the husband, 'also his wife' and 'their' children. Since Ann Reilly died fifteen years prior to her husband, and the five children inscribed also died before their father, it is possible that a temporary marker was erected until his death, especially since his name is first in the inscription. The two children who died before the plot was purchased were likely buried in small individual plots, 'temporary graves'. The censuses of 1881 and 1891 show that four of Ryan's children continued living with him and they all had their own occupations, the son a labourer and the three daughters

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19 The conditions of James Ryan's contract with the cemetery allowed for the burial of his widowed daughter Ellen and his grandson James Taylor. There is no reference to his son John or his two daughters, possibly because they had a plot with their new families, but one of his daughter's sons (James Taylor) is buried there.

employed as servant, operator and clerk. Visitors to the cemetery would not know that this monument represented a family that survived by 'common labour'. Their monument shows to what lengths and expense a family could go to achieve a respectful burial with proper commemoration.

In the French sample I was not able to identify any one from the category of labourers; therefore, I selected individuals from the middle group. Again the monument was of average height, an obelisk but with a cross on top and the Beauchamp name engraved on the base. The plot was somewhat larger (132 square feet/12.3 square meters) and was purchased by Jean-Baptiste Beauchamp, a joiner, in 1891 and again the price approaches a year's rent.[20] The family's rent level indicates that they would have lived in a four room flat of approximately 400-500 square feet (37.2-46.5 square meters). Jean-Baptiste had previously purchased a plot of 50 square feet (4.6 square meters) and exchanged it for the larger one which explains how it is that five of the individuals mentioned in the inscription died prior to 1891. Their bodies were relocated when Jean-Baptiste purchased the larger plot, apparently to accommodate his extended family. Seventeen individuals are mentioned in the inscription: his parents, both his wives and their children, representing, in all, four generations and the breadth of an 'extended family'. After the death of his first wife Jean-Baptiste started a new family thus he had eleven children with Henriette Morin and five children with Mary Drapeau. According to cemetery records, three other individuals from our sample, all of them Jean-Baptiste's

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20 At $54 for 132 square feet, in partial exchange ($19) for a previously purchased lot of 50 square feet , the total cost is comparable to a $70/year rent.

grandchildren, may have been buried in this plot, but their names are omitted from the epitaph, their parents perhaps unable to afford the cost of an engraver. This monument represents the desire for a respectful burial and is a good example of the kinship networks that existed in nineteenth-century Montreal. Like the Irish monument, it also symbolizes the desire for a Christian identity and preserves the original family name of the wife.

What about the individuals whose identities are missing from the landscape? One-tenth of the French and one-third of Irish individuals referenced to plot numbers in the earlier set, from 1860-1883, have disappeared from the landscape, leaving only remnants of a base, without identification, or nothing at all but an empty space. In the second time period, 1884-1900, one-half of the French and one-quarter of the Irish were referenced to empty plots. The major difference is gender, the total number of females not located is at least 60% higher than for males. This is more significant for the Irish sample, as the male-female ratio of individuals referenced to plot numbers was relatively even. It is really an erosion process, an economic sifting of people that determines the conditions under which their remains are buried and their monuments are maintained or recycled.

Who were these people and what happened to their gravestones? There are several possibilities. The first is the re-use of the plot by others, as a consequence of conditions of the contract between the Fabrique and the plot owner. The Fabrique sold 'single graves', the price determined by square foot, and gave the plot a number, but rights were only extended for a period of 30 years, after which the plot was resold. The

Fabrique also sold 'ordinary graves' for a term of five years, for which the family paid only a burial charge, $4 for adults, $2 for children, and had the right to erect a marker for an additional charge of $2 for a stone or iron cross, $1 for a wooden marker (Simeon 1887; *Ville de Montréal* 1877, 1894). It is also possible that the cemetery company repossessed plots for unpaid fees, removed the markers and resold the parcels. An Act in the Quebec Laws Related to Cemeteries respecting the Roman Catholic Cemetery Corporations, states that the corporation determines who may be buried in the cemetery, controls the right over any lot left with no provisions by the owner, and retains the right to petition court to return a grave or a lot left abandoned for more than thirty years (Mappin 1995). Such cases, however, are more likely to appear in my 'ambiguous' category, as there is probably a new monument in place of the old. An example of this would be the disappearance of Elizabeth Ryan, the widow of James McBride. The plot her husband purchased and where she is reportedly buried now has a monument commemorating the Matar family; the first Matar interment was in 1995.

Other possibilities for missing gravestones are: the family never erected a gravestone; the family used a temporary marker, such as a wooden cross or iron cross which has disappeared; or the gravestone has broken or fallen over and has not been replaced. It is and was common practice for maintenance staff to leave broken stones where they fell. Such markers are eventually grown over unless the family intervenes and repairs the damages (see figure 13). The restoration and maintenance of monuments is the responsibility of the descendants of the deceased and depends on their ability to pay and their persistence in the Montreal area. Under these conditions I have categorized

such cases as 'empty plots' because no marker was visible.

What about individuals who are not referenced to a plot number? For the sample from 1884-1900, using the original ledgers, I was able to discern that nearly two-thirds of French and one-third of Irish samples were recorded as buried in temporary plots. There

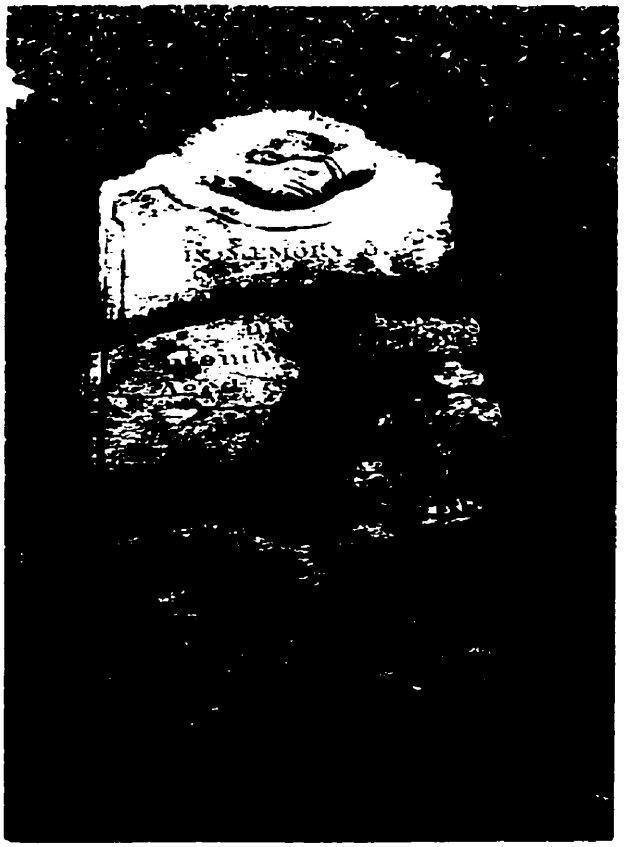

Figure 13: Photograph of a fallen tablet, Mount Royal Cemetery

are four types of temporary graves: the *petite fosse* (small pit) for a child with a $2 fee, the *grande fosse* for an adult at $4, free lots reserved for members of the *Union de Prière* and *gratis* lots. In these sections, the bodies are buried at differing depths. In the large lots, for example, adults were buried at four feet (1.2 meters). There was a charge of 50 cents for the first foot and each additional foot cost another 15 cents. In the small lots, children were buried at a depth of three feet (1 meter). There was a 30 cents charge for

the first additional foot (30 centimeters), 40 cents for the second, etc. After a seven-year period, these lots were used for other burials. Nearly half of French and 20% of Irish temporary graves were the small lots, as we might expect in view of the high percentages of children under ten years of age referenced to this section (see figure 14 and 15).[21] This is consistent with the infant mortality rates and the greater number of Irish with plot numbers.

Temporary Graves: Notre-Dame-des-Neiges

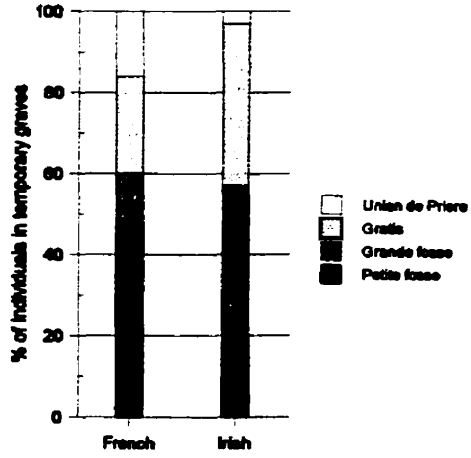

Figure 14: Individuals Referenced to Temporary Graves, 1884-1900: by type.

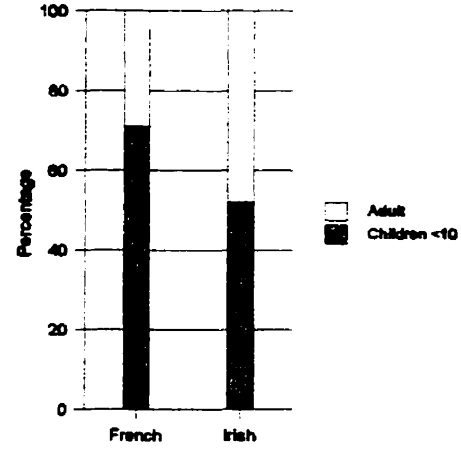

Figure 15: Individuals Referenced to Temporary Graves, 1884-1900: by age.

For members of the confraternity *Union de Prière* there was no burial fee. Members paid 25 cents a year and upon death were granted interment in the designated section. While this can be seen as a form of burial insurance, members were also accompanied in prayer and on the final journey. A much larger percentage of the French sample is buried in this section, mostly married women and widows. These graves were

21 Size rather than age determined whether a child would be buried in a small or large grave.

also for a term of five years.

Graves free of charge (*gratis*) were allotted to persons of families known to be too poor to pay burial fees. They were called common graves, and no marker of any kind was allowed. In other words the right to commemoration was denied. These lots were also for a term of five years. A larger percentage of the Irish sample was buried in free graves, which accounts for the difference between children under ten years of age buried in temporary plots and in the *petite fosses*.

For the period 1884 to1900, I found approximately one-fifth French and one-half Irish with plot numbers, three-fifths French and one-third Irish referenced to temporary graves, therefore more than 80% of both sample populations recorded in the cemetery's original registry as having been buried here (refer to figure 1). But I have been able to locate only 2% of the French sample and 12% of the Irish in the present cemetery landscape.[22]

Urban Protestant Sample

For the Protestant sample, consisting of approximately 400 deaths from Protestant church records (in the *état civil* microfilm), I used the original card catalogue at the Mount Royal Cemetery Company in an attempt to find their graves. The cards provided such information as the individual's name, place of birth, address at death, date of death, age, cause of death, and section and lot number in the cemetery. I then used another ledger to cross-reference plot numbers, to determine the owners and sizes of the plots.

Figure 16 is a breakdown of the total Protestant death sample into the same six

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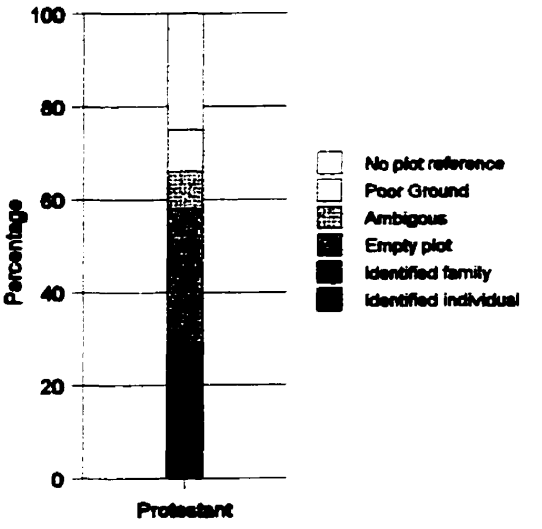
[22] French sample: 2%, n = 448 (9/448); Irish sample: 12%, n = 221 (26/221)

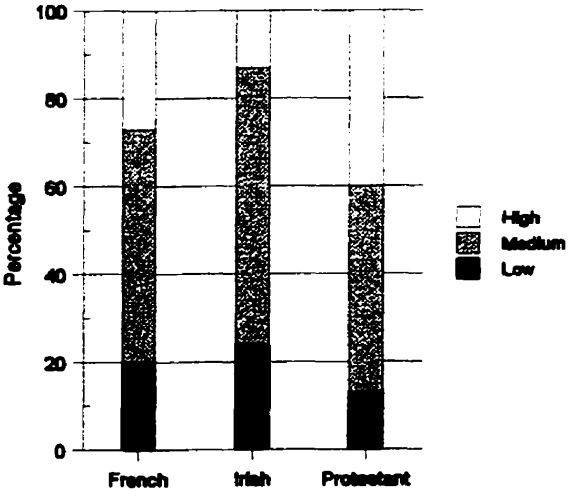
categories used for the Catholic sample with one notable difference, the 'poor ground'. This area is not the same as the zone of temporary graves provided in the Catholic cemetery. Graves in the Protestant poor ground were not leased for a term, but their plots were intended to be permanent, the soil never to be turned again. This section was established by the Mount Royal Company to provide an individual burial for those unable to pay the fees for a single grave, and for those deceased who were not claimed by anybody. Like the Catholic temporary graves, the families of individuals buried in the poor ground were not permitted to erect a marker, their names not visible to the public, and the dead were segregated from the rest of the community until the Day of Judgement.

Figure 16: Sample of Protestant Deaths in Montreal



Over 60% of the Protestant sample of deaths were referenced to a plot. When the individuals are ranked according to occupation, over three-quarters fall into the two highest status categories (medium and high), a significant portion being representative of the middle to upper class (see figure 17). This is consistent with the social landscape of the city, as the Protestant population occupied the higher tiers of

Figure 17: Occupational Status of Referenced Individuals



society and lived in higher rent areas (Gilliland and Olson 1998; Gilliland 1998).

The monuments of 'identified individuals' represent one-sixth of the total sample and one-quarter of the set of plot-references. There is an even proportion of males and females, but children (under ten years of age) are underrepresented among identified individuals as they make up nearly half of the total death sample. Where are these children? This question will be addressed in the pages to follow.

Again I would like to highlight examples from the working class. I found only two individuals from this category and they are husband and wife. George Beatty purchased a grave before his death in 1874. A 'lot' in the Mount Royal Cemetery is larger than 100 square feet (9.3 square meters) and accommodates eight burials; anything under this size is called a 'grave'. Graves were 25 square feet (2.3 square meters) and in that space you can bury two people, one at a depth of 6 feet and the other at a depth of 4 ½ feet (1.4 meters).[23] George was a labourer who lived with his family on Wolfe Street, an area of low rent, inhabited mainly by the working class. He died six years before his wife, and the marker, a flush stone, simply reads:

In loving memory of George Beatty 81
also his wife Margaret Beatty 84.
BEATTY

The Beatty's had two known children who died in infancy in the 1830s; their bodies would have been interred in the old cemetery in town, which has since been built upon.

Of the names referenced to plot numbers, 76% were unidentifiable, some

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[23] Lot information obtained from Myriam Cloutier, Director of Public Relations for Mount Royal Commemorative Services.

illegible, some ambiguous, but the largest portion, 44%, falls into the empty plot category. These numbers cannot be as easily explained as in the Catholic sample because the Mount Royal Cemetery Company never sold term plots. Although the company required everyone to purchase a grave or family plot, or to accept a space in the poor ground, many may not have been able to afford a marker. Human error is also a possible explanation. The organization of graves and lots within the cemetery is not systematic, and plot numbers are not indicated on the stones. The section number, its general location within the section on the cemetery map, and the surnames of neighbouring plot owners were the only clues to the location of the individual(s) in question. When I was unable to locate a marker where it was thought to be, I walked the entire section to be sure that the 'clues' were not misleading.

Figure 18: Bowman Child Monument, Mount Royal Cemetery.

One-half of the missing individuals are children under the age of ten. The cemetery has a section reserved for infant and child burials and the monuments are generally very small, often flush stones. Time and weather have worn down the little markers until the inscriptions are illegible (see figure 18). I located two child markers from the referenced sample. Both were flush stones, and I had to push

the grass aside to be able to read what was left of the inscription.

It is important to take into consideration the type of material that was used for monuments at the end of the nineteenth century as yet another possible reason to explain the high number of these empty plots. It was common practice to use softer stones because they were economical, and easier to shape and engrave. Granite became the material of choice towards the turn of the century primarily at the insistence of cemetery companies because it can withstand centuries and requires little upkeep. The mandatory use of granite in cemeteries today has changed the landscape drastically. Because of its hardness, large powerful tools are used by sculptors and engravers, and the new methods have modified the craftsmanship and design. The materials used by families during the study period are unknown but given the large number of empty plots it would be safe to assume that the type of stone chosen was not one of great durability. Shape and size also played a part in determining the 'life span' of a marker, tablets being the most likely to succumb to environmental stresses.

The individuals who are not referenced to plot numbers fall into two categories, 'poor ground' and 'no reference', which make up one-third of the Protestant death sample. Approximately one-tenth were referenced to the poor ground. When divided into two subsets of age, children under ten years make up 70% of this category, and when further subdivided by age, infants under the age of one year make up just over 50% of the total number of names referenced to the poor ground. This accounts for the small number of children in the sample of identified individuals. In the poor ground, more than two-thirds of the individuals are, as expected, ranked in the two lower tiers of the occupation

scale, and I was unable to classify by occupation another fifth.

The presence of children whose fathers had high-status occupations in the poor ground is curious. Eliza Burrows, for example, died at the age of 2 months in December 1862. Her father, James Mitchell, was a bookkeeper until his death at the age of 29 in 1861. James, his mother and his three children, who died before him, were all buried in the 100 square feet (9.3 square meters) lot that he had purchased. According to the records, when Eliza died there was still room left for three more interments in the family plot, but she was buried in the poor ground. Why? Eliza died in December which meant that her body would have been kept in the cemetery's vault until the thaw in spring. Eliza's mother, Mary Dalgliesh, was buried in the lot owned by her family of birth adjacent to the lot purchased by her husband. James might have been long ill before his death and his bookkeeping job may have been a modest occupation. Upon his death, his wife, with young children to support, may have been left impoverished, unable to afford the burial of her child in the family plot.

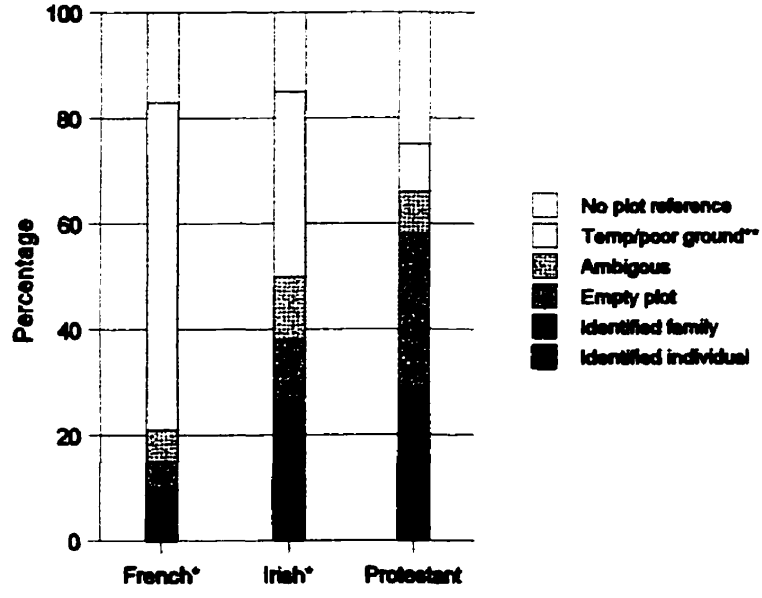
The category of individuals with 'no reference' is always puzzling. They make up one-fifth of the total sample. Where are they? Protestants who died in Montreal after 1850 were buried in Mount Royal Cemetery, the only one available (other than St. Stephen's Anglican Church cemetery in Lachine) until 1910 when the Mount Royal Cemetery Company opened the Hawthorne Dale Cemetery on the western tip of the island. In a few instances I found records indicating that an individual died in Montreal but was buried in their village of birth or of residence of family. Indeed, the individual may have returned home upon his/her deathbed.

Urban Comparison

The differences in the landscapes of the Catholic and Protestant cemeteries have already been discussed and now I would like to address the differences in commemoration between the three cultural groups, French Canadian, Irish and Protestant, with reference to social status, kinship networks, and gender. I will do so by discussing the major contrasts in the three samples with the use of tables and of specific examples.

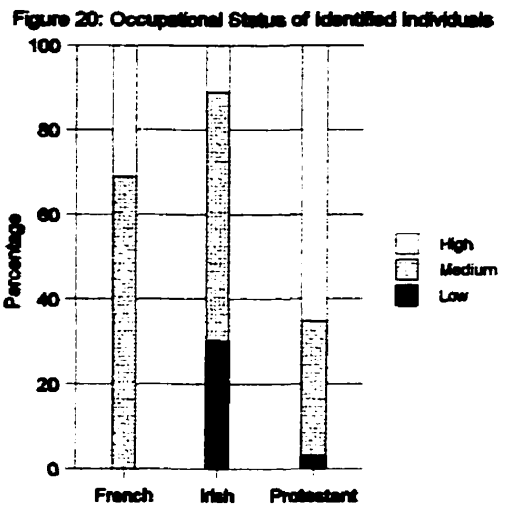
Figure 19 allows comparison among the three groups. The Irish and Protestant samples both have larger numbers of individuals referenced to plots, and larger numbers of identified individuals. Social status does not seem to influence these figures, since over 80% of the referenced Irish and French individuals were labourers or semi-skilled/skilled workers, compared to 60% for the Protestant samples (see figure 17).

Figure 19: Samples of Catholic & Protestant Deaths in Montreal



* The French and Irish numbers are from the 1884 to 1900 (refer to page 48); ** This category refers to the temporary graves in the Notre-Dame-des-Neiges Cemetery and the poor ground in the Mount Royal Cemetery.

The proposition that individuals strive for greater status after death is perhaps applicable to the Irish sample. Roughly 20% of the French and Irish samples and 15% of the Protestant samples were referenced to plots and categorized as working-class individuals. A closer look at the identified individuals with firmly identified monuments shows that 30% of the Irish sample is working class compared to 2% of the Protestant and zero of the French samples (see figure 20).



Why this cultural difference? The Irish had undeniably strong kinship ties and this may be a factor. The majority of the Irish immigrated to Quebec in the late 1840's which would explain the need of kinship relations to help each other adapt to their new surroundings. The first generation made reference to their origins in the epitaph, e.g., *native of co Killkenny Ireland.* Not only did the Irish have strong ties to their roots in Ireland, they attached great importance to a respectful burial. Mary Ryan, for example, wrote her will when her health weakened and stated: "I wish that my body be decently buried", a clause that was standard with the notaries (act of Cox, June 4, 1900). What is telling is that Mary Ryan allotted two hundred dollars for masses, and she explicitly noted she was to be buried with her husband and two sons.

The monument erected by Catherine Ryan is an excellent example of the ideals held by many Irish Catholics. When her husband, Edward Butler, a labourer, died in

1871, he had not yet purchased a burial plot for himself or his family. His brother, Thomas Butler, a trader,[24] purchased a lot of 250 square feet (23.2 square meters), at a cost of $75, to be paid over a period of three years. The contract contains a section designated 'special allowances', where relatives or friends are mentioned if the owner wishes them to be buried in the plot. Thomas Butler named his sister Julie, widow of Wil Coonan, and his sister-in-law Catherine Ryan, Edward's widow. Thomas is not identified in the inscription, but seeing as the plot could hold up to sixteen burials and more than one monument, one possibility is that his marker has since disappeared. I do not know how many children Thomas and Margaret had, but it is possible that at the time of his death there was no immediate family member left to memorialize him. The marker that stands today is under 2 feet (61cm) tall, a tablet with an engraved willow tree symbolizing grief. The inscription reads:

Sacred to the memory of Edward Butler
co Tipperary Ireland
died May 10 1871 aged 56 yrs
This stone was erected by his affectionate wife
Catherine Ryan
who died Aug 18 1884 aged 58 yrs
Margaret Doyle
beloved wife of Thomas Butler
died Oct 12 1885 aged 52 yrs
and her daughter
Evelyn died Nov 2 1885 aged 22 yrs
Requiescant in pace

This marker is an expression of the kinship ties that existed in the Irish community.

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[24] The occupation 'trader' is classified as a semi-skilled/skilled occupation; therefore it falls into the medium tier.

The monument of James Ryan, described earlier, is by far the most elaborate of those identified as belonging to working-class individuals. The other working-class monuments are mostly ornate tablets with symbols such as the Celtic cross, the willow tree, and the wreath. Many of them have weathered, some inscriptions are illegible, and some show signs of restoration.

All three of the cultural communities seem to have had strong kinship ties; therefore the ties that existed among the Irish are only a factor and not an explanation of the high percentage of working-class individuals located in the cemetery landscape. It is documented that first-generation Irish immigrants were labourers but were ambitious at achieving status and property. Younger generations were upwardly mobile, over the period 1860 to 1880, as shown in their housing (Gilliland and Olson 1998; Courville 1996), and therefore were able to afford to bury older generations as they would have liked. The monuments I found are not necessarily as old as the first burial date inscribed. It is difficult to determine a century later when a marker was in fact erected and by whom. It is possible that some of the monuments we see today were in fact erected by a later generation to commemorate ancestors. We cannot, therefore, simply attribute the monument still present in the cemetery landscape to the individual known to have purchased the plot. This is, however, only speculation as there is no information at either cemetery as to when a monument was erected.

The French sample did not yield any monuments of working-class individuals but did yield a number of individuals from the medium occupational tier (semi-skilled/skilled workers). There are indications of equally strong kinship ties among the

French along with the desire for a respectful burial, but the need for commemoration does not seem to be as prevalent as it was with the Irish population.

This is evident in the number of individuals from the French sample buried in temporary graves, of which 45% are classified in the medium occupational tier. Individuals in both the low and medium tiers make up nearly 90% of those referenced to temporary plots. As already pointed out, these graves were not permitted to have markers of any kind. The other option was the 'ordinary grave' that allowed for a marker that would be removed at the end of the predetermined time period. These options were economical and attracted those with little financial independence.

The category 'identified family' is important because it includes individuals who are referenced to a particular plot but are not specified in the inscription. Of the three cultural groups it is the French sample that has the largest number of individuals whose names are not found in the epitaph. More often than not, these individuals died in childhood. Many were not direct descendants of the lot owner, but nieces or nephews. This finding is an indication of the desire of parents to have their children buried with family even when they were not able to afford an engraving on the marker. It is also possible that the parents of the deceased child had not yet purchased a family plot and that some years later they may have included their deceased child or children interred elsewhere in the epitaph commemorating their family. Or again, it is possible that the child's parents were deceased and family members were charged with their care.

This occurrence is common among the other two cultural groups as well but not as prevalent as in the French sample. In both the Irish Catholic and Protestant groups, the

individuals not designated in the inscriptions are mostly wives or husbands of children or siblings of the owner of the plot. Mary Ryan, for example, and her sister Anastasia married two Cassidy brothers. Although Mary's husband was a storekeeper, classed in a medium occupational status, she was buried with her sister and brother-in-law (a laborer) and there was no mention of her husband.

A Protestant example of the complexity of kinship in burial is that of Nathan Beatty, a doctor, who purchased a lot of 100 square feet (9.3 square meters) sometime before his wife's death in 1863. The inscription on the tablet is as follows:

My mother Anne Cleary
wife of Nathan Beatty
died May 23 1863 aged 50
In God put I my trust

There is no mention of Nathan, who died in 1881, in the Mount Royal records, and there is no evidence that he ever remarried. The dedication of the inscription "My mother" indicates that the marker was erected by one of her children. Next to this marker is the Cleary family monument and records show that it stands within Beatty's 100 square feet (9.3 square meters) lot, demonstrating the affiliation with the maternal kin group.

Investigating the theme of spousal residence, I performed a case study using the classifications established by Riley and Kwon (1992). The purpose was to determine any gender biases in the location of burial. To clarify, I will quickly restate the categories: natal, spouse buried with own family; virilocal, wife buried with husband's family; uxorilocal, husband buried with wife's family; and neolocal, first generation of burials, usually a mother and father, and their children with or without spouses. These categories

were applied only to married individuals from the death sample. (Because other individuals mentioned in the inscription were not taken into consideration, some burials did not fit into the aforementioned categories).

Since the cemeteries on Mount Royal were not opened until the 1850s and my period of study is 1860-1900, the majority of burials were neolocal. Of the three cultural groups, the French sample had the greatest share of natal burials, illustrating the central importance of a sense of filiation. The Irish had a larger percentage of virilocal burials, indicating filiation with paternal kin, sometimes termed jural exclusiveness (Farber 1968, 5). The Protestant sample has a much larger percentage of neolocal burials, which is understandable since the Protestant population was more affluent than the other two groups; therefore individual families were able earlier in the family life cycle to afford the purchase of a lot, whereas the other two cultural groups made use of temporary graves or of large family plots.

There was only one monument representative of the Protestant working class in my sample in the latter half of the nineteenth century but this does not mean that this class did not purchase graves. The Protestant population, as well as the French and the Irish, expressed the desire for a respectful burial, but working-class people are under-represented in the preserved landscape, much as in the French sample. Other sources such as wills can attest to this desire, for example the will of William Boyd[25], a labourer. It illustrates the consideration of siblings towards one another during life and after death.

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[25] William Boyd died the twenty-ninth of March 1902 and was buried in Mount Royal cemetery lot G-1197.

It may also suggest that William had relatives he didn't trust or like, or experienced relationships that had to be negotiated and smoothed over for posterity, so that "discussions of previous weeks, arguments and disappointments disappear in the documents reformulated into legal language" (Bradbury 1997). Despite the circumstances of those relationships, William stipulates that his sister is to be respectfully interred. The will states that all is to be left to his friend Hugh Hylands, also a labourer, on condition that he board, lodge, clothe and maintain his aged unmarried sister Isabella Boyd:

> . . . be as careful of her and as kind to her and show her every kindness consideration and treatment as she is receiving from me . . . and bury her decently in the Mount Royal Cemetery and pay for a grave, and give her a respectful funeral in the Presbyterian Church . . . that none of my relations shall remove her from the care and charge of Hugh Hylands in whom I have every confidence. (act of Brodie July 10, 1886)

Almost two-fifths of Protestants referenced to a plot[26] fall into the highest occupational tier, a considerably higher number than that of either Catholic sample (see figure 17). An expression of this wealth is the mausoleum[27] of Stanley Clark Bagg, esq., a notary. He purchased a lot of 423 square feet (39.3 square meters), about equal in size to a working-class family's flat at the time, and constructed the only mausoleum partially built under ground. There are no inscriptions on the structure itself but there is a very large free standing monument behind it which reads:

Stanley Clark Bagg Esc NP JP
born at Durham House

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26 'Referenced to a 'plot' also includes individuals that were buried in the poor ground (Section G 450)

27 A mausoleum is a large tomb in the form of a monumental building or structure above ground.

23 December 1820
died at Fairmount Villa Montreal
8 August 1873
in the 53rd year of his age
I know that my redeemer liveth
Requiescant in pace

The first burial recorded in this lot was in 1856, probably for one of his children. His parents and his daughter Mary-Frances were removed from the old burial ground in October of 1861 and re-interred in the mausoleum. His wife Catherine died in 1914 and was also interred there. The only inscription, as noted, commemorates Stanley Clark Bagg, while the other family members have memorial plaques inside the mausoleum, not visible to the passerby.

Another monument of great size in the Protestant cemetery is that of George Burland, engraver of bank notes, publisher, entrepreneur, and near-millionaire. His will is an attestation to his wealth. He provided his son Jeffrey Hale with the principal sum of $200,000 and an additional sum of $100,000 to be given by Jeffrey to several institutions (act of Cushing March 24, 1883). It was his "earnest desire" that his son take part in "the elevation progress and amelioration of the human race." To his daughter, George left a sum of $100,000 that was never to be controlled by any husband; the money was to be "free of seizure." The monument stands 15 feet (4.5 meters) high, obelisk in shape without a prominent base. The inscription is placed so high up on the memorial that it is difficult to read depending on the position of the sun. The plot is 167 square feet (15.5 square meters) and eleven people are recorded in the inscription, including George Burland's two wives and his son Jeffrey who has a lengthy dedication, after which his wife and her sister are also commemorated:

Colonel Jeffrey Hale Burland
Knight of Grace
of the order of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem
England.
Commissioner of the Canadian Red Cross Society
in England and at the front in the great European war 1914
Born in Montreal
18 March 1861
died in London England, 9 October 1914

The monuments in the Catholic cemetery that belong to individuals from the high occupational class are not as large as those in the Protestant cemetery, with one exception. Michael Patrick Ryan was chief of customs, a city councillor and a member of parliament. He wasn't a rich man, but was a leader in the Irish community and central to Irish Catholic politics.

In September of 1871, Ryan purchased a lot of 630 square feet (58.5 square meters) for $189.99. Again, the area is larger than the average floor area of a working-class family. The memorial has a square base with a tall ornate column with a Celtic cross atop (see figure 21). It stands approximately 10 feet (3 meters) high.

Figure 21: The Ryan family monument, Notre-Dame-des-Neiges Cemetery.

The inscription commemorates Michael Patrick and his wife Margaret Brennan. A small child monument beside the column is that of their son Patrick Henry who died at 20 months in 1850, some twenty years before the plot was purchased. This begs the question: was the child actually interred in the ground below the marker or just commemorated with the rest of his family? Patrick Henry's marker is a small block adorned with a lamb, symbolizing purity. Behind the column is a fallen tablet that is illegible.

Other memorials erected by families from the highest tier are modest in comparison. They vary from medium sized blocks to large obelisks. Unless a monument is extravagantly large in size, we cannot size up an individual's status during life. In fact, from dossiers on the expropriation of Notre Dame Street East in the Superior Court in 1891, a funeral director by the name of Avila Chaput testified for his employer, Charles A. Dumaine, owner of funeral services located on this street. The question was posed to Mr. Chaput as to whether or not the relocation of Mr. Dumaine's business would cause a loss of clientele. Mr. Chaput responded that because of the telephone many of the clients would not be lost, but his concern was with the lower class who did not have phones and were, as he put it, "*la plus forte clientèle*" (*Cour Superieure*, City vs. Notre Dame Street, testimony of Charles A. Dumaine 1891, 3).

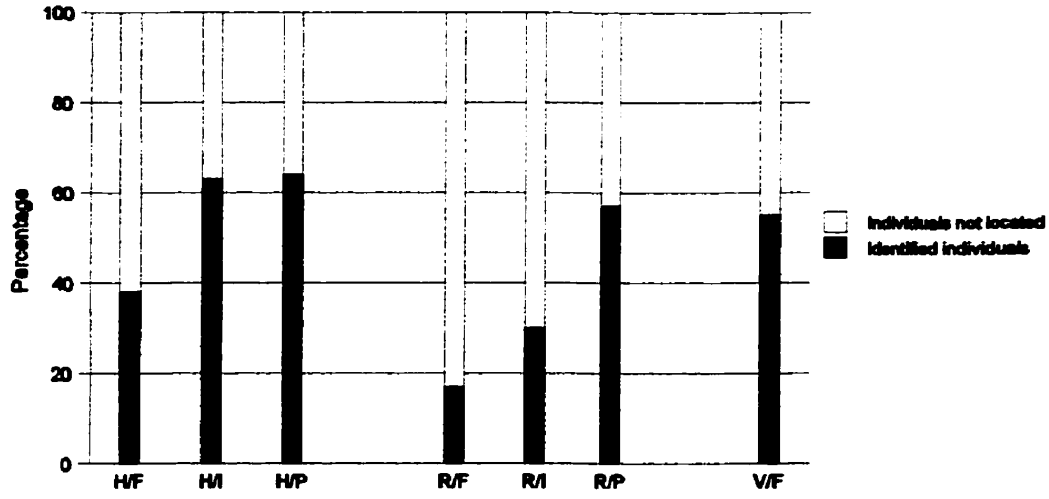
Rural Catholic and Protestant Samples

The Catholic and Protestant samples in the villages of Hemmingford and Rawdon each consist of 60 individuals and the Varennes sample of 38 French Canadians. Varennes was selected to provide for a comparison between French seigneurial villages

of a wholly French Catholic population and the later developed townships that contained all three cultural groups. The same categories were used for sorting data, but the three-part occupational scale I used for the urban sample was not applied to the rural one. The majority of villagers were farmers and this occupation is difficult to categorize unless we know the size and tenure arrangements.

In Varennes over half of the French individuals were identified in the cemetery landscape, compared with two-fifths in Hemmingford and one-fifth in Rawdon. For the Irish Catholic population, the proportion of identified individuals in Rawdon is one-third, but twice as many Irish were identified in Hemmingford (see figure 22). The most obvious explanation for the low numbers would be the disappearance of markers over time. The cemeteries of Varennes and Rawdon were relocated or moved to accommodate expansion. The old cemetery in Varennes was replaced by a parking lot.

Figure 22: Samples of Rural Deaths



Note: First letter refers to the village: H = Hemmingford; R = Rawdon; V = Varennes; Second letter refers to the sample: F = French; I = Irish; P = Protestant.

Why is there a larger percentage of identified individuals in Varennes compared

to the other two villages? The sample may be the reason. In Varennes, the French sample was made up of a single extended family, whereas the samples in both Hemmingford and Rawdon were supplemented with other surnames. The Beauchamps were an old family in Varennes, from the pioneer generation, and the husbands and fathers were wealthy. This may account for the greater number of identified individuals.

The will of Louis Elie Beauchamp indicates that he was a wealthy man. He was listed as a farmer but it is also possible that he was a hardware merchant. His brother Louis Euclide was a prosperous wholesale grocer in Montreal. I have chosen to discuss a segment of his will because it states that one of his sons is to receive "*le portrait de sa mère et un cadre fait avec les cheveux de cette dernière et des autres membres de la famille*" (act of Beaudry 10 June 1887).

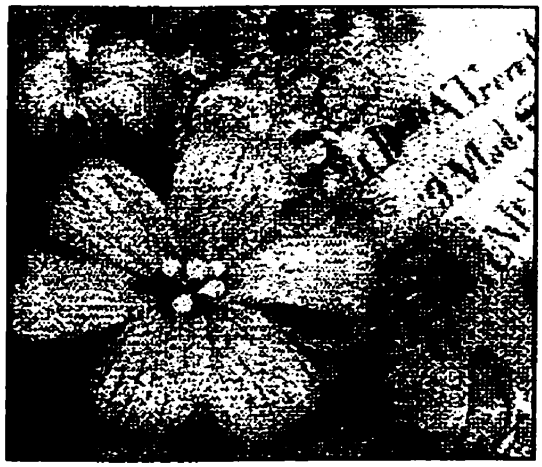


Figure 23: Hair Art (Simard 1989, 288).

A manual published in France in 1859 entitled *L'album de dessinateur en cheveux* was an inspiration to French Canadian nuns (Simard 1989). It illustrated how to use real hair on figurines, or how to transform hair into flowers that were used to decorate portraits (see figure 23). Often portraits were adorned with flowers of hair before the individual died which meant that after their death it became a nostalgic souvenir. As with tombstone design, the art of hair design was used to commemorate the deceased, to keep the past in the present.

When the dead are divided into three subsets of age, children under ten years make up a large percentage of the deceased. This is especially evident in Rawdon, where 60% of the French sample were children. When I compare this number to the identified sample using the same subsets, less than one-third of the children in the sample from the three villages are visibly commemorated. The Irish sample in Rawdon has similar breakdowns: over two-fifths of all deaths occurred before ten years of age but even fewer of the children were identified. In Hemmingford, two-fifths of the French and one-quarter of the Irish deaths were children, and only one-third are identified. When compared to the urban sample, the villages have fewer child deaths under the age of ten, but the proportion of identified children in the landscape is similar - low - save for the French population in Rawdon.

What is significant is the difference in the number of deceased children in the three cultural groups. As discussed in the urban sample, the French population experienced the highest rate of infant mortality. In the rural village of Hemmingford, however, the findings do not support this theory, quite the opposite. The Protestant sample of deaths has two-fifths of its population under the age of ten years, a figure which is comparable to that of the city. The Irish, on the other hand, survived much better in a rural habitat: less than one-quarter of the deaths are children under ten years, compared to slightly over two-fifths in the city. The French also have a lower number of child deaths in Hemmingford, two-fifths, compared to over three-fifths in the city.

A larger percentage of the children in Hemmingford were not identified, whereas Rawdon shows a smaller percentage of child deaths but a greater share that can be

located. The explanation might be that the village of Hemmingford has many more cemeteries than Rawdon. There are seven places where a Protestant might have been buried between 1860 and 1900, and several are on private properties. These private plots often came into existence after the death of a child and were later opened up to other villagers. Many of these cemeteries experienced neglect over the years, and many of the markers have disappeared. An abandoned Anglican church has a graveyard that has now mostly been destroyed by overgrowth, and many of the markers are lost. Rawdon had four Protestant cemeteries in the late nineteenth century that were each affiliated with a denomination.

The Hemmingford Archives has an excellent selection of cemetery surveys. One of them lists individuals buried in several unknown private locations, among them William Thomas Beattie, a child from my Protestant sample who died in 1890 at the age of four months. It is impossible to determine how many other individuals from the sample may have been buried in these 'unknown' locations.

The Protestant and Irish samples for Hemmingford both had over half identified individuals, roughly twice as many as the French, but these numbers were not consistent with those from Rawdon. The Protestant sample again had over half of its individuals identified but the proportion was below one-third in both the French and the Irish samples (see figure 22), and one-half of the unidentified individuals were children under ten years of age. The only marked difference between adult males and females is seen in the Irish population from Hemmingford, where unmarried females make up 45% of the sample deaths. Three-fifths of identified individuals are adult females compared to one-

fifth of adult males. The marker of a mother and son, Jane Kavanagh and John Francis, is an example of the fact that Irish males are missing from the cemetery. James Ryan, the husband and father, cannot be identified in the epitaph. Since his wife died at 33 years of age, he presumably erected the monument and may have moved with his children to another village or to the city.

The most notable differences among the villages are the types of markers erected. The Catholic sample identified in Varennes all had the same style of monument, although the materials varied. They are all tall obelisks with adorning crosses, very similar to the ones seen so frequently in the Notre-Dame-des-Neiges Cemetery in Montreal. In fact, two of the monuments had inscriptions on the base indicating the company commissioned to supply the monument: 'Shaver' and 'Brunet', with 'Côte-des-Neiges' inscribed after the name. In other words, the engraving company(ies) were located in the neighbourhood of the cemeteries on Mount Royal. As mentioned previously, the families in Varennes were wealthy, and Louis Euclide Beauchamp was a Montreal merchant. It is possible that it was he who commissioned the monuments and had them transported. The earliest one was erected in the late 1850s and is in disrepair, the inscription verging on illegibility. The others were erected after 1880 and are in much better condition. There were other examples in the cemetery of this style of monument as it seemed to be popular during the latter half of the nineteenth century. The fact that the identified individuals had the very same type of monument suggests that the Beauchamp families were closely related.

What is perhaps more characteristic of the cemetery landscapes in Rawdon and

Hemmingford is the large number of individual graves, even more so in the Protestant burial grounds. It was common practice to set a marker for each person, as we see in the two tablets erected in the memory of a husband and a wife in the Rawdon Anglican Cemetery. The two tablets stand beside each other, so it is evident that the land was purchased to hold at least two burials, and the markers were raised after each individual's death:

In memory of
Mary Ann Richardson
beloved wife of Richard Boyce
died May 18 1881
aged 75 years
native of co Wicklow

In memory of
Richard Boyce
native of Wicklow co Ireland
died May 18 1884
in the 84th year of his age

In both urban and rural cemeteries, tablets were often the only markers with engraved symbols. They were repetitive, with four symbols in particular: a hand pointing to heaven, a bible, a willow tree, and a wreath. Child monuments were often adorned with a lamb. When it became more fashionable to use different shapes and sizes of monuments to commemorate several generations of a family, these symbols were replaced with adorning crosses or urns.

Urban-Rural Comparison

It is important to note the paternal reference used for Mary Ann Richardson in the above inscription. It was not uncommon to see the term 'beloved wife of' or 'wife of', just as it was not uncommon when referencing the husband to make no mention of his wife. This common feature was seen in all the monuments studied during this time period in both urban and rural settings. I performed a series of small case studies on the

language used when referencing females in the inscriptions. In 90% of cases the woman was referenced paternally, either as a 'wife of' or a 'daughter of'. It became more common later in the century to refer to children of both sexes as the children of both parents. It is not unusual to see a man's name inscribed twice on a monument, once to commemorate his death and the second time to identify his wife. In a few instances the husband's name was in larger letters than his wife's even when referring to her death.

This practice did not vary systematically among the three cultures. The only difference I noted was the prominent use of maiden names by the Catholic population. Maiden names were used at death in the Protestant sample too, but in some instances the wife was referenced by her married name alone. Protestant daughters who married outside of the sample were difficult to find in cemetery listings because they were often recorded under their husband's surname.

There is an order to inscriptions and they should not be treated as a single epitaph, as in the case of those on the tablets quoted above. The inscription excerpted on page sixty-four was engraved at least three different times; one for Edward Butler, one for Catherine Ryan and, because their dates of death are so close together, one for Margaret Doyle and her daughter Evelyn. It was the responsibility of those left behind to take charge of the engraving. There are cases where the first inscription is that of the husband even though he was not the first to die, anther indication of how women's identity was defined by their husbands.

In the cemeteries in Hemmingford and Rawdon, I found a greater frequency of monuments inscribed in memory of a mother and her children, with no mention of the

father. These markers are telling of the difficulties faced by families in rural areas and the effects of epidemics. A stone erected in the Rawdon Anglican Cemetery commemorates a mother and four children ranging from four to sixteen years of age, all of whom died in January 1875, only days apart. The verse inscribed was: *"God gave, He took, He will restore, He does all things well"*. The husband, James Burrows, moved to Montreal and worked as a gate keeper until his death in 1887, but there is no record of his burial in the Mount Royal Cemetery.

As we saw in the urban sample, the size of a monument doesn't necessarily reflect the individual's status during life. What is most apparent are the kinship networks. In each group of identified individuals there were examples of these ties, as in the case of the burial of a child with his mother's family or the burial of several children with a brother and his family. A monument, commemorating Henry Copping and his brother Wilfred, is shaped like the trunk of a tree with two boughs, one side for each brother.

There was much less information on the rural cemeteries, especially the Protestant and the private cemeteries, than on the urban ones. Much of the documentation with respect to lot sales has been lost or never existed, making it impossible to know who should be where. The death records provided by the churches are good indications that individuals were in fact buried in local cemeteries, though with a few exceptions. Magge Jane Geddins, for example, died August 11, 1862, at Mooers, New York, at an age of 1 year 9 months. Her body was brought from New York to Hemmingford, and a tablet was erected in her memory. There are other examples of this in the urban cemeteries as well. It was not uncommon for people who died elsewhere to

be reunited in death with their families. The question that remains unanswered is whether the body of the individual was actually transported or whether they were simply commemorated in the family inscription. Some of the epitaphs do state that the deceased is in fact interred elsewhere.

Referring back to figure 19, both the French and the Irish populations have a slightly higher number of individuals referenced (all categories save for no plot reference). This finding supports the statement quoted earlier by the funeral director with respect to the lower class being the best customers. This is evident in the number of individuals from the Catholic samples who are referenced to temporary graves, which was the most affordable means of burial for working-class individuals. The French have a greater percentage of references to temporary graves and many of the deceased are children, which again parallels studies done on infant mortality rates among the three different cultural groups.

Of the rural and urban samples, the French have the smaller percentage of individuals who can be identified in the cemetery landscapes. What does this mean? It implies that French Catholics desired a respectful burial, but were not able to afford the monument that went along with this want. They were interred in consecrated ground, but the need or desire for a marker became secondary.

Conclusion

The fundamental differences between Catholic and Protestant cemetery landscapes are due to the existence of two distinct cultural visions of death. The Notre-Dame-des-Neiges cemetery on Mount Royal drew upon the ideals of the pastoral English garden but did not follow as closely, as did the neighbouring Protestant cemetery, the prototype of the *rural* cemetery. The religious monuments in the Catholic burial grounds integrate many religious symbols, and they are conceived as moral guidance, whereas the Protestant cemetery does not display evidence of these traits, showing a respect for the diversity of cultures and religions.

Monuments also show differences in time. Changes in monument design are apparent when comparing the older sections to the newer ones. The materials of a marker played a role in this evolution and so to did the style of markers. Tablets were commonly used in the early part of the nineteenth century but commemorated only one or two persons. Establishment of the cemeteries on Mount Royal introduced the sale of large family plots and the need for larger monuments to accommodate several generations of inscriptions. Between 1860 and 1880 the obelisk was a very popular style in both cemeteries, but the adorning features differed, the cross more common among the Catholics. Toward the turn of the century, the block became fashionable and it is this style that now dominates the landscapes of both cemeteries. This transition in monumental design is not as readily apparent in the country cemeteries. The tablet style definitely lasted longer in the rural areas as it seems that families buried members

individually as they passed. The purchase of a larger plot was not practical as the family's persistence in the area was uncertain .

The common conception that the cemetery holds the memory of all who died and were buried before us is a false one. There were certain biases in who was being commemorated, a form of selectivity to the memorial process, that caused a great number of people to erode from the landscape. At least forty percent of all individuals in the rural sample and eighty percent of individuals in the urban sample were not identifiable in the cemetery landscape.

For the Catholic samples, this was in part due to segregation that occurred in the cemetery. Sections were set aside for the poor and for those who died 'notorious sinners'. In the city, the Notre-Dame-des-Neiges Cemetery continues to offer temporary graves for periods of five to thirty years and to offer 'regular' plots for a period of ninety-nine years, unless the family stipulates that they wish to keep the plot for another period of ninety-nine years. The separation in space and the turnover of plots account for the lower percentage of Catholics that I was able to locate in the cemetery. Protestants were consistently more likely to be identifiable in the present-day landscape because they were more prosperous and because the Mount Royal Cemetery Company offers its plots in perpetuity.

In the urban cemeteries, the Irish were identified at twice the rate of the French. The Irish sample occupied more of the lower tier jobs during the first twenty years of the study period. This corresponds to the social landscape of the city as the immigrant Irish, who arrived in large numbers in 1847 and 1849, occupied many labouring jobs. French

Canadians, who were established longer and were often apprenticed or experienced, were able to get slightly better jobs such as painter, carpenter or carter. The children of Irish immigrants were educated, which allowed them to secure higher paying jobs, and it seems to be the upward mobility of later generations that helps to explain the greater number of Irish identified in the landscape.

There is a much higher percentage of individuals located in all the rural samples, but again the number of Protestants identified exceeds that of the two Catholic samples. In Varennes, however, half of the French sample was identified and this figure far exceeds the findings in the other two villages. The individuals from the seigneurial village were quite possibly more affluent than the French people in the city and in the other rural locations, enabling them to allot more money to commemoration. That plots sold in the city were supposedly more expensive than those in the country may also be a factor, but it does not help to explain the absence of the French individuals from the villages of Hemmingford and Rawdon.

The monumental inscriptions are telling of kinship networks that existed in the latter half of the nineteenth century in all three cultural groups. Monuments commemorate as many as twenty people from immediate to extended family members. In some cases there are even more individuals buried in a plot than the inscription indicates, and these individuals are most often children under the age of 10 years. Each addition to an inscription is an indication of the changes in style that occurred over the years, for instance in reference, language and 'information' (date of birth, date of death, origin, etc.). The forty-year span, from 1860 to 1900, saw changes in the language used to

refer to women. Toward the turn of the century, women were being referenced as individuals as opposed to having their identity defined by their husband.

I have argued against the assumption that the cemetery is a landscape of memory for all buried within its confines. With the use of excellent sources, and a systematic method I have discovered that a significant number of individuals from the samples are 'missing' from the landscape and I have interpreted their absence. The research points to different commemorative practices influenced by religion, culture, gender, status and age.

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