REPRESENTING REMARRIAGE ON 19$^{\text{TH}}$ AND EARLY 20$^{\text{TH}}$ CENTURY

BURIAL MONUMENTS IN SOUTHWESTERN ONTARIO

By

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ABSTRACT

The representation of remarriage on burial monuments between 1815 and 1914 is explored here using archaeological and historical approaches combining the identification and understanding of kinship in mortuary archaeology with family history. The study uses thirty-eight Protestant cemeteries in the Province of Ontario located in Halton County and the former Wentworth County to identify motivating factors affecting the representation of remarriage historically.

The research combines gravestone analysis with the use of archival sources to identify examples of commemorated remarriage in the cemeteries. Parish marriage records indicate that remarriage was a common practice, however the commemoration of remarriage is less frequent than the commemoration of marriages generally. Several factors, including gender, family composition, status, family/community influences, denomination, and time lapse are examined in order to establish which factors motivated certain individuals to commemorate a remarriage when the majority of the population did not. Remarriage commemorations demonstrate considerable variability, however they do indicate a number of patterns, including that they are more likely to have larger and more elaborate monuments than those commemorating than marriage monuments.

The findings indicate that factors affecting remarriage were not uniform across the population. There are, however, four primary factors that appear to play a significant role in the likelihood of overt commemoration. Gender, economic status and inheritance, denominational beliefs, and the rise of companionate marriage are all significant factors acting on the individual decision to acknowledge remarriage on or through the burial monuments. While the presence of any one of these factors does not guarantee that a remarriage will be commemorated, the likelihood appears to be increased when one or more of these factors is present. Additional research is encouraged.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF FIGURES

LIST OF TABLES

REPRESENTING REMARRIAGE ON 19TH AND EARLY 20TH CENTURY

BURIAL MONUMENTS IN SOUTHWESTERN ONTARIO

CHAPTER 1: Introduction

The treatment of the dead is a meaningful cultural event and its study can be a

useful tool for understanding the social relationships and organization of past cultures.

This study investigates representation in mortuary contexts by examining the public

representation of remarriage and blended families on burial monuments during the

nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in two counties of Southwestern Ontario.

Blended families are created when one or both spouses have children from a previous

union upon entering into the marriage. In cases where it is not clear from the burial

monuments whether children resulted from the previous union, such families are referred

to as remarried families. This study uses the grouping and portrayal of remarried and

blended families on grave monuments, in contrast to nuclear families, to examine the role

and experience of remarried individuals and blended families during the period between

1815 and 1914. This was a time of rapid settlement and expansion in the British colony

of Upper Canada, now the Province of Ontario.

The study focuses on thirty-eight Protestant cemeteries in the counties of Halton

and Wentworth, which are situated at the western end of Lake Ontario in southwestern

Ontario (Figure 1). These areas were settled earlier and more rapidly than some other

areas of the province due to their proximity to the lakeshore and the American border via

the Niagara peninsula.

The Victorian era, between 1830 and 1901, is often portrayed as an idyllic period

of family history. Most histories of the nineteenth century idealize the family as one in

which a married couple observed Christian values, remained monogamous, and produced

children. In reality, the threat of disease and the dangers of travel or accident were ever

present for both adults and children, resulting in many families that had to overcome

substantial obstacles in order to conform to such idealized stereotypes.

Figure 1: Map of Canada Showing the Location of the Study Area
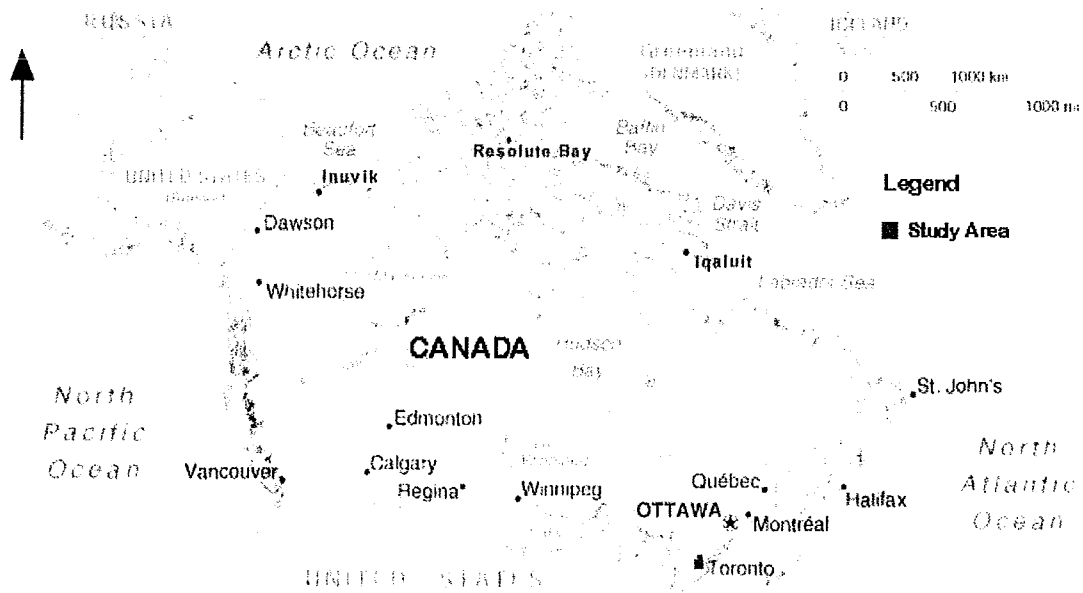
Note: A detailed map of the Study Area is shown in Figure 2.

My interest in the experience of blended and remarried families arose during an

earlier study of the St. John's Nassagaweya Anglican Church cemetery north of

Campbellville, Ontario, while I was an undergraduate student at the University of

Waterloo. Over the course of the study I noticed a number of monuments to women who died during childbearing years. While examining the monuments and records of that cemetery I noticed several examples of gravestones that commemorated a woman, and sometimes her children, but failed to include her husband. This resulted in what appeared to be a gender imbalance of memorialization among adults of marriageable age. In one case the woman who died was quite young and had recently been married to a man from out of town. She was buried with her parents and included on their monument, while he disappeared from all monuments and burial records. Another pair of monuments side by side commemorated two wives of the same man, each with children. Although there is space on both monuments to include the husband's name after his death, his death is recorded nowhere in the cemetery. In fact, in all of the cases where I noticed two spouses of the same individual commemorated, it was the man who had remarried after the death of his wife.

The examples at St. John's caused me to wonder at the reasoning behind such representation. If death is a critical moment in which people and communities are forced to define and negotiate their social relationships (Kuijt 2001:81), then the cemetery may act as an arena in which families could portray a group identity which preserved the social ideal of the family unit, despite its serial and blended reality. The most important facets of the ideal Victorian family that could be reflected in a mortuary setting would be family unity, Christian values and social status. In early Ontario communities it is certain that many adults died at an early age, perhaps leaving behind a spouse and young children, and it is generally accepted that the surviving spouse would remarry if possible,

particularly if there were young children to care for. The resulting blended families, while common, would not fit neatly within social ideals. Their experience is also largely overlooked in the existing literature on the period. What is not clear is whether the remarriage of the surviving spouse was seen as a reconstitution of the original nuclear family or whether the two marriages constituted two very separate families, the ties to the first spouse being fully severed upon entering into a second marriage.

If families did choose not to represent their remarried status on their burial monuments, was the result intended to reassure the stability and integrity of the nuclear family unit to the community audience? In addition to this, why does it seem that men were far more willing, or anxious, to acknowledge a remarriage on burial monuments than women, when marriage records show that widows also engaged in the practice? This study explores the use of mortuary contexts as a means to express perceptions of the family and identity, and finds that the treatment of blended families is not uniform across the various communities studied. Families appear to have represented remarriage on the monuments in many different ways, ranging from overt recognition of first and second marriage partners and their children, to the exclusion of the first spouse from the unified family portrait presented on later monuments.

Following from the examples noted in the St. John's Nassagaweya Anglican cemetery, thirty-seven additional Protestant cemeteries were selected for study from across Halton County and the former Wentworth County, now the City of Hamilton. The thirty-eight cemeteries were selected from the four dominant denominations in nineteenth-century Ontario: Anglican, Presbyterian, Methodist and Baptist. This ensured

the availability of church records for several of the congregations, which are used to

supplement the information available on the monuments. The use of Protestant

cemeteries also limits the diversity of observed burial practices by eliminating Catholic

and Municipal cemeteries from the present study. It can therefore be assumed that all of

the families observed in the sample practiced some level of adherence to Christian values,

given that they sought burial in a religious cemetery. All cemeteries were founded and in

use for some or all of the period between 1815 and 1914 and are spread out evenly across

the region; for the most part they are located in what were historically rural areas or small

towns. Some of the cemeteries and their associated churches are no longer in use, but all

are associated with an identifiable religious congregation. All of the cemeteries have also

been recorded and fully transcribed by members of the Ontario Genealogical Society as a

part of their Cemetery Preservation Project initiated in 1979. A thorough examination of

these cemeteries revealed 83 examples of remarriage involving 112 monuments.

This examination of grave markers and their use in the negotiation of group

identity by blended and remarried families does not only have the potential to generate an

understanding of rural life and the nineteenth century family that differs markedly from

the impression given by the existing literature, it also allows for insights into the

development of the family as it exists in contemporary society. Remarriage and blended

families have become increasingly common in Canada, and issues of commemoration

continue to be a problem. Indeed, the very concept of what constitutes a family is

constantly under scrutiny, with alternative family types finding various levels of social

acceptance. An understanding of the way material culture is used when negotiating the

social relationships of family members in response to their own experience and the expectation of the wider community, therefore, has ongoing relevance in our society.

Burials are a product of the living, and as a result they may represent the community's perception of that individual or that person's desired status more than they represent the actual identity of the deceased individual. The material culture of headstones is ideal for examining issues of family and identity, for while the stones are intensely personal and commemorate a specific individual or group, their function is also public in that they are immediately visible in a public space. Commemoration can be accomplished by putting up a new burial monument, or by inscribing the name of the deceased on an existing monument.

The presence of the burial monuments within a church cemetery means that the markers may have been viewed frequently by a variety of audiences, including the surviving family members, the religious community, and the community at large. The monuments in this study also represent a group of individuals in a family, rather than a single individual, therefore they reflect the identity of that group over a period of time.

Historic cemetery studies are typically undertaken as a study of the symbolism or style of grave monuments over time either for their own interest alone, as a means of highlighting the funerary extravagance of the Victorian period, or as a way to supplement genealogical information. The nineteenth century saw a proliferation in grave monuments that reached its peak of ostentation in the mid- to late-1800s in both England and North America. Anthropologically, historic period grave monuments have also been studied as a reflection of grief processes and emotion (Tarlow 1997; 1999) and of fashion

trends (Cannon 1989; 1996; 2006). They have rarely, if ever, been examined to further

our understanding of a specific social phenomenon, such as remarriage. A more

complete discussion of both anthropological and historical approaches to cemetery

studies will be covered in the following chapter.

The findings of this research are presented in four subsequent chapters. The

following chapter presents relevant anthropological and archaeological studies that have

used historic period cemeteries as a means to learn about the past, as well as those that

have used mortuary practices of any form to examine cultural ideas and practices

concerning the kinship and family. In addition, chapter two illustrates how the present

study benefits from the larger historical literature on the nineteenth-century family,

Victorian burial practices, and the settlement of Upper Canada (now the province of

Ontario), particularly in the areas of Halton and Wentworth Counties, while also

contributing to and expanding on this area of research.

This background chapter is followed by two chapters of data analysis. Chapter

three consists of a quantitative analysis of the data. Using the data compiled from all the

graves, this chapter demonstrates the relationship of graves representing remarried

individuals and their families to the patterns of marriage and commemoration present in

the general population as revealed by both monuments and parish records. It examines

variables of gender, family composition, geographic distribution and monument impact to

show that there is a statistically significant difference between the treatment of remarried

individuals or blended families and the larger population. Chapter four focuses chiefly

on the sample of remarried individuals and their representation, analyzing some of the

possible reasons for the differential representation of remarriage on grave monuments and identifying possible trends or patterns within this subgroup. Social status, community pressures, religious denomination and time lapse are examined as some potential additional motivating factors impacting decisions about burial commemoration. This allows for a qualitative assessment of the reasons for differentiation in commemorative practices, and indicates possible areas of further research.

The concluding chapter effectively demonstrates that while the treatment of remarried individuals and blended families differed from the overall patterns seen in the rest of the population, these differences were caused by a variety of motivating factors that do not manifest themselves uniformly across the study area.

CHAPTER 2: Background

Introduction

This study examines the mortuary representation of families, specifically

remarried families, in historic cemeteries. This topic is influenced by and contributes to

multiple fields of study, however, and therefore requires an understanding of several

different areas of research which influence the current study and its interpretations. As a

result, this chapter presents a topical, rather than chronological, review of these

influences. From an archaeological perspective, the importance of kinship to the study of

mortuary archaeology, as well as the numerous archaeological approaches to the study of

burial monuments, are particularly relevant and are used here to demonstrate the cross-

cultural ties between issues of family and identity and mortuary representation. Changes

in family situations and the reorganization or amalgamation of kin groups caused by an

event such as a remarriage could potentially alter the manner in which a kin group

memorializes its dead. The examination of remarriage in a historic context, such as the

one examined here, allows for the impact of family reconstitution following a remarriage

on the mortuary representation of families to be observed on burial monuments. The

economic implications of family relationships, such as the influence of lineal descent and

inheritance identified by Saxe (1970) and Goldstein (1981), also continue to be relevant in a historic context and have meaningful implications to the findings of this study.

Several approaches to the study of historic cemeteries are presented in this chapter, including some which focus on the study of gravestones as a means of examining style, craftsmanship, and trends, or which focus on individual ethnic or family cemeteries. The regional perspective of this study allows for the comparison and observation of representation across a particular geographical area, an issue that is not addressed by single-cemetery studies. Several of the congregations included would have been in contact with one another, either through denominational affiliation or geographical proximity. The actions of the wider community would undoubtedly influence the practices within any one cemetery, therefore this study allows for a more general interpretation of remarriage and family identity in mostly rural areas within Halton and Wentworth Counties.

This research also benefits from and contributes to the study of family history, particularly the study of non-nuclear families in nineteenth-century Canada. A brief overview of the history of the family in Great Britain and Canada is presented, followed by a more specific examination of recent research into the experience of remarried individuals. Finally, in order to fully understand the experience of remarriage within the culture of nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Ontario, a review of the experience of settlers and their families throughout the nineteenth-century is presented and related specifically to the development of the counties of Halton and Wentworth.

Mortuary Archaeology and the Identification of Kinship

The study of the dead holds a central place in archaeology, but it was not until the

late 1960s that mortuary archaeology became a significant area of study. By explaining

burial practices as universal and rational responses to loss, many early studies sought to

identify regularities in mortuary treatment that apply cross-culturally (cf. Binford 1971).

Initially, the cultural evolutionary approach advocated by Lewis Binford (1971) argued

that taking a closer look at the variables affecting burial commemoration and then

mapping the distribution of these variables would allow for a more scientific

understanding of mortuary practices cross-culturally. This was the first attempt to

establish a correlation between social complexity, burial complexity and status (Binford

1971:27).

In order to interpret burial data, however, archaeologists must make the core

assumption that social patterns of the living are reflected in the treatment and disposal

practices of the dead (Goldstein 1981:54). These social patterns can be examined at

multiple scales. For example, within a single burial, researchers can examine the

treatment of the body, the preparation of the burial site and the differential inclusion of

material goods with the body (Binford 1971:21). The patterning of spatial organization

within a burial ground is also multidimensional and can include the relationship of grave

goods to an individual, the relationship of the individual to other burials, the relationship

of groups of individuals to other groups, and even the location of the burial site

(Goldstein 1981:57; Hodder 1980:161). More recently, the combination of spatial

association with the examination of other archaeological or biological variables has been

used as a means through which specific groups of individuals, particularly kin groups, can be identified in mortuary contexts.

Mortuary studies focusing on the spatial association of burials are as diverse in the culture groups and time periods they examine as they are in their approaches to kinship identification. In the American Southwest, Howell and Kintigh (1996) used dental morphology combined with the age and sex distribution of the burials to establish kin group affinity in spatially discreet cemeteries in the Zuni settlement of Hawikku. Biological similarities between individuals located in secondary multiple graves in prehistoric Yangshao, China, were also used by Gao and Lee (1993) to suggest that these multiple burials indicate clan groups. Physical similarities are not sufficient, however, to identify all kin group affiliations, as those individuals who were adopted or married into the family would not share these biological traits. These types of analysis are most useful when combined with additional ethnohistorical or archaeological data.

Analysis of grave goods recovered in the excavation of house burials, where household members are buried within the residence, are another way in which social and kinship relationships can be examined within an extended family group. The research of both Linda Manzanilla (2002) in Teotihuacan, and Jodie O'Gorman (2001) at an Oneota village site, combines the examination of grave goods with spatial orientation in order to interpret these relationships. At Teotihuacan, the pit burials included in both public and private areas of the household compound and the differential distribution of grave goods between age and sex categories, indicate that a continuing association with the dead was important but that not all individuals received a household burial, for reasons which are

not yet known (Manzanilla 2002). While the Oneota household burials did show differences between the spatial orientation of men and women, the major differences in grave goods occurred between households rather than by age or sex, indicating that each household had its own burial traditions, such as the inclusion of red ochre, that separated its burials from those of other households (O'Gorman 2001).

A combination of biological similarities, grave goods, and spatial association was also used by Chapman (2000) at the prehistoric Kiskore-Damm site in Hungary. The linear clusters of burials were compared using several variables, including biological identification of age and sex, the presence or absence of grave goods and ochre, and the form and orientation of the grave itself (Chapman 2000). In this case, the burial clusters were most often associated with a house, and the burial variables were distributed across age and gender categories. Chapman (2000:192) demonstrates that the principle connection between the burials is created by the placement of grave goods and then reinforced by a gradually unfolding spatial association, and that these connections are indicative of a lasting social relationship between the deceased, perhaps one of kinship affiliation.

All of the examples of the mortuary identification of kinship presented thus far have required the excavation of the graves, however kinship can also influence mortuary practices through rituals or the erection of burial monuments. The ongoing role of kinship as a connecting force between the living and the dead demonstrated by continuing research in mortuary archaeology was recognized early on by Bloch (1971) in his ethnographic study of the Merina of Madagascar. The Merina have strong rituals that

tie their identity to the distant homes of their ancestors, so that each member of the family must travel there to bury loved ones and to tend, repaint or prepare the tomb each year (Bloch 1971:116). By doing so, they maintain a sacred existence in the ancestral village and identify themselves strongly with a particular family group, called a *deme*, while living elsewhere in order to benefit from the present economic and political opportunities (Bloch 1971:105). Although Bloch's observations clearly demonstrate a link between kinship and mortuary representation in the ethnographic record, they pose a significant problem archaeologically. The construction of kin groups and the decision about who is included in these groups are subject to a great deal of variability cross-culturally, and the amorphous nature of kin groups makes them difficult to define in the archaeological record.

Around the same time that Bloch was conducting his ethnographic work among the Merina, a succinct link between specific social relationships and the spatial organization of burials was identified by Saxe (1970) and was later modified by Goldstein (1981). The original argument of Saxe (1970, cited in Morris 1991), is known as Hypothesis 8, which stated that the use of spatially discreet cemeteries is determined by the degree to which corporate groups have control of crucial but limited resources to which they claim access as a result of descent or inheritance. The realization that this hypothesis was not universally applicable led to its modification by Goldstein (1981) who argued instead that the use of spatially discreet cemeteries was one way through which corporate groups reaffirmed their rights to crucial resources. The Saxe/Goldstein hypothesis, as it came to be known, suggests that the spatial and structural organization of

the burial area may reflect the social organization of the greater society, and that the spatial relationships of the burials to one another may also illustrate specific relationships between individuals (Goldstein 1981). The implications of this hypothesis are significant, by suggesting that the ways individuals and groups are represented in mortuary contexts is shaped by issues of resource control and inheritance and that the organization of burials could lead to the identification of specific family groups.

The Saxe/Goldstein hypothesis was heavily challenged over the years because it does not apply universally, and by the late 1980s it was virtually ignored. Morris (1991) reexamined the hypothesis, however, and asserted that although there may not be a universal theory to explain mortuary archaeology, this does not discount the fact that meaningful correlations between the ownership of property, lineal descent and the distribution of burials do exist. Changes in the family situation and the reorganization or amalgamation of kin groups caused by an event such as remarriage could disrupt patterns of lineal descent and potentially alter the manner in which a kin group continues to memorialize its dead.

Burial Monuments and the Representation of Kinship

The appeal of burial monuments as an object of study is well established. The enduring nature and visibility of monuments makes them easily accessible, often offering the observer tangible information about the deceased, such as their name, age or even birthplace. The material culture of gravestones is not limited to the historic period, however, and offers much more information about the deceased than biographical facts,

including information about belief systems, kinship, craftsmanship, art, and stylistic trends.

James Deetz was one of the first researchers to fully realize the archaeological potential of historic grave monuments. Working in New England, Deetz recognized that burial monuments were admirably suited to archaeological inquiry because they are objects created by a literate people whose history is known, thereby allowing the researcher to compare changes in design and manufacture to known historical dates (Dethlefsen and Deetz 1966:502). As a result, it would be possible to observe over a controlled period of time the effects of societal change on material objects, a process which is fundamental to all archaeological interpretation (Dethlefsen and Deetz 1966:502). A study by Deetz and Edwin Dethlefsen (1964) traced the evolution of three design motifs: the Death's head, the cherub, and the willow tree with an urn. The shift from Death's head in the early eighteenth century to the cherub motif in the mid-eighteenth century corresponds closely with the decline of Puritanism, which focused on mortality, and the rise of the "Great Awakening" led by John Edwards in 1740, which was a popular religious movement emphasizing the resurrection and the joy of life after death (Dethlefsen and Deetz 1966:505-508). Similarly, the transition from cherub to willow and urn motifs corresponds with the end of the "Great Awakening" and the beginning of evangelical Protestant movements, such as Methodism (Dethlefsen and Deetz 1966:508). The rigid historical control that dated monuments allow researchers to maintain is a great appeal of monument studies because changes in burial commemoration can be readily observed.

The scholarly appeal of burial monuments is not only limited to historical monuments of the recent past. For example, Classical Athenian grave stelae of the 4th century B.C.E. are used by Leader (1997) as a means of understanding the construction of gender in Athenian society. Her findings suggest that the representation of genders changes depending on whether males and females are buried together or separately, focusing either on the family (*oikos*) or the state (*polis*) (Leader 1997:699). On family monuments, for example, the standard portrayal of a seated woman, a mature man standing, and a maid holding a small chest implies that these are not accurate representations of the family members, but rather stereotypes or icons of these roles (Leader 1997:686). When the stelae are separate, women are often represented with jewelry or a maid and are praised in the monument text for their "goodness" or "good sense", while men are depicted as athletic, members of the military, or seated with a staff, emphasizing their role in civic life (Leader 1997:690,693). The Athenian grave stelae, however, do not represent all classes of society, as only the wealthy would be able to afford burial monuments such as those included in Leader's study.

The present study is primarily concerned with historic cemeteries in Great Britain and her North American colonies, which have been the subject of scholarly interest for some time. Nineteenth-century cemeteries continue to hold a fascination for many people, in part due to their accessibility and the large number of cemeteries and monuments available for study. Nineteenth-century funerary rituals have also been a subject of great interest for many. During the Victorian period, between 1830 and 1901, the prospect of death featured prominently in literature, poetry and religious teachings.

During this period death was a far more immediate event than contemporary residents of

Britain and North America are generally accustomed to; the body was prepared by family

and close friends, and the wake was held in the home of the deceased (Andrews

1981:182). What has come to be known as the "Victorian celebration of death" (Curl

1972) has been much discussed in the historical literature. Scholars generally agree that

during this period mortuary display reached a level of ostentation not previously seen,

including extremely long periods of mourning, lavish decoration, and numerous rules of

etiquette (Cannadine 1981; Curl 1972; Jalland 1996).

These displays included the elaboration and proliferation of burial monuments,

which reached their apex of ostentation and variability by mid-century. The public

display of grief afforded by a monument was a necessary component of a respectable

mortuary display, and for the first time this became the equal concern of not only the

higher classes, but also the lower classes, who were willing to neglect their own needs in

order to provide a suitable funeral (Cannon 1989:438). As a result of this universal

concern for burial monuments many monuments are available for study, representing all

social classes, many of which remain in an excellent state of repair. As noted, variability

in Victorian grave monuments was greatest during the middle of the period. There are

several factors that contribute to this variability which have been identified by Cannon

(1989; 1996) in his study of grave monuments in Cambridgeshire, England. In part, the

growing affluence of English society resulted in elaborate monuments for the upper

classes which were then emulated by successively lower classes (Cannon 1989:439).

This trend was countered by an increased restraint in mortuary display by the upper

classes, which continued to be emulated as a means of social competition among the classes in a cycle of elaboration and restraint that continued into the late 1800s (Cannon 1989:439; 1996:34). The selection of particular monument styles may also be influenced by other factors, such as architectural trends, craftsmanship and, to a lesser extent, religious ideology (Cannon 1996:33-35). Cannon (1996:34) also identified two cases where family tradition appears to have dictated monument style, particularly in one case where three different masons created the exact same headstone design for members of one family over a period of forty-seven years. Ames (1981:654) also found that the configuration and placement of stones demonstrated family relationships, either through the sharing of stones by pairs or groups of family members, or by inscriptions denoting specific family roles, such as "mother".

The influence of family relationships on the arrangement and form of the gravestones is of particular interest because despite the archaeological interest in burial monuments, no study has yet examined burial monuments with the intent to examine the influence of kinship on the mortuary representation of family groups. Nevertheless, kinship plays an undeniable role in the interpretation of historic period cemeteries. As established earlier, family associations are visible in other aspects of mortuary treatment, such as spatial association and the placement of grave goods, therefore it is reasonable to expect that they would impact monuments as well.

Personal and social attitudes towards family relationships, death and the afterlife that may be incorporated into mortuary representations may be shaped by interaction with a specific religious or ethnic community. The Juris cemetery on the Colorado Plains is an

example of an ethnic cemetery that was in use between 1898 and 1980 (Broce 1996).

The twenty-four burials in this cemetery belong to non-Orthodox members of the Slovak

community who settled the area in the late-1800s, and demonstrate that even in the

absence of formal family plots family members are buried adjacent to one another

whenever possible (Broce 1996:178). The display of family solidarity is not uniform,

however, because many family members are not buried in the cemetery at all, but instead

chose to be buried in a nearby municipal cemetery after it was established in 1911 (Broce

1996:177). Despite the establishment of the new cemetery, people continued to be buried

at Juris for approximately seventy years. These later burials and the resulting division of

family members between local cemeteries suggests that while family associations are

important, the decision regarding burial location is influenced by other factors as well,

and that the examination of burial practices at Juris must be considered within the context

of nearby cemeteries and historic communities (Broce 1996:179).

Cemetery researchers are often concerned with examining patterns as they occur

within a single cemetery and seldom place the family unit at the centre of their study.

The examination of historic family cemeteries, however, is a useful opportunity to study

family representation in a context where the kinship affiliations are fairly well

established. Family cemeteries are private and are usually located on land belonging to

the family, such as a farm. The excavation of the Weir family cemetery in Manassas,

Virginia, is one such example (Little et al. 1992). In use from 1830 until 1907, patterns

of burial suggest that unmarried children were included with the parents' graves, while

married children were located separate from their parents (Little et al. 1992:399). In

addition, immediate family groups occasionally used a similar style of headstone to identify their affiliation, even choosing family solidarity over contemporary trends (Little et al. 1992:412, 414). These private cemeteries would likely not have been intended for public viewing. In order to understand broader social attitudes towards specific family situations it is necessary, therefore, to examine family representation in a public setting, such as a municipal or church cemetery, where fellow community members would be able to view (and, perhaps, judge) the memorial.

The issue of representation in mortuary contexts is particularly interesting in public cemeteries because the visibility of monuments offers a public statement on social ideas about death and identity. Cemeteries, therefore, provide an opportunity for researchers to explore social attitudes about issues such as family unity and remarriage, which are largely overlooked in studies of family history.

Family History in Great Britain and Canada

In all societies the family unit fulfills a public function of economic productivity and social control as well as a private function of companionship, reproduction, and nurture (Elman and London 2002:201). It is not surprising, therefore, that the "new social history" movement of the 1960s sought to shift historical focus towards ordinary people and families who were underrepresented in previous studies and away from traditional historical subjects, such as politics or the military (Comacchio 1999:7). As a result, an abundance of research is now available on the lives of ordinary people and everyday activities that make up our understanding of the past, including family life.

The first comprehensive work on family history was Goody's (1983) examination of the development of the family in Europe, which followed the evolution of the Christian family through several centuries. The regulations of marriage placed by the Christian church, such as the restriction of potential marriage partners to those outside of the immediate kin group, functioned to maximize the authority of the church while limiting the authority of the family (Goody 1983:151). As a result, the church came to favour a child-centred family, with family ties based on affection and companionship (Goody 1983:153). This was the forerunner of the nineteenth century ideals of companionate marriage and domesticity.

Davidoff and Hall (1987) produced a comprehensive examination of the development of the middle class family in England between 1780 and 1850. The central themes to emerge from this study were the increased separation of home and work during the nineteenth century and the recognition that middle class respectability was largely dependent on religious involvement (Davidoff and Hall 1987). Whereas the home had been the centre of economic production in most communities for centuries, economic production was now located outside the home, requiring the man to be away during working hours. In particular the notion of separate spheres for public (or *male*) activities and private (or *female*) activities, an idea that emerged during the first half of the nineteenth century, was popularized in the historical literature (Davidoff and Hall 1987:172). According to this interpretation, the ideal middle class family, therefore, was one in which the wife stayed home and provided an attractive home environment that was

22

to act as salvation and solace to her working husband, who was otherwise subjected to the sinful world in his public life (Davidoff and Hall 1987:173).

Most studies of family history focus on the middle or upper classes, including Goody (1983) and Davidoff and Hall (1987), and rarely acknowledge the experience of the working classes. While Canadian family history has lagged behind British and American studies in its development, and middle class families continue to be the focus of most research, Canadian research has contributed a great deal to the examination of alternative family types that existed outside of the middle class context. The Canadian historiography continues to lack a definitive, broad-based analysis of family history, but recent works by Comacchio (1999), Noel (2003) and Marks (1996) provide a promising beginning. Within the colony of Upper Canada, Comacchio (1999:17) argues that the family unit was the primary means of establishing order in a dispersed population without cohesive systems of local policing. The church, in particular the Anglican Church, was also a means of organizing the populace. Indeed, religion impacted all aspects of life in the rural areas and small towns of Southern Ontario throughout the nineteenth century (Marks 1996).

Rural life in the colonies required the active participation of all family members. This meant that the separation of male and female roles was rarely attainable in the earliest years of Canadian settlement, where the centre of economic production was once again in the home environment. The average household had approximately six people, but half the rural population was children, and since children were needed to help on the farm by about age eight, schools were slow to develop (Baskerville 2002:75). Women's

work included butchering and curing meat, making candles, sewing, and gardening, and often the wife also managed the finances (Baskerville 2002:77). As a result, many Canadian historians are now moving away from the traditional interpretation of separate spheres that is dominant in the British literature and towards a more holistic approach that recognizes male participation in the household as well as female participation in the public sphere, including the economic production required by pioneer life (Christie 2002).

While interaction between communities was not always easy, families were not confined to the home environment. Noel (2003) demonstrates that a great deal of family life took place outside the home during this period, in the context of visiting family and kin. Using primarily letters and diaries as her sources, she argues that visiting neighbours, friends and kin was vital to the maintenance of strong social networks upon which people in both rural and urban areas could draw for potential marriage partners, or for assistance in times of crisis (Noel 2003:191-192). She also describes the relationship of fathers and their children in the domestic environment as warm and affectionate, further strengthening the argument that the role of the father in the home was as important as his role outside of it (Noel 2003:132). This was by no means the universal experience of nineteenth-century families and there would have been a great deal of variability in this, as well as many other, aspects of life, however, the emphasis on the role of the father in the home is one that is valuable to understanding family relationships in the past. Noel's (2003) use of written documents also implies that the study includes

only literate and educated members of society, though her inclusion of both rural and

urban areas goes beyond the scope of other Canadian studies in this area.

History of Non-Nuclear Family Types, 1815-1914

While the majority of Canadian studies examine the experience of nuclear

families, in recent years a trend has begun to examine the situations of people who are

considered "marginal", or do not fit the mainstream understanding of family life. In

particular, the examination of the working class family (Bradbury 1993) has contributed

greatly to the understanding of urban families in nineteenth century Canada. As in earlier

periods, all members of the family were required to contribute to the needs of the family

as they were able. Men were the primary wage earners, however women contributed

significantly to the economic potential of the working class family. Most notably,

Bradbury briefly examines what happens to the working class family when the family

structure is dissolved due to a death or abandonment, and highlights the difficulties faced

by these families, especially by widows (Bradbury 1993:182; 2004). The literature on

the experience of non-nuclear family types in early Canada is steadily growing (cf.

Christie and Gauvreau 2004). It is also increasingly acknowledged that although there

may have been specific socially constructed perspectives on the family, it is the everyday

interaction of these values with the real experience of the family that gives meaning to

the social ideals (Christie 2004:15). One topic that remains largely unexplored,

however, is the issue of remarriage upon the death of a spouse.

The problem extends to the international Western historical literature as well, with very few articles emerging on this topic in Great Britain and the United States. In Great Britain, Collins (1991) examines social relationships in historical British stepfamilies prior to 1800, while Burchardt (1989) provides an overview of the experience of stepfamilies in the early-twentieth century. Gullette (1990) examines the social implications of a nineteenth-century British law forbidding a man from marrying his deceased wife's sister, which was a common practice. Like Burchardt (1989), a more recent study by Elman and London (2002) uses demography and statistics to provide a historical understanding of remarriage and stepfamilies in the early twentieth century in the United States. Both of these papers seek to understand remarriage in the recent past with the goal of giving historical depth and understanding to contemporary issues of remarriage and blended families. To my knowledge, no comprehensive historical perspective has yet been presented on the topic of remarriage (Burchardt 1989:323; Elman and London 2002:200).

The Canadian literature is no exception. By specifically examining the experiences of stepchildren and stepfamilies in Quebec between 1866 and 1920, Gossage (2004; 1998) appears to stand alone. Concluding that the stepfamily in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth century was both normative (by emulating the nuclear family) and marginal (by introducing the potential for interpersonal conflict that would not have otherwise been present), this is the only Canadian historical research dealing explicitly with remarriage in the nineteenth century (Gossage 2004:162). Naturally, the experience of stepfamilies would be highly varied, and would have been influenced by

which parent remarried and the age of both children and parents when the marriage took

place. Stepmothers appear to be more common than stepfathers, as widowers with young

children were more likely to remarry than widows (Gossage 1998:369). In part this may

be due to the taboos against men taking on domestic female tasks, while it was not as

unusual for a woman to assume the male role of economic head of the household

(Christie and Gauvreau 2004:28).

In general, the literature on remarriage and stepfamilies in both Britain and North

America demonstrates consensus in observing two main areas of conflict: the issue of

property and inheritance, and the issue of obligations for care between stepparents and

stepchildren (Gossage 1998; Burchardt 1989; Collins 1991). In addition, conflicts seem

less likely to arise when the stepparent is introduced to the family at a very early age,

indicating that age of children at remarriage is an important factor to the interpretation

and success of blended families (Burchardt 1989:306; Gossage 2004:162). Surprisingly,

the British government also took an interest in remarriage in the early and mid-nineteenth

century by passing a law disallowing the marriage of a widower to his deceased wife's

sister in 1835, on grounds of incest (Gullette 1990). Such marriages were common at the

time, and continued to be common in the colonies where such unions were perceived as

respectable and good because the new wife would have a genuine concern for the welfare

of her nieces and nephews (Gullette 1990:143, 149). This regulation is explained by

Gullette (1990:164) as an attempt by the Church of England to regulate remarriage in

general, because remarrying contradicted the eternal marriage ideology of the church.

While this type of remarriage continued to occur, it is unclear whether this law was ever

extended to include Upper Canada, where a large presence of non-English immigrants

and evangelical Protestant denominations weakened the position of the Church of

England. Indeed, the experience of all families during the period of early settlement in

Upper Canada was markedly different from that in Great Britain, therefore family history

must be examined specifically within the context of Upper Canada and Ontario.

Life in Upper Canada and Ontario, 1815-1914

The first real influx of settlement into Upper Canada came in the form of United

Empire Loyalists in the early 1780s, loyal British subjects who had fought on the side of

the British in the American War of Independence and sought asylum in the British North

American colonies when the war ended in the Americans' favour. Approximately 14,000

Loyalists settled in Upper Canada and were given free land grants, primarily in the area

of Niagara, Kingston and the St. Lawrence River (Baskerville 2002:51). After the War of

1812, however, the British closed the border to American immigration for a short time,

increasing the numbers of immigrants arriving from overseas (Harris and Warkentin

1974:116).

Between 1815 and 1865, over one million English, Scottish and Irish settlers also

arrived in British North America. Many factors contributed to this influx of settlers,

including the appeal of free land grants (particularly following the Napoleonic wars in

Europe) and the Irish potato famine during the mid-1840s (Baskerville 2002:69). The

population of Upper Canada tripled to 450,000 between 1825 and 1842, and reached

952,000 by 1850 (Harris and Warkentin 1974:118; Baskerville 2002:69). After 1850

there were larger numbers of immigrants from places outside the British Isles, including

German, Dutch, and African-American settlers (Baskerville 2002:69).

Travel was difficult, particularly in winter months, therefore rural communities

remained isolated from the urban centres and local community life continued to be the

central focus in the lives of the settlers. In early Upper Canada churches were a major

socializing venue. The only church sanctioned by the state was the Church of England,

or Anglican Church, but many non-English settlers started congregations that better

reflected their cultural origins, and by the latter half of the nineteenth century four

Protestant denominations had emerged as the main religious affiliations in the province:

Anglican, Presbyterian, Methodist and Baptist (Marks 1996:11). At the time, these

churches were all considered to be "evangelical", although the Anglican Church was far

less so (Marks 1996:11; Van Die 2005:6). These evangelical denominations each

emphasized, to varying degrees, four basic principles: the Bible was the foundation of all

faith, individual faith was personal and experiential, God's redemption and forgiveness

was available to all who repented, and those who repented were "born again" into a new

life focusing on the needs of others (Van Die 2005:6). As the century progressed

denominational differences became less divisive, resulting in a series of amalgamations

between Methodist and Presbyterian congregations (Marks 1996:11). The occasional

Methodist or Baptist "camp revival" meetings, when traveling speakers and preachers

came to town for a few days with the goal of spiritual conversion, also functioned as a

welcome diversion because of their opportunity for fellowship and music, regardless of

denomination (Harris and Warkentin 1974:127). Church attendance was more common

for women than men, and was particularly low among unmarried males, but for married

men church attendance reinforced their respectability in a public arena (Marks 1996:33).

Outside of church activities, opportunities for social interaction were rare and the

family continued to be the central social group for most rural Ontarians. A work "bee"

was an excellent excuse for the community to gather, whether it was to raise a barn, sew

a quilt, or remove tree stumps (Harris and Warkentin 1974:127). For men, Agricultural

Societies were a valuable source of socialization and professional development in rural

communities by the 1830s and 1840s (Guillet 1933:307). Participation by these Societies

in the Provincial Exhibition or county fairs was a means of establishing connections with

people from neighbouring communities, and activities such as horse racing or ploughing-

matches were a source of entertainment for all members of the population (Guillet

1933:307). Fraternal societies such as the Loyalist Orange Lodge and the Masons were

also formed in some centres (Harris and Warkentin 1974:127). Women's Institutes and

Temperance Societies served a similar function for women. Common in Upper Canada

by the late 1840s, both of these organizations provided an opportunity to learn about

issues relevant to contemporary life by means of papers, debates or visiting speakers, as

well as valuable chances to socialize (Guillet 1933:307).

During the early period, the economy relied heavily on exports of wood and grain

to Great Britain in exchange for imports of manufactured goods (Baskerville 2002:71).

Farming was therefore central to the Upper Canadian economy from an early period and

a farmer could likely farm commercially within a few years of settling. By the 1850s

diversification of produce and livestock began to increase and a growing economy along

with a reciprocity trade agreement with the United States meant Canada was not as

dependent on British imports of manufactured goods (Harris and Warkentin 1974:125;

Baskerville 2002:71).

As late as 1860, the majority of Upper Canada's population was involved in either

farming or the lumber trade. Manufacturing was small scale and scattered across the

landscape in villages and towns, each of which had its own blacksmith, grist mill and

sawmill nearby (Harris and Warkentin 1974:142). While most consumer goods

continued to be imported prior to 1870, many villages also boasted distilleries, tanneries,

breweries, carriage works and furniture plants, leading to a diversification of the local

economy (Harris and Warkentin 1974:142-143). This was especially true in Wentworth

County, where a quarter of the workforce was employed in manufacturing by 1851

(Harris and Warkentin 1974:144). Transportation was poor, however, and the cost of

shipping manufactured goods outside of the local area was extremely high, particularly

before the advent of the railways in the 1850s. The opening of the Grand Trunk Railway,

which stretched from Sarnia, Ontario, to Montreal, and the Great Western Railway

between Windsor, Hamilton and Toronto, had an enormous impact on manufacturing and

trade.

Halton and Wentworth Counties, 1815-1914

Although Niagara, Kingston and York (now Toronto) were the major urban

centres during the early period of settlement in Upper Canada, the areas along the shore

of Lake Ontario were also populated quickly by predominantly white Anglo-Saxon

Protestants in the form of United Empire Loyalists or emigrants from the British Isles. Located at the southwestern end of the lake, Halton and Wentworth Counties were originally joined in 1816 as the Gore District, and are representative of the early growth and settlement of the province outside of the major urban centres, particularly as these lands were opened up to settlement just prior to the major wave of immigration from the British Isles. In 1853, the Gore District was dissolved into the present day Halton County and the former Wentworth County. Halton County includes the townships of Nelson and Nassagaweya in the southwest, and Trafalgar and Esquesing in the northeast. Eleven of the thirty-eight cemeteries included in this study are located in the townships of Nelson and Nassagaweya. These are largely clustered along Guelph Line, the oldest road in the county, which bisects the two townships north to south and continues to be a major artery for transportation. Highway 5, which runs east to west along the Niagara Escarpment across both Halton and Wentworth, was also a major transportation route and towns along these two roads developed quickly. The village of Waterdown along Highway 5, for example, boasted five mills and a number of shops as early as 1845 (Harris and Warkentin 1974:156). The remaining twenty-seven cemeteries are located in Wentworth County, which includes the townships of Binbrook, Glanford, Barton, Ancaster, East Flamborough, West Flamborough and Beverly. In 1974 the townships of Binbrook and Glanford combined to form the township of Glanbrook, and the Wentworth townships amalgamated with the City of Hamilton under a regional government to form Hamilton-Wentworth (Newcombe and Woods 1973). In 2001, these areas were amalgamated once again into the City of Hamilton. Throughout this study the county of Wentworth will be

referred to by its original name in order to avoid confusion with the urban City of

Hamilton, however the townships will be referred to by their current names allowing for

current geographical boundaries to be used. The study area was at times a part of the

colonies of Upper Canada and Canada West, becoming the province of Ontario at the

time of Canadian Confederation in 1867. Throughout this study the area will be referred

to as belonging to the Province of Ontario.

The timing of settlement was not uniform across the study region, with some

areas being settled earlier than others, in part because the Niagara Escarpment bisects the

region, limiting accessibility. In Wentworth, Ancaster Township's proximity to the

Niagara peninsula and the wave of Loyalist settlers in the late eighteenth century meant

that its first settlers and a fully operational mill were in the area by 1790. In the early part

of the nineteenth century industries such as saw and grist mills were very successful in

the area, while more remote townships were slow to be cleared (Newcombe and Woods

1973). By 1851, Wentworth County, as discussed previously, employed more of the

population in manufacturing than any other county in Upper Canada, demonstrating the

rapidity of growth in that area. In Halton County, Nassagaweya Township was the last

township in the study area to be settled, as it had much rocky terrain and lacked the easy

accessibility to the lakeshore of Nelson Township (Halton Women's Institute 1970:67).

Naturally this staggered settlement across the study area affects the dates of the

cemeteries examined in this study, however the cemeteries are representative of

settlement across the region, and all congregations studied were organized before 1850.

The rapid changes experienced by the early settlers in Ontario greatly impacted the experience of the family and the concept of what constituted an "ideal" family, which was markedly different from the typical British or American experience. The settlers of Halton and Wentworth counties during the nineteenth century were largely rural farmers and tradespeople, and the advent of the manufacturing industry combined with the coming of the railroad in the 1850s provided access to the major urban trading centres, improved movement of people and goods, and provided ancillary improvements in health care and education.

Conclusion

As this background information has demonstrated, the examination of remarriage as represented in nineteenth- and early twentieth-century burials is shaped by multiple areas of research which have seldom intersected prior to this point. The mortuary identification of kinship, and the influence of kinship and inheritance on the archaeological record emphasize the economic importance and function of the family. The longstanding use of burial monuments to express beliefs and concerns about family identity through mortuary representation occurs cross-culturally, and continues to influence the burial monuments erected by the historic rural communities of southwestern Ontario during the study period.

Although underrepresented in the existing literature, the experience of the remarried or blended family in nineteenth- and early twentieth-century southwestern Ontario was certainly different from that of a nuclear family, however these differences

do not appear to have affected all families equally, nor do they indicate that these families

were marginalized or singled out within their communities.

CHAPTER 3: Remarriage in Context

Methodology

The cemeteries included in this study were selected from Protestant cemeteries in

areas evenly dispersed across the Counties of Halton and Wentworth. This study uses

burial monuments to examine the representation of remarried families in predominantly

rural areas of Halton and Wentworth Counties during an era of rapid economic and

environmental change. Burial monuments are ideal for this study because they were

available to all members of society during this period, are displayed in a public

environment, and provide rigid historical controls in the form of names and dates for

specific individuals (cf. Dethlefsen and Deetz 1964).

The decision to include only Protestant congregations in this study was made as a

means of limiting the variability found among the cemeteries to a specific belief system

regarding both religion and the family that could reasonably impact the burial display.

While family and municipal cemeteries are also common during certain parts of the study

period, these cemeteries may not be governed by the Protestant belief system, which

includes a very central belief in the existence of an afterlife, and could conceivably

display increased variability in the burials. It is also possible that family cemeteries were not visible to the public, limiting the function of the monuments as a public display of the family group. Catholicism, while present in Ontario during the study period, was practiced by a minority of the population and there are comparatively few rural Catholic cemeteries in the study area. In addition, mortuary display may be altered dramatically by dogmatic differences regarding death and the afterlife, as well as strong church opinions on issues such as divorce or remarriage.

All cemeteries are located in rural areas or smaller towns dispersed across the study. As a result, thirty-eight cemeteries were chosen from the four most common Protestant denominations (Marks 1996:11): Anglican (9), Presbyterian (12), Methodist (15), and Baptist (2). An added advantage of using church cemeteries is the availability of church records to expand on the information on the headstones.

This study does not attempt to incorporate all Protestant cemeteries in the study area, but rather it seeks to examine a representative selection of cemeteries in order to examine the broader issue of commemoration and family identity in rural Ontario. The thirty-eight cemeteries were selected based on geographic location, and are located in rural communities and small towns across six townships in Wentworth County and in the townships of Nassagaweya and Nelson in the eastern portion of Halton County (Figure 2). All of the cemeteries selected for inclusion have also been transcribed by members of the Ontario Genealogical Society beginning in 1979, which has the advantage of providing information for monuments that may have been destroyed or damaged over the past twenty-eight years. The towns of Ancaster and Waterdown are the largest

communities in Wentworth County included in the study. In Halton County, St. Luke's

Cemetery near the shore of Lake Ontario in the city of Burlington is the only cemetery

located in what is currently an urban centre, and was formerly located in the town of

Wellington Square. Founded in 1834, St. Luke's is one of the oldest cemeteries in the

township of Nelson and was a joint parish with St. John's Anglican in the nearby town of

Nelson, which is also included in the study. The age and excellent preservation of both

the church records and the cemetery of St. Luke's make it a valuable addition to this

study (See Table 1 for a complete list of the cemeteries and their locations).

Figure 2: Study Area Showing Locations of All Cemeteries
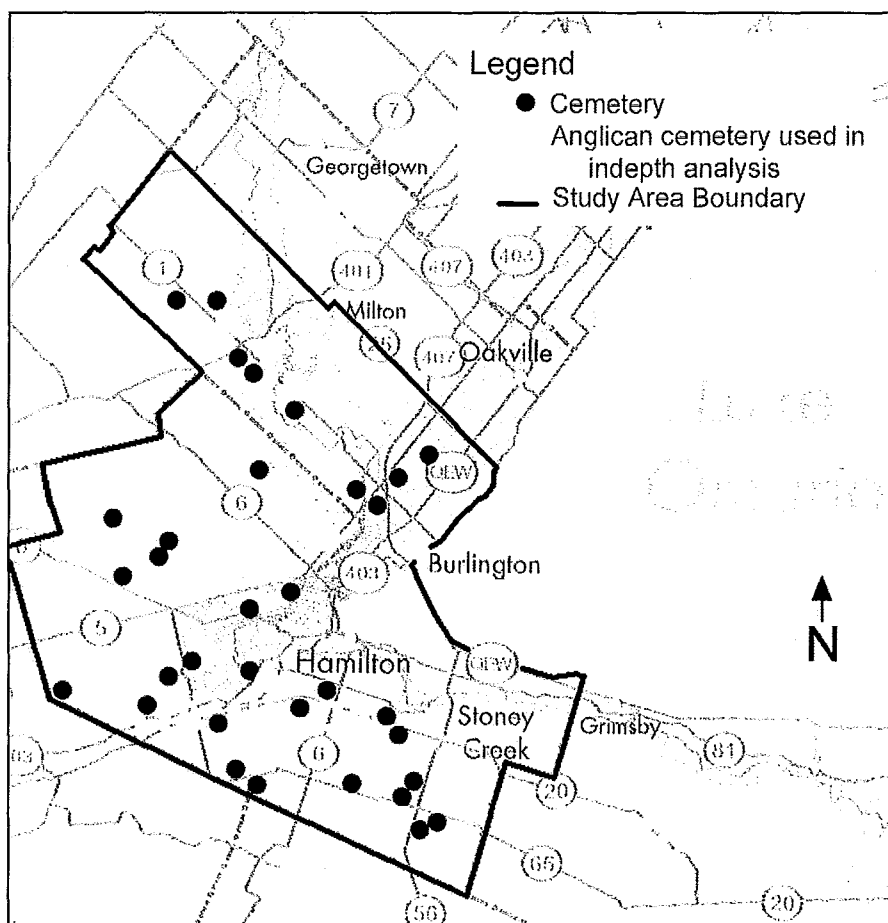
Table 1: Data for All Thirty-Eight Cemeteries, including Denomination, Township, Year Founded, Number of Monuments and Number of Acknowledged, 1815-1914

Cemetery	Denomination	Township	Year	Total # of Monuments	Total # of Remarriage Examples
Christ Church (Woodburn)	Anglican	Glanbrook	1840	118	3
Binbrook Baptist	Baptist	Glanbrook	1857	44	1.5
Binbrook United	Methodist	Glanbrook	1818	130	2.5
Trinity United (Hannon)	Methodist	Glanbrook	1845	38	1
Case United	Methodist	Glanbrook	1855	38	1
Auld Kirk	Presbyterian	Glanbrook	1853	76	1
Knox	Presbyterian	Glanbrook	1843	189	0
St. George's (Hannon)	Anglican	Barton	1865	31	0
Barton Stone United	Presbyterian	Barton	1831	132	2
St. John's Anglican	Anglican	Ancaster	1826	278	5
Bethel	Methodist	Ancaster	1859	66	0
Bethesda United	Methodist	Ancaster	1825	52	2
Bowman United	Methodist	Ancaster	1808	138	4
Zion Hill	Methodist	Ancaster	1813	168	2
Copetown	Methodist	Ancaster	1826	101	1
Jerseyville	Methodist	Ancaster	1804	235	5
St. Andrew's	Presbyterian	Ancaster	1832	123	1
Red Brick Church (Carluke)	Presbyterian	Ancaster	1855	84	0
White Church (Carluke)	Presbyterian	Ancaster	1831	92	2
Grace Church	Anglican	E. Flamboro	1847	104	2
Carlisle United	Presbyterian	E. Flamboro	1830	232	3
Christ Church	Anglican	W. Flamboro	1817	43	0
Rock Chapel United	Methodist	W. Flamboro	1830	42	4
St. Alban's (Rockton)	Anglican	Beverly	1868	14	0
Westover Baptist	Baptist	Beverly	1845	91	2
Westover United	Methodist	Beverly	1860	40	2
Kirkwall	Presbyterian	Beverly	1833	195	2
St. Luke's	Anglican	Nelson	1834	177	1
St. John's (Nelson)	Anglican	Nelson	1839	101	2
Nelson United	Methodist	Nelson	1830	62	3
Appleby Cemetery	Methodist	Nelson	1861	90	8
Lowville United	Methodist	Nelson	1850	80	3
St. Paul's	Presbyterian	Nelson	1822	154	3
St. John's Nassagaweya	Anglican	Nassagaweya	1844	66	3
Ebenezer United	Methodist	Nassagaweya	1832	154	5
Campbellville Burying Ground	Presbyterian	Nassagaweya	1840	88	0
St. David's	Presbyterian	Nassagaweya	1865	19	2
Nassagaweya	Presbyterian	Nassagaweya	1861	138	2

Archival sources were used extensively to supplement the examination of the monuments and cemeteries. Wherever possible, the archival records regarding marriages and burials were examined for each congregation. The archives for all four denominations in the study area are held in Ontario. The Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Niagara, which encompasses both Halton and Wentworth counties, are held at McMaster University in Hamilton, Ontario, as are the archives for the Canadian Baptist Church. The archives of the Presbyterian Church in Canada are held at the national church office in Toronto. The union of the Methodist church with some Presbyterian congregations in 1926 which formed the United Church of Canada means that some of the archives for the Methodist congregations in this study are held at the national offices of the Presbyterian Church in Canada, while others are held in the archives of the United Church at Victoria College, in the University of Toronto.

Once the total numbers of marriages and remarriages were established, using the archives and the cemetery transcriptions, I traveled to each cemetery to identify, record and digitally photograph all of the monuments associated with each remarriage. In the cemeteries, the spatial relationships of the monuments commemorating each remarriage could also be observed. In some cases, the monuments are not directly adjacent to one another, but their proximity and the inscriptions on the monuments allow for the commemoration to be considered an acknowledged remarriage. Words used to identify marriage in the monument inscription include the common "husband" and "wife" terms, as well as "widow of" and "relict of" in the case of women.

Archival documents were used to supplement the data from the stones, however their fragile nature has led to many of the records being incomplete or absent altogether. Of the thirty-eight cemeteries included in the study, twenty-four have incomplete records for both marriages and burials (Table 2). Of these twenty-four congregations, fifteen are Methodist, two are Baptist and seven are Presbyterian. The remaining fourteen congregations had at least some records for both events, including all nine Anglican churches, though gaps in the records often exist.

The incomplete records are in part the result of denominational differences. The Anglican Church was the established, state-sponsored church, and the records of the church functioned as the official records of the government until Canadian Confederation in 1867. In addition, established churches were usually able to erect a church building which functioned as a stable and permanent home for the church. As a result, the records of the church remained with the building, regardless of the minister in charge. The other denominations had a very different experience in early Canada.

These congregations often met in the homes of the parishioners, and were served by missionaries on circuits, who would not preach every week but who left the congregation in the control of deacons because of the great distances traveled between congregations. As a result, records were kept sporadically, or were entrusted to individuals and were lost over time. Circuits were also constantly shifting boundaries, so that the minister's congregations would change over time. While two or three Anglican churches in nearby communities might be served by the same minister, the minister would preach regularly in each church and would keep records for all his charges.

Table 2: Status of Parish Marriage and Burial Records for all Thirty-Eight Cemeteries to 1914

C= Complete/Sufficient for Analysis, I= Incomplete/Absent			
Cemetery	Denomination	Marriage Records	Burial Records
Christ Church (Woodburn)	Anglican	C	C
Binbrook Baptist	Baptist	I	I
Binbrook United	Methodist	I	I
Trinity United (Hannon)	Methodist	I	I
Case United	Methodist	I	I
Auld Kirk	Presbyterian	C	I
Knox	Presbyterian	C	I
St. George's (Hannon)	Anglican	C	C
Barton Stone United	Presbyterian	I	I
St. John's (Ancaster)	Anglican	C	C
Bethel	Methodist	I	I
Bethesda United	Methodist	I	I
Bowman United	Methodist	I	I
Zion Hill	Methodist	I	I
Copetown	Methodist	I	I
Jerseyville	Methodist	I	I
St. Andrew's	Presbyterian	C	C
Red Brick Church (Carluke)	Presbyterian	C	C
White Church (Carluke)	Presbyterian	C	C
Grace Church	Anglican	C	C
Carlisle United	Presbyterian	I	I
Christ Church	Anglican	C	C
Rock Chapel United	Methodist	I	I
St. Alban's (Rockton)	Anglican	C	C
Westover Baptist	Baptist	I	I
Westover United	Methodist	I	I
Kirkwall	Presbyterian	I	I
St. Luke's	Anglican	C	C
St. John's (Nelson)	Anglican	C	C
Nelson United	Methodist	I	I
Appleby Cemetery	Methodist	I	I
Lowville United	Methodist	I	I
St. Paul's	Presbyterian	I	I
St. John's Nassagaweya	Anglican	C	C
Ebenezer United	Methodist	I	I
Campbellville Burying Ground	Presbyterian	I	I
St. David's	Presbyterian	I	I
Nassagaweya	Presbyterian	I	I

This has resulted in the overlapping of some archival material. For example, the

marriage records of the Anglican congregation of St. John's in the town of Nelson were

at times recorded in the parish register of St. Luke's in Burlington. A split in the

Presbyterian Church in the 1850s also caused the fissioning of some congregations into

two groups, each with their own church and cemetery. This is the case in the towns of

Binbrook and Carluke, where the churches later resolved their conflict and formed a

single congregation, causing the records for the churches and cemeteries to overlap

considerably.

Due to such inconsistencies in the records, a subset of five Anglican cemeteries

with exceptionally complete records was selected from across the study area to be

examined more closely for patterns affecting commemoration. These five cemeteries are

Christ Church cemetery near the town of Binbrook, St. John's cemetery in Ancaster,

Grace Church cemetery in Waterdown, St. Luke's cemetery in Burlington, and St. John's

Nassagaweya cemetery north of Campbellville. These five cemeteries are distributed

across the study area and are clearly marked on Figure 2. The close examination of these

cemeteries allows for the more accurate comparison of archival data to the monument

record as there are fewer gaps in the records of these congregations. It also allows for

more detailed examination of specific factors, such as social status, that potentially

impact the variability in commemoration seen across the region. Additional archival

information on the remarried individuals in these cemeteries was obtained from

municipal assessment records in the respective communities. The assessment of patterns

of marriage and remarriage was done using the parish archives of the fourteen

congregations listed in Table 4 that maintained sufficient marriage records after their

founding and throughout the study period.

Throughout the research process, analyses involving extensive use of marriage

and burial records, or municipal assessment records, were done using the sample of five

Anglican parishes with excellent records (shown on Figure 2). These five cemeteries

contained a total of 15 visible commemorations of remarried families involving 29

monuments. Analyses requiring the use of marriage records only were done using the

records of the fourteen churches listed in Table 4. In general, when assessing the burial

monuments without the assistance of archives, all thirty-eight cemeteries were used,

which contained a total of 83 visible examples of remarried families on 112 monuments.

Patterns of Remarriage

In order to understand the representation of remarried families in mortuary

contexts it is important to understand how common remarriage was as a practice. The

marriage records often record the marital status of the bride and groom, recording the

status of unmarried individuals as either bachelor or spinster and the status of previously

married individuals as widower or widow. Divorce was very rare during this time and is

not recorded in any of the records consulted. Occasionally the male's status is not listed,

but instead his profession is recorded in its place. The total number of marriages

recorded in all of the available church records of all thirty-eight congregations is 1591,

and of these 123 (or approximately 7.7% of all marriages) are known to be a remarriage

for at least one of the parties involved. Among the subset of five Anglican churches for

which the records are relatively complete, the number is similar, with 82 out of 882

marriages (or 9.3%) being a second marriage for one or both parties. It is certain,

therefore, that remarriage was a fairly common event, although it is still difficult to know

what social attitudes towards this practice might have been. This is particularly true

because there were three types of remarriage which occur when a widower marries a

spinster, a bachelor marries a widow, or a widower marries a widow. Social attitudes

towards these various types of remarriage were not necessarily uniform. In addition,

there are a variety of reasons that a person may have for remarrying.

Remarriages may have been motivated by a concern for economic security, the

need to care for young children from a previous marriage, a desire for companionship or

by emotional reasons. As Table 3 demonstrates, among the 123 remarriages that are

recorded in the total sample of church records, the most common form of remarriage was

between widowers and spinsters in 52 examples, or 42.3% of the time. All other types of

remarriage, however, also occurred regularly.

Table 3: Type of Remarriage Recorded in Marriage Records for All Congregations

	Widower to Spinster	Widower to Unknown	Widower to Widow	Widow to Bachelor	Widow to Unknown	Total
#	52	14	19	19	19	123
%	42.3	11.4	15.5	15.5	15.5	100.0

This reveals that widows were involved in 57 (or 46.3%) of all remarriages while

widowers were involved in 85 (or 69.1%). The fact that it is more common for a man to

remarry is likely influenced by the division of labour that existed in nineteenth century

society described in chapter two. It was likely more acceptable for a woman to assume

economic control of the household than it was for a man to perform domestic tasks such as cooking or washing (Christie and Gauvreau 2004:28). A widower with young children would ideally remarry, or would otherwise rely on female family members to assist him. As mentioned previously, it was fairly common for a man to marry his deceased wife's spinster sister, who would likely already be familiar with the home and the children (Gullette 1990:149).

Patterns of Commemoration

The rate of commemoration in Halton and Wentworth Counties is very high. Among the five Anglican cemeteries discussed earlier, a total of 1202 individuals are commemorated on monuments between 1815 and 1914, from a total of 1422 recorded burials. This translates to a commemoration rate of 84.5%. As some monuments include the names of more than one person, this entails a total of 743 monuments. This rate is extremely high, and demonstrates that the commemoration of the dead on burial monuments was considered an important event in small communities during the nineteenth- and early twentieth-century in Ontario. The ability to provide a grave monument was affected by economic means, including the sale of plots in the cemetery and the cost of materials and craftsmanship associated with the monument itself, however their availability was not limited to the upper classes. While this study does not attempt to chronicle changes in style or craftsmanship during the study period, there is a general shift over time from individual monuments made of locally available materials, such as

limestone, to more elaborate family monuments commemorating several individuals and

commonly made of granite or marble.

Considering the near ubiquitous rate of commemoration generally, it might be

expected that marriages and remarriages would be acknowledged on burial monuments at

a similar rate. If the number of marriages occurring at the fourteen churches with

sufficiently complete marriage records are compared with the number of monuments that

recognize marriage, however, the commemoration rate for marriages is found to be lower

than it is for the population generally (Table 4). Out of all the recorded marriages that

occurred in these fourteen congregations during the study period, only 51.1% are

commemorated on an actual burial monument. This number is even lower for

remarriages among the same congregations. Out of a total of 126 remarriages, a mere 33

are visibly commemorated, or 26.2%. (The data for these fourteen churches can be found

in Table 5).

Table 4: Association between Commemoration and Marriage or Remarriage in Congregations with Sufficient Marriage Records, 1815-1914[1]

	Marriage	Remarriage	Total
Commemorated	**735** (47.0%)	**33** (2.1%)	**768** (49.1%)
Not Commemorated	**704** (45.0%)	**93** (5.9%)	**797** (50.9%)
Total	1439 (91.9%)	**126** (8.1%)	**1565** (100.0%)

Two-Variable Chi Square Results: χ^2= 29.04 , df= 1 , p= 0.0001
[1] Note that the data for the fourteen congregations with sufficiently complete marriage records can be found in Table 5.

In contrast to the apparent importance of burial commemoration in general, it

would appear that acknowledging remarriage or previous spouses on burial monuments is

not a matter of particular concern. This is reinforced when the overall numbers of

monuments for all thirty-eight cemeteries are examined. Out of a total of 4023 burial

monuments erected during the study period, 2099 (or 52.17%) commemorate a marriage.

Only 112 burial monuments acknowledge a remarriage, just 5.34% of those monuments

acknowledging marriages.

Given that a significant proportion of remarriages were commemorated, however,

it would also appear that although the commemoration of remarriage was not common, it

was important enough to some individuals that they went out of their way to

acknowledge it. In short, this demonstrates that remarriage is not a matter that people felt

obligated either to draw attention to or to obscure, and lays the foundation for this study

to seek out those factors that led people to commemorate remarriage overtly.

The total number of monuments in the cemeteries included in this study is 4023.

Within these there are 83 examples of burial commemorations that acknowledge

remarriages taking place between 1815 and 1914. These 83 examples are commemorated

on 112 separate monuments and represent a variety of remarriage types. Three variables

were examined in order to understand the variations in the types and rates of

commemoration for these remarried individuals: gender, whether children were

commemorated with their parents, and the influence of geographic location. Lastly,

monument impact was assessed to evaluate whether the burial monuments for remarried

families differed significantly from those of the general population.

Table 5: Frequency of Marriages and Remarriages in Church Marriage Records and on Burial Monuments in Fourteen Cemeteries with Sufficient Archives

Cemetery	Number of Marriages Occurring	Number of Monuments Acknowledging Marriages	Number of Remarriages Occurring	Number of Monuments Acknowledging Remarriages
Christ Church Anglican (Woodburn)	31	63	0	9
Auld Kirk Presbyterian (Binbrook)	298	23	20	1
Knox Presbyterian[1] (Binbrook)	*	37	*	1
St. George's Anglican (Hannon)	131	15	7	0
St. John's Anglican (Ancaster)	275	154	21	7
St. Andrew's Presbyterian (Ancaster)	127	72	8	1
Red Brick Church (Carluke)	85	44	5	0
White Church[2] (Carluke)	*	53	*	2
Grace Church Anglican (Waterdown)	147	53	17	3
Christ Church Anglican (W.Flamborough)	42	28	2	0
St. Alban's Anglican[3] (Rockton)	*	6	*	0
St. Luke's Anglican (Burlington)	400	90	43	1
St. John's Anglican[4] (Nelson)	*	57	*	3
St. John's Anglican (Nassagaweya)	29	40	3	5
Total	1565	735	126	33

[1] The marriage records for Knox and Auld Kirk Presbyterian are joined.

[2] The marriage records for White Church and Red Brick Church are joined.

[3] The marriage records for St. Alban's and Christ Church Anglican are joined.

[4] The marriage records for St. Luke's and St. John's (Nelson) are joined.

Gender

Although the marriage records show that both widows and widowers commonly remarried, the monuments are heavily biased towards males who married more than once (Table 6). Of the 83 examples of commemorated remarriage, 72 (or 86.7%) are males with two or more wives, compared to the 69.1% of all remarriages recorded in parish marriage records that involved widowers.

Most commonly, a husband predeceased his second wife and was buried with or near his first wife. His second wife would often be buried there as well when she passed away. This was the case for 44 of the 83 examples, or 53.0%. Also common was the burial of two or more wives who predeceased their husband and were placed with or adjacent to one another, although in only 21 of the 28 cases was the husband later buried with or near his wives, while in 7 cases the husband is not present in the cemetery. This is not particularly surprising in early Ontario society as there was a great deal of movement through communities as new areas opened for settlement in other parts of the province and family members moved away from the area.

Table 6: Order of Commemoration for Remarried Individuals, 1815-1914

	Remarried Males	Remarried Females	Total
Predecease 2nd Spouse	44 (53.0%)	11 (13.3%)	55 (66.3%)
Outlive Multiple Spouses	28 (33.7%)	0 (0.0%)	28 (33.7%)
Total	72 (86.7%)	11 (13.3%)	83 (100.0%)

While it was not possible to trace the movement of individuals through communities as a component of the present study, the church minutes of the Baptist congregation in Binbrook, Glanbrook Township, give some information about one of the

examples that helps in interpreting why the monuments to two of Otis Whitmore's wives and his young daughter are located in two different cemeteries, when he is not commemorated in either. The 1852 gravestone to Whitmore's first wife Eliza is in the Binbrook United Church cemetery, which was then affiliated with the Methodist church. His second wife Elizabeth and daughter Mary have two additional monuments erected in the early 1860s in the Binbrook Baptist cemetery, both monuments clearly stating that Elizabeth is his second wife and Mary is the daughter of his third wife. As the minutes show, the Baptist church was not founded until 1857, meaning that although Whitmore was a founding member and Deacon of that church, his first wife died before the church or cemetery existed. Otis Whitmore and his third wife (the mother of Mary) are not buried in either cemetery because they were both granted letters of dismissal from their congregation and recommendations to the congregation in Belleville, Ontario, in 1877. In this example, it is clear that by burying his two wives separately and by being buried elsewhere himself, Otis Whitmore was not attempting to obscure the fact that he remarried. In fact, he went beyond what was necessary to commemorate his second wife by including the words "second wife of Otis Whitmore" on Elizabeth's monument.

While the remarriage of women was a fairly common event, remarried women are greatly underrepresented on burial monuments. Of the 83 examples of remarriage in the cemeteries, only 11 belong to women who have had two husbands, and two of these represent examples of widows who have married widowers and all spouses are commemorated on the same monument. These eleven examples, or 13.3% of all commemorated remarriages, are a far cry from the 46.3% of remarriages that involved

widows in the marriage records of these same congregations. In stark contrast to the

male experience, the most common type of commemoration for a remarried woman was

to be buried with her first husband, as occurred in 8 of the 11 examples, or 72.7% of the

time. All of these women predeceased their second husband.

Family Composition

Interestingly, the presence of children seems to have little effect on whether

remarriages are commemorated, as there are relatively equal numbers of

commemorations with or without children present. It is not always clear whether

children resulted from a marriage or whether the presence of children had an impact on

the parent's choice to remarry, because family relationships are not as frequently stated

for adult children as they are for young children. Table 7 shows that among all types of

commemorated remarriages for both men and women there are forty-three examples in

which at least one child is commemorated with a parent and forty examples where no

children are overtly included. There may, however, be examples in which adult children

are buried with their parents, but since the monuments of adults rarely list the names of

their parents, I could not be guaranteed of their relationship to the remarried individuals.

Table 7: Commemoration of Children with Remarried Parents

	Remarried Men	Remarried Women	Total
Children on monuments	**40** (48.2%)	**3** (3.6%)	**43** (51.8%)
No children on monuments	**32** (38.6%)	**8** (9.6%)	**40** (48.2%)
Total	**72** (86.7%)	**11** (13.3%)	**83** (100.0%)

Remarried women may be less likely to be buried with their children nearby. Only three of the eleven examples of female remarriages, or 27.3%, have associated children's graves. Forty of the remarried men, or 55.6%, have children's graves associated with the commemoration. Although a two-variable chi square test demonstrates that this difference is not statistically significant at a 95% confidence level, this tendency combined with the more frequent remarriage rate of men may reflect the influence that caring for young children had on a man's decision to remarry after the death of his wife.

Regional Variability

The last factor affecting the commemoration of remarried individuals is geographic location. A total of 83 examples of remarriage are apparent among the monuments of thirty-eight cemeteries, leading to an average result of 2.2 commemorated remarriages per cemetery. This number, however, is not consistent across the study area. Twelve of the thirty-eight cemeteries display no examples of remarriage on the monuments whatsoever. The average number of remarriages evident in the cemeteries of each township varies across the study area, but in general there is a higher rate of remarriage commemoration as one progresses from the southeastern portion of the study area in Wentworth County into West Flamborough and the northwestern portion of the study area in Halton County (Table 8).

The reason for this higher frequency of remarriage commemoration in a specific portion of the study area is difficult to assess. Although the western portion was settled later in many cases, the churches associated with the cemeteries were all founded during

the mid-1800s, with the earliest cemeteries being founded in Ancaster Township in 1804

and 1808 where the average rate of commemoration is still quite high at 2.20 remarriages

per cemetery. The most recent cemeteries were founded in the 1860s in Beverly, Nelson

and Nassagaweya Townships, but the numbers are inconsistent as one cemetery from

1861 has six examples of remarriage while a cemetery from 1865 has none. It is possible

that the practices of the local community were influenced by a specific minister who may

have condoned or suppressed such commemorations, or that a particular person in the

community set a precedent for others to follow. The small size of the sample makes it

impossible to come to any concrete understanding of regional variability across the study

area, however the numbers do suggest that this would be an important factor to assess in

future research involving a larger sample size.

Table 8: Average Frequency of Remarriage Commemoration by Township

Township	# of Cemeteries	# of Commemorated Remarriages	Mean # of Commemorated Remarriages per Cemetery
Glanbrook	7	10	1.43
Barton	2	2	1.00
Ancaster	10	22	2.20
East Flamborough	2	5	2.50
West Flamborough	2	4	2.00
Beverly	4	6	1.50
Nelson	6	22	3.33
Nassagaweya	5	12	2.40
Total	38	83	2.18

The variables affecting the commemoration of remarriage will be more closely

examined in the following chapter, and reasons for the variability will be explored. It

must be remembered, of course, that the commemorated examples of remarriage

represent a minority of all the remarriages that took place, therefore the variables

affecting commemoration are integral to understanding why people went to the trouble of

acknowledging these particular remarriages in the first place.

Monument Impact Assessment

An examination of monument impact in the five Anglican cemeteries with

substantial burial and marriage records was undertaken to establish whether burial

monuments were more or less visible than monuments commemorating other individuals,

nuclear or extended families, or whether there was no particular difference between

monuments commemorating remarried families and those of the general population. The

overall purpose of this was to derive an indication of why some remarriages were

commemorated while the majority were not. All 672 monuments in the cemeteries which

could be reliably dated to between 1815 and 1914, without the assistance of the Ontario

Genealogical Society's cemetery transcriptions, were categorized as either low, moderate

or high impact. The impact of the monuments was assessed according to the visibility,

size or elaboration of the monument, as outlined in Table 9. These criteria were

independently established according to a subjective assessment of what features I

considered to draw attention to or away from the monuments as I observed them in the

cemeteries. When any ambiguity in these criteria resulted in an inability to classify a

monument clearly, the impact of that monument was assessed by obtaining an overall

view of the cemetery and determining its visibility and impact within its setting.

Of the monuments commemorating non-remarried individuals, 438 (68.1%) were

classified as low impact, 162 (25.2%) were classified as moderate impact, and 43 (6.7%)

were classified as high impact. In these same five cemeteries there are 15 examples of

acknowledged remarriage represented on a total of 29 monuments. The higher number of

monuments than remarriages is the result of multiple monuments being used to

commemorate a single remarriage in some cases, while in other cases all spouses and

children are commemorated on a single monument.

Of these 29 monuments, 19 (65.5%) are classified as having a low impact, 4

(13.8%) are classified as having moderate impact and 6 (20.7%) are considered to have

high impact. Although the sample size is not large, these percentages demonstrate a

higher rate of high-impact commemoration among remarried families. A two-variable

chi square test comparing rates of high impact commemorations to low and moderate

impact commemorations confirms that the difference is statistically significant, although

the association is weak.

This study shows that while in most cases people are choosing not to

commemorate remarriage in a visible way, in those cases where they do choose to

acknowledge it they are more likely to do so in a way that is highly visible. The reasons

for this dichotomy are unclear, but potential motivating factors will be explored more

closely in the following chapter.

Table 9: Monument Impact Assessment Criteria and Frequency

	Low Impact	Moderate Impact	High Impact
Example			
Typical Style	All flat slab monuments, rectangular or arched	Pedestal, Rectangular, Crosses	Large pedestal, obelisk, column
Height	Under 4 feet	Up to 6 feet	6 feet and taller
Non-remarried Frequency	**438** (68.1%)	**162** (25.2%)	**43** (6.7%)
Remarried Frequency	**19** (65.5%)	**4** (13.8%)	**6** (20.7%)

Two Variable Chi Square Results: χ^2=13.89, df=1, p=0.0002

Discussion

The near ubiquitous commemoration of burials on monuments indicates that

memorialization of the dead was considered very important in rural nineteenth and early

twentieth century communities in Ontario. As a result, burial monuments are an

excellent medium through which to examine social attitudes towards remarriage in a

settler society where the family unit was the most important unit of social organization.

The available church records for all thirty-eight cemeteries included in this study

demonstrate that remarriage was a common occurrence after the death of a spouse and accounted for just under one in every ten marriages. Although the most common form of remarriage was between widowers and spinsters, widows also remarried on a regular basis. Despite the high rate of commemoration, however, only half of all marriages are commemorated in the monument record and remarriages are further underrepresented. Those remarriages that are visibly commemorated display interesting patterns that may illustrate certain beliefs about remarriage that were not previously evident.

Gender most certainly affects whether a remarriage is acknowledged on burial monuments as 72, or 86.7%, of all visible remarriage monuments commemorated a man and two or more wives. The remarriage of widows accounts for only 11, or 13.3% of remarriage commemorations, despite the fact that remarriages were common for both women and men. These numbers include the two cases where a widower remarried a widow and all spouses are acknowledged on a single monument. Commemoration is also not affected by whether or not the remarried individual predeceases a spouse, as there are numerous examples of a man being buried with a first wife and later joined by his second wife, and of a man burying a second or third wife adjacent to a previous spouse. Although children are associated with only half of the commemorations, it is also more common to find children associated with a remarried widower's grave than with a remarried widow's. Among widowers, there are relatively equal numbers of graves with or without children present, however children are commemorated in only three of the eleven examples of widows remarrying.

Community trends appear to have a considerable impact on the commemoration of remarriages in the various townships, as some townships have as many as three remarriages visible in each cemetery, while others have none. The reason for the geographical difference is unclear, particularly as it follows an increasing trend as it progresses west and north into Halton County, but it does not appear to be tied to a specific temporal period. The following chapter will examine the data more closely by examining additional variables such as denomination.

The impact assessment of the monuments in the subset of five Anglican cemeteries is particularly interesting as it reveals that it is more likely for remarriages than other marriages to be commemorated on high impact monuments, which are highly visible, elaborate or unique (Table 9). Although relatively few monuments are erected which commemorate remarried families, those that do exist make a point of expressing family unity in a clear and concise manner, often including text which specifically identifies the relationships of the deceased to one another. One potential reason for this may be the issue of inheritance, which was previously identified as one of the main sources of conflict in blended families and could be a source of contention in families with considerable economic means. Inheritance and resource control are also central to the Saxe/Goldstein hypothesis, which argues that these issues can be integral for shaping the representation of the dead in mortuary contexts.

While there are relatively few monuments that commemorate remarriage in comparison to the large number of marriages and burials that took place, it is clear that the issue of remarriage has a specific effect on the material culture. The differences in

representation observed within the sample of remarried families necessitate the

examination of the impact of additional variables on the commemorative practices of

these families, including issues of economic status, denominational differences and the

length of time between deaths. Now that remarriage and its representation on burial

monuments have been examined within the context of marriage and burial

commemoration as a whole, the following chapter will analyze some of these more

specific variables as they appear in the sample.

CHAPTER 4: Understanding Remarriage in Mortuary Contexts

The decision to acknowledge remarriage on a burial monument is motivated by numerous factors. The previous chapter has provided an understanding of how the mortuary representation of the remarried population fits into the mortuary representation of the population as a whole. In order to understand why burial commemoration is different between these two groups, this chapter examines the effect of social status, community variability, denominational differences, and time lapse between deaths to understand the way these motivating factors affected the remarried population specifically.

To examine the impact of each factor on burial representation, all 83 examples of acknowledged remarriages were used, as were the three known unacknowledged remarriages. The exception to this is the assessment of social status, which was confined to the fifteen acknowledged and two unacknowledged remarriages in the five cemeteries of the Anglican subset, identified in the previous chapter. Case studies have been drawn from the data to illustrate specific issues within the remarried population. The analysis of these factors provides us with a more complete understanding of the reasons why

approximately one quarter of the remarried population chose to acknowledge their

remarriage in the mortuary context while the majority did not.

Trying to understand the causes of differential representation among remarried

individuals inevitably comes down to an assessment of individual decision making and

prevailing social attitudes. Without any written documentation illustrating people's

thoughts about this subject, there is no way to know what the prevailing community

attitudes were towards remarriage or remarried individuals. These attitudes may have

been positive, negative, or entirely neutral, and would likely have been expressed in a

variety of ways, including but not limited to burial commemoration. The additional

variables examined in this chapter demonstrate concrete patterns in the mortuary

expression of remarriage, which are used to infer these unknown personal motivations

and social attitudes.

Social Status

The influence of social or economic status was examined by establishing either

the occupation or the monetary worth of the males for the fifteen acknowledged

remarriages in the five Anglican cemeteries discussed earlier. This was accomplished

using the burial records for each congregation, which frequently list the occupation of the

deceased or the deceased's husband at the time of death. Where available, the municipal

assessment records for the townships were also used to establish the financial assets of

each man for the year(s) closest to the date(s) of death on the monuments. In this way, it

was possible to establish the occupation and/or the worth of ten of the fifteen men

involved in the acknowledged remarriages, and for one of the two known but

unacknowledged remarriages.

Comparisons of the occupations and wealth of these fifteen men to the impact of

the monuments associated with their families demonstrate that there does appear to be a

connection between status and monumental expression. Looking at the occupational

groupings, there is a decided trend towards middle-class workers and landowners (Table

10). Using Marks' (1996:225-226) occupational groupings, all merchants and

professionals are considered to be members of the middle class, while all labourers,

skilled and unskilled, fall into the working class category. Although farmers and yeomen

are not considered in Marks' study of industrializing Ontario towns, these men owned

and farmed their own land and would have held a manhood franchise (the right to vote),

therefore I have included them in the middle class grouping. It is important to note that

class divisions were not based solely on economic means but also on the level of social

prominence of an individual, as in the case of the minister who received a high impact

monument and whose wife remarried to a local gentleman, both of whom were later

included on the same monument.

Table 10: Occupational Status of Acknowledged Remarriages

Monument Impact	Occupation (N=15)					
	Labourer	Farmer/ Yeoman	Merchant	Minister	Unknown	**Total**
Low	0	1	2	0	3	6
Moderate	0	1	0	0	3	4
High	1	2	1	1	0	5
Total	1	4	3	1	6	**15**

Although the sample size of these examples is too small to evaluate using a Chi Square or similar statistical test, the class divisions reveal a strong tendency for representations of remarriage to be associated with those of a higher status, as eight of the nine known occupational examples represent middle class families while only one is working class. Moreover, the working class individual is a skilled worker (in this case, a brickmaker), and according to Marks' classification skilled workers are considered the upper level of the working class (1996:226). Granted, the occupations are unknown for the remaining six examples, but a virtually complete absence of working class individuals from the monument record representing remarriage is also supported by the findings of the municipal assessment records.

The same criteria were applied to the burial records for these five congregations, which were used to establish the status of all adult males for whom occupation was recorded in order to ensure that the absence of working class individuals from remarriage monuments was significant. Of the 384 males of known occupational status, 147 (38.3%) were working class and 237 (or 61.8%) were middle class. Even when skilled labourers are separated from the unskilled, the unskilled labourers continue to comprise almost 22.7% of the population which is completely absent from burial monuments commemorating remarriages. These numbers are consistent in both town and rural environments.

Despite the fact that the municipal assessment records established the financial status of only six of the fifteen individuals, it is interesting to note that of the three men assessed for less than 1000 pounds of personal property, two used low impact burial

monuments while the third was of high impact (Table 11). While the amount of 1000

pounds has no particular significance historically, this number was arbilrarily selected as

an indicator owing to the fact that the majority of entries in the municipal assessment

records appeared to be evenly distributed below this amount. By contrast, individuals

assessed at over 1000 pounds were comparatively rare and were not distributed evenly,

occasionally reaching as high as several thousand pounds. This high impact monument is

to the first of two wives of John Evans, the brickmaker, who erected a second high

impact monument beside the first upon the death of his second wife eleven years later.

Of the three individuals assessed at over 1000 pounds, two have erected high impact

monuments while the third used a pair of low impact monuments to commemorate his

wives. It is therefore obvious that while there is a slight trend towards those with a larger

estate erecting larger monuments, there are certainly exceptions to this rule.

Table 11: Impact of Financial Worth on Remarriage Acknowledgement

	Under 1000 Pounds	Over 1000 Pounds	Total
Low	2	1	3
Moderate	0	0	0
High	0	3	3
Total	2	4	6

This raises a few interesting points. The ability to provide any type of monument

would require the financial ability to purchase one, which explains why people in the

middle class would be more likely to erect monuments than those in the working class.

However, given the high rate of commemoration in the region generally, as discussed in

the previous chapter, working class individuals must certainly have been erecting

monuments in some cases. Cost alone would not have been a deterrent, because it requires only a few additional words on a monument to acknowledge remarriage. If the motivation was to commemorate remarriage, it could be accomplished using any type of monument, large or small. It would seem, therefore, that while the working classes were commemorating the dead to some degree they were not, in general, commemorating remarriages. If status is the primary motivating factor in the representation of remarriage, and if the prevailing social attitude towards remarriage was negative, it may be that working class families were less secure in their social status and were therefore hesitant to call attention to any way in which their family structure differed from the ideals of Christian domesticity. Alternatively, they may have been choosing not to acknowledge remarriages because there was no prevailing social attitude that either endorsed or condemned the practice of commemoration, and it was simply not a matter of urgent personal or social concern.

The ability to provide a high impact monument would require greater financial resources, but someone of means may not necessarily desire a larger monument. This latter category would include the gentleman who was assessed at nearly 3000 pounds, more than any other individual in this study, and yet commemorated his wives on low impact monuments located side-by-side. Despite the fact that social status undoubtedly plays a significant role in the commemoration of remarriage on burial monuments, it does not entirely explain the variation in the mortuary expression of remarriage, indicating that there must be additional factors which influence its representation. One potential factor is grief. While intangible and therefore impossible to assess quantitatively, the often

66

intensely personal nature of grief may have influenced individual decision-making when it came to erecting a monument. Although it is impossible to know for certain the effect that grieving would have on an individual regarding the selection of burial monuments, coping strategies involving either the avoidance or expression of grief would have been used by these individuals to varying degrees, thus impacting commemoration (Cannon 2006).

The brickmaker John Evans, for example, was worth significantly more upon the death of his second wife than of his first, however he chose to bury his wives adjacent to one another, and commemorate them on two separate and very similar high impact monuments despite his working class status (Figure 3). In the intervening eleven years between the deaths of his wives, Mr. Evans had also lost six children, three from each marriage.

These children are also commemorated on the monuments, causing the monuments to function not only as a memorial to his wives, but to his whole family. One could also argue that the deaths of eight immediate family members in eleven years might have taken a significant toll on Mr. Evans, and that the large monuments are a visual expression of that grief. Evans himself, is not buried in that cemetery (though space exists on both monuments for the inclusion of his name). Six years after his second wife's death the assessment records indicate that he had remarried again and had seven children in his household, including an infant from his third marriage.

Figure 3: Two Monuments to the Wives of John Evans

The 1891 monument to John Evans first wife, Sarah, is on the far right, while the 1902 monument to his second wife, Elizabeth, is on the far left.   Photo: N.J. De Schiffart

As alluded to in the previous chapter, another explanation for the

acknowledgement of remarriage and for the use of high impact monuments among

middle-class families may be the issue of inheritance. Inheritance was previously

identified as one of the main sources of conflict in blended families and could be a source

of contention within families of greater economic means. Inheritance and resource

control are also central to the Saxe/Goldstein hypothesis, which argues that these issues

can be integral for shaping the representation of the dead in mortuary contexts. As shown

previously, the burial records demonstrate that 38.3% of the population were working

class and 61.8% were middle class, yet members of the middle class are more likely to

acknowledge remarriages in a mortuary context. If we assume that the majority of

middle class individuals are wealthier than those of the working class, it may be that

concerns or conflicts over the division of inheritance between children from different

marriages motivated the inclusion of all family members on burial monuments. This

would serve two purposes, by reminding surviving family members of their shared

heritage and family status, and by projecting a unified family image to the public in order

to offset rumors of controversy or inequality. Because working class families would

likely not have large inheritances to bestow, remarriage would not have been a

contentious issue and therefore was in less need of acknowledgment.

Community Variability

The previous chapter acknowledged regional variability between the average

numbers of remarriages commemorated in each cemetery. Due to the small sample size,

the higher frequency of remarriage in the western portion of the study area is not extreme,

but it is puzzling in that remarriages are commemorated inconsistently even within

specific townships.

As stated previously, the founding of the churches occurred roughly around the

same time period, and inconsistencies exist even between churches founded as late as the

1860s, ruling out differences caused by periods of settlement in the various regions.

Other potential explanations for this regional variability may include community-specific

trends, family traditions or pressures, or variability in practices for people located close to

industrialized town centres. Interestingly, the cemeteries in Nelson, East Flamborough

and Ancaster Townships are all located in or within easy travel of a town centre:

Wellington Square (now Burlington), Waterdown, and Ancaster, respectively. Outlying

communities, such as Binbrook and Campbellville did not have such access to goods and

services. However, access to urban environments fails to account for the variability in all

townships. The town of Dundas in West Flamborough was also a busy village, but the

average number of acknowledged remarriages in the nearby cemeteries is much lower

than it is in the more remote Nassagaweya.

As a result, alternative possibilities such as the influence of ministers,

communities or family members must be sought to explain the regional variability. The

influence of a minister could drastically alter practices within small communities. The

notion that ministers may have had some degree of influence over commemorative

practices is reinforced by the fact that churches that would have been part of the same

parish (and therefore under the direction of the same minister) during at least part of their

history often have similar numbers of remarriage examples in their cemeteries. In the

four cases where the records of two congregations overlap considerably, the number of

acknowledged remarriages is the cemeteries is fairly similar (Table 9).

Table 12: Number of Acknowledged Remarriages in Churches with Joint Records

Cemeteries and Township	Number of Acknowledged Remarriages
Auld Kirk, Binbrook	1
Knox, Binbrook	1
Red Brick, Carluke	0
White Church, Carluke	2
Christ Church, W. Flam.	0
St. Alban's, Beverly	0
St. Luke's, Nelson	1
St. John's, Nelson	2
Total	7

The lack of any great disparity suggests that these communities are following

some sort of norm, though whether these are influenced by a particular minister is

difficult to assess. It is on the occasion of the second death in a family that the decision

whether or not to bury either the second spouse or the deceased individual in association

with the first spouse would need to be made. As a result, the comparison of the second

date in each example allows for the examination of temporal similarities between

acknowledged remarriages. The same four pairs of cemeteries with overlapping records

provide an opportunity to examine whether the acknowledged remarriages were

commemorated during the tenure of a single minister. Three of the eight cemeteries have

no examples of remarriage, therefore there are no dates to compare to acknowledged

remarriages in two of the cases where the records overlap. The remaining cemeteries do,

however, support the possibility that ministerial influence may have played a significant

role in the decision to acknowledge remarriage. Each of the two Presbyterian cemeteries

in the town of Binbrook, Glanbrook Township, has one example of remarriage dating to

the early 1900s. These churches had undergone a split in the 19th-century but were

reunited by the early 20th-century, therefore both these families were members of the

same congregation around the same time. Three acknowledged remarriages in two

Anglican congregations in Nelson Township also support this notion. The second death

in two of these examples took place in 1877, while the third occurred in 1896. Not only

do two commemorations take place in the same year, but also in the Anglican Church it is

conceivable that the same minister presided over the congregation for the 19-year

interval. The ongoing influence of a minister in a Methodist congregation, however,

would likely not be so strong due to the fact that itinerant ministers often traveled a great

deal on circuits and often did not remain on the same circuit for extended periods of time.

Overall, there is no clear indication that remarriage was actively discouraged or

encouraged by any of the denominations included in this study. It is equally likely,

however, that the influences did not come from a minister but instead came from fellow

community members or family relations. Again, the sample size is not sufficient to come

to any conclusive findings regarding community influences, however the patterns

suggested by this sample indicate that this would be a meaningful variable to pursue in

future research where a larger sample size may be obtained.

Family Influence and Social Interaction

The issue of community influence is also supported by the occurrence of two

acknowledged remarriages in Nelson's neighbouring Anglican churches in 1877. If the

two families were acquainted, it is possible that if the first chose to acknowledge both

spouses, the second would follow the set precedent. Again, because the prevailing social

attitudes towards remarriage are unknown, it cannot be assumed that the precedent was

followed because it was considered the "right" thing to do, or because other community

members would react negatively if the second community member failed to acknowledge

an earlier spouse. Indeed, it is equally likely that there were no overarching attitudes to

conform to, but rather that the precedent was followed because it was considered to be a

good idea and the individual would not otherwise have thought to commemorate the

earlier spouse. In small communities, such as those included in this study, the social

network would have been close, and the likelihood is that fellow church members were

well aware of whether a marriage was a second or third marriage regardless of whether or not it was openly acknowledged, on a burial monument or otherwise. If another family openly acknowledged remarriage, it is possible that other community members would follow suit.

There may be certain social situations, however, where it was better to acknowledge a remarriage than to ignore it, particularly if the individual had maintained a social relationship with the previous spouse's kin. In some cases this may even be economically advantageous. When Jordon McGillycuddy's wife Ruth King died in 1863, for example, he soon remarried. When a son from his second marriage died in 1870, however, he was buried next to Ruth although his gravestone clearly indicated that he was the son of Jordon and Eliza McGillycuddy. When Jordon died in 1881 he, too, was buried nearby. A small-scale merchant, McGillycuddy was never assessed at more than 650 pounds, but he rented his property from another King who was assessed at nearly 22,000 pounds. Clearly, maintaining his association with the prosperous King family name could have been advantageous for McGillycuddy's business.

In cases where a couple is included on a larger family monument, the family influence may have had the opposite effect, resulting in the exclusion of earlier spouses. Two of the known unacknowledged marriages in Nelson Township are both included on monuments with other extended family members. In one case, the husband's first wife is not acknowledged, but both he and his second wife are included on a monument erected initially by the father of his second wife. His first wife was likely not excluded out of malice or shame, but rather because his second wife's family felt no obligation to

commemorate a woman with whom they had no connection. In the second case, the

wife's first husband is unacknowledged, but the remarriage had taken place over forty-

five years before her death and again the couple is included on a monument with

extended family members.

Remarried spouses themselves do not appear to have taken issue with the fact that

their husband or wife had been married previously. Indeed, the most common type of

acknowledged remarriage, occurring in 38 of the 81 examples, is the wife-husband-wife

burial, where all parties are present in the same cemetery and the second wife is buried

with her husband and his first wife upon her death. In all of the eleven examples where a

woman has remarried she predeceases her second husband and is buried with her first

husband in eight of these cases.

When both spouses had been married previously, the decision to acknowledge

both partners' earlier spouses on the family monument could result in fairly complicated

monuments, with a great deal of text used in order to accommodate all the people. The

only two examples of this occurring exist in Appleby Methodist cemetery in Nelson

Township. The first example (Figure 4) reads thus:

> "Thomas ATKINSON born 20 Nov. 1808, died 23 Nov.
>   1893 aged 85 years, native of Westmoreland,
>   England.
> Phebe wife of Thomas ATKINSON died 17 Sept. 1855
>   aged 43 years 5 months 1 day.
> George C. LUCAS died 14 Dec. 1848 aged 24 years 6
>   months 1 day.
> Sarah Ann relict of G.C. LUCAS and wife of Thomas
>   ATKINSON died 6 Mar. 1890 aged 65 years 4
>   months 16 days."

In this case the decision to include both spouses was made some time after they had died, as there was no other reason to have George Lucas and Phebe Atkinson on the same monument prior to Sarah Ann's death in 1890.

Figure 4: Atkinson/Lucas Monument Commemorating All Spouses

Appleby Cemetery, Nelson Township   Photo: N.J. De Schiffart

The second example (Figure 5) reads thus:

> "Nicholas Cramer WHEELER born 26 Nov. 1817, died 14
> Nov. 1911.
> Christina CLINE wife of Nicholas WHEELER died 28
> June 1864 aged 50 years...
> Prudence TUFFORD relict of Isaac CLINE and wife of
> Nicholas WHEELER died 25 Mar. 1884 aged 52
> years..."

75

Nicholas Wheeler's children from both marriages are also included on the monument, while Prudence Tufford's daughter Lavinia from her first marriage was buried in the adjacent burial plot in 1879. In this case her first husband's date of death is not present, but it appears that Nicholas married his former brother-in-law's widow. With such strong family connections between the spouses, an acknowledgment of earlier spouses may have been deemed appropriate.

Figure 5: Wheeler/Cline Monument Commemorating All Spouses

Appleby Cemetery, Nelson Twp. Photo: N.J. De Schiffart

Both of these remarriages also occurred during the latter half of the nineteenth century, again suggesting that community, as well as family influences, were significant motivators in the commemoration of the deceased. Despite the fact that ministerial influences may not have been as strong as peer or family influences, it is worth noting that both of these particularly overt examples occur in a single Methodist congregation, which may be indicative of a more common denominational trend.

Denominational Differences

The four Protestant denominations included in this study were the most common religious affiliations in Ontario during the latter half of the nineteenth century (Marks 1996:11). Collectively, the Methodist, Presbyterian, Baptist, and to a lesser extent, Anglican denominations were referred to as "evangelical" churches and had a shared core of beliefs which were considered to be characteristic of all Protestants, though each denomination emphasized different points within these core values (Van Die 2005:6). The cemeteries for these denominations also do not initially appear to be greatly different from one another, in that similar headstone styles and symbols appear in all of them.

Table 13: Denominational Distribution of Monuments

Denomination	Cemeteries	Monuments
Anglican	**9** (23.7%)	**932** (23.2%)
Presbyterian	**12** (31.6%)	**1371** (34.1%)
Methodist	**15** (39.5%)	**1585** (39.4%)
Baptist	**2** (5.3%)	**135** (3.4%)
Total	**38** (100%)	**4023** (100%)

Upon closer examination, however, it appears that the mean number of monuments

commemorating remarried families in Methodist cemeteries is higher than in cemeteries

belonging to other denominations (Table 13).

In particular, the mean ratio of remarriage monuments (established by dividing

the number of monuments representing remarriage by the number of monuments

representing marriage) is approximately two times higher for Methodist congregations

than it is for non-Methodist congregations (Table 14).

Table 14: Mean Numbers of Marriage and Remarriage Monuments per Cemetery by Denomination

Denomination	Mean # of Monuments ackn. Marriage	Mean # of Monuments ackn. Remarriage	Mean Ratio of Remarriage/ Marriage Monuments
Methodist	50.8	3.87	0.087
Non-Methodist	58.1	2.35	0.041

When Methodist and non-Methodist congregations are compared using the Mann-

Whitney U test, the ratio of remarriage to marriage monuments for Methodists is

significantly greater than for the other denominations combined (Table 15).

Table 15: Remarriage Monument Ratio Demonstrating Statistical Significance

	N	Mean Rank
Methodist	15	24.6
Non-Methodist	23	16.17

Mann-Whitney U = 96.0
Exact Significance (two-tailed) = 0.021

The distribution of remarriages is also more evenly distributed across Methodist

congregations, where there are very few cemeteries with no examples of remarriage;

cemeteries with no examples of remarriage are more common among other

denominations. By erecting more monuments to acknowledge remarried families,

Methodists appear to acknowledge the practice of remarriage more readily than Anglican,

Presbyterian or Baptist congregations. While the earlier assessment of monument impact

involved Anglican congregations only, due to their more complete records, it must be

acknowledged that multiple monuments acknowledging the same remarriage that are

spatially associated with one another accomplish the task of drawing attention to the

family in much the same way as a single, high-impact monument. Therefore, despite the

fact that many of the Methodist monuments commemorate only one individual, the

association of individual monuments with other monuments commemorating the rest of

the spouses involved in a remarriage indicates a similar readiness to acknowledge

multiple spouses and their offspring as members of a single family unit.

It is difficult to pinpoint the precise reason for this difference in the Methodist

population. Difference in the cultural origins of the denominations is not a sufficient

explanation on its own, for while the origins of specific denominations may have been

cultural in nature (e.g. Scottish Presbyterianism), in nineteenth-century Ontario there

appears to have been a great deal of fluidity in the membership between the Protestant

churches (Marks 1996). Descended from the radical British Wesleyan Methodist

movement started by John Wesley in late 18th century England, the early years of

Methodism in Canada saw mainly American itinerant preachers serving the remote

Canadian settlements until the 1830s (Sutherland 1903:16). Very much a denomination

based on missionary objectives and spiritual reform, itinerant preachers traveled regular

circuits between communities and did not remain stationary, so that congregations were not tied to specific preachers but rather to the faith itself. Methodism differed from other Protestant denominations in that it stressed the individual experience of faith and redemption, and was intentionally inclusive rather than exclusive in its practices (D. Andrews 2000:243). While the movement's origin was largely as a cottage religion, meaning that adherents met in the homes of congregation members, throughout the nineteenth century the Wesleyan Methodists became increasingly respectable and by mid-century could be considered solidly middle class as the second generation of Methodists began to encourage higher education and social reform (Sutherland 1903:100; Hatch 1989:204).

As in the case of other denominations, there is not a great deal published on family composition and appropriate family structure, however, an examination of the teachings of John Wesley show that Wesley's sermons describe the family as a household collective consisting of a male head of the family, his wife, children and any servants, rather than as an affective unit (D. Andrews 2000:106). In this case, it is likely that remarriage merely functioned to maintain the household collective in its most desirable state and was therefore considered perfectly acceptable, even unremarkable. References to marriage in the 1878 doctrines of the Methodist Church of Canada stress only that marriage to an unbeliever was to be strongly discouraged and that marriage to a person outside of the church was not forbidden as long as the desired marriage partner was willing to "(seek) the power of godliness" (Williams 1878:25). One rare reference to the death of a young spouse comes in the form of a published sermon on the Christian

family, which exhorts sinners to turn to God in the hope of eventually being reunited with loved ones in heaven. It reminds listeners that "that wife whom you gave up because you could not help it; that husband who blessed his young wife and little babe with his expiring breath – they, too, have gone home to the family residence... You buried the loved ones in sure and certain hope of the resurrection unto everlasting life... and said again and again, 'Dear darling one, we shall meet again—meet in heaven' (Hunter 1875:239-240)." While failing to delineate the ideal structure and organization of the Christian family, either in heaven or on earth, this same sermon stresses the unity, diversity, dispersion and common parentage of the family of God and passes no judgement on the issue of remarriage or other family situations.

What is certain is that Methodism's early appeal was in backwoods and rural communities where regular church services were rarely held, similar to the communities included in this study. Even as the church became more established, the belief that it was the church's duty to aid and embrace people of all races, genders, and social situations created a more inclusive movement than other denominations. Perhaps it also created an environment in which any family that conformed to Wesley's description felt comfortable expressing family unity on grave monuments. Again, the choice to acknowledge remarriage was by no means universal and would have been motivated by personal experiences, but if there were prevailing social attitudes that responded negatively towards remarriage and its commemoration, then perhaps an environment in which there was less fear of judgement or censorship would increase the potential for this to occur.

Time Lapse

In an environment of high geographic mobility, such as existed in 19th century

Ontario, one might expect that spouses might move out of the area in the intervening

years between the death of a first spouse and the death of the second, precluding the

ability of settlers to bury spouses together even if they so wished. An examination of the

lapse of time between the death of the first spouse and either the second spouse or the

remarried individual among acknowledged remarriages indicates that the passage of time

had very little effect in cases where the spouse remained in the area. Cases such as that

of the Wheeler-Cline monument (Figure 3) also demonstrate that occasionally the names

of individuals who are buried elsewhere are included on the monument. Indeed lapses of

time of over forty years are not uncommon between the first and second deaths

commemorated together (Table 16).

Table 16: Time Lapse in Years Between Deaths of the First and Second Spouse, and Between Second and Third Spouse for Commemorated Remarriages

Time Lapse (in Years)	1st to 2nd Death	2nd to 3rd Death
<11	**12** (14.5%)	**23** (27.7%)
11 to 20	**18** (21.7%)	**22** (26.5%)
21 to 30	**11** (13.3%)	**7** (8.4%)
31 to 40	**18** (21.7%)	**7** (8.4%)
>40	**20** (24.1%)	**4** (4.8%)
Unknown	**4** (4.8%)	**20** (24.1%)
Total	**83** (100%)	**83** (100%)

In addition, the surviving spouse is buried with the previous two individuals in

sixty-three of the eighty-three examples, again with some examples demonstrating time

lapses of over forty years between the second and third deaths. Between the second and

third deaths, however, the average time lapse tends to be somewhat shorter, in part due to the age of the individuals involved.

Particularly striking are several examples wherein over forty years had passed since the death of the first spouse and yet considerable effort was undertaken to ensure that person's acknowledgement on later monuments. This is the case for Gilbert Field's wives in the Copetown Cemetery in Ancaster Township. His first wife, Rebecca, died in 1836 and was given an individual monument listing her as the wife of Gilbert C. Field. Gilbert himself died forty-five years later, in 1881, followed by his second wife, Elizabeth, in 1883. Their moderately sized, square, pedestal-style monument, however, has a side commemorating each of them, as well as a third side with Rebecca's information. Her small monument is on the edge of the cemetery, not far off. Another striking example is the case of George McCurdy who remarried after the death of his wife in 1852, and who died only four years later. His second wife, however, is still buried with them, despite the fact that she died 58 years later, in 1914.

Again, social pressures and family interaction would influence the decision to be buried with a spouse even after decades had passed. This may be particularly true if children resulted from a marriage that provided a living link to the deceased spouse. But one cannot deny the influence of grief and emotion on these decisions either. The gravestones examined in this study frequently refer to spouses with endearing terms, such as "beloved". While such inscriptions were largely social conventions, the obligation or attachment to previous spouses does not appear to have diminished over time, which may indicate a bond between husband and wife that supports the arguments for the rise of

companionate marriage, meaning a marriage based on love and affection rather than
necessity or parental decree, during the nineteenth century made by Goody (1983) and
Davidoff and Hall (1987).

Discussion

With such a variety of factors affecting the decision of approximately one quarter
of the remarried population to visibly commemorate their spouses, it is important to note
which factors appear to be the primary motivators that ultimately contribute to the
existing mortuary representation. Although it is not possible to know what prevailing
social attitudes existed in Wentworth and Halton Counties during the study period, we
can be certain that these factors had the potential to influence the individual decision-
making of remarried families when commemorating the dead.

Of particular importance is the economic or social status of an individual. A
closer examination of acknowledged remarriages in five Anglican cemeteries showed that
middle class professionals are more likely to represent multiple marriages on burial
monuments than working class individuals. This may be caused not only by the
increased financial ability of wealthier individuals to afford burial monuments,
particularly high-impact monuments, but also by concerns about inheritance. By erecting
a monument which presents a unified family group in a public and religious setting and
which acknowledges all spouses as equal, those families with larger estates were
potentially trying to stave off conflict caused by concerns over the division of inheritance
among children of multiple marriages.

Secondly, community pressures shape the representation because it is the community that will serve as an audience for the burial monument, due to its location in the public churchyard, regardless of popular opinion about the practice and commemoration of remarriage. Members of the Methodist denomination appear to have been the most willing to overtly acknowledge remarriages in their cemeteries. Social pressures may originate from the pulpit, however they are just as likely to come from the peer group or the family. Once the precedent has been set within a particular congregation to acknowledge all spouses and children, others may follow suit. Variation across the region likely has less to do with geographic location and settlement than it has to do with a process of community interaction, observation and emulation which appears to have been stronger in the northwestern portion of the study area. The desire to commemorate family connections may also stem from an ongoing social interaction with the deceased spouse's relations. This interaction may have been maintained for a variety of reasons, for example as a benefit to the children of the first marriage(s), as a social courtesy, as members of a shared church congregation, or even from the desire to associate oneself with a prominent family. The failure to acknowledge an earlier spouse may also be linked to family pressures, for example if the second spouse's family is in control of the mortuary commemoration and feels no particular obligation towards a previous spouse. Time lapse between deaths appears to have no real effect on any of these decisions.

The last (and least tangible) factors affecting commemoration are emotional in nature, either as a result of emotions of grief or love that endure regardless of the lapse of

time between deaths. In the case of the examples seen here, these emotions have created

the desire to acknowledge the connections between individuals on monuments, which

may be either elaborate or understated, depending on the needs or preference of the

individual.

By combining an understanding of the reasons *why* people chose to represent

remarriage, as it is presented in this chapter, with an understanding of *who* chose to

commemorate remarriages, as presented in chapter three, our understanding of remarriage

in the nineteenth- and early twentieth-centuries becomes more complete. Also, by

examining who comprises the remarried portion of the population, it becomes possible to

explore what this group illustrates about nineteenth century families, social practices and

values.

CHAPTER 5: Conclusion

This thesis has sought to examine the mortuary representation of remarried

individuals and their families in the nineteenth- and early twentieth-century in Ontario as

a means of understanding the experiences of these families and their position in society.

It has also aimed to understand the effect that changes in family structure had on the

representation of kinship in the mortuary record. The rapid changes experienced during

the nineteenth century as the result of settlement, expansion and industrialization were

significant. As a result, insights provided by this research into the history of the family

are meaningful tools for understanding the development of contemporary Canadian

families, which are becoming increasingly diverse as the result of rapid cultural and

technological changes. Material culture, specifically burial monuments, appears to be

one means by which the social relationships of family members were historically

negotiated in this region. The manipulation of material culture in response to

contemporary trends and motivations is equally possible today.

The fundamental role that kinship plays in social organization and interaction has

made the family group an important factor in investigations of the past by both

archaeologists and historians. Mortuary archaeology has shown that kin groups can be

identified in the archaeological record by examining such things as spatial organization,

burial goods, or other material culture. One significant link identified by Saxe (1970) and

Goldstein (1981) indicates that the spatial and structural organization of the burials reflect

the social organization of the wider society. This was thought to be the result of

differential access to crucial, limited resources to which the individuals claim access as a

result of descent or inheritance. This became known as the Saxe/Goldstein hypothesis,

which has meaningful applications to the findings of this study because the family

relationships of remarried families are clearly expressed in a mortuary context. In

addition, the representations appear to be impacted in certain situations by the degree to

which individuals had access to inheritance after the death of a parent.

The present study examined burial monuments as one medium through which

kinship and family identity can be expressed. The rigid historical control provided by the

dates on historic period monuments allows the monuments to be closely tied to specific

events, while additional information, such as names or family relationships, can be linked

to archival sources. During the Victorian period it became increasingly important to erect

monuments as a component of a respectable funerary ritual, a practice which also

prevailed in the Anglo-Saxon settlements of nineteenth-century North America, including

the Ontario communities examined in this study. Although no comparative studies of

these cemeteries have been undertaken, investigations at individual cemeteries, both

religious and secular, suggest that family members were buried adjacent to one another

whenever possible, that various categories of family members may have been treated

differently, and that while kinship is not the sole factor affecting burial placement it certainly influenced the decision making process.

Until recently, much of the historical interpretation of Anglo-Saxon family history was dominated by the notion of separate spheres of activity, which strictly separates male and female roles into either public or domestic activities (Davidoff and Hall 1987). In addition, the focus was on the nuclear middle class family, failing to address the fact that in early Canada the centre of economic production returned to the home environment and the participation of all family members was actively required for subsistence. Family types that fall outside the classic definition of the nuclear family, such as single parent families or remarried families, were also largely overlooked. A small body of literature relating specifically to the history of remarriage and the experiences of stepfamilies does, however, identify some issues that were common to the stepfamily experience (Burchardt 1989; Collins 1991; Gossage 1998; Gossage 2004). The most contentious issues were concerns over obligations of care between step-parents and step-children, as well as over which children would be entitled to an inheritance if there were children from both marriages. These conflicts appear to have been less likely to arise, however, if children were quite young at the time of the parents' remarriage (Burchardt 1989:306; Gossage 2004:162).

Summary of Research

By combining archaeological and historical methodologies, the current comparative and exploratory study has examined what influence, if any, the practice of

remarriage had on the monumental representation of the dead in two largely Anglo-Saxon

areas of settlement in southwestern Ontario. The project examined thirty-eight Protestant

cemeteries in Wentworth and Halton Counties located near the southwestern edge of

Lake Ontario. Marriage records for each congregation, as well as transcripts of all the

cemeteries, were used to identify all instances of remarriage which took place between

1815 and 1914. The monuments associated with these marriages were then digitally

photographed. Burial records and municipal assessment records were also used to

contribute information about the deceased, as well as to establish the frequency of

commemoration among the population.

Approximately 8% of all marriages were a remarriage for one or both parties,

however only a quarter of these remarriages are visibly acknowledged on burial

monuments, while half of all other marriages are acknowledged. Remarriages are,

therefore, commemorated less often than marriages in general. Despite this, a closer

examination of five Anglican cemeteries demonstrated that these monuments are more

likely (20.7%) to be larger and/or more elaborate than monuments commemorating

marriage in general (6.7%). In addition, while the burial records show that men

remarried more commonly than women, the number of commemorated remarriages is

disproportionately skewed towards the remarriages of widowers than those of widows.

The rate of burial commemoration is very high across the population in the study

area, with over three quarters of the burials between 1815 and 1914 being commemorated

on monuments. This high rate emphasizes the importance of commemoration within

these communities and reinforces the expectation that burial monuments were a

meaningful expression of identity among this population. It also reinforces the fact that burial monuments at this time were available to all individuals, including the working classes. The under-representation of remarriages must, therefore, stem from factors relating to the various social pressures acting on these families, or, conversely, from the absence of any motivation to acknowledge earlier marriages.

Summary of Findings Affecting the Commemoration of Remarriage

By this point, it is clear that there is no uniform expression of remarriage, nor is there a single answer to explain the variability observed among the mortuary commemorations of remarried families. Several factors were found to have varying degrees of impact on commemoration. No one factor succeeded in answering the question of why some people went out of their way to commemorate remarriage while the majority of the population did not. The reality is that while some factors were more influential than others, the personal decisions made by individuals relating to the commemoration of the dead may be influenced by all or none of these issues and there is no uniform explanation for the variability observed in this study.

Four factors that were most influential, however, were economic status, gender, social influences, and religious denomination. As mentioned previously, men are far more likely to acknowledge a remarriage than women. In a closer examination of the five Anglican cemeteries and the associated burial and municipal assessment records it was also found that these men were virtually all middle class professionals or landowners.

91

As there is no way to know what the prevailing social attitudes towards remarriage were, these factors assist in inferring the motivations of remarried families as they commemorate the dead. The issues of inheritance and the effect of lineal descent on mortuary representation identified by Saxe and Goldstein are certainly at work here, as are historical observations about conflict in blended families being motivated primarily by disagreements regarding obligations of care and issues of inheritance.

If burials are more likely to be spatially associated in cultures where access to crucial resources is determined by descent, concern about inheritance may be motivating the unified presentation of the remarried family. This is particularly true in the case of middle-class professionals or landowners, who may have considerable property to bestow. If there were the potential for conflict between the offspring of multiple marriages over entitlement to this inheritance, the mortuary representation of the parents and any deceased children as a unified family were likely intended to offset any perception of conflict within the community as well as serve as a reminder to surviving children of their membership in a shared family group. Additional motivating factors, such as community pressures and denominational influences, increased the likelihood that the commemoration would be overt. Methodists in particular were most likely to overtly commemorate remarriages on burial monuments.

Family influence is also likely a factor in certain cases. In some instances the decision to commemorate a remarriage appears to have been made as the result of ongoing social interaction with the deceased spouse's family, but in other cases family influence may have also resulted in the failure of some to acknowledge earlier spouses

who had no connection to the current extended family. In particular, the desire to associate oneself with a prominent family through marriage may persist even after the death of that spouse.

In addition, bonds of affection between spouses may have allowed an emotional connection to the first spouse to persist, even over long periods of time. This is supported by the number of remarriages that are acknowledged despite a long lapse of time between deaths. Although time lapse on its own is not a determining factor, these findings do support the idea that companionate marriage, based on love and affection, was increasingly common during the nineteenth century. These bonds may also have been maintained if children resulted from the marriage. The presence of children's graves is also not a determining factor in whether remarriages are commemorated, although children's graves are often found in association with monuments commemorating the spouses of a widower.

It appears that for the majority of the population, remarriage was a means of reconstituting a nuclear family unit which allowed the family to function as a complete body. In most cases remarriage appears to have been an unremarkable event. It was fairly common for people to remarry and there were no direct taboos associated with remarriage in any of the denominations included in this study. Despite the fact that it is not a major topic of contemplation or discussion in archival sources, it is clear that remarried families make up a distinct segment of larger society, and this distinction does appear to have had an effect on the material culture that is, in some cases, quite dramatic.

The question then remains, why were some remarried families commemorating remarriages so overtly if the practice was largely unremarkable?

If we combine the dominant factors that appear to affect remarriage commemoration, the most common type of remarried individual to overtly commemorate multiple spouses comes in the form of a middle-class male, probably a Methodist, who may also have children. This does not adequately describe the observed remarried population, however, as some of the examples commemorate people such as Caroline Millar, a remarried Anglican minister's widow with no children. It is also equally likely that there are remarried middle-class Methodist fathers who did not commemorate earlier spouses in association with their own grave. The answer involves the interplay of the four most influential factors: gender, economic status and inheritance, denominational beliefs and practices, and the impact of affection and companionate marriage on the persisting emotional bonds between spouses. While the presence of any one of these factors does not necessarily imply that the remarriage will be commemorated, remarriage commemoration is certainly more likely when one or more of these factors are present.

Directions for Future Research

A complete understanding of the representation of remarriage on burial monuments and the experience of these families within the context of rural nineteenth- and early twentieth-century society is only suggested by the findings of this study; there are plenty of avenues for further research into this subject. This study was exploratory in nature, seeking to establish what patterns, if any, existed in the mortuary commemoration

of remarriage. The findings indicate that specific patterns do indeed exist, and a controlled study into any one of the factors found to influence the commemoration of remarriage historically would be a welcome area for further research. The influence of gender, economic status, and denomination would be particularly valuable areas of research.

The examination of variations between specific denominations would require the extension of the study area to other areas experiencing similar Anglo-Saxon settlement patterns, such as the Niagara Peninsula and the vicinity of Lake Ontario. The further investigation of Methodist cemeteries, in particular, would establish whether the trend towards more frequent commemoration of remarriage is truly the result of denominational beliefs. If not, other explanations for the commemoration patterns seen in this study would have to be sought, including tracing the movements of specific circuit riders. In some cases, the cultural origin of the settlers would also be tied to their denominational affiliation, which may have specific influences on beliefs and practices. The inclusion of urban communities and larger towns would provide another opportunity for comparison between rural and urban trends.

The low frequency of commemoration among the remarried population has allowed for only a small sample of the remarried population to be examined in the course of this study. Future research in this area should be designed to include a larger sample size that serves to confirm or broaden the interpretations of this study. A larger sample size would allow for the examination of the finer details of commemorative patterns. In particular, one might examine whether there is a change in commemoration within the

hundred-year study period that might indicate changing attitudes in these communities. The rapid changes in manufacturing and transportation in nineteenth-century Ontario could mean that there was a difference in the way that the initial immigrant settlers perceived remarriage compared to their children or grandchildren, as families became increasingly less isolated and were more established in their communities.

Extending this study to include family, municipal and other denominational cemeteries would increase the scope while remaining in the same geographical region. This would extend the ability of the research to examine specific motivations and community influences within this area using more examples. Additional archival research in this regard could also be extensive, including diaries, newspapers, church bulletins and sermons, census records, wills, and other period publications.

The data collected in the course of this study also have the potential to be used to understand issues in Canadian society outside of the question of remarriage. Issues such as the experience and treatment of children are closely linked to the understanding of family roles and responsibilities, and a comparison of childhood commemoration in this region with Cannon's (1989; 1996) study of Cambridgeshire monuments is already underway (Cannon and De Schiffart 2007).

Conclusion

The family in early Canada was the centre of economic production, in which all members actively participated to ensure success in a difficult environment. As the area became increasingly populated, the division of labour and the expectation that children

would inherit and continue the settlement of the area maintained the importance of the

family unit. The practice of remarriage in the counties of Wentworth and Halton was in

many ways designed to reconstitute the nuclear family created by the first marriage.

Most remarried families did not use burial monuments to acknowledge the significant

way in which they differed from other nuclear families, and likely perceived themselves

as a family unit just like any other and unworthy of comment. In some cases, however,

the combination of motivating factors was such as to create the need to commemorate the

remarriage overtly. In particular, social status and the potential for conflict over rights to

inheritance, combined with specific religious beliefs and a heightened sense of affection

and emotional ties to family members in the nineteenth century, caused certain

individuals to commemorate these families in a way that differed significantly from the

general population. Burial monuments were considered a meaningful form of expression

during the study period in this area, and understanding the experience of remarriage is a

significant key to understanding the development of the family in early Canadian society.

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