Established in 1879, Woodland Cemetery has helped Londoners honour the memories of their loved ones for over 140 years. Together, they have built a time capsule of the city's history.

The cemetery recounts stories of the lives and deaths of generations of Londoners.

Some clues exist among epitaphs inscribed on tombstones, such as the story of the man who lost his life in an explosion on Lake Erie in 1863. Other clues exist in the features of the monuments themselves, like the elegant architecture of the Fulford-Pixley Mausoleum, one of Canada's most impressive funerary monuments. Gravestones also record changing death and disease rates and the culture of burial practices. Row upon row of graves in the Veterans' Section testify to the city's military past. Woodland's non-denominational nature means the cemetery represents London's changing demographics, reflecting cultures from all over the world. Woodland also provides a habitat for a large population of photogenic deer, part of the region's natural heritage.

These stories of London's past are yours to explore in this short history of Woodland Cemetery.

Life and Death at Woodland Cemetery is a collaborative project undertaken by the Public History M.A. program at the University of Western Ontario.

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Brash et al.

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Celebrating 140 Years

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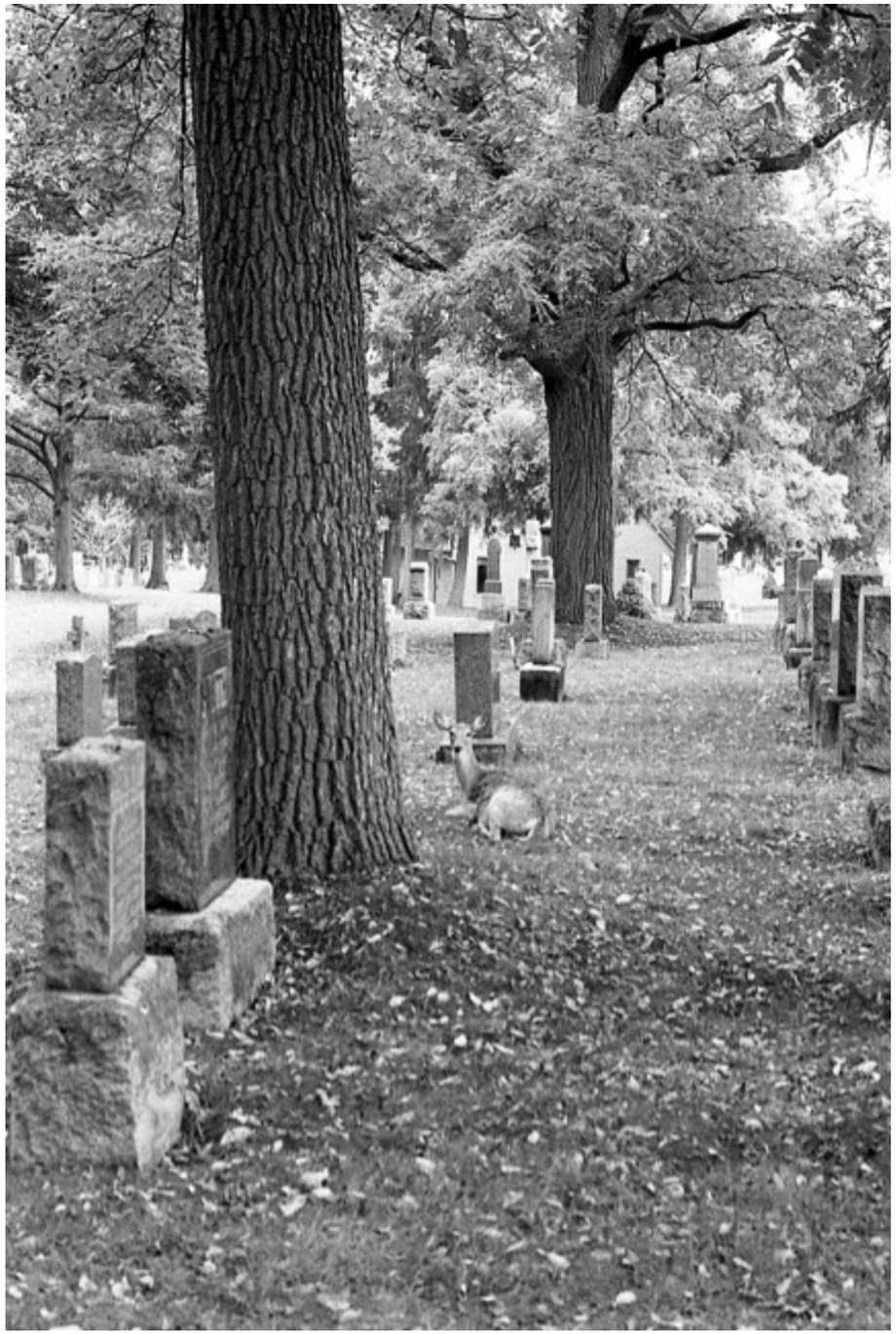


Foreword

Michelle A. Hamilton

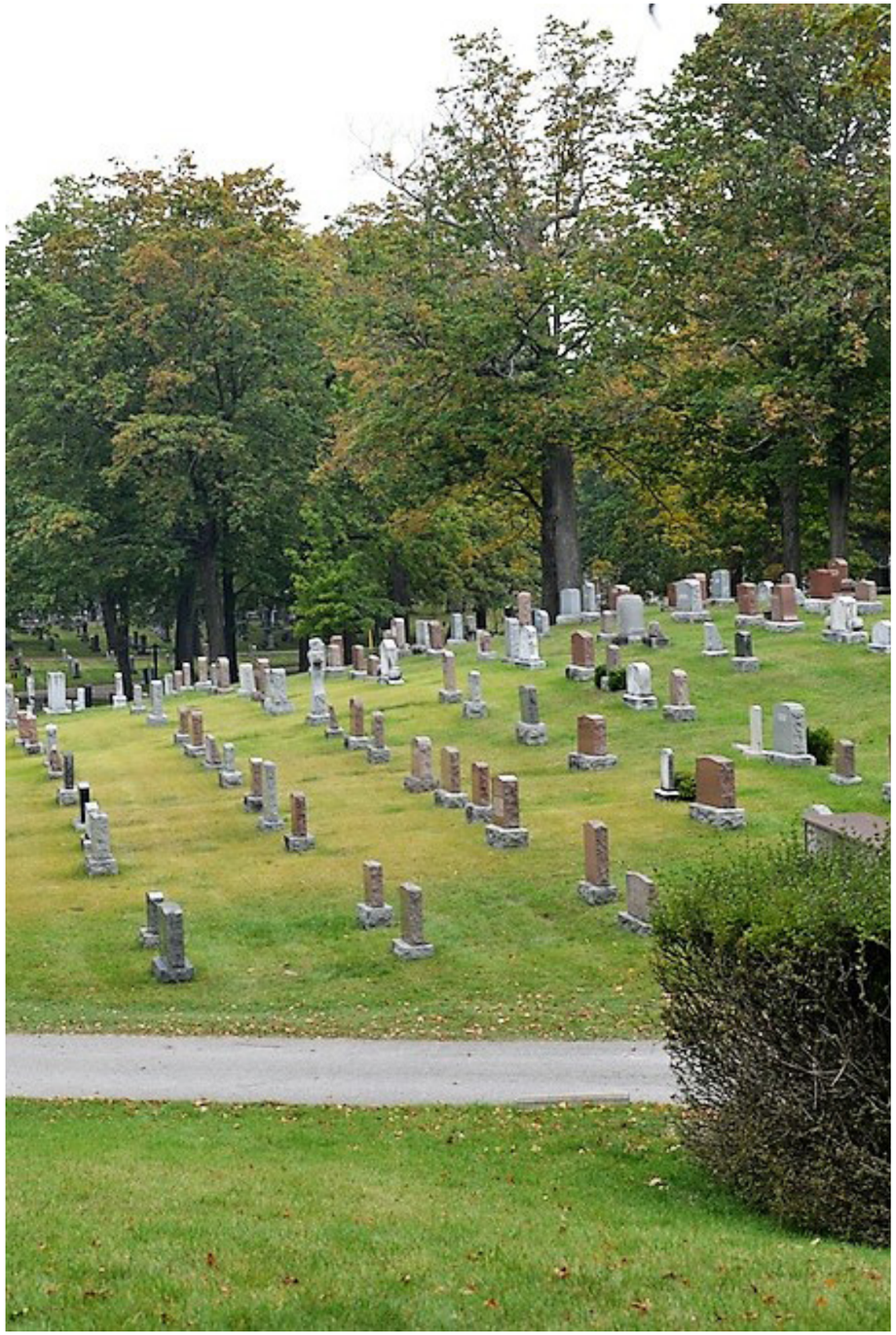
In records that defy the tooth of time
- Second World War Dedication Stone, 1939

This quote, originally penned by eighteenth century English poet Edward Young, graces the stone dedicating a plot at Woodland Cemetery for veterans of the Second World War. Although early wooden tablets have long since decayed and the elements have blurred inscriptions on marble markers, many gravestones at Woodland remain to tell London's history.

Beyond genealogy, the historical and natural landscapes of cemeteries reveal much about the past. Not only do the stones tell us about disease and mortality, but they reflect broader historical and societal trends in Canada. Able to afford more expensive plots on hilltops, the wealthy often chose ostentatious markers which tower over the more modest stones of the middle class located on lower ground. Maple trees represent strength and endurance in the face of grief, but their leaves carved on war graves act as national emblems. Use of Roman and Greek architectural elements on grave markers and mausolea reflect the popularity of neoclassicism in nineteenth century art. The general lack of maiden names on the early graves of women records their subordinate position to their husbands. An epitaph tells us about the deceased's spiritual or poetic preferences while a masonic symbol indicates the dead's fraternal ties. Immigrants honour their origins through imagery such as Scottish thistles and Celtic crosses, or by inscribing their birthplace on their gravestones. Inscriptions in mother tongues other than English demonstrate that cultural differences are as important in death as in life.

Cemeteries have always been for the living as well as the dead. Today, Woodland Cemetery inspires photographers, provides recreational green space in the city, and preserves local history through walking tours and gravestone restoration.

Each year the Master's in Public History students at Western University collaborate with a community partner to complete a project that presents history to a public audience. In 2017-18, students researched the history of London's Woodland Cemetery. 140 years after its creation in 1879, it is a fitting time to examine its significance to London's cultural and natural heritage.



Introduction

Life's shadow in its lengthening gloom
Points daily to the tomb
- Fanny Bunning, 1862

Londoners entering the gates at Woodland Cemetery walk into a time capsule of the city's history. Between the green trees and rolling hills visitors pass by the multicoloured tombstones of generations of Londoners. Meandering through the winding paths, they encounter quiet, reflective spaces filled with playful herds of deer and over 140 years of history.

Woodland Cemetery opened in 1879 following the closure of Old St. Paul's Anglican Cemetery which was located at the current site of the Western Fair Grounds. Although Woodland has always been a non-denominational cemetery, it is owned and operated by St. Paul's Cathedral, the city's oldest existing church.

This book explores Woodland's history. It begins with the diseases and dangers that faced Londoners in the pioneer period and discusses the establishment of small cemeteries in London at the time. The Victorian period saw the shift from St. Paul's to Woodland Cemetery and dramatic changes in social, cultural, and medical practices surrounding death and remembrance. Following this was a half-century of national tragedy, with the First and Second World Wars straddling the deadly Spanish flu pandemic. Londoners increasingly had to deal with mass death, and did so in more simple and individual ways. This era also saw the rise of institutional health and medicine and the corresponding professionalization of the funeral and cemetery industries. These themes continued into the second half of the twentieth century, with practices like cremation growing in popularity.

Woodland Cemetery has a life of its own. It contains the remains of the dead, but it exists for the living. Cemeteries are places for people to return to, commemorate, and remember.

Today, Woodland Cemetery emphasizes both its man-made and natural heritage and seeks to share these treasures with the public. The iconography, materials, burial, and funeral practices found in Woodland provide a foundation on which future generations will honour their past and build their future.

Chapter I:

Beginnings and Endings: Life & Death in Early London

Be ye also ready
- Donald Campbell, 1864

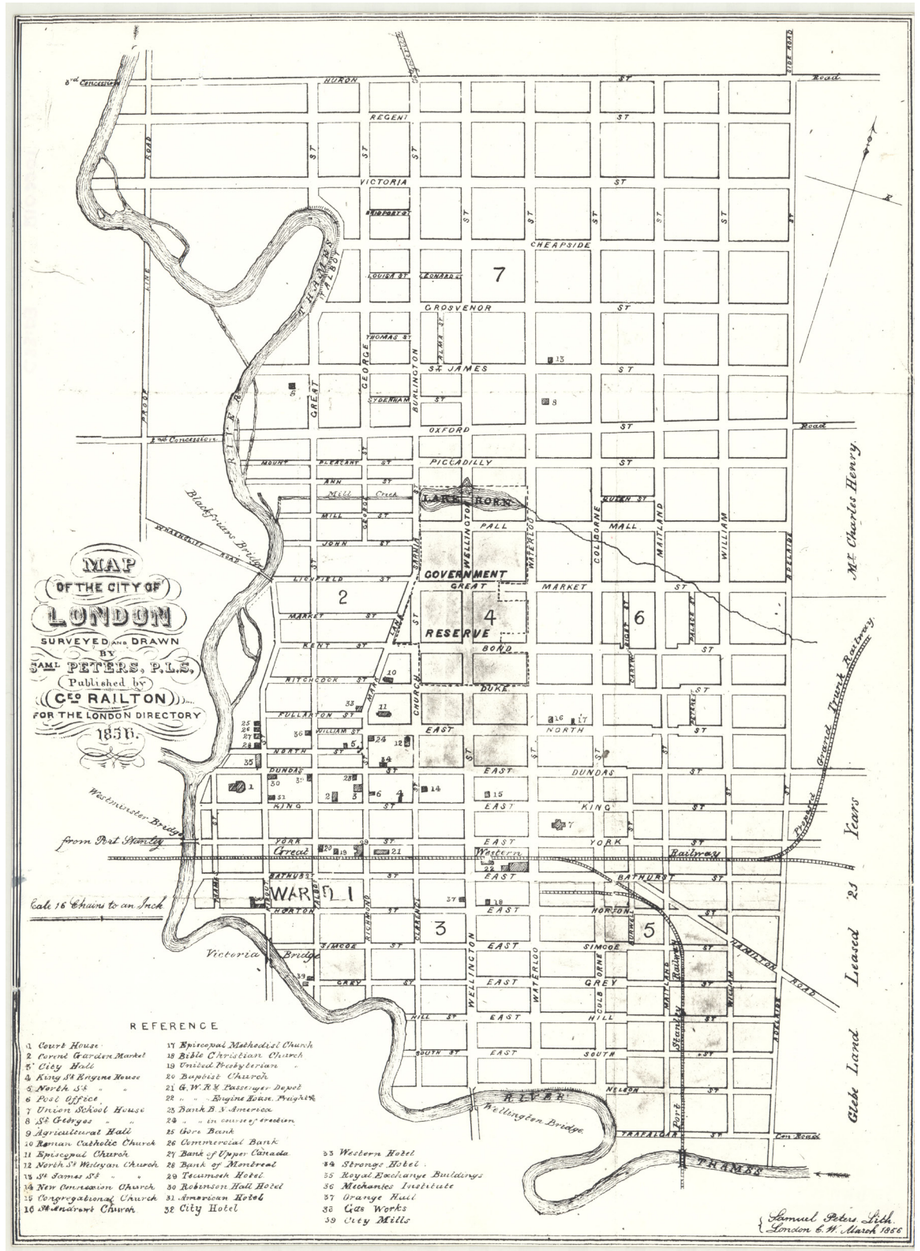
Donald Campbell was only nine and a half years old when he died in 1864. Life in early London was hard, but the death of a child was always a tragedy. His parents Duncan and Mary remembered him with a beautifully carved marble headstone which features an image of a dove. His epitaph is a short and ominous warning. Be ye also ready speaks to the ever-present shadow of death. Campbell's parents cautioned their peers to be prepared to suffer the same loss they did. The tragedy of their son, who fell asleep in Jesus, could befall any parent in London

Gravestone of Donald Campbell, died July 22, 1864.

Campbell was buried at St. Andrew's Cemetery, but this was not his final resting place.[1] Many Londoners were buried at smaller cemeteries within the city limits, like St. Andrew's United Church and St. Paul's Anglican Cemetery, but as London expanded, they were moved to larger locations outside the city. In the 1950s the burials at St. Andrew's, including Donald Campbell, were relocated to Woodland Cemetery where they currently reside.

Nineteenth Century London

The story of London begins in 1792. John Graves Simcoe, the newly appointed Lieutenant Governor of Upper Canada, chose London's current location for his capital city before even setting foot in North America. Far inland on the south



Map of London 1856-7,

western peninsula and protected from American attacks, the forks of the Thames held a strategic location. Despite Simcoe's grand plans, the provincial road system developed slowly, and London was not founded properly until over a quarter century later. In 1826, a committee of influential men from the area selected the still empty site of London as a district town over older and flourishing centres such as St. Thomas and the village of Delaware.

In the early days, the city was composed of a cluster of wooden buildings bound on the south and west by the Thames river, on the north by North Street (now Queen's), and to the east by Wellington Street.[2] The large stone courthouse at the corner of Dundas and Ridout Streets stood out like a sore thumb. Finished within a few years of the founding of the city, the imposing Gothic structure housed all the government services for the London District. London's first sheriff, James Hamilton, was appointed in 1837. In life, he worked at the courthouse, but now he rests at Woodland Cemetery.

Gravestone of James Hamilton, died March 28, 1858.

Although London began as a government town, it grew quickly to include many of the industries still found in the city. London's first settler, Peter McGregor, opened a tavern on the corner of King and Ridout Streets. Two years later John Balkwill opened the London Brewery, which became Labatt's, in the same location where the plant now stands. The British army came to London following the Upper Canadian Rebellion of 1837 and brought with it the worldly experience and tastes of its soldiers. The Great Western Railway broke ground in October 1847 and increased business opportunities attracted thousands of new Londoners, more than doubling the population to nearly 10,000 by 1853 when the first train chugged into town.[3]

The Great Western Railway connected London with other cities in southwestern Ontario. More rail lines followed, joining Londoners with other parts of the country and beyond. Daily trains provided new opportunities for travel, news, and mail, and brought a constant stream of goods to the city. Items which had been luxuries in recent memory, like tea, became staples by the mid-1860s.[4]

Death on the Tracks

In
Memory of
IRELAND J TORY
WHO DIED
Jan 21, 1857
Aged 35 years

In
Memory of
CHARLES BETTS
WHO DIED
Jan 8, 1857
Aged 21 years

Who lost their lives in the discharge of their duty as Engineer and Fireman on the G.W.R.R. through a collision on Burlington Heights.

Our engine now is cold and still,
No water does our boiler fill.
Our wood affords its flames no more.
Our days of usefulness are o'er.
Our wheels deny their wanted speed;
No more our guiding hands may heed.
Our whistle, too, has lost its lore;
Its shrill and thrilling sounds are gone.
Our valves are now thrown open wide.
Our flanges all refuse to guide.
Our backs also that were so strong
Refuse to aid the busy throng.
No more we feel each weeping breath;
Our steam is now transcended in death.
Life's railway's o'er such stations past,
In death we've stopped our course at last.
Farewell dear friends and those who weep,
In Christ we're safe: in him we sleep.
Erected by their friends and fellow workmen.

On the morning of January 8, 1857, the mail train from London ran late. The switchman and telegraph operator at Dundas Station rushed to get them back on schedule, but the train never reached its destination

Due to miscommunication, the train collided head-on with the No. 3 freight en route from Hamilton, killing four men. Both John Tory and Charles Betts, who are memorialized on this stone, were badly burned and had internal injuries from inhaling steam. Betts, the train's fireman, died shortly after the crash. Tory, the engine driver, had been further away from the fire and clung to life for nearly two more weeks before succumbing to his wounds.[5]

The coroner's inquest into the collision deemed that the telegraph operator and switch tender at Dundas Station were guilty of dereliction of duty and criminal negligence. If they had observed the rules of the Great Western Railway Company the collision would not have happened.[6]

Gravestone of Charles Betts and Ireland J. Tory, who died in the same train crash on the Great Western Railway January, 1857.

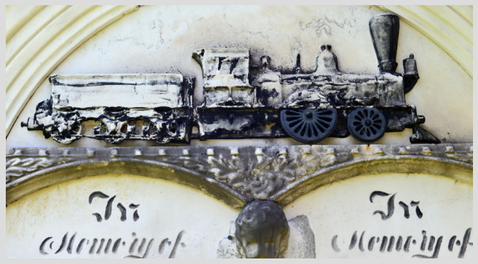
The Great Western line was the first to open in London only four years before this accident took place.[7]

While trains brought with them convenient transportation and trade, they also brought a new set of dangers. The Great Western Railway Disaster, which took the lives of 59 of the 100 passengers onboard, occurred only months after this collision.[8]

Seven more men who worked for the Great Western Railway are commemorated on the rear of this stone. Like Tory and Betts, they also met their untimely ends at work on the railway. All nine men were originally interred at St. Paul's Anglican Cemetery and moved to Woodland.[9]

The back of the Betts and Tory stone commemorates another seven men who died in the employ of the Great Western Railway.

The white marble stone is well over six feet tall and shaped like a traditional rectangular tombstone with a rounded top. It features an exquisitely carved train engine and car in high relief, the details of which are still quite evident despite years of weathering. The inscription is nearly illegible, but conservators at Woodland erected a plaque with the words of the inscribed poem so that visitors can read it. They also erected a steel frame around the stone to prevent it from falling down.



Details of the carving on the Betts and Tory gravestone. This stone was carved by Peel & Powell of London.

Carved by Peel and Powell Marble Works of London, this stone is a stunning example of the detail and artistry available from local workmen in early London. Paid for by the friends and fellow workmen of the deceased, it demonstrates that although the railway was a new industry in London, the workers shared a close bond.

Immigration

The graveyards established in London during the mid-nineteenth century reflect the types of immigrants settling in the area. Beginning in 1815, immigrants from England, Scotland, and Ireland began to shape the character of London Township. In life, these groups left their homelands to establish themselves in a new country. In death, they reconnected to their homelands by engraving their tombstones with their places of birth and culturally-specific symbols.

While many religious denominations lived in Middlesex County in the nineteenth century, the Church of England was the official religion of Upper Canada and had the highest number of followers.[10] The churchyard at St. Paul's Anglican Cathedral, a predecessor to Woodland Cemetery, served as one of the first public burial grounds in London. Established around 1830, the grounds were over-capacity by 1845 due to the influx of immigrants.[11]

Prior to Confederation, Americans of British descent were the primary settlers in the London area. After the end of the War of Independence, many Americans who remained loyal to the British Crown decided to resettle in British North America. In addition, many settlers made their way to Upper Canada to take advantage of cheap land.

After the War of 1812, anti-American settlement grew, and immigration from the United States halted. Soon afterward, the London District, administered by Thomas Talbot, attracted settlers from throughout the British Isles.

Featured here is a water colour painting of Dundas Street looking west from Wellington Street to Ridout Street around 1840. The infrastructure of the growing settlement stands out against the raw wilderness of the surrounding area.

The Tipperary Irish

A group of Protestants from Tipperary County in southern Ireland took part in one of the earliest migrations to London. This group, led by Richard Talbot, chose to leave Ireland due to political and economic pressures. The end of the Napole-

onic Wars caused agricultural prices to plummet, and the members of Irish gentry compensated by increasing the size of their farms and removing tenants from their land. At the same time, the county experienced a major population boom, particularly among its Catholic community, and competition for land increased.[12]

Unable to prosper in Ireland, these middling farmers, tradesmen, and labourers formed the core of Talbot's 1818 migration to Upper Canada. Over the next thirty to forty years, the relatives, friends, and neighbours of the first migrants followed.[13]

The gravestone of Francis Benson of Ireland, died August 7, 1857, features shamrocks surrounding a weeping willow.

Compared to other major urban centers throughout Upper Canada, London had a relatively small Irish population. In 1851, only 27 percent of the population was Irish in origin, a low number considering the amount of Irish people immigrating to Canada in this period.[14] While the majority of Irish immigrants to London area were Protestant, the number of Irish Catholics increased as a result of famine migration out of Ireland, starting in the 1840s. Catholic burials took place at St. Lawrence's Cemetery, which was located on Hamilton Road around 24 miles outside of the town limits.[15]

Settling for Ten Pounds

Richard Talbot, a member of the minor gentry in Ireland, immigrated to Upper Canada in 1818. Talbot led a group of Irishmen to Upper Canada on the ten-pound emigration deposit plan: new immigrants received 100 acres of land for a refundable ten-pound deposit. In June 1818, Talbot and 183 settlers, the majority of whom were Anglicans from Tipperary County, set out on board the *Brunswick*. However, by the time the ship arrived in Upper Canada, half of the passengers had abandoned Talbot as their leader and instead settled in eastern Canada. Ultimately, around 70 settlers followed Talbot to his newly opened London Township.

Gravestone of Richard Talbot of Tipperary, Ireland, died January 29, 1853.

The Scots

By the mid-nineteenth century, the Scottish had also established a strong community in Middlesex County. In 1826, the Canada Company began advertising the ample lands of Upper Canada to the British public. Many Scots, eager to escape economic depression, immigrated to Upper Canada to find better land and employment opportunities. The Highlander Scots dominated immigration to the Talbot settlements, including London.[17] The families who settled in the London Township were largely working-class, and many had been employed as ploughmen, weavers, blacksmiths, and tailors in Scotland.[18]

The Scottish Highlanders created tight-knit communities throughout Middlesex County and often isolated themselves from other migrant groups as they were eager to maintain their cultural traditions and values. In the early years of settlement, Highlanders continued to speak their mother tongue of Gaelic, and the Presbyterian Church of Scotland had a strong following.[19]

Gravestone of George Gordon of Aberdeenshire, Scotland, died April 8, 1870.

Despite the fact that the Scottish community wished to retain its cultural ties, the Church of Scotland initially struggled to support its religious community in Upper Canada. Newer settlements, such as London, suffered from a severe lack of ministers, and many Presbyterians joined other religious denominations, including Anglican and Methodist congregations.

In 1832, Reverend William Proudfoot, a missionary with the United Secession Church, arrived in London and met with groups of Presbyterians who had struggled to maintain their faith without the guidance of a minister. By the time Proudfoot arrived, a number of Presbyterian groups had emerged in Upper Canada, paving the way for the establishment of the St. James Presbyterian Church in London by 1833.[20]

It was not until 1842 that St. James received land to build an independent church and graveyard. Originally located at Queen's Avenue and Waterloo Street, Londoners called the graveyard the Scottish Burial Grounds.[21] In 1868, the city moved the churchyard graves to the northeast of Adelaide and Oxford to make room for the modern-day St. Andrews' United Church. The graves remained there until 1955, when the city decided to relocate them to Woodland Cemetery.

Origin Images

Many immigrants commissioned images and inscriptions which celebrated their origins and reinforced the pride and sentimentality they and their families felt towards their homelands.

Shamrocks on Irish and thistles on Scottish graves are common, since they are well-known national symbols. But thistles also have biblical connections. Thorns and thistles are symbols of earthly sorrow and sin associated with the expulsion of Adam and Eve from the Garden of Eden and also with Christ's crown of thorns.

Thistle image on the gravestone of Isabella Fyfe, died January 30, 1854.

The English used a Tudor rose to symbolize their birthplace. Roses are also associated with the Virgin Mary – a rose without thorns – and symbolized the family unit. Full blossoms could refer to individuals who had reached maturity, while rosebuds represented children. These meanings can co-exist on the same stone. Roses are by far the most popular flower on nineteenth century gravestones.[22]

The English

Of all the groups immigrating to Canada from the British Isles in the nineteenth century, the English made up the largest percentage. Thomas Talbot, who oversaw the settlement of the London District, preferred the English, believing they made the best settlers. Throughout the 1830s, the Talbot settlements accepted a large number of English settlers. Many English settlers quickly became accustomed to life in Upper Canada, as they spoke the language and were often members of the most well-established religion, the Church of England.

Gravestone of Elizabeth Harris of Devonshire, England, died March 31, 1865.

A Tale of Two Londons

Captain John Smyth, a native of London, England, fought in numerous battles of the Napoleonic Wars, a conflict which engulfed the European continent and triggered a mass-migration after its conclusion. Captain Smyth's military career focused primarily on the battles of the Peninsular War, which was fought in the Iberian Peninsula between 1808 and 1814.

As denoted on his gravestone, Smyth participated in the Battle of Copenhagen (1807), Vimerio (1808), Corunna (1809), Bussaco (1810), Fuentes de Oñoro (1811), Ciudad Rodrigo (1812), Salamanca (1812), Nivelle (1813), Nive (1813), and Orthez (1814). Smyth also fought in the Battle of Toulouse (1814) and the infamous Battle of Waterloo (1815), at which Napoleon's reign as Emperor of France ended.

After an illustrious military career, Smyth settled in the London area and died at the age of 76 in 1862. There is little information about Smyth's movement to Upper Canada, although many veterans migrated to British North America to escape the economic turmoil which plagued Europe following the end of the Napoleonic Wars.

Gravestone of Captain John Smyth, died August 4, 1862.

Diseases and Illnesses

Immigration introduced illness and disease to Canadian shores. The journey across the Atlantic was a long one, with many people forced to fit into tight spaces. The unhygienic living conditions aboard the ships resulted in rampant disease. Epidemics in Upper Canada coincided with large waves of immigration, with the two largest waves occurring in 1832 and 1847, bringing first cholera, and then typhus fever.

The government enacted legislation to help protect people from disease but local government only enforced it during or immediately after the spread of an epidemic. For instance, the government passed the *Quarantine Act* in February 1832 in anticipation of cholera arriving, but the act remained active for less than a year. At this time, a quarantine station was set up at Grosse Îsle (an island northeast of

Québec City) to inspect all arriving immigrants. The ill stayed behind in "cholera sheds" until they passed as healthy or succumbed to the disease. The inadequate measures allowed for the disease to spread through Upper Canada.[23]

The British government feared the spread of cholera in Canada, and so pushed to establish a temporary national Board of Health, with local boards created in all districts, including London. These local boards were given the responsibility of creating reception centres for patients with cholera and given full authority over health-related issues in their region. This included the enforcement of quarantine measures where necessary.[24]

Cholera Arrives

The wave of immigration during the 1830s brought approximately 50,000 British immigrants from cholera-infested ports. The first reported cholera case arrived in Canada on April 28, 1832, from a passenger aboard the *Carrick*, a ship from Ireland. Since passengers seemed healthy, many infectious immigrants made it through the quarantine stop at Grosse Îsle, spreading the disease first to Montréal, and then on to Upper Canada in June.[25]

The disease reached London on July 8, 1832. At age 20, Eliza MacGregor died within a week of the disease's arrival, one of the first fatalities in London. Her own mother died of the disease less than a week later. Overall, the residents of Upper Canada had mixed reactions to cholera. Some felt panic, and wanted to get as far away as possible, since the epidemic proved to have more fatalities in the towns and cities than rural areas. Others felt that that the main victims tended to be among the poorest, the intemperate, and the non-religious, so as long as they did not fall into one of those categories, they were unconcerned. The majority, however, feared the quick and violent onset of the illness, and the uncertainty of who would next fall victim.[26] In London, the outbreak of asiatic cholera sent much of the population fleeing to the countryside. Even members of the medical profession feared the disease. Two of London's three medical men fled, hoping to avoid infection.[27]

Fraternal Medicine

GEORGE HOLMES, M.D.
DIED
Mar. 25, 1861,
Aged 52 years.

George Holmes of the Royal College of Surgeons of Dublin and the Royal Marine Hospital of Plymouth practiced medicine in nineteenth century London.[28] His gravestone, however, commemorates his membership with the Freemasons rather than any military or medical accomplishments beyond the simple "M.D."

Gravestone of George Holmes M.D., died March 25, 1861.

postscript.

Fraternal orders such as the Freemasons, the Independent Order of Oddfellows, and the Woodmen of the World, arrived in Canada as early as 1759. Early lodges primarily served a social function and the mandatory fees paid for alcohol and entertainment. Members from all the fraternal orders were often kicked out of pubs for unruly behaviour.[29] By the Victorian period these orders became more organized and helped to provide financial security to their members. But even early members like Holmes were proud of their fraternal connections and displayed esoteric imagery and mystic symbols related to their orders on their grave markers.

Of the fraternal orders Freemasonry is best represented on grave markers because death was an important part of their beliefs and rituals. Holmes' gravestone features one of the most common Masonic symbols, the compass and square with the letter G for 'God' or 'Geometry' in reference to God's role as an architect.

Other symbols include references to Euclidian geometry, images of the All-Seeing Eye, the sun and moon, ladders, and columns. These symbols often appear alongside other mourning imagery.[30]

Understanding the Illness

As we understand it today, cholera is an infectious disease that affects the small intestine, causing severe diarrhea that can lead to dehydration. In severe cases, if left untreated, cholera can be fatal. It is caused by consuming contaminated food or water.

During the 1830s, some physicians argued that the disease could be prevented if communities improved the living conditions of the poor. Others argued that cholera was a result of 'miasma,' or toxic or poor air quality, and physicians advised to burn tar on street corners to kill the infectious air.[31]

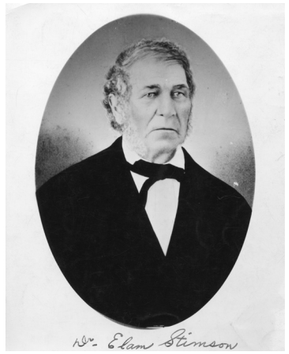
There was little understanding of how the disease could spread as quickly as it did, other than that it must travel among those already in poor health or

poor living conditions.[32] This was true in London as the disease arrived among immigrants who often went from the deplorable living conditions on the ships, to equally awful housing conditions. However, it was not limited there. Cholera could, and did, attack those of all ages and social classes.[33]

The Cholera Beacon

In 1835, Dr. Elam Stimson wrote *The Cholera Beacon*, just three years after serving as one of London's doctors during the 1832 epidemic. The book provides great detail of the signs and symptoms of the disease, and suggested treatments based on his own experience with cholera patients throughout the epidemic.

While written for a public audience, Stimson noted that the recommended remedies found within the book should ideally be administered by a physician, but that circumstances often did not allow it. Acknowledging this, he wrote to assist the reader in self-diagnosis and self-treatment.[34] The book guides readers through the symptoms, phases, and treatment of the disease.



A portrait of Dr. Elam Stimson, author of *The Cholera Beacon*, who treated cholera patients of London in 1832.

The Stimson Family

Dr. Elam Stimson practiced medicine in London during the cholera epidemic.

He was born in Connecticut in 1792. By 1831, he lived in London and acted as coroner and physician to the town jail.

In 1832, Stimson also began work at the old Hubbard House, which had transitioned into a small cholera hospital for immigrants. Here, he vigilantly attended to patients of the disease.

Stimson was unable to prevent the spread of cholera to his own family. His wife, Mary Ann Frances, died of cholera on July 20, 1832. Only five days later, his two-year-old son, James, followed his mother to the grave.

Gravestone of Mary Ann Frances and James Stimson, who died of cholera in July 1832.

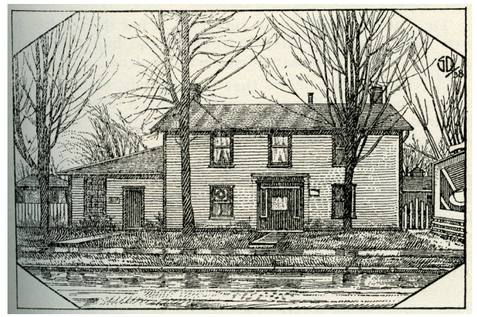
He buried his family at the intended location of St. Paul's near Dundas and Ridout but when the church moved to its current location, he reburied them there. Never moved with the other graves to Woodland Cemetery, they remain behind at St. Paul's Cathedral.[35]

By 1835, Dr. Stimson had returned to the United States, remarried, and published a pamphlet directed at the public titled, *The Cholera Beacon*, in which he described his experience with and medical knowledge about cholera. He died on January 1, 1869.[36]

Cholera Hospitals and Treatment

Unless serving the military, hospitals generally did not exist until later in the nineteenth century. In London, small hospitals were erected prior to 1865 when the need arose, especially during times of epidemics.

One of London's first hospitals was an empty house originally belonging to Fells Hubbard, and then his daughter Tillery. Empty for some time, repairs were needed to prepare the house for receiving patients, and were completed quickly over a two-day period in 1832. However, the district did not provide any funding to help supply beds, bedding, or food, and so depended upon public donations.



A sketch of the Hubbard House that became one of London's first cholera hospitals in 1832.

Because conditions at the hospitals were known among locals to be terrible, the majority of patients were made up of immigrants who had nowhere else to go. Hospitals became a place for the most desperate and destitute, and avoided if possible.[37] Most cholera victims of London chose to be treated by a physician in their own homes.

Many treatments suggested by London physician Dr. Elam Stimson involved four medicines: Elixir Pro (or Elixir Proprietatus), a combination of spirits, gum myrrh, and gum aloe; Huxham's Tincture, a combination of spirits, Peruvian bark, dried orange peel, and Virginia snakeroot; Capsicum, commonly known as peppers; and Calomel (also known as mercury chloride).[38] Opium was also used, though it showed no real signs of effectiveness.

Physicians also treated victims with muscle cramps using a 'Cholera Belt', as it came to be known, which was a red flannel soaked in turpentine and laid across the abdomen. Hot baths were also recommended to control chills and cold spells, though this was not a possible solution in the average home of London since many did not have access to bathtubs.[39]

Burial of Cholera Victims

With the sudden increase of burials, it was not always possible to provide separate plots for each victim, there being a strong public feeling against burying victims of disease in church burial grounds. As a solution, the town provided common graves in isolated locations. Although people were afraid to touch the bodies of victims, survivors loaded bodies onto wagons along with their clothing and possessions, and dropped them into the great pits prepared for them. In decades following, locals hesitated to disturb the graves for fear that any contact with the victims might expose the disease and start a new epidemic. In 1951, construction on Giles Street uncovered human remains believed to be from one of these burials.[40]

Other victims were buried at local cemeteries, including St. Paul's Anglican Cemetery. When the graves were later moved from St. Paul's to Woodland, it is unknown how many of those had been cholera victims. Even so, those reburied at Woodland from this time were all touched by the disease in some way, whether through direct exposure or the deaths of family members and friends.

Dr. Patrick Donnelly

Patrick Donnelly was one of the few physicians who attempted to help the victims of cholera in London, although his efforts proved futile when he fell victim to the disease himself.

Donnelly was born in Ireland in 1779. In 1804, he entered the medical service of the Royal Navy, serving as a surgeon aboard His Majesty's ships. He eventually came to Canada when the *H.M.S. Wolverine* arrived at the naval base in Halifax for repair.

Donnelly moved to Upper Canada in 1832. The regional Board of Health granted him immediate license to practice medicine and sent him straight away to London to tend to cholera patients. Only a short month after arriving in town, Donnelly succumbed to the illness that he had fought so hard to treat, dying shortly thereafter.[41] His burial remains untouched at St. Paul's Cathedral.

A sketched portrait of Dr. Patrick Donnelly.

Typhus Epidemic of 1847

The summer of 1847 saw a new wave of immigration from Ireland. On route to British North America, many passengers fell ill with typhus fever. Approximately 17 percent of the total immigrating population died from it. Over 5,424 individuals died of typhus fever at Grosse Îsle in 1847, with thousands more dying in Québec City, Montréal, New Brunswick, and throughout Upper Canada.[42]

Located on a direct travel route between Toronto and the United States border, London became a hotspot for arriving immigrants ill with typhus. By June, the situation had become increasingly desperate. The Canadian government ordered the police to provide sheds for the well, and hospitals for the sick. In response, a long-shed was constructed in one of London's two markets, located between York, Bathurst, Wellington, and Waterloo Streets, and became known as the 'New Survey Market House'. Nearby on the same grounds, a second building of similar proportions was constructed as a hospital for the sick.

Dr. Hiram Davis Lee, the government medical officer for London, was hired to be physician for this newly constructed typhus hospital. One month later, conditions at the shed had become so desperate that all physicians remaining in the city were pressed into service.[43] Ironically, Dr. Lee, also chairman of the Board of Health, died of typhus himself that October.[44] The hospital remained in use until it burned to the ground in 1848.[45] Shortly after, London saw the construction of its first 'general' hospital.

Dying to Enlist

JOHN,
SON OF
JOHN & BRIDGET
PARKINSON
DIED AT ATLANTA GA.
OCT. 15. 1864,
AGED 17 Y'RS

In one of the oldest sections of Woodland Cemetery, there is an obelisk in honor of Private John Parkinson Jr., a Canadian-born American Civil War Veteran. Erected by Parkinson's grieving parents, the obelisk features the portrait of their young son encircled by a laurel wreath, a symbol of glory. After their deaths, Parkinson's parents were laid to rest next to the obelisk. Parkinson's obelisk is not only

a touching memorial to a lost son, it also serves as a reminder of the often-forgotten Canadian soldiers who fought and died in the American Civil War.

A farmer by trade, Parkinson volunteered to fight in the Union Army as a member of the 10th Michigan Infantry. At the age of only 17, Parkinson died in Atlanta, Georgia from typhoid fever, rather than in combat. Typhoid was a rampant a killer among Union and Confederate Armies. Caused by improper sanitation, Confederate and Union soldiers were more likely to succumb to the ravages of typhoid fever than combat. In fact, Union Army records indicate that out of the twenty deaths listed on the same page as Private John Parkinson Jr., only one died in combat. Parkinson's body was interred in the Marietta National Cemetery in Georgia.[46]

The obelisk of John Parkinson who died at Altlanta, Georgia, October 18, 1884, aged 17 years.

Little is known about why Parkinson chose to enlist in the Civil War, although during this period, American recruiters enticed young Canadian men to enlist by appealing to their sense of honour and promising good wages. Despite the fact that Britain and its colonies declared themselves neutral in the conflict, between 40,000 and 50,000 men from British North American joined the fight. While some enlisted in support of the Confederacy, the majority joined the ranks of the Northern armies.[47]

Childbirth and Infant Mortality

Women and children faced the dangers of childbirth and infant mortality. Many stones marking the graves of children, infants, and newborns are found in Woodland Cemetery.

Women in Upper Canada often became pregnant shortly after marriage, and again in two to three-year intervals until they reached menopause.[48] The constant cycle of pregnancy, birth, and postpartum recovery took up much of a woman's adult life. With the constant fear of death for the infant or mother, the arrival of a healthy baby and recovering mother was always a joyous occasion in any household.

In 1858, Amelia Ryerse Harris of London's Eldon House wrote of her friend, Mr. King, and his excitement over the safety and good health of both wife and newborn child. She remarked on his appearance, commenting that he looked as if he had suffered nearly as much as his wife. It was a mix of excitement over the

birth of a child, and relief that the mother and child survived the ordeal. In another entry, Harris wrote of her daughter's fear that she might not survive the end of her pregnancy. This was a repeated theme throughout her diary, and a familiar one to all women of London at the time.

Puerperal fever, or 'childbed fever' was one of the most dangerous risks of childbirth and was often fatal. A postpartum uterine infection, it could develop in hours or days following delivery. Women realized quite early on that childbed fever could be caused or spread by doctors and midwives performing pelvic inspections or delivering babies, as they did not always follow the most hygienic practices.[49]

Gravestone of Sophia Brady and her infant daughter, died May 1863.

There are a number of gravestones at Woodland marking the resting place of a mother and child who died days, weeks, or months apart, likely a result of childbirth complications. Sophia Brady, for instance, was only 23 years old when she gave birth to her daughter Julia in May 1863. Six days later, Sophia died, and only four days following that, her daughter.

Remembering Short Lives

Children's graves feature many of the same images and motifs. Lambs are most common, but there are also many doves and roses. Images on children's graves are most often associated with innocence, youth, and a life cut short before its time.

Lambs and sheep are also directly connected with Christianity. There are multiple references in the Bible which portray God and Jesus as shepherds

Gravestone of the infant daughter of Major J. Evans, died August 31, 1865, aged 5 months. J.R. Peel carved this lamb statue.

who care for their flock. Jesus is also the sacrificial lamb and his death on the cross links back to the story of Abraham almost sacrificing his child Isaac in Genesis. In the ancient pagan tradition, lambs were a common sacrifice to the gods. This connection was a comforting reminder to grieving families. Lambs are usually depicted sitting or kneeling on the ground, usually asleep, since sleep was a well-known euphemism for death.[50]

Image of a dove on the gravestone of Donald Campbell.

Gravestone of Mary Ann Gillean, died January 17, 1858, aged 10 months.

Messengers of God, doves often represent peace and purity, especially when accompanied by an olive branch. They are also associated with the victory of life everlasting and the ascent of the deceased to heaven. Doves are most often depicted in flight although they are sometimes seen collapsing in their death throes.[51]

While roses in full bloom represented English immigrants and individuals who reached maturity, rosebuds often represented children through the brief but beautiful lives of the blooms.

Death of a Child

This is the 41st anniversary of poor William's birthday. How painful was his death, and now how thankful I feel that my first born is in heaven. But it is hard to give up our treasures. Fever, delirium, and a long illness to myself followed his death and it was long before I could say, 'Thy will be done'.
– Amelia Ryerse Harris

Woodland Cemetery is the resting place of many children and infants from London's earliest families. Unfortunately, there is little known about their lives in Upper Canada in this period. What is known is gathered from the personal letters and diaries of settlers in the region.

The average family could expect to lose at least one of their children to illness before reaching adolescence. There were any number of natural hazards for

children, such as open fireplaces, wells, and fast flowing rivers. In 1871, just outside of London, a three-year-old girl upset a tub of boiling water and died from the burns 12 hours later. Accidents were not uncommon. However, the one hazard that parents could not protect their children from was disease. The constant worry of parents knowing that they would likely lose one or more of their children to scarlet fever, whooping cough, measles, or cholera was a fierce reality to those of the time.[54]

Living with Death: The Diaries of Amelia Ryerse Harris

The Harrises of Eldon House resided in London during the nineteenth century. The diaries of Amelia Ryerse Harris, along with others from her family, provide insight into life in London at that time.

Her daughter Amelia Griffin's first pregnancy ended in a stillborn baby boy, born January 6, 1864. He was buried in St. Paul's Cemetery the following day. He did not get a plot of his own, but was placed on the coffin of Amelia's father, John Harris.

Amelia and her husband Gilbert Griffin had three more children: twins, Edward Scott and Helen Teresa Amelia, and daughter Teresa. Both Helen and Teresa died from different bouts of scarlet fever. Helen died January 3, 1869 at just two years of age, and Teresa on October 18, 1874 at five years.

Gravestones of Helen and Teresa Gilbert, who died of scarlet fever in 1869 and 1874.

In August 1881, the children's remains were among those transferred from St. Paul's Cemetery to Woodland.

The life of Amelia Gilbert Griffin was laden with grief and the loss of children.

The most common childhood illnesses included scarlet fever, measles, and diphtheria, which had the heaviest toll on young children who survived their first two years of infancy. While the diseases could be caught by anyone at any age, the reason for this was that by age two, children had lost any antibodies and natural preventatives received prenatally. Yet they were too young to have been previously exposed to the illness, and to have built up a strong enough immune system. Children who survived these illnesses were more likely to build immune responses,

and to survive into adulthood.[55] This is reflected at Woodland where the majority of children's gravestones in this period are for infants who died under the age of two.

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Chapter II:

Places of Remembrance: Cemeteries & Gravestones of Early London

Tenderly bury the fair unknown dead,
Pausing to drop on this grave a tear
Carve on the wooden slab over his head
Somebodies darling is slumbering here.
- Joseph Stone, 1867

Funeral Practices

In nineteenth century Ontario, people lived in small communities. Family ties were already strong and tended to intertwine with other families in the community, whether through personal or business connections. And so, when a person died, the funeral became a community affair as the loss was felt by the whole community. Friends, family, and neighbours gathered around to support the family of the bereaved.

Funerary rituals in this period were also far more secular. Largely influenced by the Enlightenment and Romanticism of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, a shift occurred from focusing on the spiritual fate of the deceased, to the feelings and emotions of the bereaved.[1] It wasn't until the end of this period, moving toward the Victorian era, that religion returned to a major role in people's lives, and funerary rituals shifted back to the church.

Take my Hands

Disembodied hands were present on both Christian and Jewish monuments as early as 1840 and continued to be used well into the twentieth century. They appear in pairs or as a single hand. Hands could be interpreted as either divine or human depending on the context and were a useful short form which stone carvers used in lieu of carving an entire human figure. Their orientation also changed the meaning.[2]

Two horizontally clasped hands usually represented husband and wife. Hands also hold flowers or are raised in prayer.[3] The most common image is of a hand pointing upwards towards heaven, indicating the path of the deceased.[4]

Gravestone with clasped hands.

Gravestone of Hellen Kerr, died February 5, 1863.

Since many of London's earliest settlers had British heritage, or immigrated from England, they followed similar rituals and funeral practices.

In England, funeral practices had been filtering down from the upper class for centuries. With industrialisation and growth in commercial activity, the middle class acquired more wealth. The events surrounding death allowed an opportunity for them to demonstrate respectability by following proper mourning etiquette, reinforcing the individual's or family's place in society. In the nineteenth century it was important to follow appropriate mourning dress and etiquette, the rules of which were published in fashion magazines.[5]

Funerals were held shortly after a person's death before the body started to decay, since embalming was not common practice until the late nineteenth century. Following the death of an individual, the body was washed and laid out.

This task was typically left to women, but not of the immediate family. Either a local carpenter or cabinetmaker made the coffins. In larger towns, furniture stores often sold coffins. In London, John Taylor ran a business on Talbot Street in the 1850s. He advertised himself as both a furnishing undertaker and cabinet maker. B. Jarman, another London coffin maker and undertaker, sold a variety of coffins of all sizes from his residence on Richmond St.[6]

John Taylor's ad featured in the city directories of 1857 alongside other London businesses.

In preparation for burial, the coffin was left bare, save for a white linen sheet to line the inside. The body was then laid in the coffin with the lid left open for viewing. Customs varied in the stages between death and burial. Wakes were common and considered a natural part of the grieving process. During a wake, family and friends watched over the body in case of a return to consciousness. It also allowed a time for adjustment to the loss of a loved one, and a time for grief and prayer. Friends and family also used it as a time to come together to share stories and memories of the departed.

From the 1860s, the *London Free Press* included announcements of the time and place of a funeral, should any of the public wish to attend. On the day of a funeral, friends and relations gathered at the residence of the deceased. Neighbours, colleagues, and members of the community joined the procession or lined the streets of the route as the crowd made their way to the graveyard. Such was the case for the funeral of Sheriff James Hamilton of London. "The shops were closed during the procession, which was very large as he was much respected", remarked Amelia Harris on March 31, 1858.[7] For the young girl who died from water burns, the *Free Press* remarked that her funeral was one of the largest ever seen in that region, with over 26 teams proceeding ten miles to the burial ground. The funeral

Bringing Him Home

Sacred
to the Memory of
ROBERT ERWIN
Who accidentally lost
his life by an explosion on
Lake Erie
May 9, 1863,
aged 27 years.

An explosion rocked the propeller ship *Tioga* as she entered the port of Cleveland on a Saturday morning in May 1863. Robert Erwin, a fireman onboard, was standing next to the furnace when the boiler exploded. Erwin crawled nearly 25 feet from the mouth of the furnace to the coal bunker during his last moments of life. Three of his crewmates also perished, scalded to death by steam and water from the boiler.[8]

Erwin was from London. He was 27 years old and unmarried. Upon hearing the sad news, his friends and family immediately went to Cleveland to retrieve his remains, returning him home within a week of his death.[9] He was originally buried in St. Paul's Cemetery on Sunday, May 17.[10]

His gravestone is unusual, featuring a carving of a rowboat with a figure draped over the side. His epitaph is direct and a sharp contrast with the gentle reminders of death seen on nearby stones. There is a longer inscription under his epitaph which encourages his friends to look past his dire fate, but the lines are worn to the point of illegibility.

The explosion was an accident. Defective iron in the crown sheet of the boiler led to this tragic incident. His gravestone ensures that the story of his death will live on.

procession typically consisted of the undertaker, the hearse, mourning coaches, and various attendants dressed in black mourning attire. Expansive funerals were usually restricted to the rich and socially important. Average Londoners had much smaller ceremonies.[11]

Cemeteries and Grave Markers

During the settlement of Upper Canada in the nineteenth century, newly established communities were often located miles from a church and graveyard. Without a local graveyard, pioneers buried the dead on their newly acquired land. Settlers either created a private family burial plot or the family who experienced the first death in the community established the settlement's burial ground. The family of the deceased was responsible for clearing the land and laying the body to rest. As time went on, a neighbour would die, and the community buried the body next to the first grave. As settlements grew, the presence of different religious denominations increased, and churches became responsible for handling the dead. St. Paul's Cathedral served Anglican Londoners and provided burial grounds from 1830 onwards.

Materials

In London, only a small number of stone grave markers remain from the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Many early settlers used wooden grave markers instead of stone.[12] Wood was readily available and easy to carve. Even pioneers who did not have access to high-quality stones or trained stone carvers could fashion a wooden marker to commemorate their dead.[13]

Wooden markers ranged from simple crosses to elegantly carved pieces similar to marble monuments. They were thinner than their early stone counterparts and some were painted in addition to or instead of being carved. Some wooden grave markers were temporary, used only to mark the grave until a more permanent stone could be carved.[14]

Wooden markers did not stand the test of time. In 1869, historian William Canniff noted that already wooden grave markers in Ontario were illegible and falling into decay. "Probably the temporary mark of affectionate sorrow was as lasting as the life of the bereaved," he wrote.[15]

No wooden markers exist at Woodland. When Woodland opened in 1879 wood was no longer a common material for tombstones, and no wooden markers were moved there.

Early pioneers in the London area also used plain local stones as simple grave markers. Sometimes they used uncut natural stones found in fields or forests. Other times they split stones to create a flat surface for carving basic inscriptions or designs.[16] These markers were treated the same way as their wooden counterparts and none appear at Woodland.

London's First Settler

Sacred
to
the memory of
PETER McGREGOR
Who departed this life
on the 13th day of Jan
1846 Aged 52 years
and 4 months
He emigrated
to this country from
Scotland and was the first
settler in the town of
London

Wooden grave marker of Peter McGregor.

This wooden grave marker is similar in shape to stone markers at Woodland with raised letters carved out of the wood. It commemorates Peter McGregor (1793-1846), London's first settler. His log-shanty home also served as London's first tavern. He kept a jug of whiskey and a tumbler on a tree stump and encouraged passers-by to serve themselves. McGregor is buried at the Scottsville Cemetery just outside of London. This wooden marker was found in a barn near Scottsville after it had been replaced with a white marble stone.[17]

Stone markers became more common after the arrival of skilled stone carvers from England. The oldest legible date from a stone marker is on a 1782 sandstone slab at Niagara-on-the-Lake.[18] Londoners used sandstone and slate for grave markers in the nineteenth century because they were a softer stone, easy to carve, and readily available. Grey and mottled Medina sandstone varieties are common in southern Ontario, especially in the Credit Valley, and Londoners obtained slate from the eastern townships of Quebec or imported it from Vermont.[19]

Gravestone of Pamela Durfee, died December 20, 1857. This marker is sandstone.

At Woodland and other Ontario cemeteries, most of the nineteenth century gravestones are made of white marble. Like slate and sandstone, it is a softer stone and easy to carve, but marble also holds a polish. Marble monuments are part of a longstanding tradition going back to Ancient Greece and Rome. Greek and Roman styles were heavily referenced in nineteenth century art and architecture.[20] The longevity of the material was comforting for families erecting monuments in memory of their loved ones.

Marble workers in London mostly obtained marble from quarries in Vermont and Nova Scotia, but Londoners could also order more exotic marbles from further afield.[21] The most sought-after marble was from Carrara in Italy. Carrara marble is a brilliant white, sometimes with grey veins, and has been a favourite material for sculptors and builders dating back to the Roman period.

Because they are soft stones, weather and pollution easily damage marble, slate and sandstone grave markers. Over time the shallow carvings are worn away by water, damaged by the growth of lichen and moss, and degraded by air pollution. Stones are not only damaged by acid rain and the absorption of sulphur from air, but also by vandals, wildlife, and simple gravity.[22] Many of the earliest stones at Woodland have been worn and damaged to the point of illegibility, but ongoing restoration work is preserving the cemetery's history.

A much harder and more durable stone, granite resists weathering and damage from pollution and maintains its polish and detail far longer than marble. But, because it was difficult to quarry and carve, it did not become common until the last quarter of the nineteenth century.[23] Some people who died in the mid-nineteenth century are memorialized on granite stones, however these stones were not carved at the time of their deaths.

Indeed, the date of death listed on a tombstone in no way indicates when a monument was erected.[24] While most stones were carved shortly after a person's death, there are records of monuments being put up a decade or more later. Around 1900 there was also a movement to replace older markers, especially those falling into decay, with large granite monuments for a whole family.[25]

Reading the Stones

Most nineteenth century grave markers follow the traditional form of the rectangular vertical slab.[26] While other forms such as obelisks, sarcophagi, columns, and statuary do appear, they are uncommon enough to be an attempt at individuality. Most of the slab markers stand around four feet tall and two feet wide, but vary between one to six feet in height. The outlines of the slabs vary greatly with domed or arched tops and different sizes and shapes of shoulders.[27]

A wide variety of carvings and inscriptions appear on nineteenth century gravestones. Personal and familial preference determined the choice of text and imagery. The detail of the carvings reflected the level of expense families were able to incur rather than the quality of workmanship available.[28]

The Johnson Family granite obelisk commemorates family members who died between 1857 and 1883.

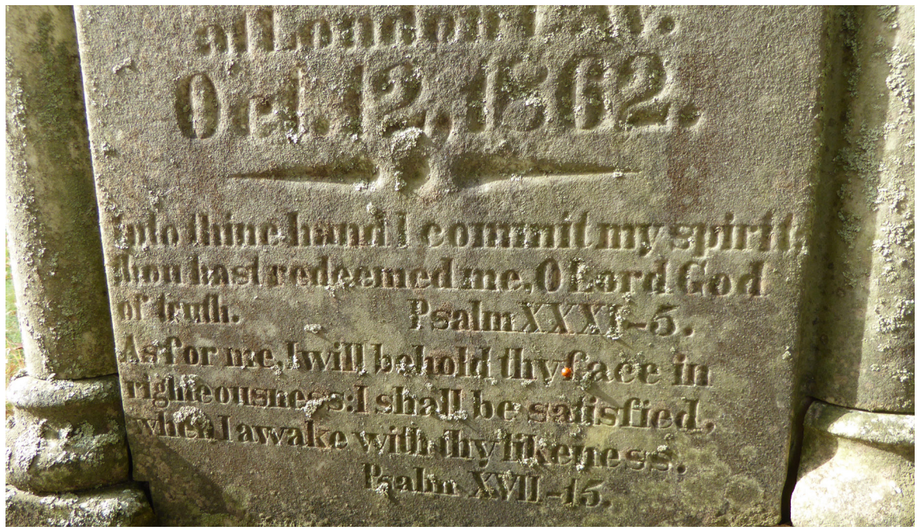
Inscriptions and Epitaphs

Inscriptions on Ontario gravestones were most often carved in shallow relief using a variety of fonts and styles on the same stone. Raised letters are uncommon because they cost more.[29] The stones are often thin on personal details, providing only the most important information about the deceased, including name, date of death, and age.

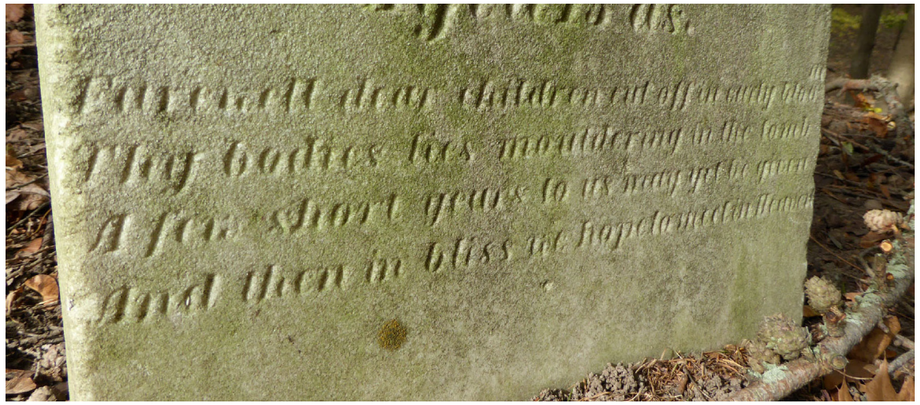
Women were often identified by their husbands, memorialized only as the 'wife of,' and multiple wives were often listed on the same monument. In cases where the wife's family was more important than her husband's, however, her maiden name was also included on the gravestone. In contrast, men were seldom referred to as 'the husband of,' and the graves of both unmarried male and female children often identified both father and mother. This practice reinforces the importance of the patriarchal family unit and the domestic role of women in the nineteenth century.[30]

Gravestone of Elizabeth, wife of John Kendrick, died October 29, 18[??].

Epitaphs became more popular over the nineteenth century.[31] When an epitaph appears, it is most commonly short and includes religious references or quotations from the Bible. Four-line verses with alternate rhyming lines were popular and many appear to be repeated over and over on markers across the province.[32]



Anne Ellen Bernard has two quotes from Psalms inscribed on her gravestone.



Charles, Son of W.M. Ollerenshaw, died, Dec 11 1851,
Aged 12 yrs,
also his Sister Sarah, Aged 15 ds., Farewell dear children cut off in early [bloom], thy bodies lies mouldering in the tomb, A few short years to us may yet be given, And then in bliss we hope to meet them in Heaven.

This four-line verse served to console the family after the death of their children.

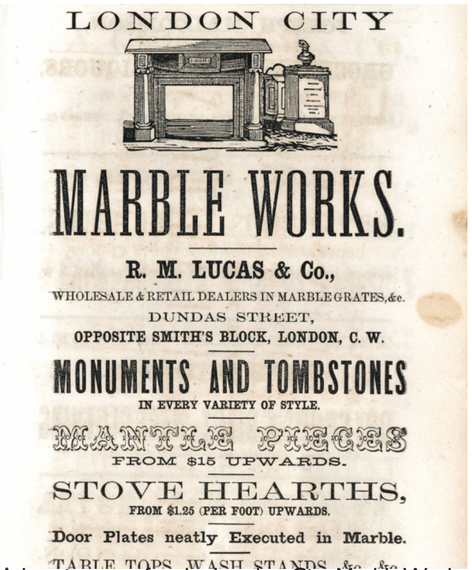
Images and Motifs

Classical and medieval revival styles, which harken back to the traditional imagery and architecture of Europe, dominate nineteenth century grave markers. These styles were extremely popular and influenced everything from art and architecture to gravestones. Meanings of the imagery are often multi-layered and reference both Christian and pagan traditions. These images are a complex combination of public and private meaning. Most motifs fit into existing traditions, but they were all chosen by individuals for personal reasons. Their choices reflect their specific values as well as the values of their communities and can provide insight into the personalities of the deceased and their families.

The visual symbolic language on gravestones is extremely complex and did not serve only as a substitute for literacy. The images cannot be reduced to simple statements like 'anchor' means 'hope' or 'bell' means 'mourning.'[33] Woodland has a variety of the most popular motifs as well as unique carvings which held a personal meaning for the deceased and their families.

Stone Carvers

Nineteenth century stone carvers did not specialize in gravestones but also provided marble for mantelpieces, tabletops, stove hearths, and door plates among other items.[34]

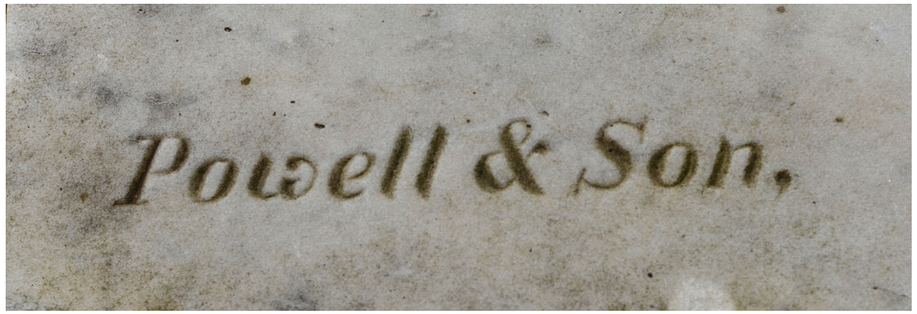


Advertisement for the London City Marble Works in London's 1856-7 city directory.

Masons, stone cutters, and stone carvers had complimentary roles in the building industry. While masons and stone cutters shaped blocks and stones and fit them together, carvers sculpted the decorative elements and inscriptions featured on the buildings and gravestones at Woodland. Stone carvers were tradesmen, but they were also artists. They worked from patterns or original drawings and clay models to create their work.[35]

Local craftsmen carved most gravestones. By 1870, it was common to have a marble worker in every town, most of whom came to Ontario from England.[36] London was ahead of the game. By 1856, there were at least two marble works in the city, the London City Marble Works and Meikle and Buchanan Marble and Stone Works, both of which employed multiple stone carvers.[37]

Many stone carvers signed the bottom of their stones. At Woodland there are examples of work by prominent London marble working firms including Peel & Powell, J.W. Smyth, and Teale & Wilkens. But there are many more stones for which the artists remain unknown. As with other small businesses, some only lasted a few years, while others remained popular well into the Victorian period.



Signature of the Peel & Powell Marble Works.

Signature of the stone carver J.W. Smyth.

Signature of the Teale & Wilkens Marble Works.

John R. Peel

John R. Peel was one of the most significant stone carvers in London, although he is perhaps best known as the father of Canadian artist Paul Peel, who spent his early years studying art under his father.

John R. Peel apprenticed as a sculptor in London, England, before immigrating to Canada. Almost immediately after he and his wife Amelia arrived in 1852, Peel began work at the London City Marble Works.[38]

John R. Peel and his wife Amelia c.1865

In 1857, he partnered with George Powell, a fellow stone carver, to found the Peel & Powell Marble Works.[39] Peel and Powell parted ways in the 1860s to operate competing marble companies.[40] They remain two of the most prolific and talented stone carvers in nineteenth century London.

Peel was a craftsman rather than an artist, but his gravestones demonstrate the skill and artistry that stone carvers brought to their work. He also encouraged a new generation of artists in London. Peel taught drawing to local students out of the back room of his workshop in the 1860s and co-founded the Western School of Art and Design.[41]

Peel died in 1904 and was buried at Woodland Cemetery alongside his wife. Their monument, a simple granite obelisk, ironically shows none of the artistic flare he brought to his work.

J. R. Peel and Amelia Peel's obelisk.

Thomas Francis

This stone, carved by Thomas Francis, memorializes Isabella Fyfe who was the wife of a sergeant in the Royal Artillery.

Sacred
To The
Memory of
ISABELLA
the beloved Wife
of
SERJ JOHN FYFE
Royal Artillery
who died Jan 30th 1851
aged 29 years
She was a native of Forres Scotland.
Blessed are the dead which die in the Lord.

Not all stone carvers had as illustrious a career as John R. Peel. Thomas Francis was a stone carver in the 1840s and 1850s. An Irish immigrant, Francis arrived in London sometime around 1842.[42] His life is notable not so much for his career and accomplishments, but for its tragic and scandalous end.

Thomas Francis' career as a stone carver was cut short after he suffered a stroke and lost the use of his right hand. In 1861, he opened the Ivy Green Inn on Lambeth Road with his second wife. Their marriage was an unhappy one. Francis became an angry and jealous man and worried that his much younger wife was unfaithful. After years of mistreatment Mrs. Francis sought a separation in November 1866. Thomas then sold the inn, which Mrs. Francis purchased, allowing her to comfortably support herself and her family.

Thomas Francis tried four or five times to convince his wife to let him return, but each time she refused. On the morning of September 24, 1867, he confronted her again in the sitting room of the Ivy Green. Mrs. Francis rejected him, at which point Francis became exasperated and said, "If you think you have escaped me, you are mistaken."

After a few moments of consideration Francis pulled a revolver from his pocket and aimed at his wife. She screamed and attempted to wrestle the gun from his hand. He fired the gun, but missed, and the bullet lodged in the floorboards. Mrs. Francis and a serving girl both ran from the inn to find help.

A few moments later their young son Henry ran into the room and upon seeing his father exclaimed: "Oh, you have killed my mother!"

"Damn you," Francis replied raising the pistol again, "I'll kill you all!" But the boy was quick enough to escape.

Another shot was heard from within the inn and upon investigation, Thomas Francis was found dead. He shot himself in the head through the mouth, the gruesome details of which were recounted in the *London Free Press*.[43]

Thomas Francis was 64 years old at the time of his death and his mobility had been severely limited by his stroke. If he had been able-bodied on that day his wife and son would likely have met the same fate.[44] He was originally buried at St. Paul's Cemetery in a pauper's grave.

The same hands which created such a beautiful stone for Isabella Fyfe and inscribed a message of love are the hands which Thomas Francis used to fire upon his wife, his son, and himself. His art spoke of love and remembrance, but his last act was one of jealousy and rage.

Detail of Thomas Francis' signature on the gravestone of Isabella Fyfe

Weeping Willows

Willow trees are one of the most common motifs carved into marble stones. Willows are directly associated with grief and mourning. Their sweeping bows provoke the atmosphere of sadness. Although there are none at Woodland, actual willow trees are also common in cemeteries because they soak up lots of water, keeping the ground dry and extending the burying season.[45]

Willows are linked to religious imagery and there are references to them in both the Christian Bible and the Torah. Jews gathered the willows

Gravestone of William Wilson, died April 17, 1863.

And like Christ, the willow is a hardy tree which can survive and thrive even when many branches are cut off and shared with the people of the world.[47]

Both stylized and realistic images of willows appear on gravestones, and individual carvers can be identified by the way they carve the branches. Willows are also featured alongside images of mourning including urns, obelisks, and sarcophagi.[48]

Gravestone of Elizabeth Lamb, died December 1, 1863.

From Cemetery to Graveyard

Since its establishment, the City of London has had strong Anglican roots, and one of its earliest graveyards was located at St. Paul's Anglican Cathedral. In 1830, London's first Anglican minister, Reverend Edward J. Boswell and his congregation procured nine lots of land on the northwest corner of Ridout and Dundas streets, the modern location of Museum London, for the construction of a church and an accompanying graveyard. That same year, they began construction of a frame building for the church, and started burying their dead on what is now Museum London's eastern lawn.[49] Only a short time later, a lack of funds halted progress on the church construction.

In 1832, Reverend Benjamin Cronyn, a newly immigrated Irishman, replaced Reverend Boswell. Reverend Cronyn proposed selling one-half acre of the lot which was "utterly unfit for a graveyard" to raise funds.[50] The government initially accepted Boswell's proposal, but later decided that the lot should simply be exchanged for better land.[51] A team of oxen dragged the existing church framework three blocks to the new location, and in December 1833, St. Paul's Cathedral opened for Christmas services.

Even before the building was complete, burials were taking place and marked graves from the previous site were moved to the new churchyard. Unmarked graves, which included cholera victims and paupers, were left behind as their exact locations were unknown. The possible presence of these remains later caused issues when the City of London considered the Dundas and Richmond lot as a possible location for Museum London. However, no remains were ever found during construction.[52]

By 1845, the burial grounds at St. Paul's had become overcrowded as a result of the ever-increasing population of London. The church decided that no further burials would take place in the graveyard after September 1846, unless the deceased was a member of the Church of England. To avoid disturbing other graves, the church passed a regulation stating that graves could be no deeper than

Looking to the Heavens

Religious imagery was extremely popular on gravestones and different denominations of Christianity favoured different images.

Angels are more common on Roman Catholic grave markers,[53] but they are also present in Protestant cemeteries, such as St. Paul's, and non-denominational cemeteries, like Woodland. Angels are associated with rebirth, resurrection, and protection among other aspects of angelic doctrine.[54] In the early to mid-eighteenth century British and American gravestones depicted the Angel of Death with an hourglass and swords used to signify a life cut short. In contrast, the nineteenth century had a gentler view of death and the image of an adult angel leading the deceased to heaven was more common.[55]

Gravestone of Joseph Blaydes, died April 17, 1858.

Open books and scroll motifs on gravestones are common among both Christian and Jewish grave markers. They refer directly to the Christian Bible and the Torah and can appear either alone or along with other images, the most common of which are hands. The stone itself can also be carved into the form of a scroll or book.


Gravestone of Caroline Ann Ross, died August 20, 1822. Her stone has been carved into the shape of a scroll and has an inscription from the Bible.


Gravestone of James and Matilda O'Connor's daughters. Eliza, died August 19, 1866 age 12. Georgeina, died November 11, 1862 age 1. Hannah, died August 15, 1863 age 7

six feet. At the same time, the church established a committee to find a piece of land for a new cemetery.[56]

In 1849, London officials decided that no further burials could occur within the town limits and as such, the new St. Paul's cemetery had to be established outside of the town limits. By 1850, St. Paul's had obtained around 20 acres of land outside of the city and planning for the new cemetery began.[57]

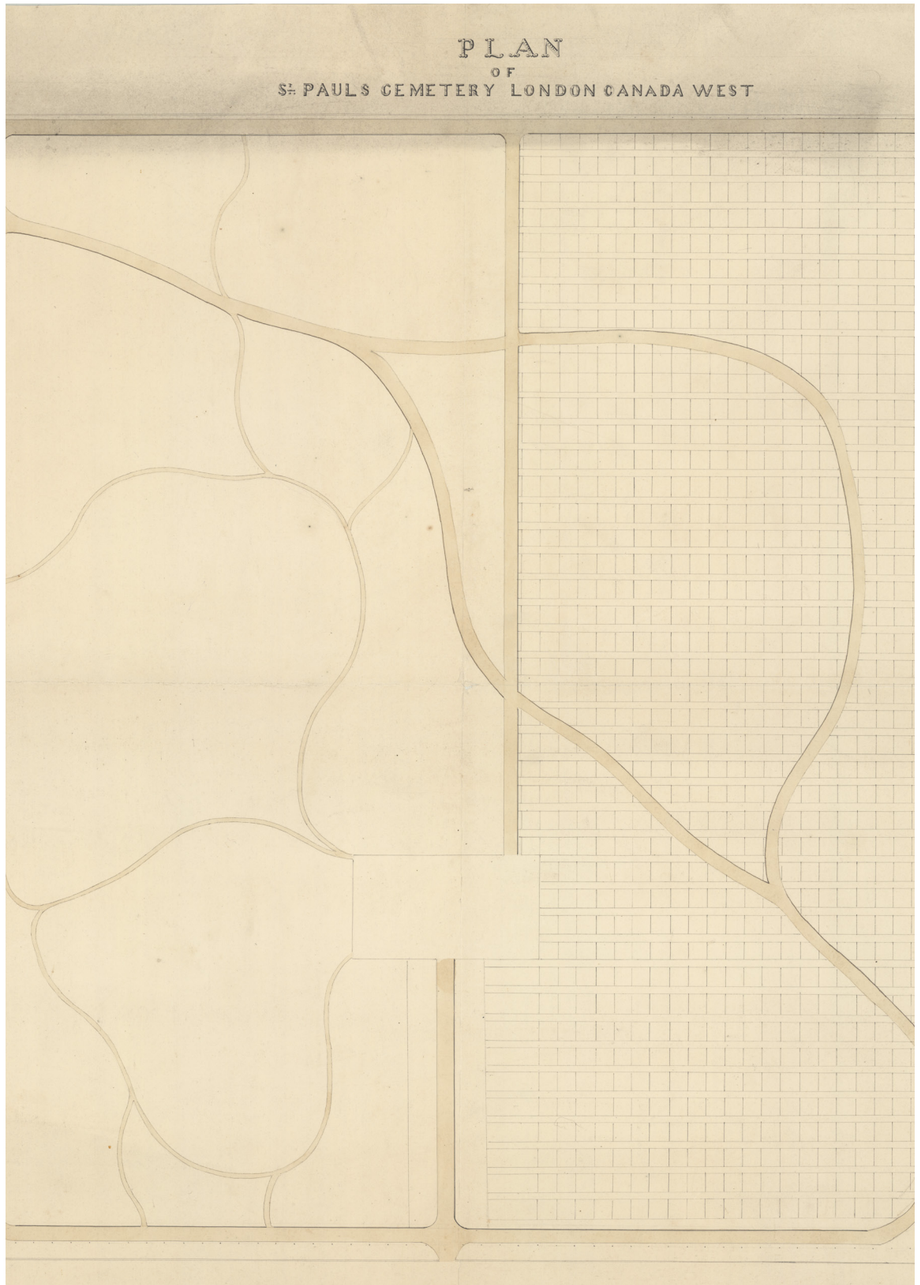
In 1852, a bylaw regulating internment of the dead was passed. The first recorded interment in the St. Paul's Cemetery occurred in April 1852. In the following years, the town undertook the difficult process of transferring the remains and gravestones from St. Paul's churchyard and re-interring them in the new cemetery.[58]

London officials decided to stop burials within the town limits to prevent the spread of disease and safeguard the health of residents. Like other areas in Upper Canada, London's population was growing dramatically as a result of industrialisation, large-scale immigration, and improvements in transportation. As the population increased, town planners became aware of the need to protect the area's water supply from decomposing bodies. To improve sanitation, they advocated a burial site outside of the town limits and away from the water source. The changing attitudes towards public health and the development of burial practices partly stemmed from anxiety about epidemics.

After the cholera outbreak of 1832, Londoners worried about living so close to burial grounds. And many immigrants were arriving from countries, such as England, where new theories about the spread of disease were becoming popular. These theories suggested that disease originated from the human remains decaying in over-capacity graveyards, which could not cope during epidemics. British newspaper featured stories about churchyards overflowing with rotting corpses and slime.

The public's changing attitudes towards death also influenced the movement from church graveyards to park cemeteries. Moving into the Victorian era, Londoners became more and more dissatisfied with the church graveyard, which was solely a site of burial and commemoration. Instead, communities wanted a scenic space where they could enjoy communing with the dead. Park cemeteries, which featured walking paths and gardens, provided Londoners with a chance to visit their departed loved ones, and quickly became popular destinations for weekend strolls and picnics.

The beautification process of the park cemetery demonstrated the increasing secularization of death and burial. This trend set a precedence for modern urban planning, which advocated for the formation of a single, non-denominational cemetery, rather than a scattering of small churchyards throughout a town or city.[59] While Woodland Cemetery did not open until 1879, the necessary steps for its formation were underway.



The hand-drawn plans for St. Paul's Cemetery, which was formally located on Rectory Street and Dundas, the modern location of the Western Fairgrounds.

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Chapter III:

A New Cemetery for a New Era: From St. Paul's to Woodland

Weep not our parents dear
We are not dead but sleeping here
We are not yours but God's above
He loved us best and called us home
- Unknown name, unknown date

St. Paul's Cemetery: 1865-1879

At the beginning of the Victorian era, Woodland Cemetery did not yet exist. St. Paul's Cathedral retained their cemetery at what is today the Western Fair District, until they were forced to re-evaluate in 1879 due to the expansion of the city.

During the Victoria era, the public used St. Paul's Cemetery as a public park. The Victorians found nothing morbid about spending their leisure time among the graves of their ancestors. The cemetery became so popular that in 1872 the vestry needed to set official rules. These rules were an example of Victorian conformity.

Rules of St. Paul's Cemetery, 1872

1st: The gates will be closed at sunset each day.
2nd: No admission on Sundays or holidays except by ticket. Tickets to be furnished on application to the Churchwardens, at their discretion. One ticket will admit the holder and friends.
3rd: No vehicle to be driven faster than a walk.
4th: Vehicles accompanying funerals (except such as contain chief mourners), to be fastened outside to posts prepared for the purpose.
5th: No parties carrying refreshments to be admitted within the grounds.
6th: Picking flowers is strictly prohibited.
7th: No smoking is permitted, and no dogs are allowed within the grounds.
8th: No children admitted unless accompanied by parents or other suitable persons.
9th: Any person disturbing the quiet and good order of the place will be compelled instantly to leave the grounds.
10th: The Superintendent and those acting under him are required to carry all regulations into effect.

In 1863, the population of London had reached 12, 500.[2] This number steadily rose so that in 1900 Londoners numbered almost 40,000.[3] The discovery of oil brought new industry to London, and oil refineries popped up all over Middlesex County. The American Civil War (1860-65) brought a return of the British troops, who had withdrawn to fight in the Balkans during the Crimean War in 1854.[4] The war also allowed London farmers to sell their wheat to the armies, boosting the economy of the region. The chartering of the University of Western Ontario in 1878, the annexation of London East (1885) and London West (1894), and the expansion of the railway, which linked London with the surrounding areas, contributed to the rise of London as one of the largest cities in Ontario.

The population growth caused trouble for St. Paul's Cathedral. The 1852 by-law that made it illegal to bury human remains within city limits meant that St. Paul's Cemetery was once again forced to move to a new location.[5]

The rise of public health was a large factor in the decision to move the cemetery. They realized dead bodies should not be buried close to the living. If the dead had suffered from a prolonged disease, this was especially important (hence the creation of plague pits during earlier cholera outbreaks in London). By the Victorian era, doctors' influence reached a point where they could enforce the concept that dead bodies spread disease and should be removed from cities. Even if this was based on the faulty presumption that it was the body's odour that spread disease, it was considered a valid argument and supported the move of bodies from St. Paul's Cemetery to the more distant Woodland.

By June 1879, the time came when St. Paul's had no choice. During a special vestry meeting on July 9, St. Paul's churchwardens formed a committee to find a new cemetery site.[6] By August 7, the committee had received seventeen offers for land, all outside of the city.

In the end, they decided to purchase 'Woodland Park'. The land was 56 acres in total and was owned by Eli Griffith and William Blinn, a local farmer. Altogether, Woodland Park cost St. Paul's $5,700 wholesale, or almost $170,000 in 2018 currency.

The churchwardens considered the park highly desirable due to its proximity to the city and the ease of transport to it by boat on the Thames River. While the churchwardens believed that it would be a beautiful spot, the greatest argument for moving the cemetery to Woodland Park was that during the summer months, they would be able to hold funeral processions by boat. Money was also a contributing factor, and at $175 (approximately $5,300 in 2018) per acre, it was likely the cheapest land they could find.[7]

Not everyone supported the choice of Woodland Park. One of the churchwardens, a Mr. Dras, raised three points against the use of the space.[8] He found the new site was too close to the city, being only two miles away. He feared that London would grow to surround the cemetery and they would once again be forced to move. In contrast, another churchwarden, Mr. E.B. Reed, argued that the city would never extend that far to the west – what a surprise he would get!

The road to Woodland Park was another concern. Some churchwardens believed deep snowdrifts during winter would make the road impassable, but Reed

explained that the direction of the road would make snowdrifts rare. As for its upkeep, the consistent use of the road, he suggested, would actually ensure that the city maintained it.

The final concern regarded the proposed name of the cemetery. Like others, Dras wished to continue with the moniker 'St. Paul's'. They believed that the name Woodland was solely for promotional reasons because it did not reference a particular religion. Reed dismissed this issue, suggesting that the name "could be changed every year if people wished it," since the name was not set in stone.[9]

This is the grave marker of Charles Dunne, the first burial on Woodland's grounds. Most graves to the east of this point are removals from Old St. Paul's Cemetery.

The Removals

After the cemetery opened, the real work began. The churchwardens decided to sell the land from St. Paul's Cemetery, and therefore was expected to remove every one of the almost 4,500 burials. The process began in spring 1880. Although mostly transferred to Woodland, some families decided to reinter their loved ones at Mount Pleasant Cemetery in London or even to St. John's, Newfoundland. If family members could not be reached, St. Paul's had the right to remove the remains at its own expense and put them in the 'free ground,' or potter's fields, at Woodland Cemetery.[11] To inform families of the removals, the *Ontario Gazette* and London's newspapers published notices once a month. When the families moved the bodies, they were given Woodland plots in exchange for the plots they lost at

the old cemetery.[12] By 1886, officials had removed approximately 4,400 remains to Woodland using hansom cabs, a method that caused a lot of backlash in the community.

Amelia Harris wrote in her diaries about how Londoners felt about the transfer of their loved ones. In August 1881, Amelia's daughters, Lucy Ronalds and Amelia Griffin, oversaw the transfer of the remains of the children of Amelia and Gilbert Griffin from St. Paul's Cemetery to Woodland.[13] According to the matriarch's observations, her daughters both returned weary and exhausted.

The first superintendent of London Asylum for the Insane, Dr. Henry Landor, was originally buried at St. Paul's in January 1877 and was removed to Woodland following its closure. Dr. Landor owned an additional plot at St. Paul's that held his daughter Mabel Edith Landor, buried in 1863, aged just six years. In 1871 another daughter, Beatrice Landor, was buried at aged eighteen months.

As they removed bodies from old St. Paul's, they often missed bones, partly because of the sheer number of unmarked graves; paupers and those who died during epidemics did not receive grave markers.

Two large parts of old St. Paul's Cemetery, the London Insane Asylum and the military sections, were removed during the process. Between the two, there were hundreds of people buried from each category. Unfortunately, when the men moved the remains, all they recorded was 'Military" or "Insane Asylum". There is no complete record of removals.

Not much care was paid to the potter's fields, the military, or insane asylum sections during the removal process. There are no records as to the exact location of these people, only that they are buried somewhere in Woodland.

Following the removal of the remains and grave markers, St. Paul's auctioned off the land from the original cemetery in order to pay its debts from the

purchase of Woodland. The *London Advertiser* publicized the sale as being in the "finest" part of the city, close to large factories, shops, and street car stations.[14]

St. Paul's Cathedral used the proceeds of the sale to pay off a mortgage on the church and the old cemetery itself. It also paid off one of the mortgages placed on Woodland. By 1888, there were still 21 lots for sale from the old cemetery, which were estimated to be worth $7,750 (approximately $270,000 in 2018 currency).[15] St. Paul's continued to sell the lots until 1893.

After the removal process was complete, St. Paul's was free to focus on their new cemetery, which had already become extremely popular with Londoners due to its beautiful park-like nature.

AUCTION SALE

OF

DESIRABLE BUILDING LOTS

ON

Thursday, Aug. 19th, '86

OF A PART OF

ST. PAUL'S CHURCH CEMETERY

EAST LONDON.

This property is situated in the centre of the 5th Ward, close to the Rectory-st. Station, the Street Cars, and adjoining many of the largest Factories and the proposed C. P. R. Shops, and is, undoubtedly, the most desirable property that has been offered for sale in or about London for many years.

SALE ON THE PREMISES AT 2 O'CLOCK, P. M.

TERMS:

One-fourth of the purchase down; balance in five yearly instalments, with seven per cent. interest.

For particulars apply to W. Y. BRUNTON & SON, Auctioneers.

Or A. ROBINSON, Room B, Masonic Temple.

Free Press, London.)

Auction poster for the sale of the lots after the removals were completed in 1886.

The old front gates at Woodland Cemetery were very much a product of the cemetery beautification movement. After 1900 they fell into disuse, with the gates on Springbank Drive being used as the main entrance.

Woodland's gates at the Thames River.

Rules and Regulations of Woodland Cemetery, 1880

In 1880, the churchwardens composed rules and regulations for Woodland Cemetery. First, they established an agreement with a local steamboat company to stop at the cemetery during the summer months.[16] The boats would leave Dundas Street every two hours and stop at the new 'Cemetery Wharf,' and then return. They fenced Woodland's perimeter, constructed roads that improved travel within the cemetery, and added fountains to beautify the space. A house and vault were built for the caretaker and telephones were installed for communication.[17] The trustees set up a permanent care fund for the plots.[18] Purchasers could opt into the permanent care fund to make sure their property was maintained. This was a one-time fee that included grass cutting and cleaning. Finally, the trustees contemplated adding a public mausoleum, though this wouldn't come into existence until 1921.

The rules also regulated the sale and care of lots.[19] They dictated that the superintendent or an assistant should always be on the grounds to aid anyone wishing to buy a plot. Purchasers could transfer their plots to someone else for a fee of 50-cents per transfer, but could not use them for any purpose but the interment of the dead. No trees could be planted or cut down without approval. No offensive or improper monument could be placed or the trustees would remove the offending object. The boundaries of each plot had to be clearly marked with wood or stone posts at each corner, and the posts couldn't be higher than six inches above the ground.[20]

For visitors, Woodland opened every day at 7:00 a.m. until sunset except on Sunday, when lot-holders needed a special ticket for entrance.[21] All boats had to land at the wharf and be properly secured. Visitors could not encroach on any lot or sit on grave markers. Vehicles could not travel faster than four miles an hour. Children had to be accompanied by adults. No vehicles or horses could drive on the grass, and the driver of the carriage at funerals was required to stay on his seat or by his horses during the service. No picnics, no dogs, no smoking, fishing, unfastened horses, picking flowers, writing on monuments, or rowdiness allowed. These rules built on the ones established in 1872 for St. Paul's Cemetery, and continued to reflect the rigid structure of Victorian sensibilities. Today many of these rules remain.

Woodland's superintendent controlled all the workmen and officers employed by the church board.[22] He negotiated the sale of plots and passed the money to St. Paul's, kept record books of all interments and disinterments and enforced the rules.

In 1888, it was the caretaker of the cemetery that found himself in trouble for not following rules that, while not strictly outlined, were very much common sense. In April, the police charged Caretaker William Elliot with appropriating coffin shells, the inner metal lining of the casket, and burying coffins without them. Stealing the shells was considered fraudulent, even though no evidence could be found that he profited from the venture. The support for the claim came from two employees that had been fired. They pointed to the case of a Mr. G.B. Beddome.

Beddome claimed that he had supplied four coffin shells for his relatives for the transfer from Old St. Paul's to Woodland. He accused the caretaker of stealing two of the coffin shells. After Beddome's claim, church officials wanted to have the matter settled outside of court, but then other cases turned up. In total, the police opened seven graves and found all of them to be missing the shells. The police ordered a warrant for Elliot's arrest, which he evaded for a time. Two detectives then went to Elliot's home, but were barred from entering the house and threatened with a shotgun by Elliot's adopted son. He was eventually brought to jail.[23]

Another disastrous event occurred on the Queen's birthday; in 1890 the three-year-old son of the caretaker of the cemetery, Fred Fortnier, was shot while on cemetery grounds.[24] Reports say that he was standing at the front door of his home when the crack of a rifle was heard and the little boy fell, struck in the groin with a bullet.[25] Doctors weren't able to find the ball from the gun and it was thought the boy was doing well, but really the injury was serious. No one knew where the shot came from, though it was believed to be an accident. The popular theory was that some boys were out shooting and a shot went astray, hitting Fortnier instead of their intended target. Perhaps they should have included a 'no guns' stipulation in their Rules and Regulations in 1880, though it is unlikely that this would have changed much. Fortnier later died of his injuries, and the guilty party was never found.

Cemetery Beautification

The cemetery beautification movement, which was rapidly spreading from France and England to North America, partly inspired the decision to open Woodland Cemetery. It resolved many of the problems related to urbanization and was in line with the rise of public health. Urbanization and industrialization meant people romanticized the countryside. To Londoners, the country was a natural, healthy space that was closer to God compared to the hustle and bustle of the city, which was full of smoke from factories.

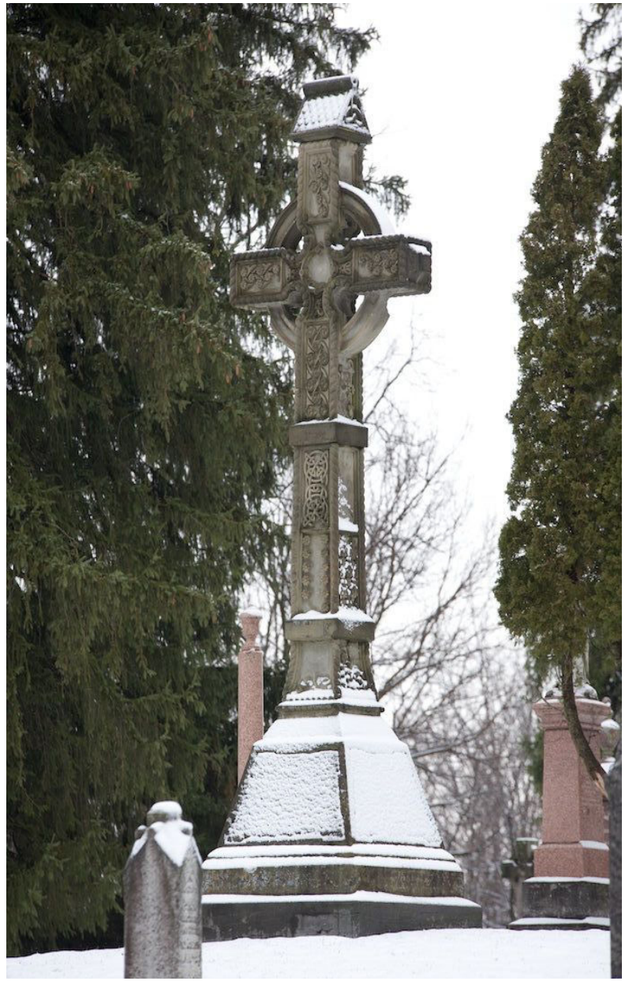
In 1804, Alexandre-Théodore Brongniart created Père-Lachaise, the first park-style cemetery outside Paris. This cemetery mimicked a wild English garden with hills and valleys built into the landscape. Wide walkways and fake ruins added to visitors' enjoyment. Not only was this a place to be buried, but unsurprisingly, Père-Lachaise quickly became a tourist destination, helped along the monuments of famous dead writers and poets buried there. In 1830, the British opened their own park cemetery, Kensal Green, near London.

A year later, the Americans created their own model. Mount Auburn, near Boston, was founded on hilly and marshy ground. This, along with fenced-in family plots and a weaving network of roads, created a picturesque landscape which attracted many tourists. By 1856, Mount Auburn had printed the tenth edition of its guidebook.

Cemetery beautification reflected society of the living. The wealthy purchased family plots on the top of the hills as cemeteries often priced these areas

more expensively than lower lying land. Poorer families used individual plots on the edges of a cemetery. Just as Victorian life was stratified by birth, family status, and moral character, so too were the remains of those who passed on.

Woodland was established late in the cemetery beautification movement and reflects this in its style. Instead of the fenced-in family plots in park cemeteries like Mount Auburn, it focuses more on the natural landscape than carefully curated spaces. The cemetery itself was filled with old trees, fountains, and winding paths for visitors to enjoy as they walked among the dead.



Families like the Merediths, headed by John Walsingham Cooke Meredith who was a business man and a barrister, Justice of the Peace, and a clerk of the division court, have their plots at the top of the hills of Woodland in the old section.

Disease and Mortality

Many Londoners originally buried at St. Paul's Cemetery in the 1860s and 70s succumbed to tuberculosis, diphtheria, whooping cough, and other diseases spread by overcrowding and poor sanitation. In the city, spread of such diseases happened at a significantly higher rate than in the countryside.[26] Tuberculosis remained the leading cause of death among adults while unclean water and poor sanitation meant high rates of infant mortality.

The women of the Harris family wrote often about sickness and death in their diaries. Several Harris children were lost due to disease and from 1865 to 1882, the women mentioned cholera, typhoid, illness, and death more than twenty-five times.

Of that number, twelve related to the death of children. In one particular passage Amelia Ryerse Harris wrote about the tragic loss of a friend's three children within the span of two days.

> "The Thomas' youngest child died yesterday of scarlet fever and their other two children are very ill & were prayed for in Church." - January 21, 1867
>
> "The Thomas' have lost another child with scarlet fever, they have but one left." - January 23, 1867
>
> Amelia Ryerse Harris

By the 1860s, more 'lying-in' hospitals for childbirth emerged in attempt to address infant mortality, however, most women delivered their babies at home due to rampant cases of puerperal fever in hospitals, and mothers' fears of being viewed as a 'charity case'.

A severe smallpox outbreak reached London in 1870. The city responded by erecting the Colborne Smallpox Hospital, a small frame building on South Street between Waterloo and Colborne, in which to isolate the sick. John McKenzie and Charles Leslie are two such patients of this hospital. Due to the quality of burial records for the poor, the only information known about these men are their names, the year of their death, and where they died. Originally buried at St. Paul's Cemetery, they are now buried in unmarked pauper's graves at Woodland Cemetery.

Their information comes from the 1872 free ground burials. Free ground burials were smaller, inexpensive plots for those who did not have next of kin, could not afford a regular plot, or were patients at an institution. Due to the economic status of those buried in the poor grounds, grave markers are also rare in these areas, leaving little visual trace of their identities. Had they been from a higher class or had next of kin, their information would have also included their age, occupation, and place or cause of death.

By the 1880s, London's death rate topped the provincial average, despite the establishment of provincial and local boards of health.[27] That germs spread disease was only reluctantly accepted. It was not until the late 1860s and early 1870s that illnesses and infections even began to be understood as they are today.

Englishman Joseph Lister was one such medical professional at the forefront of changing hospital and medical care through scientific discovery. He proved that the recovery time of patients could be drastically increased by the use of the disinfectant carbolic acid. He wrote about this in a Canadian journal and by 1869, surgeons almost everywhere had adopted new cleaning methods for surgical instruments and wounds which helped lower cases of death from disease.[28] By the 1870s, germ theory, based on the research of Louis Pasteur, firmly took hold and further reorganized hospitals, treatment of diseases and public health. Once germ theory was proven, doctors realized quarantine prevented the spread of infectious diseases.

The Perkins children who died at ages 13, 8, and 4 during the same year, passed away due to complications of influenza.

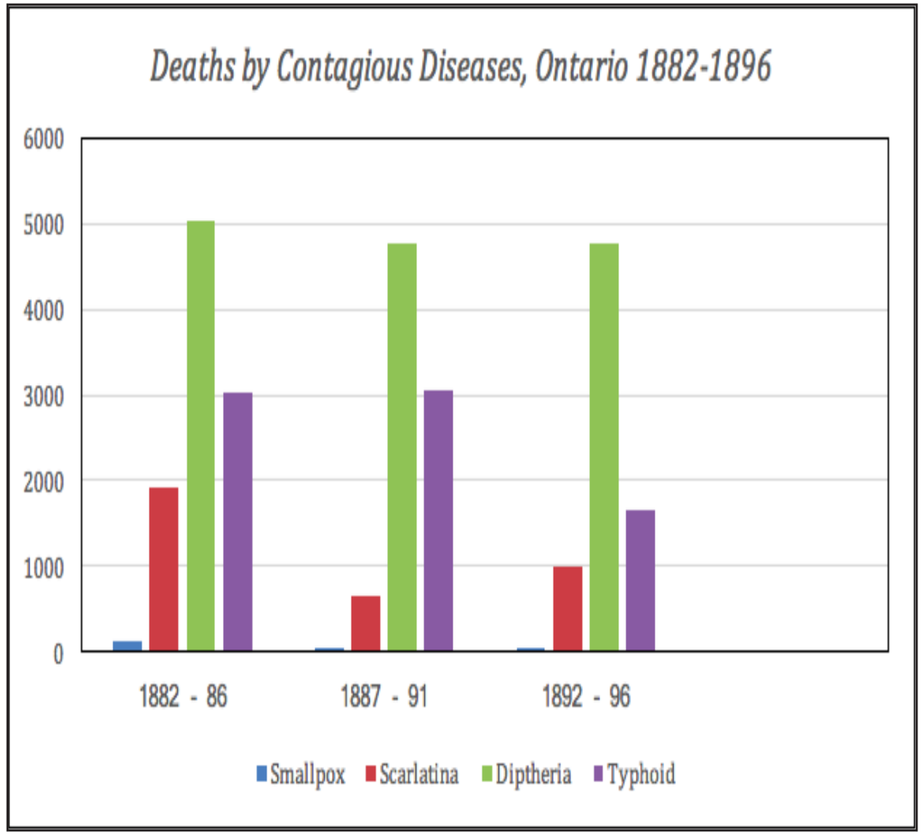
As doctors learned more about tuberculosis, diphtheria, and typhoid, they used hospitals more to quarantine and prevent the spread of disease.

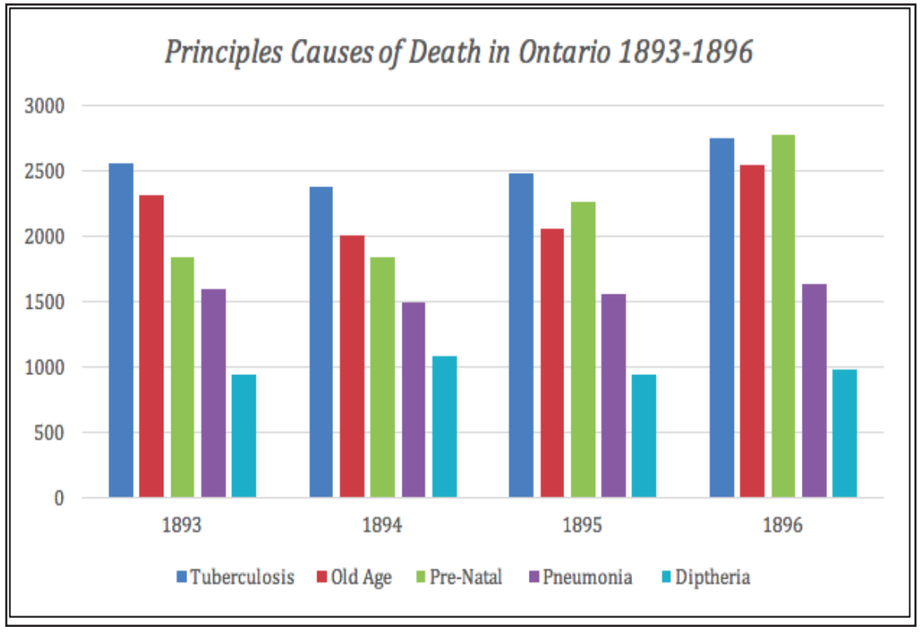
While there were improvements in the understanding and treatment of disease, many problems were related to sanitation. London was no different than other Canadian cities and was characterized by numerous problems. In 1869, the population boasted just over 11,000 people, almost doubling by 1880.[29] With a rapid population growth, it was difficult to keep up with sanitation needs. London lacked clean water, had inadequate sewer systems, used messy outdoor privies, and had unsanitary food and milk supplies.[30] Water, as in earlier centuries, was a chief cause of the spread of disease. As the city population increased, human and animal waste rose. This waste contaminated the soil and ground water.

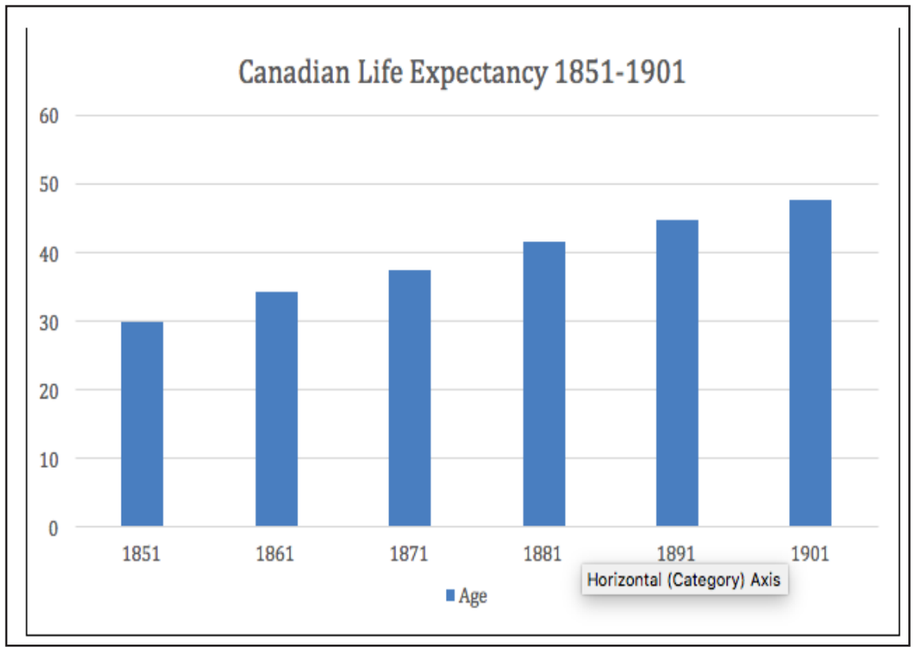
The 1870s also saw a large peak in typhoid related deaths in Ontario which helped to address this issue. Londoners' response to the typhoid outbreak was to elect a Board of Water Commissioners which later implemented a water pumping system to transport clean water into the city.[31] Despite attempting to address public health concerns, the chief causes of death in Ontario well into the 1890s remained viral and bacterial infections.[32]

Since most people up until the late nineteenth century could not afford a hospital stay or the services of local doctors, there were few hospitals in Ontario, and those were generally thought of as places of death and disease.[33] Until the mid-19th century doctors still believed in that the body consisted of four humours:

blood, phlegm, bile and lymph. Treatment, such as bloodletting, enemas, and induced vomiting, focused on balancing these humours. Not only did this weaken patients, it also encouraged the spread of infectious disease to others.[34]







When it came to the everyday life of Londoners in the Victorian era, changes to public health and hospital reform were gradual. Sickness, injury, birth, and death were woven into the social and cultural fabric of everyday life. Although mortality rates were still high, especially for infants and children, there was a significant rise in life expectancy by the end of the nineteenth century. With new emphasis on public health, improved sanitation, and professionalization of doctors came a rise in average life expectancy in London.

Embalming

Embalming can be traced back to Egypt in 6000 BC. In the Victorian era, undertakers used chemicals to embalm the dead. Modern embalming techniques were invented during the American Civil War, making it possible for soldiers who died in combat to be returned to their loved ones. There are many instances of people who died far away from London, and who likely underwent the embalming process in order to be returned home. One such example is John Parkinson Jr., the Canadian who fought in the American Civil War. He died in Atlanta, but was buried at Woodland Cemetery.

Buried in 1951, Dr. Edwin Seaborn completed his medical degree in 1895 at Western University Medical School and soon became a Demonstrator of Anatomy and later the Chair of Anatomy. He went on to become the commanding officer of the No. 10 Canadian Stationary Hospital in France during the First World War.

Another example is Captain Richard Astley Knatchbull Hugesson. The son of Sir Edward Knatchbull, a British Tory M.P., and Fanny Catherine, the aunt of Jane Austen, Richard made a career out of serving his country. A member of the 57th Regiment of the Foot (West Middlesex) for almost nineteen years, Hugesson

travelled the world, stationed at Jamaica, Malta and Crimea. He became a captain during the Siege of Sevastopol in 1855.

During this siege, the British marched from the Black Sea to the capital city of Crimea, Sevastopol. This fifty-six kilometre journey took them approximately a year. Hugesson received multiple medals for his actions in the Crimean War, including the Medal for Crimea, the Clasps for Inkerman and Sevastopol, and the Turkish Crimean Medal.

This is one of the two monuments dedicated to Captain Richard Astley Knatchbull Hugesson. This one lies on a hill at Woodland, while his family erected the other in Kent, England.

He retired from military service in May 1857 shortly after his marriage to Lumney Minter Kelly in London.

He died in August 1875 of typhoid fever while in San Francisco, California, at forty-three years old. His family paid for his body to be brought to London, and buried at Woodland Cemetery. He arrived in the city and was buried on his birthday, September 9, 1875. Due to the length of the travel period, it is highly likely that Richard's body underwent the embalming process prior to leaving San Francisco.

Londoners were not only embalmed, but learned the trade as well. Cabinet and furniture makers – those who made coffins – became successful embalmers and joined professional associations. City directories and newspaper articles provide a list of people who worked as undertakers. For instance, ads by Ferguson & Sons claimed they were the largest, best, and cheapest option for undertaking and embalming in Canada. Working out of a shop on King Street between Richmond and Clarence, John Ferguson had been heavily involved in the Ontario Association of Undertakers since the mid-1880s, and acted as its president from 1886-1887. He was on the Embalming Examining Board of Ontario in the 1890s and was a lectur-

This view of King Street between Richmond and Clarence, taken in 1875, shows two undertaker's shops in London, Bennet & Bros and John Ferguson's shop.
Courtesy of London Public Library

er and the director of the Ontario Embalming School. The Embalming Examining Board of Ontario regulated the professional standards for practicing embalmers. The Ontario Embalming School was one of the few institutions that people could attend to receive a formal education in embalming practices. Ferguson often gave keynote speeches on the science of embalming, including how businesses should handle cases of contagious disease.[35] The Undertakers' Association of Ontario also helped professionalize the embalming practice, and by 1893, the association reported 438 members. Ferguson even helped pass the act that made it a requirement for undertakers and embalmers to obtain a certificate of competence.

Although embalming declined in popularity following the American Civil War, it was occasionally practiced in London throughout the Victorian era. No longer did a body have to be buried shortly following their death. With embalming, Londoners had the time to arrange a proper funeral, and to ready themselves for the day, as the culture of death was very important to the Victorians. The popularity of the practice was attributed to the need to display the dead, and embalming allowed the body to remain on display until everyone could pay their respects.[36]

As the Victorian era and their critical sensibilities gave way to the more open Edwardian era, the undertaker's profession grew to be more respectable, eventually evolving into the modern-day funeral director.

The Culture of Death

Amelia Harris, 1792-1882

The death of Amelia Ryerse Harris on March 24, 1882, and her funeral three days later were modest, quiet, and witnessed by few.[37] She was buried at Woodland in only a nightgown and a widow's cap. The way her family commemorated her death does not quite reflect the culture of the Victorian era. The Harrises were notably wealthy and influential in London society, which generally would have been cause for a large and expensive event, but this was not the case.

By Amelia's death in 1882 the desire for lavish funerals became more widespread starting with wealthy families. The funeral, while an event meant to honour the dead, also made a social statement about the wealth and social class of the relatives who remained. It was also a time to reflect on one's own mortality and relationship with death.

The Very Reverend Boomer, Dean of Huron, and two other clergy of St. Paul's Cathedral officiated her service. If death was the reward for life, it was a reward that Amelia had become closely acquainted with after the death of her husband John Harris some thirty years previous. She wrote rather frequently of dreams she had for over 50 years that she named her "going home dreams". In many hundreds of these dreams Amelia never succeeded in returning to her childhood home of Port Ryerse. Amelia spoke of her "going home dreams" as if they were premonitions that her own death was drawing near as "going home" clearly held a dual meaning for her: "in one sense, it was a return to a past happiness with

lost loved ones; in another it was a future when she would be 'at rest' with her loved ones who had gone before."[38] Clearly, none of these earlier predictions came to pass, but she did correctly guess her death when it finally came. Amelia had been close friends with Dr. Egerton Ryerson for almost eighty years and when he died it was on her birthday, February 19, 1882. "[S]he is reported to have declared that since Ryerson had died on her birthday, she would reciprocate the honour and die on his."[39] And she did.

Funeral Practices

Victorian societal requirements bring to mind images of modest style, gloomy English streets, and extreme restriction which is exemplified in Victorian mourning practice. Families commonly displayed remains of the deceased in their own homes to outwardly show extreme grief and mourning. This included wearing pieces of jewelry made out of the deceased's hair and dark clothing.

> *A most distressing day. I saw Grandma. I was not afraid and kissed her. Grandma is to be moved to Eldon tonight. She wished to be buried from there. The funeral is on Monday at 3. I went down to Eldon after Grandma was carried there. She looks beautiful, every feature is perfect, all the wrinkles have gone.*
>
> Milly Harris, March 25, 1882

Amelia and John's grave markers stand out from others in Woodland Cemetery. The markers are large, visible and adhere to Victorian ideals associated with death. Their size and design acknowledge the wealth and social standing of the Harris family.

Grieving was tied to consumer culture. Celebrations of death consumed vast amounts of income, but also stimulated employment and the economy. Death was not just an event, but also required specialized objects to properly particpate in mourning. Londoners used funerals, wakes, and processions to display the wealth and social status of the bereaved. As the middle and upper classes emulated the grief and mourning of Queen Victoria, their practices became more elaborate.

Victorians were much more engaged with the day-to-day activities associated with death than those in contemporary society. When faced with a dangerous or fatal illness, people did not call a medical professional who would make them well again. Rather, a priest or minister would be called in order to prepare them for the transition from life to death and discuss what the afterlife had in store for them. Those on the precipice of death were confronted with their own mortality as a final act.

Mourning Attire and Regulations

Photo of Barry family funeral.

Regulations surrounding how to mourn acceptably reached their peak during the Victorian era. This occurred when Queen Victoria lost her husband, Albert, in 1861. She fell into an overwhelming, irrevocable grief. She spent her time embroidering handkerchiefs with black tears, had servants lay out Prince Albert's clothes every day, and always slept with a photograph of him lying in his death bed. She never came out of mourning and even wore mourning attire to both of her children's weddings. This deep grief and mourning became the norm for citizens throughout England and North America as middle-class women sought to emulate the grief of the Queen.

Mourning costumes and social expectations were meant to convey a message about the wearer in a communally mandated way. This meant that while the wearer wanted to portray their grief and devastation, they also wanted to adhere to aesthetic attractiveness and fashions of the day. In other words, in the Victorian era grief was fashionable, and to show grief socially was expected and commended. Mourning costumes were meant to convey the absolute devastation of the widow by remaining unadorned by finery and concealing her face.

RULES FOR MOURNING:

First Mourning: Lasted a year and a day. Only black fabrics that lacked lustre and trim allowed. Black crepe the only allowable trim and accessories were forbidden with the exception of specialized bonnets, caps, and veils.

Second Mourning: Lasted nine months. Could remove some black crepe; jet beading and additional trimming could be worn.

Third (or Ordinary) Mourning: Lasted three months. Crepe could be eliminated completely from wardrobe and black ribbons, lace, and embroidery trim could be added.

Half-mourning: Lasted six months to a lifetime. Silhouettes modeled after contemporary fashions and could be made of colours deemed appropriate (mauves, greys, and whites). Accessories were allowed and closely resembled the fashions of non-mourning clothes.

The Victorians relished death, with many rules and expectations of how the dead should be honoured and how to behave after the death of a loved one. The Victorians beautified their cemeteries, engaged with symbolism to the extreme, and allowed death to take over their lives.

But death was also an event to be anticipated as it was the final reward for a life well spent. Amelia Harris viewed eternal rest merely as going home, a view shared by many. To others, death came earlier than anticipated, and provoked extreme emotion in family members and the community. This can be seen through the following three tragedies that shook Londoners to their core in the second half of the nineteenth century.

The Victoria era ushered in many changes to the process of death and dying. The rise of the public health movement created the need for Woodland Cemetery to replace the outdated, inner-city old St. Paul's, as well as changes made to the ways that the people were handled and cared for after their passing. As well, the

Rigid expectations of mourning increased for widows as the nineteenth century progressed while it decreased for widowers. This paralleled the unequal distribution of power between men and women and highlighted the distinctions between the social expectations placed on different genders.

cemetery beautification movement influenced the park-like setting of Woodland. With this also came the extensive regulations for mourning. The Victorians highly respected the dead which was evident in their behaviour and values towards the process of death and the recognition they paid to their own mortality. The Victorian era gave rise to the modern cemetery and other traditions that carried on into the twentieth-century and beyond.

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Chapter IV:

Tragedy & Commemoration in Victorian Era Woodland

At Evening Times it shall be Light
- Elizabeth Montgomery, 1887

City of Tragedy

Londoners weathered three major disasters in their lifetime: the Victoria Day Disaster of 1881, the Flood of 1883, and the collapse of City Hall in 1895. In the wake of these disasters, Woodland provided the final resting place for the dead.

Victoria Day Disaster

There is no greater example of mass mourning in London history than the events that occurred on Victoria Day, May 24, 1881.

The day started as any other. London residents set out to enjoy the beautiful weather and celebrate their queen's birthday at Springbank Park. People lined up for journeys to the park and back by steamboat, as that was the quickest mode of travel to places outside of city limits.

On one return trip, there were hundreds waiting for a ride back, and the steamship *Victoria* quickly became overcrowded, by estimates of approximately 600 people. The ship was only able to carry 400 people safely. The captain decided to skip the stop at Woodland and continue on to the city. This saved the lives of those waiting at the cemetery. Accounts from people onboard show that the two decks of the *Victoria* were seriously congested. Movement from the bow to the stern was impossible. The boat was so weighed down that the lower deck had sunk to water level, and the water rolled up to people's feet. While trying to avoid the water, people lurched back and forth, rocking the boat. One of these lurches dislodged

Taken on the day the *Victoria* sank, this photo shows the overcrowding that caused the disaster.

The Last Trip of the Victoria
By J. L. Barron

A happy throng to Springbank sailed,
They glided smoothly down the stream,
The youthful voices gladly hailed
That natal day of Our Gracious Queen

With matchless beauty, nature decked
The lovely scenery of the Thames;
No work, nor act, nor look ere checked
The friendly smiles or childish games.

They onward sail–cove bridge is past–
Their souls are charmed with hill and dell,
The pavilion now is seen at last
And Woodland's beauty, loved so well.

Springbank, thou charming, rustic spot,
Where nature woos with cheerful smile,
Where cares of age are soon forgot,
And happy youth the hours beguile.

And now the day is waning fast,
Old and young loth home to start;
The boat is shrieking yes, her last;
They little know how soon they'll part.

Now homeward bound with drunken gait,
The boat writhes with her fearful load;
She sinks, she tips– what will be their fate?
Two hundred souls must meet their God.

O London, with thy stricken heart–
Your old and young all weeping–
Take comfort now; although you part,
Your friends not dead, but sleeping.

the boiler. As the boiler fell into the water, it tipped the boat, the deck collapsed, and chaos ensued.

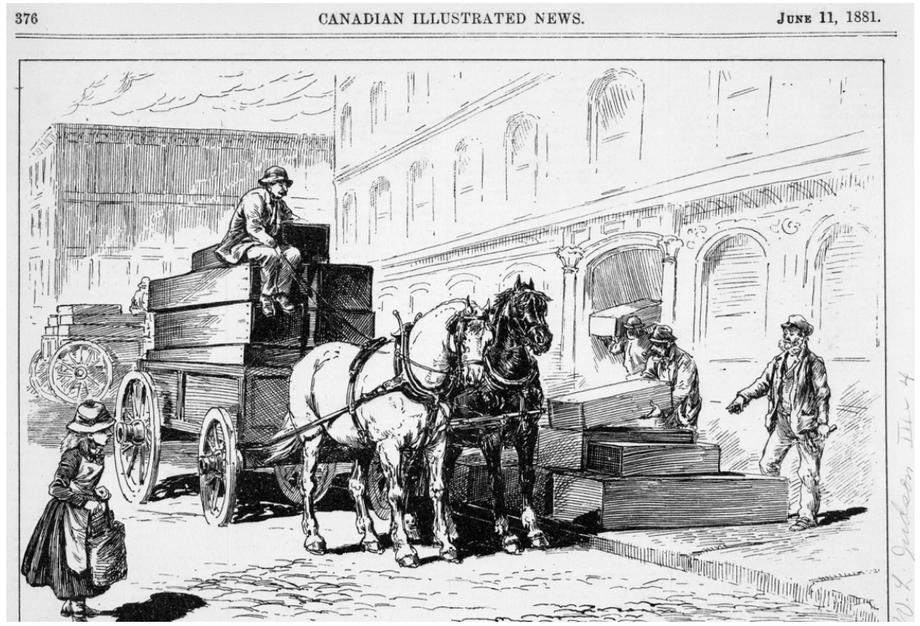
The rush to get off the boat and out of the water began. People watching from the shore sprang into action. Skinny-dipping nearby, Glenville George Wisemen and one of his friends rushed to assist people to the shore. They both drowned from exhaustion. Wisemen was buried at Woodland Cemetery in a pauper's grave with no marker. This is just one story of the bravery that took place that day. The *London Advertiser* honoured those that aided in the rescue attempts by dedicating a section of the poem "Your Mission" by Ellen M. H. Gates in their names:

If you cannot, in the conflict
Prove yourself a soldier true,
If, where fire and smoke are thickest,
There's no work for you to do;
When the battlefield is silent,
You can go with careful tread,
You can bear away the wounded,
You can cover up the dead.[1]

Although many were rescued, not everyone survived. According to the papers, 215 corpses were taken from the water, some who were trapped when the steamer sank, and others who drowned because they didn't know how to swim or whose heavy Victorian-style clothing weighed them down. A few who died weren't even on the *Victoria*, but like Glenville Wisemen, died attempting to rescue those onboard.

In a series of articles in the days following the tragedy, the writers at the *London Advertiser* expressed the agonized mourning of London residents of all social classes. Some families lost more than others. For instance, the Coughlin family lost five out of six members to the water. London had never experienced such a simultaneous loss of life that people scrambled to find enough coffins and hearses

The aftermath of the *Victoria* disaster, 1881. For days after, people hunted for the missing.



Published by the *Canadian Illustrated News* just weeks after the disaster, William Lee Judson portrayed the rush to acquire enough coffins for the approximately 200 people who died.
Courtesy of Library and Archives Canada

for the funerals that followed. In one case, they even had to bury a child in an adult's coffin.[2]

Aside from the lack of coffins, local undertakers had problems keeping up with demand.[3] There were not enough undertakers to serve all the dead, and so many were buried with the undertaker only providing the coffin. One driver, who carried eight corpses to their final resting places, reflected later on the long days, claiming he worked constantly from 8:00 in the morning to 9:30 at night. The driver felt that he was doing injustice to the dead, as he hurried from one funeral so that the next could begin. Ministers often remained at the burial grounds for a full day, helping grieving family and friends. The papers described the "agonizing chorus of sobbing and wailing" and how "many fainted and had to be carried from the side of the grave".[4]

The victims' bodies were prepared in their families' homes for their burials, with relatives and friends arriving to pay their respects. Various churches around the city held services, with St. Paul's Cathedral's described as peculiarly solemn.[5] Alters, pulpits, and chancels were draped in deep mourning and choirs sung haunting and touching hymns. The funerals lasted for days, and every hearse and vehicle available in the city and from the neighbouring area, was needed. Crowds lined the streets, dressed in mourning wear and with crepe upon their arms. Most

THE LONDON DISASTER.—THE FUNERAL TRAIN ON THE AFTERNOON OF THE 26TH.

C-076666

The funeral processions lasted for days, and there was often no time between them. One after the other, loved ones were brought through downtown London and laid to rest in the various cemeteries across the city.

Courtesy of Library and Archives Canada

victims had individual processions, but the funerals were often so close together that corteges could only be told apart from the arrival of a second hearse.[6] Sometimes a funeral procession had to completely halt to allow another to pass. All the while funeral bells tolled.

Like most other major events in the city, Amelia Harris chronicled the aftermath of the Victoria Day Disaster. According to her diary, the city was expected enshrine themselves in mourning for a month.[7] Amelia wrote how the city struggled to find the appropriate number of coffins for all the victims, and how Toronto, Hamilton, and other surrounding cities had to be contacted to find more. Although the event was "the most frightful occurrence that had ever taken place in the province," by May 28, Amelia wrote, "the dead… [were] forgotten by the public."[8]

The Haymans were one of the many families who lost multiple members on the Victoria. This stone is a reproduction that was ordered by the descendants of the Hayman family to replace an older one.

At Woodland, staff scrambled to dig enough graves for the 52 interments. 50 of the 52 funerals occurred on May 26, with the remaining two held the following day. Six of the victims were buried in a pauper's grave at the back of section Q in Woodland: Harry Abey (12); Lotticia Swanwich (21); John Kelly (24); Alice Williamson (29); Edward Williamson (8 months); and Glenville G. Wiseman, who died trying to rescue others.

Victoria Victims at Woodland Cemetery

Abey, Harry, 12.
Box, Emma Jane, 22, Spinster.
Coughlin, Edward, 9.
Craddock, Mary, 18.
Deadman, Alice M., 20, Spinster.
Dyer, Bertie, 5.
Dyer, Margaret, 47.
Dyer, William H., 45, Music Agent.
Evans, Albert Ernest, 1.
Evans, Elizabeth, 35.
Evans, Fanny Elizabeth, 9.
Evans, George William, 2.
Evans, Samuel, 6.
Graham, Mary Jane, 10.
Graham, Simon Peter, Jr., 12.
Harper, David, 47, Labourer.
Hayman, Henry, 37, Bricklayer.
Hayman, Mary Jane, 37.

Hayman, William Henry, 2.
Kelly, John, 24, Labourer.
Kendrick, Maria Elizabeth, 24, Spinster.
Lawson, Elosia, 21, Spinster.
LeClear, John, 15.
McIntosh, Adaline F., 11.
Mackay, Gertrude, 18, Spinster.
Major, Charles Edward, 12.
Matthews, Annie, 23.
Matthews, George William, 2.
Meredith, John W.C., 72, Clerk.
Millman, Ontario H. McKay, 8.
Millman, Turville H. McKay, 6.
Millman,Wm. H. McKay, 39, Commercial Traveller.
Robertson, James, 40, Bank Manager.
Roe, Frederick, 17, Labourer.
Short, James,13.
Siddons, Charles John, 13.
Smart, Elizabeth, 26.
Smart, George, 5.
Smart, Laura, 10 months.
Stevens, Ellen, 13.
Stevens, Margaret Mary, 3.
Stevens, Mary, 35.
Stevens, Thomas, 5.
Swanwick, Lettia, 21, Spinster.
Swayzie, Jane, 18.
Tatham, Dolly, 7.
Wastie, Alfred, 14.
Wallace, Thomas J., 16, Labourer.
Westman, William B. D., 14.
Williamson, Alice, 29.
Williamson, Edward, 8 months.
Wisemen, Glenville G., 16, Confectioner.

Flood of 1883

The damage caused by the flood to the city was extreme. As can be seen in this photo, houses completely came off their foundations.

Our time has come; we must all die together… This heartbreaking reaction came from a Mr. Gibson as he watched the flood-waters rush toward his family on the bank of the Thames. During the night of July 11, severe electrical storms hit London without warning. It was a storm to remember. Frequent forked lighting and torrents of rain hammered down. At 3:00 AM, the Thames overflowed, ripping down the Oxford street iron bridge in its path. Gibson, who owned a home near the river, watched in both wonder and horror as the bridge and water destroyed everything in its path. In the moments before it struck his family's home, he uttered what he thought were his final words to his family. Remarkably, portions of the bridge and the trees that surrounded his home formed a protective barrier against the water, saving the family.[9]

While the Gibson family resigned themselves to their fate, others attempted to escape the rushing water. The waters swept away many, found days later dead or seriously injured. Others were left homeless and all of their worldly possessions destroyed.

One of the youngest victims of the flood was Emma, the 1 year-old daughter of Thomas Malin, an employee at McClary's foundry. After watching the street flood that morning, Malin felt it best to wake his family and attempt to escape. Since the roads were impassable, he decided to have his family shelter in trees. After helping his wife into a tree, he passed Emma to another daughter, leaving her with instructions to pass the baby to her mother while he helped another member of the family. While the girl passed Emma to her mother, the flood lifted the house and sent it flying into that very tree. Emma was immediately crushed to death. The rest of the family was injured but they survived the ordeal. Emma was buried a few days later in the pauper's grounds at Woodland.

In perhaps the most tragic story of them all, the Stratfold family lost three children to the flood: Edwin (age 10); Martha (7); and Alfred (5). Alfred was found the day after the flood, buried underneath a building two blocks from his family's home. The Stratfold parents buried all three children in paupers' grave at Woodland Cemetery.

Although the flood was catastrophic, once again the London community rallied around the grieving families. Woodland, having established itself as sympathetic during the Victoria Day Disaster, offered free burial plots to victims of the flood which the Stratfold and Malin families accepted.

City Hall Collapse

More than fifteen years later, Toronto's *Globe and Mail* nicknamed London the 'City of Tragedies.' On January 3, 1898, City Hall collapsed, killing 23 and injuring more than 100 people. Citizens had gathered in celebration of the municipal election, filling City Hall to its limits. During the speeches, the floor collapsed in the north-east corner of the building. 150 people dropped to the level below. A 500-pound iron safe also fell, crushing those beneath it.

Chaos followed. Firemen jumped into action, receiving assistance from all of those who were able. All available doctors and every cab in the city helped to remove the dead and the injured. Hundreds of anxious loved ones came to the scene, with rumours spreading about the number of dead. Blood was everywhere and the cries of the wounded rang in the streets.[10] Workers toiled until 1:00 in the morning, searching for survivors.

Widely publicized in London, the City Hall collapse shocked the city. However, building regulations did not change until the 20th century with the collapse of the Crystal Hall.

An inquest examined the cause of the collapse. Investigations revealed that a support beam had snapped under

John Turner's grave is one of many that represent the funerals conducted by a fraternal order. The top has the markings of the Woodmen of the World, yet it seems that a plaque with their symbol is missing.

While there are no fraternal order symbols on Nash's grave, the Freemasons played a role in his funeral. A possible reason for the missing symbol is that there are many members of his family represented in this plot, and it is likely not all of them were Freemasons.

the weight, though no one was at fault because the builder had followed the weak bylaws that were in place.[11]

Out of the 23 dead, seven were buried at Woodland Cemetery: John Turner, carriage builder; James Harris, moulder; Albert Philips, flour and seed dealer; William J. Borland, carpenter; Noble Carothers, carriage builder, Francis Robinson, gentleman; and Benjamin Nash, carriage builder.

John Turner's funeral was the largest. Born and raised in London, Turner was popular with people from all walks of life, leading him to represent Ward 4 on the Board of Education and being elected a city alderman. Members of City Council and the school board took part in the funeral procession, which was headed by the police force and the fire brigade. The Woodmen of the World followed, of which Turner was a member, and the pallbearers were members of the order. Many prominent citizens, including Sir John Carling, attended. At Woodland, the Woodmen of the World conducted the graveside service.

Benjamin J. Nash's service was also quite large. Nash was an old and respected citizen of London's early days, born and raised in the city. An active community member, Nash was the president of the Senior Conservative Association. He was so popular that he frequently declined municipal office. A member of the Freemasons, the order conducted his funeral. He left behind a widow and three children.

The Victoria Day Disaster, the July Flood of 1883, and the City Hall Collapse reflected the grieving process of a community and the rites and rituals that were appropriate to Victorian sensibilities. Meanwhile, their graves record what mattered to them while they were alive.

The Cemetery as a Place of Remembrance

Stone Carvers and a Changing Industry

The family companies which dominated the stone-carving industry in London grew larger as the next generation joined the business. Christopher Teale's sons joined the family business. John Peel and George Powell dissolved in 1868. Peel continued on his own, and Powell formed a marblework business with his son, George Jr. The remnants of these companies can be seen at Woodland Cemetery, where Peel and Powell monuments are a common sight.

The number of marble workers grew in the late nineteenth century. J.W. Smythe was so successful that he opened a larger workshop on Wellington in 1870.

These businesses worked with granite as the stone of choice. Marble, despite being prized for its classical origins and the ease with which it could be carved, had begun to wear away. Inscriptions on older stones became hard to read. Granite withstood the temperature fluctuations of the Ontario climate and offered a wide array of appealing colours, even if it was more difficult to carve. Stones at Woodland Cemetery after the 1860s reflect this change. Although granite was popular, there was some experimentation with different stones and even metals. One unique example of this experimentation is the zinc obelisk grave marker of James Thomas Sainsbury.

White Bronze Company, St. Thomas, Ontario

Most cemeteries in Ontario have markers created by the White Bronze Company. In London, James Thomas Sainsbury ordered his monument from this company. His short obelisk marker stands out from the rest, not only for its grey-blue colour, but because the icons cast into the obelisk and accompanying inscription are as clear as the day it was planted in the ground.

'White Bronze', known today as zinc, was used in Canada and the United States between the 1870s and 1910s. The Monumental Bronze Company of Bridgeport, Connecticut, the creator of this trend, advertised it as a more durable option than marble.

Its claim was backed up in an 1885 edition of *Scientific American*, which concluded that corrosion occurred only in severely polluted areas.

James Thomas Sainsbury has the only zinc grave marker in the cemetery.

The White Bronze Company in St. Thomas, a franchise of the Monumental Bronze Company, started to manufacture these grave markers in 1874.

The St. Thomas outlet for these zinc markers was the only one of its kind in Canada. The American company decided to have a Canadian outlet because it circumvented the problem of high tariffs on American imports. St. Thomas was also the 'rail capital' of the country, being the intersection point of 26 rail lines. This made the finished markers easy to transport across the country. Consumers purchased the zinc markers from catalogues which advertised an array of motifs, verses, and quotations that could be added to the base, often an obelisk, at an affordable rate. For those who wanted portraits, artists were available to fulfill the request.

Once the consumer had selected a design, the panels were fused together and sand blasted, and then sprayed with a secret, patented treatment that turned the surface layer of zinc into zinc carbonite. This provided further protection against the elements. Panels with the names of the deceased were screwed on so that they could be removed to add new names as necessary. These were monuments meant to last.

Despite its ability to withstand the elements, zinc never became a popular material. These markers, unlike their stone counterparts, were mass-produced, and showed it when compared to one another. The White Bronze Company closed in 1899.

Grave Markers

The tablet with intricately carved embellishments dominated the early half of the 1800s. The 1870s onwards saw more Egyptian and classically-inspired markers as fascination with their architecture and monuments was renewed.

In 1789 Napoleon invaded Egypt, followed by the English quickly pushing the French out. These invaders explored temples and tombs and brought back artifacts. This inspired fascination with Egyptian art and burial practices. Obelisks became particularly popular as grave markers in the 1870s, likely as a result of the arrival of Cleopatra's needle (an obelisk) in London, England. Traditionally carved from a single block of stone, they rose from a square base that tapered slightly tens of meters high, to be capped by a pyramid. They were originally used to commemorate pharaohs.

The Scatcherd marker is an excellent example of the main purpose of obelisks and the

The domineering Scatcherd obelisk is indicative of the importance of family to the London landscape.

Though rather plain, people often enjoyed embellishing sarcophagus-styled grave markers with architectural embellishments, particularly carved columns in classical styles.

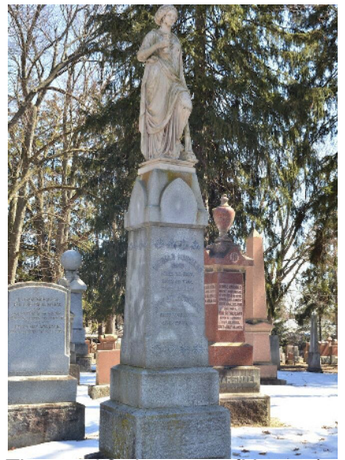
popularity of the form following the introduction of granite. The marker is plain and carved of grey granite with four step-like blocks at its base. One of these is reserved for the names of dead family members. Last names of influential families like Labatt and Jarvis, whose daughters married into the Scatcherd family, are included.

The monument dominates the landscape near the edge of the woods. The durability of granite meant families could have them soar to new heights. They provided an opportunity to celebrate family unity as well as the roles – wife, husband, son, or daughter - each member played. This was also the case with more traditional tablet markers, but the obelisks had the added advantage of four sides and multiple steps for new additions.

Other classical art motifs decorated grave markers. Sarcophagi were common, although these were not generally carved to be large enough to contain bodies. They were often based on the sarcophagus of Cornelius Lucius Scippio, a Roman console, occasionally with additional architectural features.

The interest in Gothic revival persisted through the late 1800s. In 1861 a new style of grave marker emerged from this movement. This stemmed from a competition held by Queen Victoria for a memorial shrine to Prince Consort Albert, her beloved husband who had died shortly before. The model based on Gothic revivalism won. It featured a spire embellished with crokets, finials, trefoils, quatrefoils and other plant-based décor.

Canadians with close ties to England, and the money to afford such an elaborate marker, eagerly copied the shrine. Brigid McKellar's grave is a simplified example of this elaborate style, capped with a Roman statue for effect. Classically styled statues were a less common choice, but also appear in Woodland Cemetery. A marble statue of a woman draped in a Roman tunic, her hair in a loose knot at the base of her skull and with a torch turned downwards, stands above Brigid McKellar's spire. Although expensive to carve, the Victorians were fascinated by Greek and Roman statues.



This simplified version of Victoria's shrine to Prince Albert was popular among her followers. Embellished with a neoclassical statue, it manages to successfully combine Victorians' two main influences.

Iconography

The shift towards granite necessitated a change in iconography. Carving granite was more challenging, as exemplified by the low relief of the carving of granite markers at Woodland.

The detail of these carvings continued to denote the wealth and influence of the family. The classical style portrait of a mother with her three children adorning Mary Parsons' marker is one such example. In it, she sits surrounded by her three children, all of whom pre-deceased her. This is an idealized image of the devoted mother, representing the Victorians' veneration of women who died in childbirth.

This family portrait shows Mary Parsons and her three children and is inspired by ancient Greek grave markers. It celebrates her role as a mother and the short lives of the children she bore.

Urns became popular either on their own, draped in fabric, or with fire bursting from the lid. These forms were based on Roman funerary urns that held the cremated remains of the dead. Although cremation was a controversial concept in the Victorian era, urns were widely considered an acceptable motif. Urns played to the Victorian philosophy by concealing the changes to the body following death. At the same time, the urn was a study in contrasts, a small object containing the entire life and remains of a person.


Urns were a popular way of embellishing and personalizing obelisks.

Draping the urn in 'fabric' emphasized the aura of mystery by hiding the form of the container.

Urns with flames were modelled on the monument to the 1666 Great Fire of London, England, designed by Robert Hooke and Christopher Wren. The flaming urn represented life in the face of disaster, based on Hooke's idea that something continued to burn even after there was nothing left. For those who adopted this icon, it became a symbol of life after death.


This draped urn represented the mystery of life after death.

For Catholics, crosses were the icon of choice for their monuments. These could be found either capping an obelisk or carved into the marker.

Protestants rejected imagery surrounding crucifixion because it was seen as a Catholic symbol.

As London was a predominantly Protestant town, crosses at Woodland are understandably uncommon. One such example are the grave markers of John and Bridget Parkinson found side-by-side.

John and Bridget Parkinson, husband and wife, have the Hope Anchor, popular among Protestants, and the Catholic cross, side by side at the cemetery.

Fraternal Orders

Late nineteenth century grave markers also have a wide range of symbols of their own. Fraternal orders began in Britain, but by the nineteenth century they had permeated the English-speaking world. After 1870, their financial support became increasingly important. This included insurance for members to pay funerary costs and the provision of a grave marker.

Freemasons

Freemason symbols can be found on many Victorian and modern grave markers scattered throughout Woodland Cemetery. Based on the idea that God was an architect, the Freemasons' open compass overlapping a level is the most common, often accompanied by the letter 'G' for God or geometry. The stone arch with a


Freemasons' symbols varied greatly. A few of those found at Woodland can be seen here including: the compasses and square, the arch and the star of David.

prominent keystone on William W. Scarcliff's grave marker is another symbol, which stands for light and truth. In addition to the arch, George Hampton included a Star of David on his grave marker, which is seen as a talisman. Other symbols included the equilateral triangle for God, light, and truth, and pairs of columns which represent the Temple of Solomon, all of which can be found at Woodland.

The modern Freemasons were founded in the seventeenth century in London, England, and are seen as the model for most Victorian fraternal orders. Local lodges were meeting places for members, governed by regional 'grand lodges'. This model was often copied by other orders. Ceremonies were invented to create an appropriate aura of mystery. They started with an oath to keep the secrets of the Masons, with creative threats and fines for those who broke this oath. 'Grades of knowledge' were added, each one requiring the practice of additional ceremonies, some of which were hours long. These additional ceremonies increased members' feelings of their own power and helped to maintain the strict hierarchy that was enforced in the group.

Organization of lodges in Canada rapidly improved in 1855 when the Canadian Masonic Order finally declared itself free of the British Grand Lodge. England refused to recognise this division for decades, but the American lodges did, lending the Canadians legitimacy. This helped cement the power of the Freemasons in the minds of both members and onlookers and membership swelled as a result. By 1861 there were 155 lodges on the roll; by 1900 there were 10,000 lodges in Ontario.

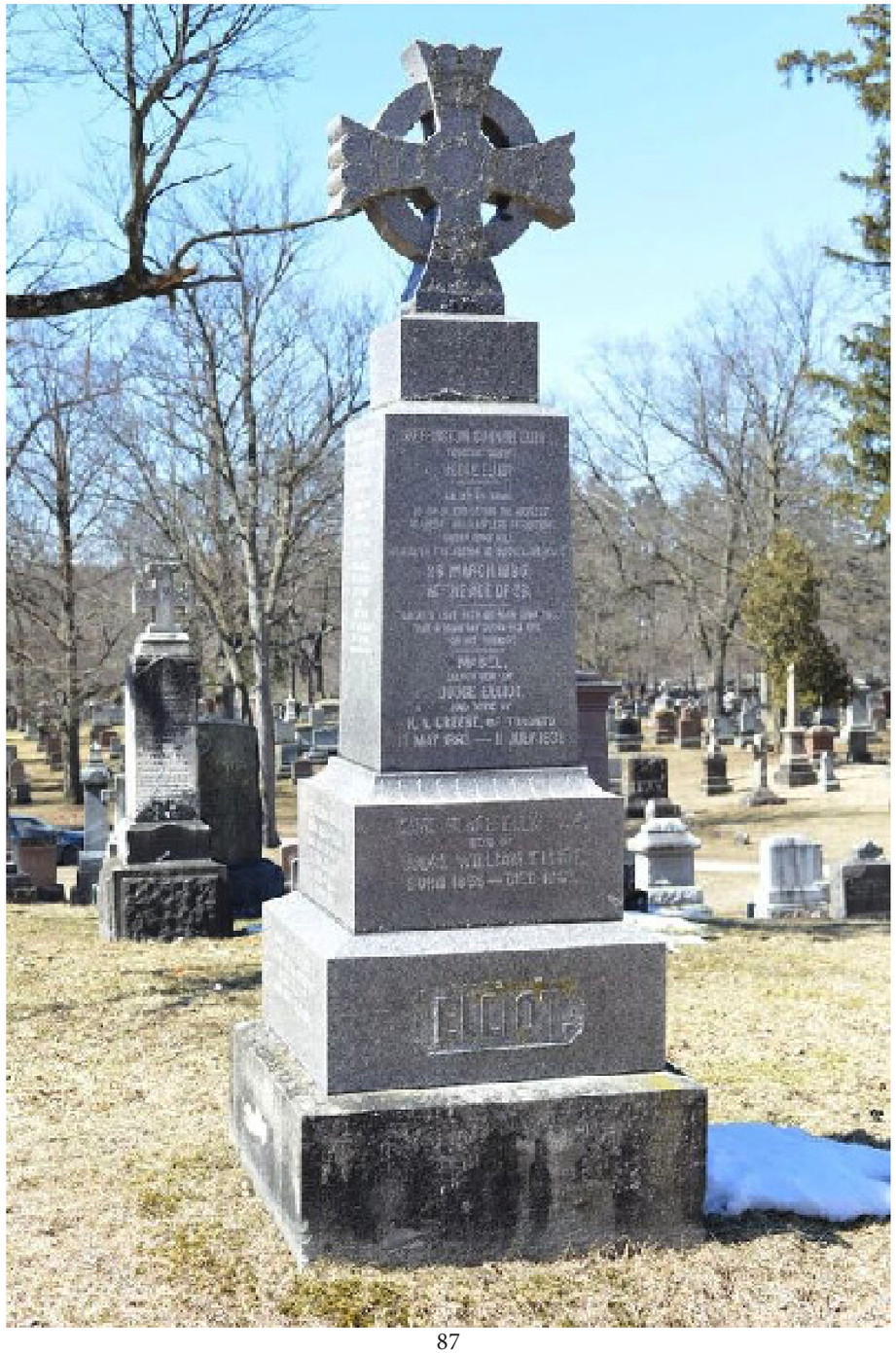
Skeffington Elliot

Skeffington Elliot c.1880.

Skeffington Connor Elliot

Youngest Son of Judge Elliot
Called to Arms
To aid in protecting the helpless
Against the lawless insurgents
Under Louis Riel
He fell in the action at Duck Lake, N.W.T.
26 March 1885
At the age of 26
"Greater love hath no man than this
That a man lay down his life
For his friends"

By all accounts, the funeral of Skeffington Elliot, the son of local judge William Elliot, was one of the largest to occur in London during the Victorian period. At 27 years old 'Skeff', as he was affecionately referred to by his father, volunteered on March 20, 1885, to aid the Royal Canadian Mounted Police during the North West Resistance, a Métis and First Nations' conflict against the government over their rights to land.



Freemason Funeral Dirge, 1865

Solemn strikes the funeral chime,
Notes of our departing time.
As we journey here below,
Through a pilgrimage of woe.

Mortals now indulge a tear,
For mortality is here –
See how wide its trophies wave,
O'er the victims of the grave.
Lo! another guest we bring
Seraph of celestial wing,
To our funeral altar come,
Waft a friend, a brother home.

Lord of all below, above,
Fill our hearts with truth and love,
As dissolves our earthy tie,
Take us to thy LODGE on high!

On March 26 while fighting at Duck Lake, Elliot had just helped a wounded man into a sleigh when he turned around and was hit by a musket ball. He died immediately. Eliot's comrades returned his body to Prince Albert, where it remained until his family received permission to return his body to London.[12] While in Prince Albert, the local Masons, of which Elliott was a member, cared for his remains. They cleaned his body and placed Skeffington in his coffin. On July 16, the family finally held the funeral. Beginning at the former Bishop Cronyn Memorial Church in downtown London, the body laid in state in a covered coffin, as Skeffington's head had been badly mutilated after death by a discharging gun. The casket was covered in floral wreaths, anchors, and other designs. Members of the Seventh Fusiliers, a local infantry regiment, and members of the fraternal orders of the Freemasons and the Independent Order of the Foresters attended to send him off. Following the church service, a cortege proceeded to Woodland. It included more than 1,000 individuals, making the procession approximately a mile in length. Londoners packed the streets to pay their respects, the flags on public public buildings flew at half-mast, and all public and legal buildings closed during the funeral.[13]

The Freemasons and the Independent Order of Foresters conducted Eliot's funeral rites. The heads of the fraternal orders led the ceremony at the church, followed by a procession through the streets of London to the cemetery. A popular order, Freemason funeral processions were large and noticeable, attracting the attention of London's non-Masonic citizens. Members marched in a specific order based on rank. Members of all fraternal orders dressed in full regalia, such as sashes, aprons, and pins (known as jewels). Because Skeffington belonged to more than one order, the Masons and the Foresters coordinated the services and procession to the cemetery. They gave speeches over the grave and Skeffington's regalia was removed and buried with him. A hymn was sung, after which the members returned to their meeting place to close the ceremony.

Skeffington was buried with military honours in section R at Woodland Cemetery.

Independent Order of Oddfellows

The Independent Order of Oddfellows (I.O.O.F.) was decidedly less popular than the Freemasons in London. The I.O.O.F. borrowed the three-link chain and the all-

seeing eye from the Freemasons. This makes it difficult to untangle who was a member of which fraternal organization. George Thomas' grave marker with a hand holding a heart is a unique symbol of the I.O.O.F.

Oddfellows are difficult to spot at Woodland because they took most of their symbols from the Freemasons.

The I.O.O.F was founded on the needs of working-class people in England. When the medieval guild system collapsed, taking with it the support system members enjoyed, fraternal orders filled the gaps. The Oddfellows, while not as popular as the Freemasons in London, were one of the more prominent groups because they offered not only the benefits of a friendly society, but also the rituals and mysticism of the Freemasons.


The heart in hand is one of the only symbols unique to the Oddfelows.

The first two Oddfellow encampments in London were founded through connections to the British organizations in 1847. These quickly failed when the Oddfellows in Canada found they disagreed with their English brethren. The remaining members disbanded and went to St. Catharines where they were initiated into an American-styled lodge of Oddfellows. These newly minted Oddfellows then returned to London and formed a new lodge in 1854, followed by another three years later. By 1870, the last year for which reliable data could be found, these two lodges had only 205 and 194 members respectively. This probably explains why so few of their grave markers can be found at Woodland.

Woodmen of the World

Members of the Woodmen of the World are much easier to spot than the Oddfellows or Freemasons in Woodland due to their tree-trunk shaped grave markers. In 1890, the Woodmen of the World in Omaha splintered from the Modern Woodmen of America. Both groups were based on a combination of Christian philosophy and the 'pioneer spirit'. The axe was their symbol of choice, chosen for its ability to clear forests and build a society. Members carried aluminium-headed axes and practiced marching in formation. The only difference was that Woodmen of the World provided their members with free headstones, an appealing incentive considering how expensive marble markers were. These were carved to look like sections of a tree trunks, often covered in ivy, though they were sometimes individualized.

In the twentieth century, many of these fraternal organizations became too large to live up to their promises. Their insurance schemes were often imperfect and depended on members' continuing to fund the organization and ousting

Woodmen of the World markers make a striking mark on the landscape for their level of detail. Note the Masonic symbol added to Skuse's monument.

members who were considered too old, sick, or disabled. They were replaced by commercial life insurance organizations, but the popularity of fraternal orders remains on Woodland's landscape.

Crypts

Built in the 1880s, the three side hill crypts huddle together near the center of the cemetery. These belong to the Birrell, Priddis, and Smith families and they reflect Victorians' interest in neoclassical architecture. Similar in style, the Birrell and Smith crypts feature stone walls, arched doorways with wrought iron gates, and tympanums that reflect Grecian temples, although the Birrell crypt has a draped urn on top. In the middle, the Priddis crypt is more elaborate, with a wide arched front which curves inwards to envelope visitors. It is decorated with an intricate wrought iron gate flanked by composite columns, two alcoves, and two short ionic columns.

First popularized in the United States in the early 1800s, hillside vaults also reflect Victorians' Egyptomania.[14] Many American examples have Egyptian iconography. Winged sun disks, lotus capital columns, pylons and mastaba (lists of the names of the dead) were particularly common at the time.[15] Only really wealthy families could afford to pay for these elaborate memorials.

Birrell

John Birrell founded a large wholesale dry goods company.[16] Upon the death of his father John in 1875, George Birrell took over the company and made it one of the most successful in western Ontario.[17] An influential member of London society, he acted as an alderman multiple times and water commissioner in 1885. He once even declined the position of mayor. He was also a Freemason and president of the Masonic Temple.

George Birrell married Alice Perry of Utica, New York, in 1868. Together they had three children: Elise, born in 1868; John, born in 1887, both of whom predeceased their parents; and George, who was not buried with them.[18] Elise Perry, Alice's mother was also buried in the crypt.

Priddis

Charles Trump Priddis, a merchant from England, came to North America in the

These three hillside crypts are the only ones of their kind at Woodland. Stemming from Victorians' fascination with Egyptian funeral practices, these three have added a neoclassical twist.

hopes of finding gold in California. His wife refused to continue their journey once they reached London and they settled down to open a dry goods store, which sold furniture, ladies' accessories, and made-to-order clothing.[19]

In 1881, their sons, George and James, took over the company.[20] Upon retirement, they moved to their farm north of the city. Their older brother, Charles, died out west where he worked as a rancher. He was brought back to London and buried with his family.[21]

Harriet Priddis authored a series of articles explaining the origin of the names of London's streets, and was involved in the London and Middlesex Historical Society. She also was an active member of the Imperial Order Daughters of Empire, which took part in her funeral procession.[22] She rather famously died after falling into an open culvert on her way home from the end of the streetcar line in 1925.[23]

Smith

The Smiths are known as one of the earliest families to settle London. Charles Russ Smith was a merchant, although the family clearly had some money before this as his father, Henry Arvida Smith, was a member of the London Club, one of London's premier clubs.[24] John Ferguson & Sons, a popular undertaker firm in London, tended to the bodies of Charles R. Smith, Robert Leslie Taylor, and Edna Taylor.[25] The family died from a variety of causes, including scarlet fever, cholera, heart disease, and pneumonia.

Private Mausolea

Although most mausolea in Canada are public with hundreds, if not thousands, of people buried within, the wealthy could build private family mausolea. The process is extremely personal, and gives the bereaved the option to customize their loved ones' final resting place. Historically, mausoleums were the resting places of great world leaders. During Roman times, their popularity increased and nobility began to build their grave markers in similar styles. In North America, it wasn't until the 1870s that mausoleums became popular, with upper class families building towering and permanent tributes to their lost loved ones. The only example of a private mausoleum at Woodland Cemetery is the Annie Pixley-Fulford Mausoleum.

The Annie Pixley Mausoleum

Built in 1895 for Annie Pixley-Fulford, it houses the remains of various members of her family.

A famous American stage actress, Annie Pixley never lived in London, though she visited the city twice to perform at the Grand Opera House. She also did not die in London, making it curious that her family decided to lay her to rest

The Annie Pixley Mausoleum is the only example of a private mausoleum at Woodland Cemetery. Although the structure is closed to visitors, a peek inside the gates reveals the beautiful interior.

Pictured here are Annie Pixley and her son Robert. Robert died in 1893 of brain fever while visiting his aunt and uncle in Port Stanley. He was laid to rest at Woodland, with his mother following eight years later.
Today, a bust of Robert lies inside the mausoleum.
Courtesy of Elgin County Archives

at Woodland.

Her husband, Robert Fulford, chose London as her final resting place because of a tragedy that had befallen the family in the region several years prior. While living with his aunt and uncle in Port Stanley, the couple's son, Thomas Rowland Fulford, drowned in 1886. They buried him in Woodland. The death of her son seriously affected Annie for the rest of her life. When Annie died in 1893 of a brain fever, Robert commissioned an elaborate mausoleum in her honour.[26]

Robert Fulford chose the local London architectural firm, Moore and Henry, to design the mausoleum.[27] The firm's vision was a fitting tribute to the stage actress's life and career, a Gothic structure 28-feet tall, 14-feet wide and 20-feet deep, that included statues representing Music, Drama, and Victory.[28] The three statues are easily identified by the objects they hold. Music holds a lyre in her left arm, Drama carries a mask, and Victory clutches a laurel wreath in her right hand.

The actual building of the structure was a group effort. Fulford was deeply involved in the process and even helped design the solid bronze entrance gates. J.R. Peel completed the marble works and a Toronto company hard-carved the three statues. Each took over a year to complete.[29] On the sides are three stained glass windows created by Austrian European artists. Two other unique features are the bronze medallion above the doorway and the bust of Thomas Rowland Fulford. The bronze medallion features a depiction of Annie Pixley wearing the costume from her most famous play, M'liss Child of the Plains. The bust of Thomas, commissioned by Annie while she was alive, was created by a sculptor out of New York in 1887, and it was kept in Annie and Robert's New York home until it was moved to the mausoleum following Annie's death. It is centrally displayed inside the mausoleum, though it can only be seen once the visitor is inside.

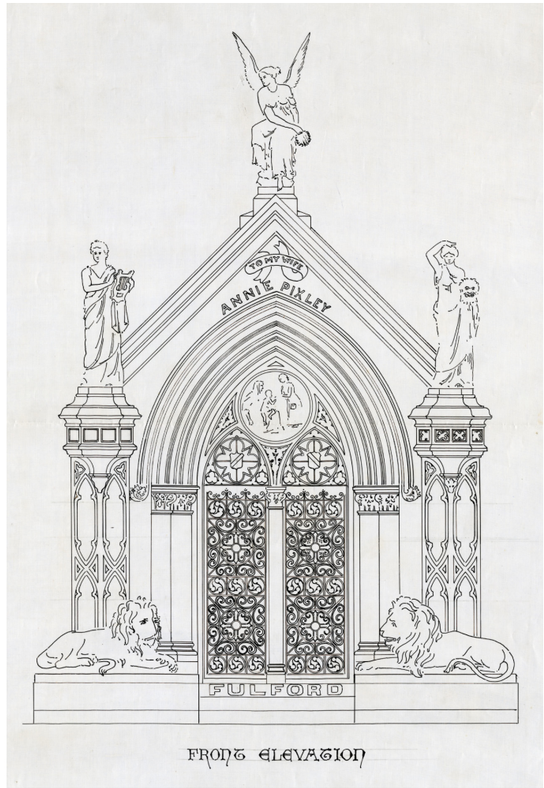
Completed in 1897, it cost approximately $20,000, or $510,000 in today's currency.[30] The crypt was later used as the final resting place of Robert Fulford, Thomas Rowland Fulford, Emma (Fulford) Fraser (Robert's sister), Mrs. Fulford (Robert's mother) and Thomas Fraser (Robert's brother-in-law).

Death of Queen Victoria

The death of Queen Victoria on January 22, 1901, concluded the Victoria era. Society no longer placed extreme restrictions on women's clothing and the grieving process became less encompassing.

The practices that lingered into the twentieth century ended with the First World War. Such mass casualties did not allow such extreme mourning. Many bodies never returned home to be buried, money was scarce and could not be spent on extravagant mourning costumes and funerals, nor could people at home take so much time off to mourn.

Entering into the next cycle of its life, Woodland Cemetery witnessed burials en masse during the First and Second World Wars as well as during the Spanish influenza epidemic. No longer would death be acknowledged as a normal occurrence as in the Victorian era. Medicine improved and mortality rates rose. The knowledge that people should live longer changed death into something to be feared, not embraced.



These architectural drawings by Moore and Henry, a London based firm, show the ornate detailing planned for the exterior of the mausoleum.

Notes

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[21] London Obituaries Scrapbook, vol. 1, 5, Ivey Family London Room, London Public Library, London, Ontario.
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[24] "Membership," The London Club, accessed March 27, 2017, http://londonclub.com/; London Room; "London Native H. A. Smith Dies," London History Scrapbook, vol. 6, 111, Ivey Family London Room, London Public Library, London, Ontario.
[25] Reel 58, Series MS935, Archives of Ontario, Toronto, Ontario; Reel 279, Series MS935, Archives of Ontario, Toronto, Ontario; Reel 51, Series MS935, Archives of Ontario, Toronto, Ontario.
[26] Michael Baker and Hilary Bates Neary, *100 Fascinating Londoners* (Toronto: James Lorimer & Co., 2005), 27.
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The Birrell crypt.

Chapter V:

Mass Tragedy, Modernization, War, & Peace, 1900-1938

No pain, no grief, no anxious fear
Can reach our loved ones sleeping here
- Edward David Ings, 1911

It was a dreary, cool May day in Quebec City when Franklin Gilbert took his first steps in Canada. A steady rain had made slick his every step down the gangplank of RMS *Canada*, the ship which had brought him from Liverpool. Now ashore, and past the Grosse Île Quarantine Station just beyond the Île d'Orléans, Gilbert looked forward to starting his new life in Canada.[1] He had left behind a changed England. It was 1906, and the large estates Franklin had worked at as a gardener since he was 15 were no longer as successful. Now entering his middle-age at 41, he had extensive experience as a botanist and landscaper. Canada was Franklin's opportunity to start a new career. He travelled to Ontario where he worked various jobs in the Simcoe, Orillia, and Brantford areas before moving to London to serve as superintendent at Woodland Cemetery in 1909.[2] He served in this role for 38 years, shaping the development of Woodland from the Edwardian period to the end of the Second World War.

Mourning and Funerary Practices

The Edwardian period saw a dramatic departure from elaborate Victorian mourning customs and marked the beginning of an evolution in how death was experienced by the living over the first half of the twentieth century. One of the most significant changes affected mourning attire. The wearing of special costumes to signify bereavement had been an important ritual in Western culture for centuries, but its meaning shifted around the turn of the century in favour of a more relaxed set of societal regulations. The death of Queen Victoria in 1901 symbolized that shift, just as her husband Albert's death in 1861 had represented the pinnacle of excessive grieving. Her funeral included no black. The mortuary chamber at Osborne House, on the Isle of Wight, where she died, was hung in crimson, her pall was embroidered white satin, and her funeral draperies violet. Victoria's daughter-in-law, Princess Alexandra of Wales, and daughter, Princess Louise, avoided the traditional crepe. In this way, the royals set a new tone for acceptable mourn-

ing practices across the Commonwealth and opened the door for broader funereal changes that were soon adopted within the gates of Woodland Cemetery.[3]

This did not mean that the earlier social mourning regulations so deeply linked with respectability and gender completely lifted. By 1913, the socially acceptable widow was less overt in her dramatic draperies but still easy to identify. Her dress could be trimmed in crepe rather than entirely constructed of the crisp fabric. On her head, a smaller coif with trailing ends at the back or a crepe-trimmed bonnet with heavy veiling replaced the elaborate and stiff widow's cap. She was only allowed to adorn herself in jet jewellery, limited to a watch chain, brooch, and earrings at most. She avoided diamonds and pearls until crepe was taken off, and gloves were of black suede or wool. For non-widows in mourning, all black attire of any material signified bereavement. Men in mourning wore a black hat-band, and widowers wore black clothing for a year. Employers provided servants with mourning attire, with the men usually just adding a black armband. They donned this attire for the same duration as the rest of the family.[4]

This was the case in London society's wealthiest homes such as Eldon House. The entire house wore black in 1923 after the death of John and Amelia's son George Becher Harris, and again when his brother Edward William died in 1925. Diaries kept by members of the Harris family reveal the deep connection between servants and their employers, and the death of a family member greatly affected both the upstairs and downstairs residents of houses like Eldon.

English Women's Mourning Guide, *Vogue*

The amount of time associated with mourning also relaxed. After a year and nine months in the stricter widow's attire, a woman wore half-mourning for three months. She gradually introduced touches of white during that period, and exchanged her bonnet or cap and veil for a black chiffon toque. She could begin wearing gold jewellery, and purples, grays, and deep mauves could be introduced to her wardrobe. She gradually re-

entered society during the first three months of half-mourning, but balls and dances were strictly out of the question for the first year. For immediate relations, the period of mourning was also less severe. Female family members spent six months in black with only the first three in crepe for three months of half-mourning. A child mourning a parent or vice-versa was expected to withdraw from society for six weeks and not attend any balls or dances for six months, while mourning a sibling, grandparent, aunt, or uncle only required two to three weeks of seclusion.[5]

With changing social circumstances and the relaxation of other customs came a new set of problems for mourning etiquette. Questions of how to navigate death within changing ideas of marriage were not at the forefront of social discourse, but doubtless became important after the dust had settled from one of the city's greatest social scandals. In 1915, former city alderman, prominent London businessman, and owner of the iconic Kingsmill's Department Store, Thomas Frazer Kingsmill, died of a bladder disease and was buried at Woodland Cemetery. His wife Anne had already died, so the estate was left to their children.

The two were married in Canada a year later, but Margaret returned to England. She claimed to not have been told about Thomas' other wife until after the marriage. Thomas lived with her during his cloth-buying trips in England, but spent most of the year in London, Ontario, with Anne. He and Margaret eventually had three children together, who had come to London in 1910 and moved into Kingsmill House after Thomas' death. London society was not quick to accept these new heirs to a local empire following a scandal that tarnished its founder's legacy, and the idea of his being mourned by a strange second family was difficult to accept.[6]

More broadly, commentators began to recognize the increasing frequency of mourning after remarriage, though under less shocking circumstances than the Kingsmills'. Mrs. C.E. Humphry, a columnist for the American society journal *Truth* under the pseudonym "Madge," wrote that "A woman who has divorced her husband would be guided by circumstances as to wearing mourning for him. Should he have married again and left a widow, it would be too absurd for two women to be wearing weeds for him; but if it should be thought advisable, in the interests of children, or for any other reason, for the woman who divorced him to wear mourning, she should do so, though without any exaggerated advertisement of regret. The children would wear mourning for their father, and it would be in singularly bad taste if their mother were not to don black and avoid colours until their period of mourning had expired. But a woman who has been divorced has no right to wear mourning for her former husband. Women who are separated from their husbands have, in the same way, to be guided by a number of considerations as to whether they shall wear weeds or merely what is called 'complimentary mourning' on the death of the man."

Thomas and Margaret's three children thus attended their father's funeral at Woodland in the same style of clothing as those worn by his original heirs, and their wardrobe decisions in the year after moving into the Kingsmill house featured in many a heated London parlour discussion.

Wartime Woodland

At the outbreak of the First World War in 1914, a certain energy was felt from one end of the dominion to the other. When news reached southwestern Ontario that it would be a part of the Canadian war effort, a strong sense of patriotism gripped cities like London and was met with spectacles and demonstrations such as parades, the flying of flags, concerts, and rallies. This optimism, however, was rather short-lived because, as the war that was predicted to end by Christmas raged on, Canadians, like other participants in the war, started to feel the impact financially, politically, and morally as the constant stream of death telegrams from overseas began to overwhelm those with loved ones fighting in Europe.[8]

During the war, the home front also included those who had enlisted or been conscripted but who had not yet made it overseas. This included men in training, for example, or who were waiting on medical clearance or an overseas assignment. Some of these men are both buried and commemorated at Woodland because they died before making it to Europe. On the other hand, there are also men who are commemorated at Woodland whose bodies are actually still in Europe. Men who had died abroad were buried where they fell, due to the overwhelming amount of deaths that made embalming and transporting bodies back home simply too daunting a task.[9] The cemetery has developed many walking tours to better inform the general public on its history and the First World War tour, "They Are Not Here," features many of the tombstones erected during this time.

There are some men who died in Canada after having enlisted and are commemorated in cemeteries as fallen soldiers of the First World War. One of these men was young Martin Stephen. Stephen was born in November 1899, son of Peter C. and Christina Stephen of York Street in London. After enlisting in February 1919, three months after the declaration of the Armistice, Stephen contracted influenza and, like many who faced infectious diseases in the early twentieth century, died at the Western Ontario Military Hospital. Stephen never actually saw action; however, his death is still counted as a casualty of the war because he died after having enlisted. Stephen's tombstone can be found at Woodland Cemetery and is shared with his brother, James Stephen, who died at Passchendaele in November 1917, but who is also commemorated at the Menin Gate (Ypres) Memorial Cemetery in Belgium.[10]

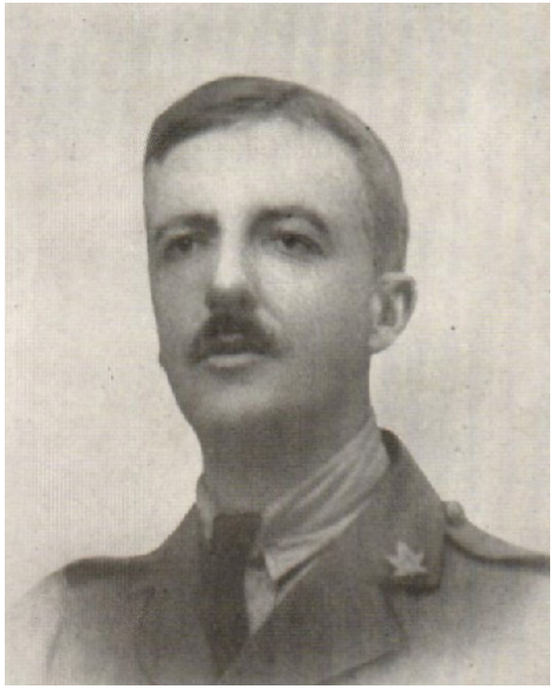
Archibald Valency Becher also enlisted. Major Archie Becher was a member of London's famous Becher family and the son of Henry and Katherine Becher. Henry was a prominent barrister in the city who had emigrated to London from England in 1835. The Bechers lived at Thornwood Estate in London and their home alone was famous for it had housed such esteemed guests as Sir John A. MacDonald and Sir Winston Churchill.

Martin Stephen's tombstone.

As a veteran of the South African War, Becher followed in his father's footsteps by becoming an alderman of the city's council. Becher also attended the University of Western Ontario to become a doctor, and served as a coroner in the city until he enlisted in October 1915, following the overseas death of his brother, Henry, who had been killed in action in June of the same year.

As a physician, Archie Becher signed his own papers claiming himself to be medically fit, however, soon after his enlistment he was sent to a military hospital in Quebec where he contracted double pneumonia. When news of his illness reached London, his mother Katherine and his wife Flora joined him, but he succumbed to his illness on Christmas Day, 1915.

After his death, Becher was transported back to London for a funeral and burial at Woodland Cemetery which was met by hundreds of people and enough flowers to fill four carriages.



Archibald "Archie" Valency Becher.

The deaths of Archibald and Henry Becher because of the First World War are an excellent indicator of just how widespread the war's effects were. As members of one of London's well-known and wealthy families, they might have been exempt from a conflict on a smaller scale, but because of the all-encompassing nature of the war that did not discriminate between social and economic classes, the family lost not one, but two sons, one of which who is buried in France, and the other, who is buried at Woodland Cemetery.[11]

Like many Canadians during the war, "Londoners being certain that whatever sacrifices must be paid to preserve the empire, they were willing to pay the price." The First World War managed to touch and alter almost every facet of society, and it also created a sort of "international trauma" that led to a "lost generation" because young adults turned their back on the ideals of the old world.[12] This could be felt in almost every aspect of culture and society, including the shift in mourning and funeral practices. This was because cities like London were trying to cope with death tolls like never seen before in other military conflicts.

The First World War shook the entire world and caused a ripple in customs and practices that had been in place for the last century and paved the way for commemoration and remembrance trends, some of which are still practiced today.

As the war raged on, turning out casualties at an unimaginable rate, the extensive and extravagant mourning practices of the Victorian era came to an abrupt halt. This is perhaps due to the fact that rituals such as mourning practices only have meaning when they are relevant to the needs of the particular culture, and this was evident in the dramatic shift from prolonged and often excessive mourning rituals to ones that are more similar to those today. With the number of casualties growing by the day, it was no longer practical for women to retreat from society for each relative that had died. Additionally, mourning attire adapted to suit the turbulent circumstances.

In wartime, both the clothing worn to denote bereavement and the periods of social retreat changed drastically because deaths in the family were no longer few and far between, and the mass suffering endured by women at this time made social isolation simply impractical. Though they no longer donned heavy, extravagant dresses, they continued to dress in all black to, at the very least, indicate the pain of the wearer without the intricate accompaniments of Victorian mourning practices. The new consensus was that "the laws of mourning were never more relevant, yet never so unnecessary."[13] This was because mourning was now becoming less about outward expressions of grief to be accompanied by elegant dress and social sequestering, and more about individual and private expressions.

Service Flag representing four sons.

In London, for example, the Mother's Recognition Committee encouraged the idea that mothers were grieving their sons as a sacrifice for Empire, and no longer needed to go into seclusion for an extended period.

Another relatively novel way of mourning was the service flag, which people hung on their front door to indicate that they had loved ones fighting in Europe. The flag was white with a red border, and had one blue maple leaf in the center for each member of the family at war. Families continued to display them if their sons or husbands died, but the leaf changed to red to represent a death. This was

modeled on the American "service at the front" flag. An editorial in the *Toronto Star* noted that "these little flags will be mute, but eloquent evidence of the fact that we are one people, and that far more homes in Toronto are sharing the hopes and anxieties of the war than anyone had supposed."[14] The First World War had an astounding impact on the way Canadians mourned their dead, so much so that society did not revert back to traditional Victorian customs and made mourning a more individualized event.

Cemeteries were also affected by the elevated death tolls because they too needed to accommodate the familiarity and delicacy with which death was now met. Not only a designated place to deposit human remains, they were now seen as places to "communicate" with the dead. This was deemed psychologically necessary as it helped Canadians make sense of the devastating casualties that they faced daily. This helped push cemeteries toward a new design to resemble that of a park, making them a more comfortable place to mourn.[15]

Men who fought in the First World War but who were fortunate enough to live for many years after are also buried at Woodland Cemetery. The military section is unmistakeable and conforms to the standards initially set by the Commonwealth War Graves Commission during the First World War.

The Commonwealth War Graves Commission (C.W.G.C.) became a part of the Royal Charter of the British Empire in May 1917 after the idea was conceived by Fabian Ware. Ware had fought in the Boer War, which made him well aware of the neglect of war dead on the battlefields, and he wanted to give families concrete locations to visit and remember their loved ones.

As a result, Ware founded the C.W.G.C. as a way to ensure that all those who fought in the war received proper burial or commemoration, whether they died during or after the war. He acquired several plots of land along the Western Front to create cemeteries for the fallen and, with the support of the British Empire, he began his mission of ensuring all men of war an honourable burial, and a significant marker that demonstrated their sacrifice.

Many men at Woodland are buried under these circumstances because, after the war, the C.W.G.C. decided to commemorate veterans in the same way as those who had died during battle which is why, in many cemeteries today, there are sections devoted to C.W.G.C. graves. These sections are unmistakeable as they contain the same stones as would have been laid in 1917, all made of granite (or limestone in Europe) and inscribed with the man's name and regimental emblem. Every stone is uniformly two feet and six inches high, one foot and three inches wide, and three inches thick.

The creation of the C.W.G.C. was instrumental in the commemoration of fallen soldiers abroad during the First World War, and it remains an important part of military commemoration today. Without Ware's contribution, there could have been tens of thousands of soldiers without marked graves and thanks to his work, even veterans who died decades after the end of the war received the same honour and privilege to be laid to rest under a C.W.G.C. stone.[16]

Spanish Influenza

The Spanish influenza epidemic ravaged the globe in 1918 and 1919. There were three major waves – spring 1918, fall 1918, and winter and spring of 1919.The flu infected an estimated one sixth of Canada's population and killed between 30,000 and 50,000 people, an unprecedented mortality rate.

In London, acting medical officer Dr. W.S. Downham declared that the flu had not yet reached the city on Saturday, September 23, 1918. But on Monday night, London Street Railway conductor John Humphrey died at Victoria Hospital of pneumonia caused by influenza, and his wife succumbed to the disease two days later. Spanish flu had arrived in the Forest City.

On October 15, the city closed all theaters, schools, and public gathering places, with 12 deaths reported in the previous week. All branches of the London Public Library were closed, and all returned books were disinfected. Carling Heights military hospital saw over 500 cases, and illness spread among medical staff and nurses at both St. Joseph's and Victoria hospitals.

The need for more accurate reporting was already apparent. The *London Free Press* reported that it was impossible to get any accurate number of cases in the city because doctors were not required to record them. One doctor claimed to have visited 50 new patients in one day, while another thought the outbreak was nearing its end.[17] On October 17, the newspaper estimated that only one-third of doctors had reported patients under treatment for the flu. Physicians only reported 50 deaths total and an estimated 11,000 cases, or 20 percent of London's population. The next day, reports indicated that doctors believed the worst of the epidemic was over despite the fact that more deaths were being reported as a result of better registration protocol.[18]

Officials quickly recognized the connection between mourning and the spread of influenza. A public notice in the *Free Press* declared that public funerals were forbidden until the epidemic ended.[19]

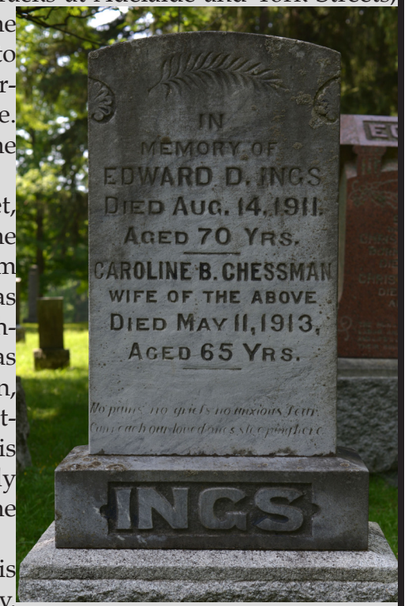
Ultimately, 187 deaths related to Spanish influenza were reported in London. Sixty-eight percent of these were victims between the ages of 20 and 50, typical of global mortality trends.[20] This devastation occurred on the heels of the unprecedented global trauma of the First World War, and the two intersected in tragic ways. In London, the Hutchison family on Horton Street were burying a son who died from pneumonia resulting from the flu when they were notified that a second son, Archie, had been killed in action overseas. Their third son was recovering in a British Army hospital after losing his sight on the battlefield in France.[21]

Edward D. Ings

Tragic death often occurred closer to home as a result of a lack of widespread safety regulations and precarious conditions. On August 14, 1911, Edward David Ings met a horrifying and public end when his horse and buggy collided with a train on the Grand Trunk Railway tracks at Adelaide and York Streets, dragging his body about a kilometer up the line. A drayman, Edward delivered beer to people's homes and bars and he also operated the coal boiler system at Eldon House. The *London Free Press* reported vividly on the incident.

Edward, who lived on Adelaide Street, was headed home when he approached the rail crossing. A watchman tried to alert him of the oncoming train, but since Edward was deaf he failed to heed the warning. The watchman ran to grab the horse's bridle but he was too late. The train crashed into the wagon, throwing Edward from his seat and inflicting a large head wound that likely caused his death. The train was brought to a stop shortly after and Edward's body was brought into the station baggage-room, where he died.

His identity was unknown until his son, Arthur was brought in to view the body. According to the account, "he then broke down and cried bitterly."[22]



Gravestone of Edward Ings.

Tragedy struck the family again in 1918 when Edward's son William succumbed to Spanish influenza on October 18 at age 33. He was also buried at Woodland Cemetery.[23]

First World War Remembrance and Iconography

In the years following the war, people felt the need to commemorate their suffering and those who lost their lives fighting overseas. In London, for example, commemoration started long before the end of the war. Newspapers printed commemorative poetry, churches put in stained glass windows, and at the All Saints Anglican Church in London, a large pipe organ was installed as well as an altar, both of which are dedicated to the honour of the fallen.

Cities also designated an area for remembrance and commemoration outside of cemeteries, and in 1934, London's cenotaph was erected in Victoria Park as a reminder of those who had lost their lives in honour of God, King, and Country. Military cemeteries also began to become more prominent and are easily recognizable with their identical markers set out in precise ranks. These types of cemeteries are considered memorials or monuments because of their specific design and the message of pride and honour that is associated with every soldier buried in them.

Woodland has its own military cemetery with hundreds of white tombstones bearing regimental emblems and numbers, as reminders and tributes to those who were fortunate enough to return home from war. These men are buried beneath the traditional stone of the Canadian War Graves Commission that serves as a reminder and gratitude for their service.

Woodland Military Section.

Professionalization and Embalming

By the 1930s, the funeral director or 'undertaker' performed an essential role in guiding a grieving family through the period of bereavement. In upper-class Canadian homes, the first step following a death was to contact an undertaker and make arrangements for the funeral. After the plans were settled, the undertaker came to the home and hung a piece of crushed plush fabric on the door - the sign of death. Instead of black, the fabric was dark purple for an older person, grey for other adults, and white for a child. This remained on the door until the body was removed from the home. For hospital deaths, the undertaker conducted services in the funeral chapel along with all other public displays of mourning.

In London, businesses like Logan Funeral Home provided these services in the early 1920s. Opened in 1887 by George E. Logan, the business had already moved once before in order to accommodate increased demand for public services and gathering spaces rather than hosting them in private homes. In 1922, the company moved to its current location on Dundas Street,

motivated by the need for a larger stable to accommodate the numerous horses used by the professional funeral business. The new structure was one of very few purpose-built as a funeral home in London at the time. George E. Logan passed away in 1935 and was buried at Woodland Cemetery. He left the business to a second generation, and today it is London's longest-serving funeral home.[24]

This period of change also caused a relaxation of religious and cultural customs in relation to interment practices. Whereas earlier burials were centered on the Christian belief that bodies must be buried complete in order to enter heaven, cremation became increasingly favoured by the 1930s. With the rise of professional funeral services came increased cost, and cremation proved a more economical alternative. By 1932, Montreal and Toronto already had crematoria, but it was another thirty years before Londoners embraced the trend. Woodland Cemetery became home to the city's first crematorium in 1964.

The rise of the professional funeral home headed by trained and licensed funeral directors began around the turn of the twentieth century. This development is attributed to both the efforts of enterprising individuals throughout North America and technological advances associated with the rise of a modern consumer culture.

Embalming, one of the key elements of modern funeral directing, became a professional procedure around the 1890s and a state-regulated practice by the 1910s. In the late 1890s, advertisers of embalming fluids introduced the ingredient formalin, a saturated solution of formaldehyde combined with other ingredients. It quickly became the standard as governing bodies banned other preservatives with dangerous ingredients like mercury and arsenic. However, formalin-based fluids had their own set of drawbacks that necessitated additional skill and care on the part of the embalmer. In cases of jaundice, which were prevalent in the early 1900s, formalin might react with the body's excess bile to produce green skin. The greatest criticism of formalin, however, was related to the potentially adverse effects of the chemical on the embalmer, which reflected contemporary public health concerns and workplace safety standards.[25]

Public disasters, such as the sinking of the *Titanic* (1912), the Halifax Explosion (1917), and the Spanish influenza epidemic (1918-19) drew public attention to the expertise of funeral directors and legitimized embalming.[26]

Enterprising individuals established Ontario's ten largest and oldest funeral homes between 1897 and the 1920s. Formal organization of funeral directors occurred relatively early in Ontario when the Ontario Association of Cemetery and Funeral Professionals (OACFP) founded in 1913.[27]

By 1926 industry leaders established the Canadian National Funeral Directors' Association. Embalming became the basis of professional training, with subsequent generations of funeral directors receiving an increasingly rigorous education.[28]

Mortuary education became increasingly professionalized in the United States. Between 1900 and 1920, Americans founded 11 schools of mortuary educa

tion. Then, as the first founders of these institutions passed into retirement, the 1920s and 1930s saw a reorganization. Mortuary schools, like other professional schools, were incorporated into larger universities or colleges. Educators increasingly expected better standards of their students, and associations and licencing committees became more important as legislation passed in various states in support of the profession.[29]

In the early twentieth century, as mourning customs were changing, so too were all aspects of funerary and burial practices. Embalming was on a steady increase as it was difficult to keep up with the numbers of deaths turned out by the First World War, and people were in search of a new way to commemorate their lost loved ones. In 1920, Albert H. McPhail of Windsor designed what would come to be known as Woodland's first public mausoleum.[30]

At the time of its planning, many people were optimistic and pushing for the construction of a public mausoleum because of its sanitary and commemorative benefits. Moreover, the prospective design of the mausoleum had already garnered a reputation as having the potential to be "the most beautiful on the continent."[31]

In 1920 Woodland's mausoleum opened. The building is composed of entirely of granite on the outside, an interior of pure, white marble, and beautiful stained-glass windows. The front doors are made of brass, giving the mausoleum an elegant, sophisticated appearance, while also serving its purpose as the new means of burial.[32]

Today this mausoleum/chapel/crematorium is a multiuse space that has become an iconic part of Woodland's history. In the present, it is used for funerals, prayer services, and the families of those who are entombed in its walls have special access and are granted entrance whenever they choose to visit their loved ones.

Another important aspect of professionalized funeral service was a product of widespread disease and violent death during the 1910s. Restorative techniques, later called 'restorative arts' in the 1930s, emerged as an important element of aftercare services in the early 1900s in response to cases where bodies exhibited obvious signs of trauma. Restorative arts played a role in comforting grieving families by presenting their loved one as familiar in death as in life. Well-known embalmer Joel E. Crandall introduced the concept in 1912. He described it as "the art of building or creating parts of the body which have been destroyed by accident, disease, decomposition or discolouration, and making the body perfectly natural and lifelike." Crandall worked from recent photographs of the deceased, and famously used the practice to restore Colonel Jacob Astor's discoloured face after he was pulled from the sea following the sinking of the *Titanic* in 1912. Because the procedure had obvious promise for the industry, others quickly embraced the technique called 'dermasurgery,' 'plastic surgery,' 'derma sculpture,' or 'artistic embalming.'

Many prominent embalming schools began to teach courses on restorative techniques while companies quickly created products that improved them. Over the first half of the twentieth century, companies employed innovative marketing techniques like before-and-after photos to sell their restorative equipment. Sales of prefabricated (usually wax) features, including generic eyes and noses that required the artist to shape them based on photos, along with materials and tools, multiplied. In the 1920s and 1930s, restorative arts effectively arrived as a discipline in 1945, when it was the subject of the address at the National Funeral Directors' Association Convention in Chicago.[33]

Iconography

Technological advances and changing cultural conceptions of bereavement affected cemetery design. The invention of lawnmowers allowed for easier maintenance of lawn-park cemeteries like Woodland, but the elaborate nineteenth-century cast-iron fencing and curbs found in rural cemeteries made maintenance difficult and costly. In 1900, new sandstone and wrought iron gates marking the entrance to Woodland Cemetery were installed on Springbank Drive, reflecting local attempts to continue making London's burial grounds both appealing and identifiable to visitors.

In addition to the existing lawn-park and rural cemetery formats, new designs and approaches to burials slowly gained public acceptance. These included the memorial park, introduced in 1917 by businessman Hubert Eaton who created a model with Forest Lawn Cemetery in California. These were similar to the lawn-park format, but characterized by markers that did not stand out above the ground and thus minimized visual reminders of death within the landscape. [34] In developing vast and beautiful public burial grounds, cemeteries were less for the dead and more for the enjoyment of the living.[35] Twentieth century cemetery design also reflected changes in public attitudes toward death. The period saw a dramatic decrease in the death rate with improvements in medicine and an increase in the average life span. More North Americans died in hospitals and nursing homes than at home, so death became more concealed and less a focus of ritualistic expression. People sought burial grounds that were peaceful, minimalist, and serene, replacing the crowded and ostentatious cemeteries of the Victorian era. The language of death seen on headstones became increasingly oblique as softer terms like passing and sleeping became preferred over harsher phrases like died and struck down. Examples found at Woodland include the inscription on the headstone of Edward David Ings: "No pain, no grief, no anxious fear, Can reach our loved one sleeping here."

The early twentieth-century saw another departure from Victorian customs in regard to the material employed in the construction of grave markers. Granite became the material of choice for upper classes desiring permanent commemoration. Stones from the Edwardian period are easy to identify there, with many made of black granite and featuring simple shapes and carvings.

As the century progressed there was an increasing use of horizontal tablet markers installed flush to the ground with minimal information by those of the middle and lower classes. Financial considerations affected grave markers in other ways among those classes. An interesting example is that of a stone in Woodland Cemetery marked "Baby Leeson." It marks the resting place of an unnamed baby that was stillborn on February 24, 1916, and buried at Woodland the next day. The baby's father, William Leeson, purchased a plot at the back of the cemetery in an area reserved for infants. When Woodland staff uncovered the stone, they realized that its reverse side had another inscription that was partially cut off. This means that it was likely a piece of a larger recycled stone that had been sectioned off and re-inscribed, thus saving the Leesons the cost of a new stone.[36]

Annie Louisa Gibson, who died on November 14, 1892, at 27 years old has an inscription that reads: "She is not dead but sleepeth."

The headstone of James Glover (1902), Mary Glover (1914), and their daughter Hattie Pearl, who died in 1907, reads: "Asleep in Jesus."

A headstone from 1934 installed flush to the ground.

Black granite was still a popular stone into the 1920s, as seen in the headstone of Calvin Kew in 1921.

Black granite headstone of Thomas and Jane Pulford, with the inscription "Her last words were 'tell them all to be good and meet me in heaven.

Industrialization and the developing consumer culture influenced the construction of grave markers in addition to the structure of funeral services. Monument carvers laid aside their mallets and chisels in favour of air compressors, pneumatic tools, and sandblasting equipment, and promotional literature reflects ongoing industry professionalization. Increasingly, monument dealers became middlemen who purchased stock patterns from distant granite companies and inscribed them with designs and lettering.[37]

Notes

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Chapter VI:

Wartime Woodland II, 1939-1950

Through Cloud and Sunshine
- Peter G. Mason, 1940

Veterans, clergymen, and military officials dedicate the Soldiers' Plot at Woodland Cemetery, July 30, 1939.

On a dreary Sunday afternoon in July 1939 clergymen, military officials, and veterans from the Royal Canadian Legion assembled under the protection of umbrellas just inside the main gate at Woodland Cemetery. The assembly – somewhat reduced by the weather – gathered to honour soldiers from London and the surrounding area who gave their lives during recent conflicts. The First World War cost the lives of nearly 61,000 Canadians. Many more returned home mentally and physically scarred by their experience in the mud and trenches of Belgium and

interwar period. The city erected a cenotaph in Victoria Park at the corner of Wellington Street and Dufferin Avenue in 1934. Now in mid-1939, as tensions in Europe built, Woodland Cemetery dedicated a plot of 1,500 graves located on a quiet wooded slope to honour the memories of those who died in the service of Canada.

In 1939, the cemetery dedicated this stone and flagpole, which continue to mark the Veterans' Section today.

Franklin Gilbert shields the Reverend Jeakins as he leads the dedication service. Major Beattie looks on in the background.

The small gathering stood in a semi-circle around the newly erected stone and flagpole that mark the section today. They listened and observed silently as the Very Reverend Charles E. Jeakins, dean of Huron College and rector of St. Paul's Cathedral, led the dedication service. He stood under the shelter of an umbrella held aloft by Franklin Gilbert, the cemetery's long-time superintendent. Major Russell H. Beattie, a cemetery trustee and Great War veteran, asked Dean Jenkins to accept the land in remembrance of London's war dead. The steady rain kept the service short. "The Last Post", a moment of silence, and "Reveille" followed the dedication. Played on a bugle or trumpet, these tunes symbolize death and resurrection respectively. Finally, the band of the Canadian Fusiliers (City of London Regiment) led the assembly in singing "Abide with Me" before everyone adjourned to drier quarters.[1]

Decoration Day

Although this ceremony dedicated the new Soldiers' Plot at Woodland, it was meant to have a wider impact. Mount Pleasant Cemetery, a competitor located north of the Thames River to the east, held a parallel service, although they were not dedicating a plot. The two major London cemeteries had planned both services as an exercise in cooperation. The cemeteries held a joint board meeting in May 1939 at Cronyn Hall in St. Paul's Cathedral. Major Russell Beattie presided over the meeting, to inaugurate an annual Memorial and Decoration Day. The representatives of Mount Pleasant agreed to the initiative, and the two sides tentatively set the last Sunday of July as the date for Decoration Day. Once the Mount Pleasant

board endorsed the initiative the joint board approached veterans' organizations to establish this as a fixed annual event and to secure their participation.[2]

This early planning left a legacy. London veterans and their families continued to visit Woodland and other local cemeteries on Decoration Day for decades to come. By the 1950s, the program also included St. Peter's Cemetery in the northeast of London. Combined, the veterans' plots at these cemeteries numbered some 1,800 graves in 1958, with an additional 600 graves in family plots. Rain or shine, the veterans and their families, often accompanied by a military band and local charitable organizations such as the Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire, formed a motorcade and visited each cemetery in turn. They decorated the veterans' graves with miniature flags – first the Red Ensign, then the Maple Leaf – poppies, and wreaths. As more veterans passed away the number of decorated graves grew. The number of conflicts these veterans experienced also grew to include the Korean War and Canada's various peacekeeping missions to places like Cyprus and the Middle East. By the early 1980s, participants were decorating some 3,000 graves at the three cemeteries.[3] In recent years, Decoration Day has faded, although some cemeteries and veterans' organizations continue to observe it.[4]

The last Sunday in July 1939 was the thirtieth. Two days later, an editorial appeared in the *London Free Press*. It recounted the July Crisis of 1914 and the events that turned a localized conflict in the Balkans into the European and global conflict that became the Great War. Canada's – and London's – war began on August 4, 1914 when Great Britain declared war on Germany as it advanced through Belgium on the way to strike France. The author then turned to the present situation in Europe. The aggression of dictators Adolf Hitler and Benito Mussolini had yet to be checked by Britain and France, but tensions were rising: "And now 25 years later the dreams of 1918 that the Great War was a war to end wars have vanished; the hope of a new era of peace and good will have dissolved. The world faces again the danger of a war more devastating and more terrible than the last."[5] One month later, Nazi Germany invaded Poland. Britain and France, having guaranteed Poland's sovereignty in March 1939, declared war on September 3, 1939. After a short debate in Parliament, Canada declared war a week later. Once again, war had come to Woodland.

The war made its presence known in the area around Woodland Cemetery. In 1940, the Canadian Army took over the city-owned Thames Valley Golf Club. It became a basic training camp for district militia units and the University of Western Ontario's Canadian Officer Training Course. Civilian workers and soldiers of the Royal Canadian Engineers built the camp to accommodate 2,000 troops in the summer of 1940 as the Battle of Britain began and Canada became the mother country's ranking ally against Nazi Germany. The tented camp included wooden structures (cookhouses, wash tables, and benches) assembled at the Royal Canadian Engineers' yards in Wolseley Barracks. The army also built a 30-yard rifle range that could accommodate up to 100 shooters at 'the Coves', a stretch of flatland formed by a bend in the Thames upriver from the cemetery. Troops marched from the Thames Valley Camp, across the Thames over a suspension bridge, and past Woodland's gates along Springbank Drive to fire their Lee Enfield rifles.

The marching soldiers (and perhaps the sound of small arms fire from the Coves) were a constant wartime reminder for Woodland's employees and visitors.[6 7]

A line of Western Ontario Reserve Army soldiers queue for their chance to wash up in July 1941. Tents of the Thames Valley Camp are visible in the background.

However, the war did not make itself felt in the wartime meetings of the Woodland Advisory Committee. The exception to this would be the high trustee turnover between 1939 and 1941. For instance, the army recalled Major Russell Beattie in 1939. He became commanding officer of the Canadian Fusiliers (City of London) Regiment and led the battalion to the Aleutian Islands in 1943 to help drive out the Japanese.[8] The only mention of the war in the committee occurred in June 1941, when the cemetery invested its recent investment earnings and available surplus in the Canadian Victory Loan. In March 1946, the trustees renamed the Soldiers' or Military Plot the Veterans' Plot. This was possibly due to the changing nature of Commonwealth War Graves Commission (CWGC) burials in the cemetery.[9] While most Canadians saw service with the army in the First World War, a greater proportion saw service in the Royal Canadian Navy and, particularly, the Royal Canadian Air Force during the Second World War. Out of 24 First World War dead whose graves are at Woodland, only two served in the air force and none in the navy. Of the 32 Second World War dead, 12 served in the air force and two served in the navy.[10]

Although their markers are designed to resemble CWGC headstones, many Veterans' Plot graves are not for war dead. Rather, they commemorate the lives of those who served in the Canadian military and died after the conflicts in which they served. The CWGC had a policy for who qualified for a war grave. For the Second World War, the individual had to have died between September 3, 1939

and December 31, 1947. He or she must have been a member of the armed forces or of certain civilian organizations who "died on duty because of the increased risk brought about by the wars." Another CWGC policy was for overseas war dead to be buried with their comrades near where they fell. However, if the serviceman or woman died in his or her own country, the next of kin had a choice. They could have the fallen buried in a CWGC plot or have the body repatriated for burial in a civil cemetery or churchyard of their choosing.[11] Woodland provides examples of both scenarios.

Mixed in among the veterans' headstones in the Veterans' Plot are 17 Second World War graves, about half of the 32 casualties of that conflict. The other 15 war dead are buried in or next to family plots throughout Woodland. In many cases, these individuals have two headstones.

Regimental Sergeant Major Arthur E. Morris.

Two Morris headstones stand side-by-side in section EF at Woodland.

The Morris family plot is one example. Regimental Sergeant Major Arthur E. Morris died in an automobile accident while serving with London's First Hussars (6th Canadian Armoured Regiment) in London. He was driving east on Dundas Street towards Highbury Avenue during a heavy snowstorm when his army jeep skidded out of control. Although the sergeant major tried to regain control of the vehicle, it crossed into westbound traffic and smashed into an approaching truck. Morris was thrown from his vehicle and later died on the way to hospital.[12] He was entitled to and received a CWGC headstone. However, when his wife died some four decades later, she had both of their names inscribed on a family headstone topped with the 1st Hussars badge.

In some cases, the CWGC headstone lies in the ground next to the family plot. The Black-Hayman plot and the nearby CWGC headstone for Lieutenant-Colonel James D. K. Black provides an example of this configuration, as does the Hall plot and its corresponding CWGC headstone for Flight Sergeant George G. Hall. Hall trained as a Wireless Air Gunner through the British Commonwealth Air Training Plan before being killed on a routine training flight with No. 32 Operational Training Unit in Patricia Bay, British Columbia. He was 22 years old when the Beaufort lost its port engine on takeoff and plunged into the Pacific.[13]

The Black-Hayman family plot in section M at Woodland.

Lieutenant-Colonel James D. K. Black's CWGC headstone embedded in the ground next to the family plot.

The Hall family plot in sction G at Woodland.

Wireless Air Gunner Flight Sergeant George G. Hall.

Flight Sergeant George G. Hall's CWGC headstone embedded in the ground next to the family plot.

Some of Woodland's Second World War dead illustrate a change in how Canadians were dying. Before the 1940s, most health care occurred in the home with family members caring for the sick. Visiting nurses or physicians made house calls. By the mid-twentieth century, the growing number of hospitals cared for more dying Canadians.[14] This was the case for at least two of the older Second World War casualties interned at Woodland.

Major Henry A. Marshall was a quartermaster in the Royal Canadian Army Medical Corps. A First World War veteran, Marshall was 53 when the Second World War began. He worked in the London area for 14 months before complaining of deteriorating eyesight and failing nerves. The army sent Marshall to Victoria Hospital in London in November 1940. In December, he transferred to see eye specialists and neurologists at the Christie Street Hospital in Toronto. The army discharged Major Marshall in March 1941 as he was no longer able to meet physical standards. He also had a history of gastrointestinal distress associated with an ulcer. On December 29, 1944, a gastrointestinal hemorrhage ended Henry Marshall's life at Westminster Hospital, London.[15] Although Marshall's name appears on the CWGC's honour roll for Woodland, he does not have a CWGC headstone. Instead, he is buried in a family plot alongside his wife who died in 1970.

The Marshall family plot in section EF at Woodland.

Lieutenant-Colonel James Black was a lawyer and First World War artillery officer. He died on April 18, 1945 at Westminster Hospital. After serving overseas briefly in 1941, Black found himself on the staff at the National Defence Headquarters in Ottawa. He began feeling very tired in early 1945 and was admitted to London Military Hospital on March 27, 1945. He transferred to Westminster Hospital on April 3, where his health continued to deteriorate. Black succumbed to cardiorenal disease mere weeks before the war in Europe ended.[16]

Management and Modernization at Woodland

While the Great Depression had an acute impact on the funeral and cemetery industry, more chronic factors were also at play. Population growth was on the rise. Between 1900 and 1945 London grew from 39,059 to 88,333.[17] At the same time the death rate was slowed. This was part of an early twentieth century trend in mortality that stemmed from the public health movement and the disease prevention efforts emerging the wake of the Russian and Spanish flus.[18] People lived longer. Although the population was getting larger, a similar number of people were dying, leaving little room in the industry for natural growth.[19] These were the same industry forces with which Woodland dealt.

The trends of the modern cemetery and funeral industries demanded Woodland act to keep up. In June 1938, a meeting of the Woodland Cemetery Advisory Committee addressed a variety of related issues. For instance, the committee determined to investigate opening a new section at Woodland prohibiting monuments in favour of simpler stones. Woodland also sought to transition cemetery equipment from horse power to automotive power. Finally, it wanted to create new revenue streams by purchasing lowering devices and other grave equipment for rental by the visiting undertakers.[20]

In fact, the late 1930s and 1940s were years of significant change at Woodland Cemetery. Changes in records management, the mechanization of cemetery equipment, facility and infrastructure upgrades, an increased focus on customer satisfaction, and changes in employee management all contributed to the cemetery's modernization.

The trustees began discussing new policies for records management at Woodland during a 1938 meeting. New instructions stated that all maps and plans needed to be duplicated and held in two places. Superintendent Franklin Gilbert would hold the originals in his office at Woodland while duplicates were secured in the vault at Cronyn Hall at St. Paul's Cathedral. The idea was to prevent the loss of this information to a fire or other disaster at one of the locations and to ensure that both locations had access to up to date documents. The cemetery purchased a fire-proof safe to house the documents in the cemetery office. Secretary W. Arthur Noble's responsibility included updating both copies of these documents as changes arose.[21]

The cemetery also began its transition from horsepower (and manpower) to mechanical power after 1938. One of their first purchases was a tractor. The trustees approved the purchase of an International Harvester Company tractor in October 1938. Woodland received delivery of the tractor in December along with an attachable snowplough for clearing roads and paths throughout the cemetery in the winter. As warmer weather returned, and the snow melted away the following spring, the trustees purchased a mowing machine attachment from the same company.[22]

The Second World War brought a pause in equipment upgrades at Woodland, but purchases began again in 1946. In March of that year the trustees began examining the purchase of a portable sod and road breaker, instructing Secretary

Noble to write the Warsop Drill and Tool Company for data and prices. Later that month, the trustees authorized the purchase of a new power lawn mower with a sickle-bar attachment but deferred further action on a pneumatic grave digger. Apparently, their prime concern had been breaking ground in the late-winter frost, which was no longer a problem. Instead, they probably acquired it before the next winter season. It would not be until one year later, in May 1947, that the trustees mentioned the Warsop grave digger again. The machine had already "proved both time and labour-saving." At the same meeting the trustees discussed the recent purchase of a power unit for a grass trimmer. Secretary Arthur Noble, who had procured the unit, disclosed that the grass trimmer itself would not be available until 1948 and that Woodland would have to investigate borrowing or renting a grass trimmer in the meantime. Finally, the cemetery's 1940s equipment purchasing spree concluded with approval for the purchase of a grave lowering device and that elusive grass trimmer in December 1948.[23] This lowering device was a welcome addition for local funeral directors, who had advocated for its purchase earlier in the decade.[24]

The 1940s also saw Woodland investing in its future through upgrades to the cemetery's facilities and infrastructure. In June 1939 the trustees accepted a tender to have a garage and storage building erected on the property, replacing an old barn. In September 1947 Woodland began efforts to rebuild the cemetery's residence and add on-site offices. For this project, the trustees engaged the services of Frank Wilson of R. G. Wilson & Sons Ltd. The cemetery had the old residence demolished and moved its offices from St. Paul's to the new building.[25]

By 1946, the cemetery contained nearly six kilometers of dirt roads. These roads could quickly turn to mud and make travelling the cemetery unpleasant for visitors and staff alike during periods of prolonged wet weather. The cemetery initiated paving and curbing these roads the following year.[26]

Woodland also had to upgrade its grounds. Cemeteries exist on hilltops for two reasons: one spiritual and one practical. Spiritually, the Judeo-Christian religions consider hills to be spiritual locations; the Romans crucified Jesus on Calvary, a hill outside of Jerusalem. Practically, hills offer superior drainage.[27] In the mid-1940s, drainage became a problem for the cemetery. In 1944, the cemetery was quickly running out of prepared burial space due to a high volume of sales. Surveyed sections, like section M, could only be made available by building a new drainage system to conduct water to the Thames. It was not until March 1946 that the trustees secured the required labour to begin this project. By September 25, the new drain was operating effectively. Cemetery workers would henceforth maintain the system by periodically cleaning the catch basins. The new drain alleviated the cemetery's sales bottleneck.[28] Sales are but one part of the cemetery business. Once the cemetery has sold a plot they take on the responsibility of caring for an individual's final resting place. In the early twentieth century, customer service and experience in the industry underwent significant change. Much of this change had to do with the fact that people were living longer. As people survived longer death became more predictable.

People tended to save for and spend more on their funerals. Furthermore, the expansion of the life insurance industry had an impact. It meant that all but the poorest citizens had the funds to cover funeral expenses. Whilst spending more money, the bereaved often expected more of the funeral and cemetery industries. As people lived longer, society became less familiar with death. As younger generations moved to the cities for work, the large communal family became less prevalent, and the emphasis on the nuclear family began to take shape. These two factors combined to make people less knowledgeable about appropriate behaviour towards the dead. Increasingly, the funeral director's task was no longer to simply care for the body; it was also to care for the mental and physical state of the survivors.[29]

Changes in funeral services reflected the increased sensitivity of the bereaved. Funeral directors and cemeteries worked to soften the blow. During the first half of the twentieth century they began covering upturned earth near gravesites with artificial grass. Cemeteries and funeral directors also provided shelter for mourners in the case of inclement weather. They avoided lowering caskets into the ground and filling in graves until after the bereaved had departed.[30]

Woodland's visitors came to expect a certain level of service and polish at the cemetery. In June 1938, Woodland began erecting directing signs and section markers because visitors complained they were unable to find their way around the cemetery. If a visitor asked an employee to help find the marker of a loved one, the employee complied without accepting gratuity (as had been done in the past). In the case of funeral processions, professionally dressed, clean employees directed mourners to the grave site. The same went for the flower car attendants who set up their stands during funerals. As the automobile gained popularity in the 1920s and 30s, the funeral motorcade became a more common sight. To direct these convoys of mourning, the well-dressed and groomed cemetery worker had to ride inside the car rather than standing on the vehicle's running board along the side of the automobile. Woodland made every effort to lessen the burden on the bereaved. For instance, gravediggers and employees working in the cemetery had to withdraw out of sight during funerals. They were not to return to resume their task or remove flowers from the gravesite until the mourners had departed.[31]

In the event of inclement weather at Woodland, mourners did not have access to shelter prior to late 1941. The trustees wished to construct a shelter for visitors waiting for buses near the front gate. At the time, the cemetery did not own the land outside the gate and had to negotiate with T.G. Meredith for the structure's erection. The shelter remained unfinished in June 1941 and it is unclear as to whether the cemetery completed the project. Funeral parties had to bring their own tent equipment as the cemetery had no place to store it. Although undertakers and mourners were welcome to rent equipment from outside sources, this was not a satisfactory solution.[32] By November 1941, the trustees made the mausoleum chapel available without charge for funeral services during inclement weather.[33] While not the same as a grave-side service, at least mourners could remain dry while they said goodbye.

Woodland's human resources also significantly changed between 1938 and

1948. In 1941, the cemetery considered it practical to employ one man for every four acres. At the time, Woodland measured 60 acres, so they had about 15 employees to work the grounds.[34] On his retirement in 1947, Superintendent Franklin Gilbert reported that Woodland operated with a staff of nine, with extra hands in the summer months. He also mentioned that the cemetery had tripled in size since his arrival in 1909. In fact, by this time the cemetery was already nearly 100 acres.[35]

The average Woodland employee's salary rose in the 1940s. The surviving trustee minutes record several cost-of-living adjustments in pay for workmen and the cemetery's foreman. In 1941 the foreman made $21 ($289.38) per week. By 1948, the foreman's pay had risen to around $40 ($396.40) per week. That same year, the average employee's weekly wage stood at $33.60 ($332.98). Employees typically worked 48 hours per week, Monday through Saturday. When funerals ran late, employees were expected to complete all related work before departing. Christmas was a holiday with pay. If Christmas fell on a Sunday, as it did in 1938, half of the employees received a day off with pay on December 26. The other half received the same on January 2 and seniority determined preference.[36]

Although the trustees granted cost of living increases they also sought to protect the cemetery by insuring wages against a loss of time from illness or accident. In 1941, Secretary Arthur Noble contacted the Workmen's Compensation Board, London Life, and other sources to investigate the cemetery's options. The resulting cemetery policy saw employees receive two sick days with pay in any one week with a maximum of three claims over 12 months (or six days total). There had also a provision for an extension of these days for sicknesses of extended duration based on a case-by-case review process.[37]

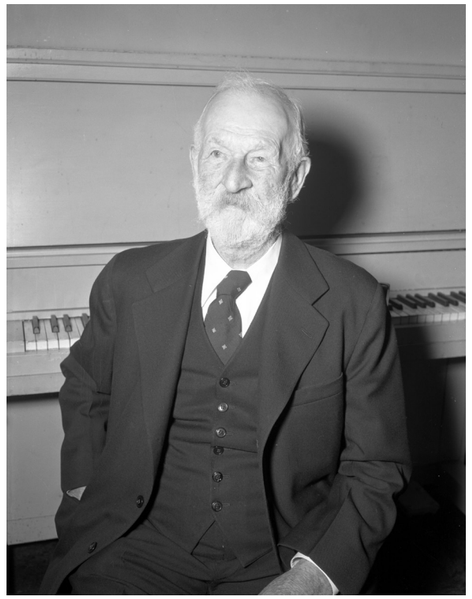
Perhaps the most significant changes in Woodland's employee roster occurred in the cemetery's management. In the late 1930 and 1940s, Woodland's employees still reported to the cemetery superintendent, Franklin Gilbert who was now in his late 70s and early 80s. It wouldn't be long before Gilbert's age became a concern for the cemetery.

The second member of the administrative staff at Woodland during this time was Secretary W. Arthur Noble. Noble kept Woodland's books, attended the advisory board's monthly meetings, and had additional duties in the St. Paul's Cathedral office. He also played a significant role in communicating the trustees' wishes to Woodland's workforce. The trustees were grooming Noble to take over for Gilbert upon his retirement.[38]

In June 1941, Woodland added an additional layer of management. The trustees suggested that the cemetery's expansion and customer demand for better service warranted the creation of a foreman position to supervise routine work. Gilbert was asked to consider Albert Perrett in this role and report his findings at the next meeting. The trustees approved Perrett in this role later that month. The new arrangement was for the workmen to report to the foreman for routine work and for the foreman to report to the superintendent.

The change yielded dividends for the cemetery. During a meeting in November 1941, the trustees extended a vote of appreciation to Superintendent Gilbert and Foreman Perrett for improvements in the cemetery's grounds and their cooperative efforts in carrying out suggested changes.[39]

The new management arrangement was not without its faults. During the winter of 1941-1942, a tree had fallen and damaged the Colerick family monument. To the bewilderment of the family it remained unrepaired into the spring. The new superintendent/foreman relationship had led to a miscommunication over how to report and respond to these incidents. The family received a letter of apology from the trustees. Now in damage-control mode, the cemetery created a new policy to ensure that the cemetery's employees never again treated a situation like this so lightly. The cemetery designed a new personal injury and property damage reporting system that funnelled this information from the employees to the superintendent. The superintendent was then to make a report with recommendations to the secretary who would then provide this information to the trustees for a decision. This new relationship effectively meant that the aging Superintendent Gilbert reported to Secretary Noble. Furthermore, the trustees took this opportunity to outline the roles of foreman and superintendent as they felt their original instructions lacked detail. The superintendent oversaw administration and planned the work while the foreman oversaw the employees and their execution of the work. The trustees also instructed Gilbert and Noble to come up with a list of rules for the workers at Woodland Cemetery. The board approved the final list and posted it at prominent locations in the cemetery.[40]



A portrait of Franklin Gilbert taken in 1947.

As the years went by, the trustees became less confident in Franklin Gilbert as superintendent. In September 1946, when Gilbert was in his early 80s, Chairman J.H. Duplan motioned that it was time to consider looking for a successor. He pointed out that while Gilbert had given many years of diligent and invaluable service as superintendent, even though no immediate emergency was in sight, his present age reflected itself in the administration, and might be the cause of unfavourable comment and criticism from the newer and from future plot holders who had little or no interest in the past achievements of Gilbert.[41]

The trustees struck a committee to interview Superintendent Gilbert regarding his retirement plans. The committee engaged in several months of careful negotiating. One year later, the committee secured Gilbert's voluntary resignation in return for a superannuation of $95 ($1,080.15) per month to be paid until his death.[42]

The trustees also planned a testimonial dinner and presentation for Franklin Gilbert's retirement. The dinner took place at Hotel London in October 1947. Gilbert's friends, colleagues from the cemetery, the board members, and local funeral directors all attended to wish him well. The Woodland trustees presented him with a scroll recognizing his 38 years and a $55 easy chair while the funeral directors of London gifted an impressive fireplace set. The next day, the *London Free Press* recorded the comments of the Very Reverend George Luxton, rector of St. Paul's and dean of Huron College, who said, "if Canada can breed men and women with ideals of old-country craftsmanship such as yours, we will have no need to worry as to the future of our country." Franklin Gilbert retired to Highbury Avenue where he lived out his last days gardening for his own enjoyment.[43]

Franklin Gilbert (centre) at his retirement banquet in 1947. On the left, T.C. Margrett presents him with a scroll on behalf of Woodland. On the right, A. Millard George presents Gilbert with the fireplace set (seen between Gilbert and George) on behalf of London's funeral directors.

It was the end of one era at Woodland and the beginning of another. As soon as the trustees received Gilbert's resignation they put forward Secretary Arthur Noble as his successor. Noble received the title of manager and retained his position as secretary on the board while Albert Perrett remained foreman. Expectations also changed. Management was to suggest operations improvement to the board for consideration rather than the board instructing management to implement their ideas as had been the case under Superintendent Gilbert.[44] Woodland Cemetery emerged from the first half of the twentieth century with renewed energy, modern equipment, and better facilities for serving their customers. Nearing its 70th anniversary, Woodland was now home to the internments of some 26,202 Londoners and their family members.[45] The second half of the twentieth century saw further growth. The cemetery continued to evolve alongside old and new trends, like the rise of cremation – a response to increasing funeral and burial costs and the limits imposed by Woodland's borders.

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Chapter VII:

Life at Woodland Cemetery, 1950-2019

And let the rest of the world go by
- Harold Rayner, 1979

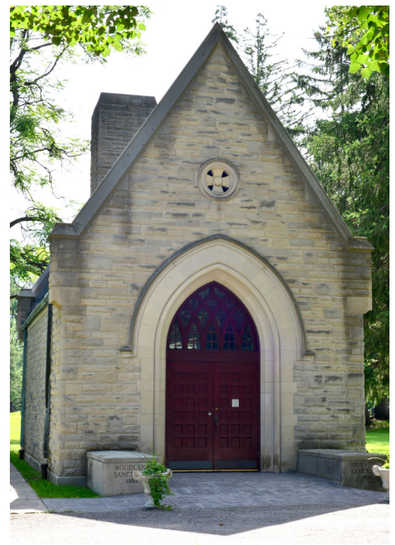
Rise of Cremation at Woodland Cemetery

July 11, 1964 was not an ordinary day at Woodland Cemetery. The Bishop of Huron led the momentous unveiling as others gazed upon the beautiful stone structure on the sunny summer afternoon. After two long years of planning, the crematorium was finally ready to be opened. The bishop recited the proper rites and prayers calling on God to bless the new facility, the first of its kind in southwestern Ontario. Many Londoners attended the celebration, including the rector and church wardens of St. Paul's Cathedral and the reverend and dean of the Archdiocese of Huron.[1]

The introduction of cremation was one of the greatest developments to take place at Woodland Cemetery in the post-Second World War period. Woodland's crematorium – which cost an estimated $60,000 – remained the only one in London and Middlesex County until 1971. That year Mount Pleasant Cemetery opened a similar facility and became Woodland's closest competitor.[2]

Cremation was so successful in its inaugural years at Woodland that nearly a decade later it adopted the slogan "Woodland Will Come Alive in '75" to indicate its thriving business.[3] Less than 50 customers used the services in the first year the building opened but, by 1975, that number had grown to well over 400.[4]

Cremation continued to grow in popularity. In the 1990s, Woodland installed its first columbarium to house the ashes of those cremated. The columbarium – designed in wall form – is located on Maple Way West. A range of monuments, statues, vases, urns, and me-



Woodland's first crematorium built in 1964. Today the building has been converted into a mausoleum and is called Woodland Sanctuary.

Woodland's first columbarium installed in 1994 to house the ashes of those cremated.

morials became available for purchase through the cemetery office shortly after.

In 1998, a new crematorium went into service. The area immediately adjacent now contains multiple six-sided columbaria and is named Columbarium Park. The original crematorium transformed afterwards into an indoor columbarium called Woodland Sanctuary.

In the new millennium, scattering gardens were introduced. Located southeast of the Pixley Mausoleum, Woodland created four gardens named for the seasons of the year – Winter, Spring, Summer, and Fall.

Since 2003, cremation has become the most common form of dispossession of the body in Canada.[5] But Canadian society has not always considered it an acceptable burial custom. Attitudes on the subject changed in the early 1950s and into the 1960s, although some Indigenous nations have practiced cremation for thousands of years.[6]

Historically, the Roman Catholic Church strongly opposed cremation. In 1886, the church formally forbade the practice for Catholics claiming a traditional

Woodland's Columbarium Park.

burial was essential to the resurrection of the body.[7] In 1963, the Catholic Church announced that it was no longer a sin to be cremated but did not endorse the practice by any means. Even though the rules had relaxed, the church continued to forbid clergy from accompanying bodies for the process and banned cremated remains from funeral masses.

Cremation became a viable alternative for a variety of reasons including the secularization of society, the perception that it is cheaper, the options with flexibility of time, environmental concerns, and an influx of immigrants from countries and cultures where cremation is widely accepted. For a traditional burial, it is necessary to bury a person within a few days. With cremation, though, the body can first be cremated and the memorial service or traditional funeral can take place months – or even years – after death has occurred.[8]

In 2012, Woodland's management opened a direct cremation service on the property. This removed the need for families to hire a funeral company or transfer service. Instead, all cremation and burial needs can be taken care of in one place.

Cremation was the salvation of Woodland because it took a property that was finite and created an infinite resource. Simply put many more urns can be fit into a cemetery than caskets. The potential for future business was extended.

Woodland's contemporary crematorium.

Professionalization of Funeral Practice

The Donohue Funeral Home is one of the only lasting family-run funeral homes in London. John and Helen Donohue originally established the business in their family home in 1930. In 1952, it moved to the corner of King and Waterloo streets. Since then, the business has been passed down through generations of their family.[9]

During the second half of the twentieth century the death industry increasingly professionalized and secularized. As people started to turn to professionals for nearly every service in society, funeral directors took over the responsibility of managing funerals and disposing of bodies instead of families and clergy.[10]

The use of the word "home" in the phrase "funeral home" is no accident. Early funeral homes were designed to feel like domestic residences so that families felt comfortable to grieve outside their private spaces. In the late 1920s, achieving this familial environment was easy, as many funeral directors' family homes also functioned as their business. Families lived on the upper floors of a house while the main floor functioned as a funeral home.[11] Funeral homes today are still designed with these domestic principles in mind.

Woodland Cemetery does not have a funeral director or funeral home on site. But greater changes in the bereavement industry, following the war, affected Woodland in direct and indirect ways, including its relationships with other grief businesses in London and Middlesex.

Technological and medical advancements made during the First and Second World Wars further shifted matters of death and dying into the hands of the state. By 1953, half of all deaths in Canada took place in the hospital, a change from the beginning of the century where care took place within the family home.[12] The decline of the death rate and increased rates of degenerative diseases – like heart failure and cancer – propelled these trends. As the century progressed, discussions surrounding death became increasingly medicalized.

From the 1940s until the 1990s, medical literature mentioned death less and

Series of gravestones located near Tulip Tree Avenue.

less. The subject was now considered a private matter and removed from conversations in families and communities. Canada had become a death-denying society.

In the first half of the twentieth century, people entering the funeral industry were only required to complete a six-week course on embalming.[13] In 1967, Humber College opened and introduced the first English-speaking funeral services program in Ontario. The course material shifted focus from the practical techniques to prioritizing the psychology of grief. Today's program concentrates on anatomy, physiology, grief counselling, embalming theory, and the legal aspects of death.[14]

Despite the movement away from organized religion, chapels remain integral to the design of funeral homes. Chapels accommodate post-death rituals for those still seeking a religious aspect in mourning ceremonies.

New provincial legislation came into effect in 2012 that fundamentally altered the structure of the bereavement industry.[15] Individuals are now permitted to own any or all bereavement businesses and to locate them in one place. This means that funeral homes can now be built on cemetery property.

This new legislation is a game changer for the industry. It is expected that funeral homes will become a common inclusion in cemeteries, especially those found in urban areas.[16] In 2016, the Anglican Diocese of Huron submitted an Urban Design Brief to the City of London detailing the construction of a 26,000 square-foot funeral home.[17] If constructed, the funeral home would be situated west of the cemetery's main gates on Springbank Drive.[18]

Rise of Conglomerate Businesses

By the late-1980s, Woodland trustees expressed concern about the rise of "one stop shopping" in the death industry. Noting trend in the United States and Canada, the Board of Trustees suggested the cemetery reconsider its policy of offering the lowest prices possible. Large corporations were on the rise and modern merchandising techniques to generate revenue.[19]

Woodland is a church-run non-profit cemetery. In the late 1990s, profits were split – 45 percent of funds going to St. Paul's Cathedral, and the remaining 55 dedicated to the cemetery's capital budget. Above all, Woodland's primary goal was, and still is, to serve the community.[20]

For most of the twentieth century, the cemeteries in London did not have to compete with one another, as they received equal referrals from funeral homes.[21] But, in the mid-1990s, Forest Lawn Cemetery owned by Arbor Memorial intensified its marketing strategies and opened a reception centre and memorial chapel. Although the new facility was located on a different site than the cemetery, this allowed them to bypass funeral home referrals and deal directly with customers.[22]

In London, the industry is a mosaic of privately and corporately owned funeral homes and cemeteries. In the 1980s, conglomerates started opening without changing the sign on the door. Corporations purchased businesses under the guise of still being a local operation. They often kept on old employees to suggest continuity. It appeared like the businesses were still run by the family to keep customer

loyalty. This threatened small-players like Woodland.[23]

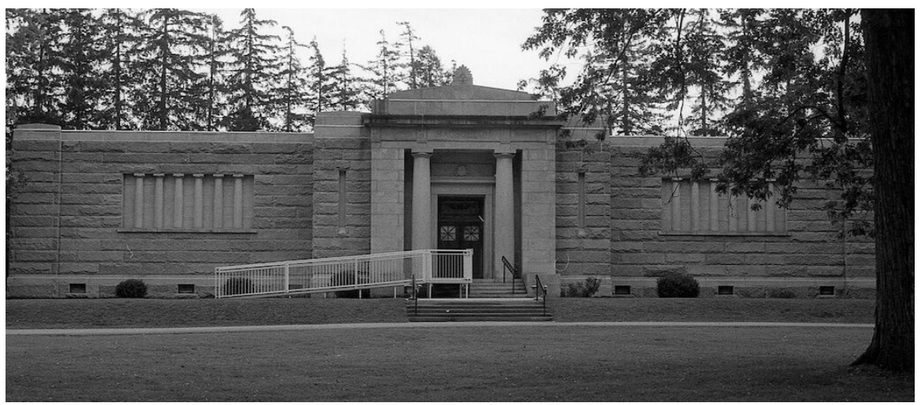
In 1963, English author and journalist Jessica Mitford unmasked the profitable nature of the funeral and cemetery industries. Her *New York Times* number one bestseller – *The American Way of Death* – was an exposé and demonstrated how cemeteries and funeral homes gathered millions of dollars from grieving citizens in the United States.[24]

The four largest cemetery firms in Canada have accounted for 51 percent of the industry's revenue since 1992.[25] Today, through aggressive expansions, two companies, Service Corporation International (SCI) headquartered in Houston, Texas and Arbor Memorial Services in Toronto, control the majority of cemeteries in Canada.[26]

In an increasingly competitive arena, Woodland dedicated more funds to marketing with the promotion of its history playing a key role in the strategy.[27] Woodland emerged into the digital age in the early 1990s with the introduction of computers, originally used to digitize the cemetery records. The subsequent introduction of the website has allowed Woodland to increase its community presence, outreach, and promote its heritage.

From Mourning to a Celebration of Life

On a hot, midsummer's day, the sounds of an acoustic guitar with a ukulele accompaniment poured out of Woodland's historic mausoleum's doors, drowning out the usual buzz of traffic from Springbank Drive. Two young women were responsible for the melancholic, yet inspiring, music that day. Seated in wooden pews, family and friends watched as the women put down their instruments and talked about the life and loss of their father. They explained that he had passed down his lifelong passion for music onto them, making music the only way to properly memorialize him. Although this service is unique, it is not unlike those that have been held in the mausoleum in the recent past.[28]



Woodland's Mausoleum and Chapel of the Ascension

Tailoring funeral ceremonies to individualized representations of a deceased person's life has become increasingly common. Contemporary memorial services bring together communities to demonstrate respect for the deceased, reflect upon a life lived, and to support one another in their shared loss.[29] Much like the daughters' concert at Woodland, eulogies are no longer exclusively religious anecdotes but often contain stories about a person's life. The preferred way to conduct a funeral is now a personal decision based on the best way to honour the life of the deceased.

Post-cremation memorial services, like those held at Woodland, imply that people do not need a body present to grieve and remember. This shift is indicative of other social and psychological ways to deal with grief.

Woodland currently does not have a funeral home, so they do not hold full-service, traditional funerals. But, much like the memorial for the musician, Woodland holds memorial services in their historic mausoleum.[30]

Creativity in Monuments

Just like every other morning, the little green car pulled into Woodland's front gates. Woodland's grounds staff knew where the car was headed – down Maple Way East to Woodland Sanctuary. Once parked, an elderly man stepped out of the car and entered the indoor columbarium. He sat on the bench in front of his wife's niche, pulled out a book, and just as he had throughout their life together, read aloud to her. The man's daily ritual of returning to his wife's niche carried on until his ashes were next to hers.[31]

The man's return to his wife's gravestone indicates the importance of a burial site to the bereaved. What allowed the widower to feel a connection with his wife through a niche? The answer is simple: the content on the stone. Everything on a monument has meaning to the bereaved. The epitaph, etching, and iconography are carefully selected symbols of the deceased. To the bereaved, the gravestone is a lasting and consistent representation of their loved one.[32]

An intricate etching of a church on the back of a headstone in the Orthodox Greek section demonstrates the capabilities of memorial art using computer etching technologies.

Today, cemetery monuments are no longer relics with traditional designs, such as crucifixes or roses, nor are they entirely devoid of any ornamentation, like those from the 1930s and 1940s. Recent monuments feature artistic etchings related to a deceased person's family or interests.[33]

Since the early 1990s, computer etching technologies have been used to create personalized stones. The capabilities of granite artists today can capture nearly any life pursuit on headstones. At Woodland, a grave of one young man displays the intricate etching of a motorcyclist riding into the sunset.

A common trend on personalized headstones since the late twentieth century is the inclusion of photographs of the deceased. Today, photos are incorporated on using ceramics, in weather-proof frames, or through laser-etching.[34] The inclusion of a photograph immortalizes the deceased, as it is a lasting image of the way the bereaved will remember them. For example, at Woodland, a grave of a Greek couple features a black and white ceramic photograph of them holding hands – looking happy and young.[35]

There are other ways to memorialize loved ones. At Woodland, some people choose to plant memorial trees, dedicate benches, or scatter ashes in gardens.

Woodland offers a space to place a memorial marker and spread the ashes of the deceased in their peaceful scattering garden.

Religious and Cultural Communities

In May 1990, Woodland erected a monument honouring early Chinese immigrants in Canada. One of the first Chinese immigrants to move to London, Arthur Wong, spoke to the *London Free Press* on the day the monument was unveiled. Wong, reflecting on the migration of Chinese people to London in the 1930s and the struggle to establish their community and traditions in a new place, stated "We've come a long way."[36]

Erected in 1990, the London Chinese Monument is located in the centre of Woodland's Chinese section and honours London's early Chinese immigrants.

The relationship between people of Chinese heritage and the Canadian government has long been difficult due to several discriminatory events and laws including the head tax.[37] Due to these laws, the most significant influx of Chinese immigrants was not until the 1990s. Not coincidentally, the erection of Woodland's monument honouring London's Chinese community coincided with this trend. Woodland's culturally diverse sections mirror the changing cultural mosaic of the City of London.[38]

As a non-denominational cemetery, Woodland provided a site for immigrant communities to locate a place for their deceased loved ones and practice their death rituals. Today, Woodland has a Russian Orthodox, Latvian, Greek Orthodox, and Chinese sections, each with their own ways of burying and memorializing the dead.

The Chinese section is located in the southeast end of the cemetery on Hickory Crescent. In Chinese culture, respect for elders is important whether they are living or dead. Both cremation and burials are acceptable practices. Eulogies are either delivered by the oldest son or the oldest person present. Red candles are lit

Woodland's Chinese section, located on Hickory Crescent.

at the gravestone, as red is the traditional Chinese colour for life and good fortune. The establishment of the Chinese Canadian monument in Woodland is meant to symbolize the importance of tradition to Canadian-born generations of immigrant families.[39]

Woodland's Greek Orthodox section is located above the Chinese section between Oak Crescent and Maple Way West. The Greek Orthodox section can be identified easily by the lanterns that remain graveside. The lanterns house a candle, which is to be lit for 40 days after the deceased passes, to symbolize constant prayer. The Greek Orthodox memorialize their loved ones with a traditional liturgy, held in their vernacular. The Greek Orthodox forbid cremation, and instead place the deceased in shrouds and intern them in very deep graves.[40]

Greek Orthodox Graveside Lantern.

Woodland's Greek Orthodox section, located between Oak Crescent and Maple Way West.

Working at Woodland

On a cold December night in 1962, the Trustees and Advisory Board of Woodland Cemetery met for their quarterly meeting. The ten men sat around a table in St. Paul's Cathedral discussing issues like the cemetery's endowment fund and the proposed crematorium. About halfway through the meeting, the reverend of St. Paul's Cathedral mentioned that Dr. Alfred Crowfoot passed away. The other men immediately expressed their sadness over this loss. Dr. Crowfoot had been an important member of the church and they all agreed that he had greatly contributed to the community-at-large. To show their condolences and in recognition of Crowfoot's impact, the board proposed to cover the cemetery expense for the burial.[41] This extremely generous and symbolic gesture is characteristic of the type of people who work at Woodland Cemetery.

Woodland Cemetery Office.

At Woodland, the various maintenance workers, support staff, councilors, registrars, undertakers, crematorium workers, and seasonal employees are aware of and sensitive to their surroundings. Leading this charge is the cemetery manager. Since 1909, Woodland has employed a full-time manager to oversee the day-to-day operation of the cemetery.[42] The manager reports to the Trustees and Advisory Board of St. Paul's Cathedral, which runs the church.[43]

The Trustees and Advisory Board and the cemetery manager meet multiple times a year to discuss the state of Woodland and any pressing issues. During these meetings, they review Woodland's Perpetual Care Investments, the salaries and benefits of Woodland's employees, the pricing structure for plots, and any changes to legislation that may impact the cemetery. They also address any maintenance concerns at these meetings and vote on how to proceed.

Woodland operates a Care and Maintenance Fund. For each interment sold, a percentage of that sale is set aside and held in trust to be invested.[44] The interest earned from these trusts helps to ensure the long-term upkeep of the cemetery.[45] The cemetery manager and the Trustees and Advisory Board oversee these investments and ensure that the funds are being properly utilized.

Woodland's Natural History

Woodland Cemetery is marked by the thousands of marble and granite stones that cover the property. Look closely and there is something else hiding amongst the monuments – deer. For years people have come to Woodland to watch these beautiful animals, but not everyone has pure intentions. On an early summer day in 2017, two men entered Woodland and watched as a mother doe gave birth to a fawn. In broad daylight, the men shooed the mother away, grabbed the fawn, put it in their car, and drove away. With no idea of who did this or why, Woodland's management was extremely disturbed. When journalists reported the incident, it outraged the public and caused a media storm. Woodland management, concerned for the safety of the animals, installed two-night vision security cameras at the front gate of the cemetery.[46]

White-tailed deer hiding amongst the monuments.

The natural history of a cemetery significantly impacts how it should be managed, and this is no less true for Woodland. There is a precarious balance between protecting the natural environment, promoting and expanding business, and preserving the human-made landscape of the cemetery, including graves. Cemetery managers must conserve cultural heritage resources and enhance the natural environment, while minimizing costs and ensuring long-term survival of the cemetery.[47] As the landscape changes, a number of problems can occur.[48] For example, as trees grow, their roots may push out from the ground and break stone monuments. In difficult situations, cemetery managers must decide whether it is the physical or natural history of the cemetery that must be protected.

Woodland has a long history of promoting and protecting its natural environment. Since its opening, Woodland has looked like a park, filled with manicured lawns, trees and shrubs, and pathways for leisurely strolls. Over the years, this aesthetic has remained, even while the city has grown and developed around the property. Woodland is now an urban cemetery and must deal with the challenges that come from that. As the cemetery continues to develop and makes plans for the future, they have kept its natural features in mind. For the proposed funeral home, they intend to adhere to the park-like design, incorporate some of the historic trees on the property, and plant new gardens.[49]

Cemeteries are a natural ecosystem. They contain a rich variety of plant and animal species, making them sites of great biodiversity. Woodland Cemetery is home to a number of animals, including weasels, red-tailed foxes, red-tailed hawks, wild turkeys, great horned owls, coyotes, raccoons, bald eagles, and deer.[50]

First spotted on the property in 2014, there are over 40 white-tailed deer that call the cemetery their home.[51] They moved onto the grounds after an off-leash dog area was added to nearby Greenway Park. The deer are one of several animals that have found refuge and protection in the cemetery. There are many forms of urban pressure on wildlife in London, and these animals responded by finding a place where they will not be bothered. Images and stories of the deer have spread around the world and there has been an influx of "deer tourists" – people who are at the cemetery to see the wildlife, rather than visit a grave.[52]

Woodland's management walks a fine line between protecting the wildlife on the property and ensuring public safety. Deer are unpredictable, wild animals and they need to remain that way. Woodland's staff reminds visitors to not feed the deer and to keep their distance. Especially during rutting season in the fall, it can be dangerous for people to get too close.

Woodland's staff have intervened to help the wildlife on occasion. In 2016, staff noticed that one of the deer on the property was not walking properly, so they called the Salthaven Wildlife Centre, a group dedicated to caring for injured wildlife.[53] Salthaven determined that the deer's hooves were growing too long and curling upwards. After bringing in a vet and farrier, they were able to trim the deer's hooves and heal the animal.

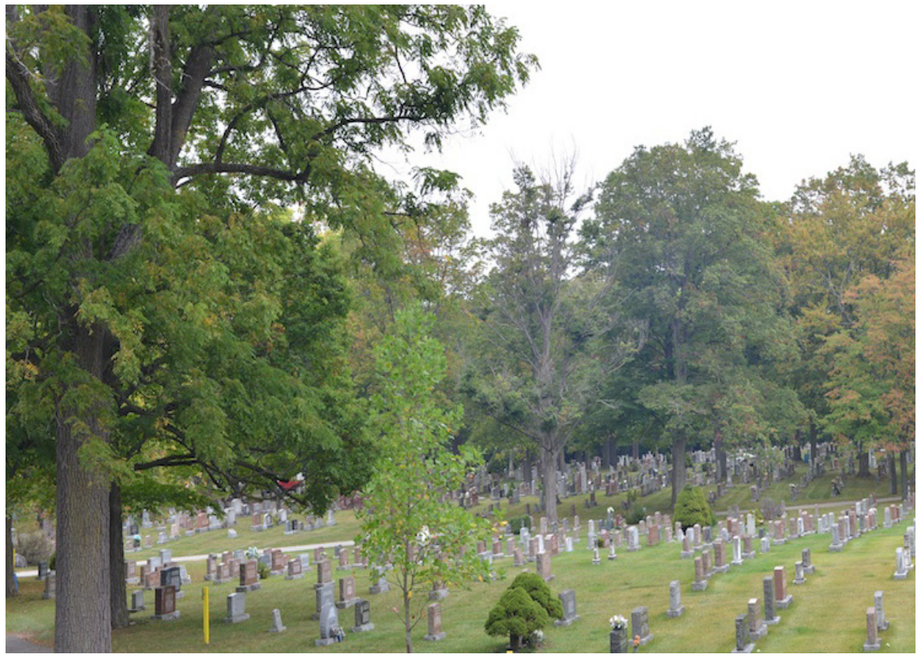
As a whole, the deer do not cause any major problems and tend to manage themselves. They remain in the older sections during the day because it is quieter. At night, the deer move into the active sections of the cemetery, where they feed

A lone deer at Woodland.

on freshly laid flowers and sod.

The biodiversity of Woodland proves that managers must also consider long-term conservation strategies for the animal and plant life that live in the cemetery in addition to their regular duties.

There is a massive black walnut tree that stands guard over Woodland Cemetery. This tree, like many on the property, predates Confederation. Urban cemeteries, like Woodland, are often dotted with the types of trees planted when the cemetery was originally established.[54] These trees grow to very large sizes because they do not need to compete for resources in the same way that they would in a natural forest.



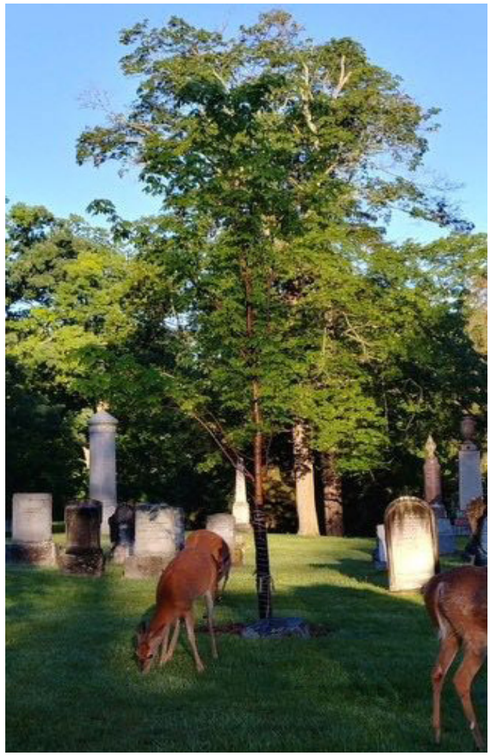
There are hundreds of trees growing on Woodland's grounds.

While some choose to memorialize their loved ones with stone monuments, the planting of memorial trees is increasingly popular. Trees provide a living and growing testament to a life. They contribute to the greening of the city and can be enjoyed by generations to come.

Woodland began its Living Legacy Tree program in 2014.[55] Their arborist works closely with loved ones to find a tree to best commemorate a life. The family determines which features they would like to see in a tree, and then the arborist provides an indigenous plant that meets those needs.[56] These trees are chosen based on a variety of criteria. Memorial trees must be able to survive through winter weather conditions and must contribute to biodiversity in the cemetery. The arborist also considers how the tree will add to the overall canopy and what that tree will look like 100 years in the future. Some of the recommended species

are oak, sycamore, and maple trees.[57] Beyond their physical attributes, these trees also have symbolic meaning. Oak trees traditionally symbolize strength and stability, while sycamores represent protection and maples, strength and endurance.[58] A plaque dedicated to the individual accompanies the memorial tree, creating a lasting testimony to a life.

Two ongoing projects at Woodland are to catalogue every tree found on the property and to restore the historic canopy.[59] By 2017, 30 large trees were planted in the cemetery to help replace those lost to age and environmental damage.[60] They chose to plant large trees because they best fit into the profile of trees originally planted at Woodland.[61] Larger trees have a better chance of survival and will not be knocked down by animals. When at their full size, the trees will provide shade, protecting the grass and the monuments from direct sun.

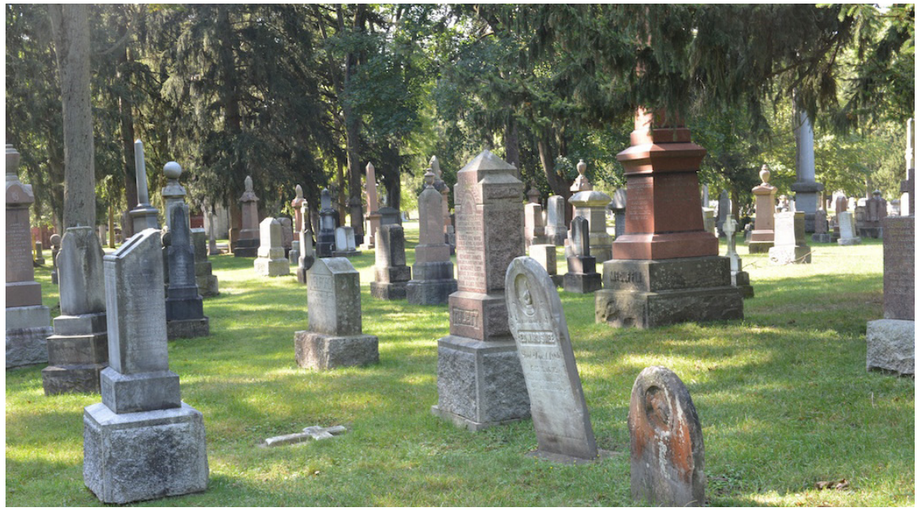


Memorial sugar maple tree planted at Woodland.

Monument Restoration

In the spring of 1979, Londoners found several grave markers along the banks of the Thames River at the bottom of Woodland Cemetery.[62] How they ended up on the riverbank was heavily contested. Some people claimed the stones were placed on the river path to block teenagers from riding their motorcycles below the cemetery and disturbing burials.[63] Others asserted that the city purchased the tombstones to prevent erosion along the river.[64] Some of the grave markers had clear inscriptions indicating who they memorialized. It appeared that the stones had originally stood at the Presbyterian Church on St. James Street, also known as the Old Scottish Burial Ground. In 1955, the cemetery had closed, and the graves were relocated to Woodland.

Once newspapers reported that there were stones found at the Thames' edge, the public was outraged. Many concerned citizens wrote letters to the editor of the *London Free Press* expressing their shock and sadness over the discovery that tombstones, some for pioneers of the city, were allegedly being used for erosion prevention. Many suggested that this was an act of vandalism and encouraged the city to better respect its past. As one alarmed Londoner explained, "let us, by all



A leaning grave marker like this poses a danger and should be remounted to stand erect.

means, stop the erosion of the river bank, but not at the cost of the erosion of our historical heritage."[65]

Since its establishment in 1879, Woodland Cemetery has been a popular burial ground for both the elites and everyday people of London. As such, it is filled with beautiful monuments and tombstones that have historic value for the city. When these stones fall into disrepair and deteriorate, they must be restored by the cemetery.

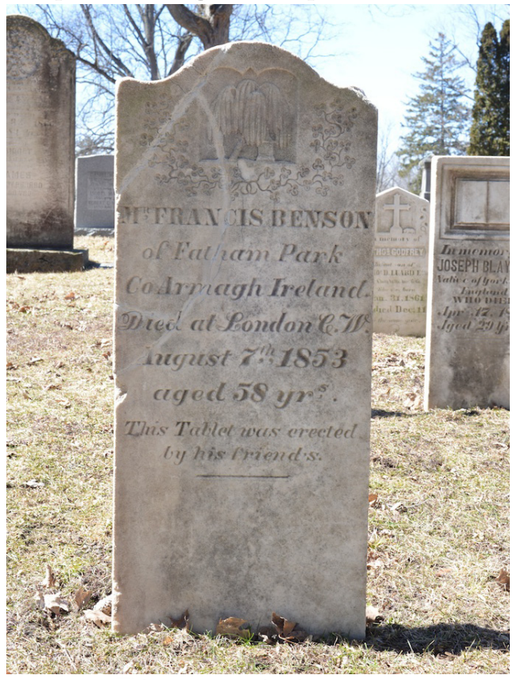
There are a variety of reasons why restoration work is necessary. Many of the materials used to make monuments deteriorate and weather over time. Harsh environmental conditions, along with atmospheric pollution and weathering causes stones to deteriorate.[66] The ground beneath monuments also shifts over time, making many monuments unstable. It can be necessary for professionals to come in and repair these tombstones to ensure their safety and to restore their original design. If a monument is not fixed or not fixed properly, it poses a danger to the public because it could fall over and injure an innocent passerby. If these monuments are not restored, they could

The grave stone for John L. Dobney has fallen over and broken into pieces. The clean break of the stone would make it an optimal marker to be repaired.

fall into further disrepair and be lost forever.

Another common issue is sunken graves. When part of a monument or the entire stone falls over, the weight of the stone causes it to sink beneath the ground. As lawns are mowed, grass clippings and dirt cover the marker and over time, grass may grow on top. These sunken tombstones may be hidden from plain sight.

The decision to restore a monument is more complicated than it seems.[67] The provincial legislation specifies that a cemetery must fix or lie down any stone that is deemed unsafe. In many situations, neither option is ideal. The community can become outraged when monuments are laid down because they see it as disrespectful. On the other hand, fixing stones is not an option for underfunded cemeteries who cannot afford to repair them. Fortunately, Woodland has a strong history of restoring broken and unsafe grave markers.



This stone was in pieces on the ground. The visible seam shows the repair. This was the type of work completed by students.

Since 2015, Woodland's Tombstone Archaeology Project has completed extensive restoration work. In conjunction with Western University, and funded by the Canadian government, students have spent summers working on monument restoration in Woodland. Students unearth, clean, restore, and remount damaged grave markers. Throughout this process, the students are responsible for pairing their restoration work with historical research. Using church archival documents, newspaper articles, diary entries, and cemetery records, the students explore the history of Woodland Cemetery and the individuals whose grave markers they repair.

The student team had some exceptional finds in the summer of 2017. Their discovery of dozens of Confederation-era stones was especially significant.[68] These monuments originally stood at St. James Street Cemetery and were found in a line on the eastern side of Woodland. The stones were, most likely, only supposed to lay there temporarily until a more permanent location was determined. Over time, the heavy monuments sunk into the ground, and people forgot that they were there. The unearthing of these graves was an important contribution to the history of London and brought attention to the lives memorialized in those monuments and forgotten by history.

This discovery attracted major media coverage and public attention. It brought people into the cemetery who learned about the history of Woodland and London. The students literally uncovered the past.

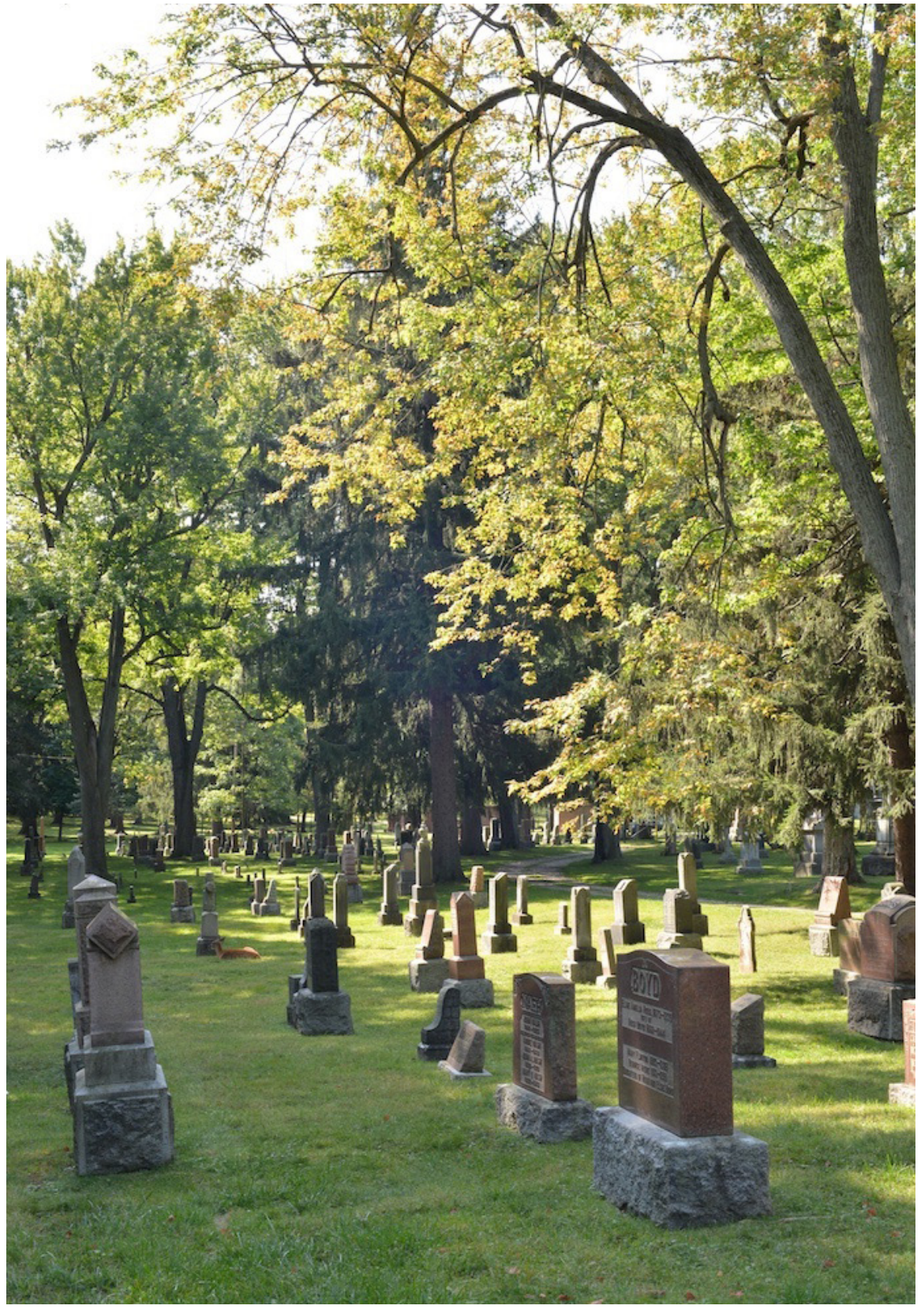
In 2017, over 100 stones were unearthed by the monument conservation team. They spent two months uncovering and restoring the stones.

Public Outreach

On a school field trip to Woodland, a group of young students sat in the cemetery grounds, drawing their surroundings. As they sketched images of the massive trees and beautiful monuments, a deer popped out from behind one of the grave stones. A young boy in the group, a Syrian refugee, pointed it out with excitement – he had never seen a deer before. One year later he was still recounting the tale of seeing a deer at Woodland.

The little boy and his class had been invited to the cemetery because of Woodland's commitment to public outreach. It is becoming increasingly popular for cemeteries to be sites of education and community engagement. Woodland has led the way in opening its gates for such events and programs. It encourages elementary and high school classes to come to the cemetery for the day, where they tour the grounds, learn about London's history, or participate in an art class.

Cemeteries can be important sites of learning. Through nature walks, specialized tours, and other educational programming, the public may enter cemetery grounds for reasons other than mourning.[69] Woodland has used its historic and



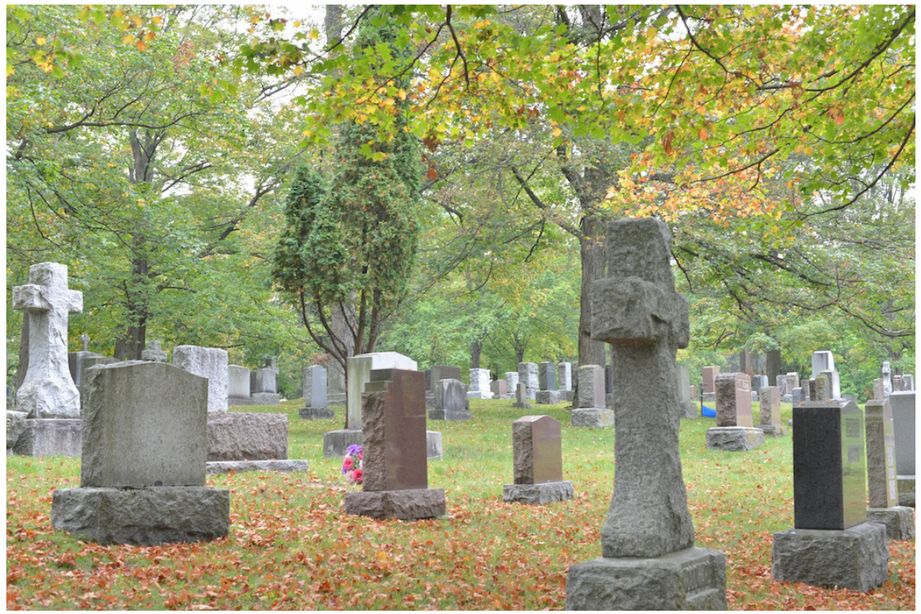
The beautiful park-like setting of Woodland Cemetery makes it an ideal location for school field trips, walking tours, and other educational events.

natural heritage to connect with the London community. Their walking tours have been extremely successful in drawing both locals and tourists to the site.

In 2016, Woodland paired with History Matters, a non-profit group of historical re-enactors. Together they created a living history tour commemorating the lives lost during the First World War.[70] The event included a viewing of a short film and a tour of the grounds. Along the route, actors in period costume depicted scenes that showcased the lives of the men and women on the front lines. This tour allowed Londoners to remember the lost generation from the war. Woodland also organized a special version of the event for high school students and delivered the tour to classes. The success of these types of tours has driven Woodland to develop other walking tours and presentations for events such as the Victoria Day Disaster and Canada's Sesquicentennial.

As the sun rose early in the morning on April 9, 2017, more than 200 people gathered at the veterans' section at Woodland to remember the soldiers who lost their lives during the Battle of Vimy Ridge.[71] This sunrise service marked the 100th anniversary of the battle. To pay tribute to the dead, they laid wreaths, read the names of Londoners killed at Vimy, performed readings, and dedicated a maple tree. This event marked an important moment in Canadian history and to remember those who sacrificed their lives. Through events such as this, Londoners can reflect upon their history.

Cemeteries must be read "like the history books they are."[72] Over the past 140 years, Londoners have treasured Woodland Cemetery. As the city has developed around the site and the bereavement industry evolved, so too has Woodland. Cemeteries are important features of the historic landscape. It is important to remember Woodland is a key to understanding London's history; it pays tribute to our ancestors, reminds us of our roots, and documents how the city, and society as a whole, has changed. Through Woodland Cemetery, we are connected to London, both past and present.



Autumn day at Woodland Cemetery.

A deer in motion.

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