The White Bronze Monument Phenomenon:
The Study of Agency and Fashion Through a 19th Century Mortuary Trend

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by

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Abstract

This thesis explores individual agency within a fashion trend through a case study of Victorian zinc grave monuments produced by the St. Thomas White Bronze Company of St. Thomas, Ontario between 1883 and 1900. A total of 222 monuments from the core area around St. Thomas, other regions of Ontario and the provinces of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Manitoba and British Columbia were analysed in relation to the identities of the individuals who were commemorated by and who selected the monuments. Three main patterns emerged: 1) although cast in the same factory and from the same material, monument styles and forms varied regionally, 2) the social characteristics of consumers varied by region, demonstrating that they were not embraced by a uniform demographic group, and 3) their distribution shows they did not radiate outward uniformly from their point of origin, but instead occur within distinct pockets of adoption. Findings show that consumers, not just producers or sales agents, played a central role in the dissemination of White Bronze monuments. In the locus, near St. Thomas, White Bronze monuments signaled elite status and were consumed by the social elite, as well as individuals seeking alignment with the elite. Elsewhere, in contrast, they served as an inexpensive yet novel alternative to conventional monument materials, often used in idiosyncratic ways by individuals with more limited means. Historically overlooked groups, including lower-income families, women and parents of young children, adopted the type to fit their own commemorative needs, typically selecting smaller, less ostentatious examples. Knowledge of the type also varied from advertising and extensive media coverage in the locus to variable modes of dissemination in other areas. Frequently, they were introduced to new communities through consumer migration, by individuals who carried knowledge from previous locales and commissioned White Bronze memorials in their new settings. Overall, this thesis demonstrates that fashion trends are not passively received but are actively negotiated through the interplay of personal choice, social positioning and cultural context.

Acknowledgements

Although the experience of writing is a solitary one, this work could not have been accomplished without the support of many individuals. I will endeavour to name a few here, beginning with the members of my committee. I wish to express my deep gratitude to my supervisor, Aubrey Cannon, who first inspired me during my undergraduate degree in 2019. For the invaluable advice and seemingly inexhaustible willingness to listen to all matters cultural resource management archaeology and White Bronze, thank you. My thanks extend to Tristan Carter for exposing me to new ideas and perspectives and to Harold Mytum for providing his expertise and enthusiasm.

My time at McMaster University would not have been the same without the members of my cohort. I am especially lucky to have met Selby and Paige. For their role in sustaining my morale through humour and companionship, I am grateful. I look forward to watching them accomplish whatever they choose.

I am indebted to Michael Baker and the Elgin County Museum for introducing me to the small-town marvel that was the St. Thomas White Bronze Company. Their passion for local history is unmatched and proved to be invaluable support and encouragement for this project. Additionally, thanks must go to Lesley Buchanan, who showed me St. Thomas Cemetery and my first White Bronze monument.

Many of the beautiful photographs of monuments were generously provided by Jan Row. These were a welcome addition. I would also like to acknowledge the small community of individuals interested in "zinkers" (an affectionate name for White Bronze monuments) who gather on online forums to share their monument finds in cemeteries across North America. Alan Livingstone MacLeod is worth drawing particular attention to for the many photographs he contributed, available via Flickr. I had the incredible privilege of stumbling upon these groups during this research project. From them, photographs, information and joy were derived.

Finally – and it should go without saying – I am indebted to my friends and family. I am grateful for Ramsay, whose knowledge and curiosity have made my life much richer. My mother, Catherine, who has edited nearly as much as I have written over the course of my life also deserves particular attention. So too do my grandparents, whose unwavering support and belief in the value of education have shaped both my opportunities and my outlook. To all those who have shown interest (whether real or politely feigned) in my work, in White Bronze, in cemeteries and in archaeology more broadly, I owe you my sincere thanks.

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Chapter 1 Introduction

Historical cemeteries and their contents are studied by academics and amateurs alike to answer questions pertaining to local and communal histories, genealogy, art and architecture, burial customs and practices, religion and demography (e.g., Mytum, 1989; Stewart, 1989; Taylor, 2015). It seems an obvious truism that they offer a wealth of information and represent endless opportunities for study. This work contributes to a growing body of research that seeks to maximise the interpretative potential of these complex and dynamic landscapes, which exist as valuable tools for studying identity and understanding individual agency, action and motivation, as well as cross-cultural processes and phenomena. By focusing on one particular type of grave monument, commonly referred to as "White Bronze," this thesis offers a nuanced and specific examination of individual choice and action within the Canadian mortuary context of the 19th century.

The St. Thomas White Bronze Company, located in St. Thomas, Ontario, was the sole Canadian manufacturer of White Bronze monuments (Figure 1.1). These patented monuments were made from pure zinc, though they were given the misnomer "White Bronze" as a marketing strategy. The company was founded in 1883 and operated until approximately 1900 (Stewart, 1989). Despite its short lifespan, its monuments were distributed across Ontario, New Brunswick, Nova Scotia and British Columbia, albeit sparsely. A few have also been noted in Newfoundland and Labrador. Today, the monuments are rarely recognized for what they are and what they represent as material evidence of the agency of past people.

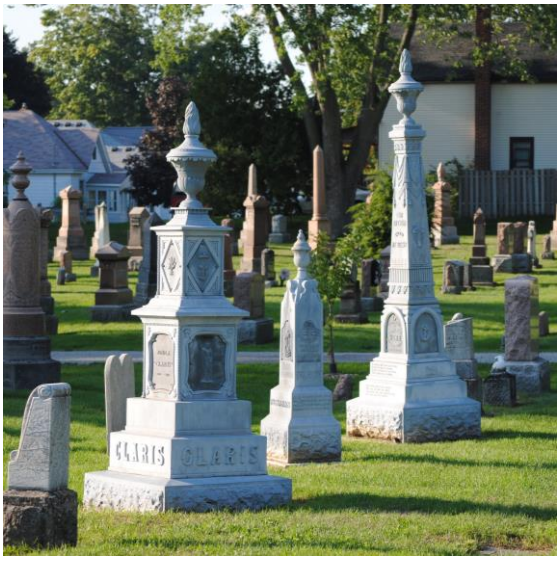


Figure 1.1: White Bronze grave monuments produced by the St. Thomas White Bronze Company, located in St. Thomas Cemetery. Images courtesy of Jan Row/Impala Image Works.

1.1 Cemeteries as Landscapes of Choice

Historical cemeteries are archaeologically observable phenomena that exist as the collective outcome of individual choices. What remains visible is often the result of a large group of people – sometimes thousands contribute to the landscape over hundreds of years – making choices. Although cemeteries can be viewed as whole contexts, each monument ultimately embodies the deeply personal decisions of a small group or a single individual, who was faced with commemorating a loved one. Questions such as: Should my loved one be buried? Where should they be placed? Whose name(s) should be on the monument? Who should make it? What material should it be made of? What should the epitaph say? What emblems should be included? —are asked, in various forms, and answered. The monument was selected with due reflection on the values and sentiments that are to be expressed on it through text and decoration, although often within certain financial, social and religious constraints. These choices were made with the knowledge that it would be situated within an environment of other memorials, and with the

expectation of others being erected subsequently, in a landscape of memory, with its own dynamic physical and biographical history (Mytum, 2018).

Some choices are less indicative of an individual's motivation and more so of their historical circumstances and social alliances. For example, the founding body of the Quaker religion advocated for its members to follow "Plainness", a movement that encouraged very limited and modest consumption of material culture. As a result, members opted for small and simple grave monuments or rejected them altogether (Richardson, 1993). Just as religion influenced individual choice, so too would have financial situations. Some individuals may have had the means to afford lavish funerals and elaborate monuments, while others faced financial constraints that made even a simple funeral or gravestone difficult to obtain (Cannon, 1998). Despite the potential limitations individuals face when dealing with death, agency and decision making remains evident within cemeteries, as individuals navigated different limitations to express their values, preferences and, ultimately, assert control over the consumption of the unique commodities that are gravestones.

My interest in historical cemeteries stems from the ability they provide to observe individuals and their choices within broader socio-cultural contexts. This allows for a more diverse representation of individuals than historical research typically permits, and a more nuanced view of individual lives than archaeological research alone naturally provides. Archaeologists, as Spector (1993) observed, "typically ignore biography," favouring more esoteric writings which lean heavily on objective descriptions and generalized interpretations of material culture (p. 31). This statement holds true more than thirty years after its publication and belies a stark lack of progress. Though the purpose of this thesis is not to create biographies, it is to draw attention to action and ascribe motivation to past individuals, using biographical information to create more

personal and dynamic narratives. My thesis takes a historicized approach, facilitated by the availability of written records, specifically the grave markers themselves (plus census, and birth, marriage and death records). This demonstrates the value of historical archaeology and historical cemeteries research, as this project is fundamentally archaeological in its focus on material culture, but also benefits from historical sources. Historians rely on the written word to construct biographies. Archaeologists, by comparison, are uniquely positioned to integrate material culture and written records; therefore, they offer more inclusive and tangible perspectives on past lives and the social processes that shaped them (e.g., Deetz & Dethlefsen, 1965; Edgette, 1989; Cannon, 2005). History is constrained by the biases of its subject matter. It is well established that the written record privileges the perspectives of the contemporary dominant social group. A corollary of this is that marginalized and minority voices are excluded and repeatedly absent from historical narratives. By integrating these approaches and disciplines, and in focusing on social processes, the non-dominant social groups and individuals become observable, active agents (Funari, Jones & Hall, 1999). Ultimately, this archaeological approach not only complements historical narratives, but also reveals personal expressions of identity and agency that written sources often overlook or obscure.

One longstanding issue with studying identity in archaeological contexts is the oft-criticized imposition of Western conceptualizations of self, identity, and personhood on past peoples. This practice risks distorting their cultural realities and undermines the discipline's commitment to understanding human diversity on its own terms (Knapp & Van Dommelen, 2008). This fear has held many – though far from all – archaeologists back from engaging deeply with concepts of identity and individual agency, ultimately leaving gaps in our understanding of how past peoples may have expressed their own complex and culturally specific senses of self (Heilen, 2012).

Historical cemetery research faces fewer challenges in this regard, as the subjects of study are Western constructions. Even so, as Lowenthal (1985) articulated, "the past is a foreign country," even the recent past. This metaphor indicates how interpreting identity in archaeological contexts, no matter how recent or seemingly similar to their own contemporary reality, demands that archaeologists recognize and grapple with the notion that past societies operated under their own culturally specific frameworks. Beneficially, gravestones often bear explicit references to the identity of the deceased, not least their name and age at death, while historical records, such as censuses, are available to corroborate the information and expand upon it. This is not to say that historical archaeologists and cemetery researchers operate under the assumption that all mortuary practices reflect the social identities a person held in life. Though this assumption did previously dominate the anthropological literature (e.g., Binford, 1971; Saxe, 1971), post-processual archaeology has moved away from this position (Parker Pearson, 1999). The Saxe-Binford approach to interpreting identity in mortuary contexts has been criticized because it is an overly representationalist perspective in assuming there is a direct correlation between funerary practice and social identity (Kerber, 1986, 35). This model overlooks the agency of survivors in shaping mortuary rituals and manipulating the dead to serve their own social, political and emotional purposes.

As Parker Pearson (1993) noted, "the dead do not bury themselves," (p. 203), which succinctly reminds us that funerary practices are products of their socio-political contexts and are not necessarily material symbols of the identity of the dead. As Cannon (1989) indicates, mortuary practice can reflect social status aspirations, rather than reality. For example, a large and elaborate grave monument does not necessarily imply that the deceased was a member of elite society during their lifetime. Surviving relatives may have derived benefit by presenting

them as more elevated than they actually were (Cannon, 1989). Similarly, certain aspects of identity may have been concealed or muted, while others were exaggerated or emphasized. For example, a person's role as an esteemed community member or devoted family member was frequently stressed on historical grave monuments (e.g., "Reverend" and "Esquire" were relatively common epitaphs, as was "loving mother") (Heilen, 2012). Variation in identity, as expressed through mortuary ritual, is related to the individual's life and community; survivors of the deceased were active agents in the identity construction process, using gravestones as social markers. This only adds complexity to the task of inferring identity from mortuary data.

With historical cemeteries, there exist a variety of records concerning the identity of the individuals responsible for their creation. Epitaphs on monuments, burial records, obituaries, census records, as well as birth, marriage and death records are annals that can be used to ascertain multiple dimensions of identity. They enable this project to compare and contrast the social identities manifest on the deceased's grave monument with their social identity in life, and to account for the multivalent nature of identity. As a result, they provide nuance to discussions of social identity and make individual action and motivation visible. In sum, despite the challenges presented by studying identity and agency through material culture, I agree with Maldonado and Russell (2016) – that it is worth studying "not despite its slippery nature, but because of it," (p. 11).

1.2 Identity and Agency Through White Bronze Monuments

Agency in archaeology refers to the complex entanglement of intentions, consequences, meanings and motives of individuals and groups, which both affects and is affected by material culture (Cannon, 2006). It follows then, that gravestones were not only shaped by, but also reflexively shaped the memorialization of death. As Buckham (2002) explained, "artifacts are

not simply passive indicators of ideology" (p. 200). Although this study does not engage with anthropological theories of object agency (e.g., Hoskins, 2006; Van Oyen, 2018), I acknowledge the power of artifacts, and the specific potency of grave monuments, as visual and symbolic representations of death and loss. White Bronze monuments shaped memorial landscapes, as individuals selected and personalized them to commemorate a loved one. They exhibit certain peculiar qualities which piqued the interest of those who chose them, as much as they do those who encounter them today.

My interest in the St. Thomas White Bronze Company's products stems from their novelty and the relative abundance of historical information available about them (e.g., records detailing the company owners, published advertisements, and one bill of sale from a sales agent). White Bronze monuments are also interesting as novel commodities. They are made of zinc, are hollow, and have a distinguishing blue-grey colour. At the time of their production and consumption, they would have been perceived as innovative because the technology used to make them had only been recently developed and patented (Richardson, 1874). The combination of the material and manufacturing process was new to memorials. Furthermore, the use of metal in funerary monuments reflected industrial advancements and the rise of mass production in the late 19th century (Beetham, 2015). Prior to the advent of White Bronze, grave monuments were not mass-produced and were most commonly made of stone, making the new type unfamiliar to most consumers. Altogether, they were an unprecedented phenomenon within the realm of funerary practices.

Although the uniqueness of White Bronze monuments initially sparked my curiosity, this study is ultimately driven by the opportunity to examine who chose a particular mode of commemoration. This specificity is possible due to the ability to construct a tightly controlled

and specific dataset. Gravestones typically provide general personal information about the deceased, such as names, ages at death, and dates of death, and historical records provide additional context. Most Canadian cemeteries and grave monuments provide sufficient data for researchers to have access to this type of information from burial records and/or from exterior sources (such as Ancestry.com). What sets White Bronze apart is that the manufacturer is an identifiable entity. The precise location of the foundry is known, as are the years it was in operation, its raw materials sourcing, as well as the owners' and employees' names. Even some advertisements for White Bronze products are preserved, providing information pertaining to the products (e.g., the range of products available, how they could be customized, their pricing) and marketing strategies (e.g., the company's highlighting of their "artistry and durability") (The Monumental Bronze Company, 1882). This is unusual, as most of the grave monuments contemporary to White Bronze would have been crafted by local artisans, whose names and business information have since been lost. This facilitates understanding more about the consumer because processes of transportation and communication become investigable. For example, in knowing the location of the foundry, the distance across which certain consumers were willing to obtain them, and how (e.g., railroads and shipping agents), become knowable. Similarly, patterns of dispersion become visible. Altogether, White Bronze monuments offer information about both the consumer *and* the producer, which presents opportunities to observe the dynamic relationship between the two, and how each exerted agency to create what is now archaeologically visible. They are an occasion to study the identity and characteristics of individuals producing and choosing novel products.

The novelty of White Bronze monuments also offers an ideal avenue through which to examine individual agency, action, motivation, as well as processes of innovation. Economists

have argued for an ontology that places innovation and the pursuit of novelty at the centre of human agency (e.g., Courvisanos, 2007; Oakley, 2002). This perspective is based on the notion that an innovation-centered ontology more accurately reflects how economies function; innovation is not just an occasional event, but a fundamental characteristic of human agency. It shapes economic structures and drives long-term development, with novelty playing a crucial role in the process because it fuels transformation. Actors pursue new ideas and technologies to adapt to changing circumstances, overcome limitations and seize opportunities for growth (Courvisanos, 2007). Cemeteries in general exemplify this process because they are continually changing spaces due to the introduction of new materials and forms. White Bronze monuments, in particular, challenged cultural norms and introduced new manufacturing techniques and materials. Understanding the processes of innovation – how new forms come to be accepted, how they relate to existing practices, and how they carve out their own niche – is essential for interpreting the social impact of such monuments.

The selection of a White Bronze monument, for its uniqueness and unconventionality, reflects deliberate decision-making and a departure from cultural norms. Both the producers and consumers would arguably have been perceived as innovative and forward-looking (Rotundo, 1989). A central aim of this study is to explore the nature and characteristics of the individuals making novel choices; how these individuals operated within their community, as well as their perception within it, is a necessary consideration. In short, we might see a particular demographic adopting this innovation, be that sex, age, or class. As Knapp (2010) highlights, individuals do not act or formulate their identities in isolation. Rather, they do so within communities and landscapes and as members of social groups. This is indicative of how identity and agency are lodged in social groupings and relationships. My study adopts Mytum's (2018)

theory, that consumers and producers enter into a dynamic relationship where power varies from one context to the next. It is this dynamic that stimulates change in the market. It underscores how White Bronze producers exercised autonomy in developing, patenting and selling the monuments, just as consumers did so in selecting, purchasing and personalizing them.

This study emphasizes the active and powerful role of consumers in negotiating acceptable memorialization of their deceased as they, rather than producers, were the dominant influence in this context (which I discuss further in Chapter 2). Nevertheless, producers actively attempted to sway consumers and had success within certain spaces. Consumers, the families or individuals who selected these monuments, likely weighed factors such as the distinctness of appearance, durability, cost, and cultural perception, indicating an engagement with personal preferences and values. In contrast, selecting conventional materials like sandstone, granite, or traditional bronze aligned with societal norms and therefore may have required less deliberation.

Archaeologists and economists have recognized that actors shaped social structures. Despite this, the specific individuals who drive change versus those who uphold tradition, and to what extent, are not well understood. If every individual, past and present, were solely motivated by novelty and innovation, social structures would lack stability and continuity – and historical evidence favours the persistence of familiarity and tradition. Accordingly, if innovation did not exist, consumer behaviour would consist of a series of routinized purchases of static products (Hirschman, 1980). This suggests that certain individuals must be recognized as more prone to novelty seeking behaviour than others, just as some were more prone to choosing what is familiar. White Bronze monuments are, as a result, a particularly valuable commodity for archaeological analysis because they enable the identification of novelty-seeking consumers and facilitate the study of their characteristics.

1.3 Gravestones as Commodities

Historical cemeteries and their contents are, as this chapter has indicated, continually evolving spaces. Their dynamism was first remarked upon in the oft-cited work of Deetz and Dethlefsen (1965) and Dethlefsen and Deetz (1966) who attributed discernible changes in funerary practices over time to shifts in cultural values and beliefs. They linked shifts in cemetery monument iconography and decoration – from death's heads being the most popular to cherubs – to The Great Awakening, a religious movement of the mid 18th century. This perspective is overly representationalist, reducing monuments to reflexive husks of cultural movements and consumers to passive recipients of them. Instead, the evolution of funerary architecture reflects both shifting cultural values and, as previously discussed, producer and purchaser relationships. Buckham (2002) emphasises that Victorian gravestones were commodities that were produced and consumed within the industrial capitalist market economy, which this study affirms.

1.3.1 Fashion

As noted, Cannon and others (e.g., Buckham, 2002) have treated gravestones, like other commodities, as subject to the general processes of fashion. Fashion is a multifaceted and intricate phenomenon, which is yet to be well understood, though it has long been recognized as a form of dynamic individual expression that shapes and reflects cultural trends, individual identity, and societal values. Simmel (1957) is accredited with being the first to theorize about the process. He identifies fashion as a "form of imitation and so of social equalization, but, paradoxically, in changing incessantly, it differentiates one time from another and one social stratum from another" (p. 541). Simmel also articulated that it is a natural human desire to both imitate others and distinguish ourselves; thus, fashion is a "social fact" that is constantly

changing, and a way for people to express their individuality while also fitting in with a group. As a result, it progresses, but often in a cyclical manner (Simmel, 1957, 541).

The first researcher to consider funerary practices to be a kind of fashion, in a class with "dress, luxury and etiquette," was Kroeber (1927). His idea was developed through observing the fluctuation of burial practices amongst Native Californian peoples. More recently, Heinrich (2014) argued that fashion more effectively explains the observations of Dethlefsen and Deetz (1966), contending that the shift towards more religious iconography and decoration on 18th century headstones is not attributable to The Great Awakening, but rather to the rising popularity of Rococo style. Rococo, an artistic style that peaked between 1730 and 1760, was characterized by allegorical figures. One especially popular motif, the cherub or putti, led Heinrich (2014) to demonstrate that consumer choice, connected to the latest fashion, was the driving force behind stylistic evolution.

Examining fashion's role in shaping burial trends clarifies the role certain agents had in creating and transforming patterns of mortuary treatment. Different social strata exerted agency in choosing monument styles for their own unique purposes. As Simmel (1957) indicated, fashion trends and fads create social differentiation. Upper social strata strive for social distinction, while medium and lower social strata attempt to blur it. Each does so for their own benefit. Cannon (1989) extended this theory to mortuary rites by illustrating their cyclical nature using case studies from Victorian-to-modern England and historic Northeast Iroquoian peoples. He argues that competitive funerary displays drove elaborate mortuary behaviour; however, it also led to an eventual reduction in intensity. This phenomenon occurs because differentiation, via embellishment and ostentation, loses effectiveness when such practices become widespread.

Individual agency is a key component of this process, as it is people who introduce fashion trends and bring about change. Cannon (2005) built upon his initial study by examining the shift to Gothic-style monuments in Victorian England, identifying the upper class as fashion leaders and women as particularly fashion-conscious. Elite individuals are distinguishable as trendsetters because they were the first to adopt Gothic-style monuments. While the middle and lower social classes adopted this style, they did so more gradually. Within this phenomenon, women were the primary agents in the initial adoption of Gothic monuments. Cannon (2005) showed that widows, in selecting monuments for their deceased spouses, were more active in material display and fashion trends. They exhibited greater awareness of prestige forms through their early adoption of new and novel monument styles. Evidently, certain individuals can be particularly prone to adopting new styles and initiating change.

1.3.2 Information and Material Distribution

Deetz and Dethlefsen (1965) pointed out that new styles and trends within historic cemeteries have an origin point (or locus) from which they disperse outwards. Though this notion is largely accurate, their implication that human ideas transferred along cultural wavelengths that followed natural laws is problematic; it removes agency and variation. Mallios (2014) adopts this framework and applies it to historic cemeteries in San Diego. He argues that the city and other metropolitan areas were "loci of ideational distribution and the cultural diffusion was, in fact, the communication of new ideas by individual agents of change" (p. 98). This underscores the integrity of individuals to these complex processes and highlights the variability of both the processes, as well as their archaeologically observable outcomes.

The Victorian era brought about an increase in the transmission of ideas. Due to growing globalization and industrialization, transportation networks improved significantly and means of

communication multiplied. Determining the precise influence of each form in introducing new fashion trends and fads is difficult to discern. For example, in urban centers ideas could have moved via diverse media – word-of-mouth, advertisements and catalogues (e.g., Sears catalogues advertised granite and marble monuments), as well as by the artifacts themselves (Sears, Roebuck & Co, 1906). Cemeteries, during the Victorian era, were more integrated into daily life, with people visiting them casually; thus, Victorian people would have been more familiar with their contents and likely to observe new and novel items (Meyer, 1992). This is to say that ideas of death, mourning and commemoration were cultural ideas communicated by agents through various media.

The role of agents in these processes becomes tangible when considering their individual motivations. The choices and actions that led to archaeologically observable change varied and were influenced by the individual's role within the market. Producers sought economic and social success by selling products, relying on advertisements and distribution to communicate their availability and value; their ability to move goods and information informed their success. Consumers, in turn, made purchasing decisions based on access to goods, knowledge of their value, and the social and cultural significance of ownership. The selection of products informed their success. Consumers could derive benefit from their selection of products that aligned with social and cultural trends, enhancing their status. Such factors reflect the assertion of autonomy and the navigation of social and cultural systems, which shaped the market and what remains visible in cemeteries.

Material culture is a medium through which identity is both consciously and subconsciously expressed, negotiated, confirmed and denied by individuals and their surrounding communities through acts of agency. Fashion, individual action motivation, and communication between

producers and consumers are components necessary to explain the White Bronze monument phenomenon. By extension, White Bronze monuments provide an opportunity to investigate these complex and nuanced socio-cultural processes.

1.4 The Research Project

I have examined 222 White Bronze monuments, spread across eighty cemeteries and five provinces (see Figure 1.2 for geographic reference). My primary objectives were to discern: (1) who was purchasing and who was being commemorated by White Bronze monuments; (2) how people came to know of and acquire this novel monument type; (3) if consumption varied according to individual identities and/or geographical location; (4) if certain individuals or groups were predisposed to this novel fashion and, if so, why; (5) what led to the acceptance and subsequent rapid rejection of this style of monument; and (6) what these findings tell us about product changes and marketing distribution.

The findings of this project and their interpretation are presented in the next four chapters. Chapter 2 contextualizes White Bronze monuments, highlighting the origins of the known White Bronze companies and the broader history of zinc mining and statuary in North America. Integral to this section is the introduction of fashion and mechanisms of transportation and communication as foundations for understanding individual agency – the core concept – that brought about the White Bronze monument phenomenon. Chapter 3 details the methodologies used to answer my research questions. It outlines the data presented and discusses the necessary choices that were made in the creation of the data set and the logic on which they are grounded. Chapter 4 presents quantitative data analyses and discussions concerning the results of the analyses. Chapter 5 summarizes my findings.

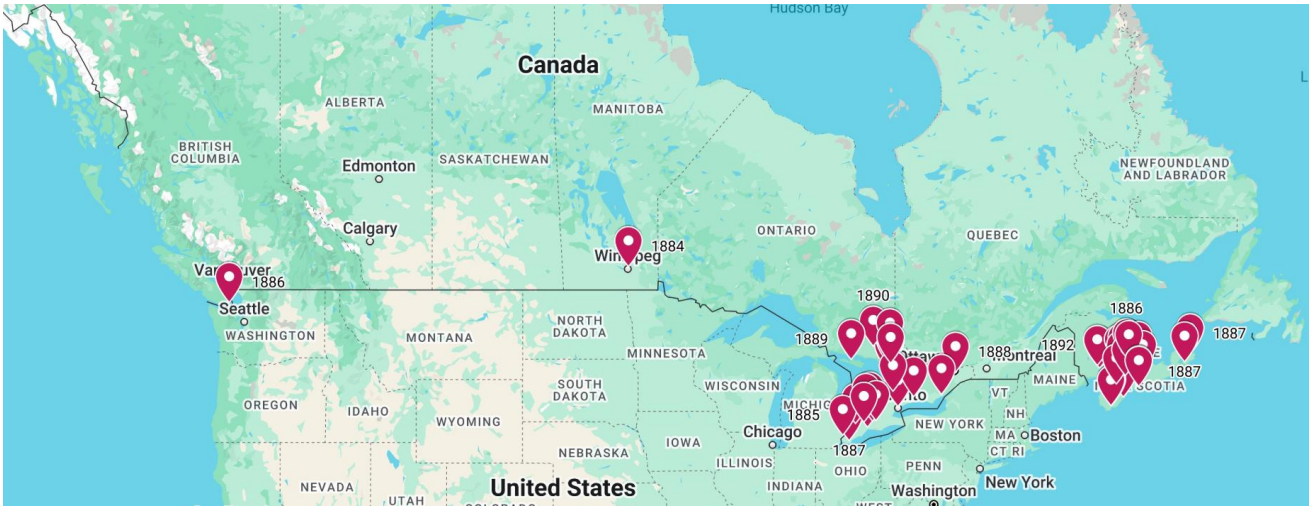


Figure 1.2: Map showing the locations of the White Bronze monuments, with their date of erection, that were incorporated in this study.

Chapter 2 Contextualizing White Bronze

This study employs White Bronze grave monuments to examine individual agency within mortuary contexts. The background information for understanding the complexity of both the White Bronze monument phenomenon and the role of agency in bringing about this short-lived trend involves several areas of research. Each is relatively distinctive from the others, though they are entangled and integrated. The first topic concerns general knowledge about White Bronze monuments, the companies that built them, and zinc production and usage during the Victorian era. The purpose of this line of enquiry is to help understand the socio-cultural context and market economy that resulted in the acceptance and subsequent rapid rejection of White Bronze as an appropriate style for commemorating the deceased. The second research theme that this project engages with is fashion. It is a foundational basis for understanding how individual agency led to the creation of the White Bronze monument phenomenon. Third, I examine transportation and communication to highlight how the movement of people, objects, and information, and individuals' access to them, shaped their opportunities and constraints. These factors influenced whether individuals consumed or rejected White Bronze monuments, ultimately affecting the market and driving change.

Following the presentation and discussion of these three main areas of research, the chapter outlines archaeological theory about skeuomorphs. Skeuomorphs, though complex and multivalent, are generally understood to be artifacts made from one material to imitate a form more usually made from another (Conneller, 2016). I will argue that the White Bronze

monuments' form and colour meant that they can be viewed as emulating (and providing a cheaper alternative to) grave markers fashioned from marble and granite. Engaging with the literature on skeuomorphs facilitates understanding why the St. Thomas White Bronze Company ultimately failed, having been in business for just seventeen years. Ultimately, much of this project focuses on the acceptance of these products; nevertheless, they were accepted by only a relatively small number of people for a short period of time. As a result, this portion is crucial for underscoring the business's failure and providing the theoretical basis for its occurrence.

2.1 Zinc Mining and Statuary in the 19th Century

Zinc is a relatively light, brittle metal that becomes malleable when heated. It has a characteristic bluish-white, lustrous appearance. Although zinc alloys have been in use since the Bronze Age, extensive production and industrial applications for zinc did not begin until the early 19th century (Grissom, 2009). Prior to this, because zinc naturally exists primarily in compound form, its use was limited. By the beginning of the 19th century, zinc production had been established in Europe, and, by the latter half of the century, large zinc industries had developed in the United States (Grissom, 2009). Despite the recognition of zinc as a valuable resource, zinc production in Canada did not begin until World War I (Panagapko, 2008).

Once production of the metal was firmly established in Europe and America (mainly for the manufacture of alloys and early batteries), new applications for the metal were explored. The production of pure zinc statuary began in 1832 in Berlin, Germany (Grissom, 2009). Following its introduction, the production and consumption of zinc statuary enjoyed a widespread and rapid adoption. Established metallurgy businesses began offering zinc statues and, at the same time, new businesses emerged to meet the growing demand (Grissom, 2009). Zinc, as a material for composing statuary, possessed two qualities that benefited producers and allowed it to quickly

rise in relevance: ease of production and affordability. This was the result of the abundance of the raw material in comparison to other materials such as marble and traditional bronze. Furthermore, bronze is an alloy, requiring two constituent elements (copper and tin) and is, by extension, more complicated and more expensive. The price of zinc has consistently been among the lowest of all metals since industrial smelting began (Grissom, 2009). For statuary, specifically, zinc required very little capital investment or specialized labour because the forming method, called sand casting, was relatively common knowledge. Additionally, fuel costs were comparatively low because the melting temperature of zinc is significantly lower than for bronze and iron (Grissom, 2009).

Zinc's rise in popularity as an acceptable material for statuary cannot be attributed solely to its material advantages. Socioeconomic and historical factors significantly influenced its adoption and widespread use. Zinc statue production and consumption peaked in the wake of the American Civil War, during a time of rapid change in the United States of America. The conflict accelerated industrialization and globalization and thereby, increased the complexity and extent of transportation and communication networks. It also caused the expansion of the working class, and infrastructural developments facilitated logistical aspects of business, including the growth of the railroad for transporting zinc monuments to consumers, though broader economic and social shifts also impacted their proliferation.

The Civil War's economic consequences expanded wage labour and allowed middle class individuals greater access to investment and capital gains, which had been limited to the elite previously. This shift provided a broader segment of society with opportunities to accumulate wealth. Those already invested in zinc mining capitalized on this shift by marketing to the working classes. Zinc was promoted as an industry offering opportunities. For example, Ruhl

(1910) argued that "zinc mining offers opportunities to poor man," emphasizing its accessibility and portraying it as a path to prosperity. Consequently, zinc became known as a metal for the working class—affordable, durable, and used in products ranging from roofing to pipes to inexpensive jewelry—making it both a staple in daily life and a symbol of identity (Ruhl, 1910). This association and accessibility meant that the working class could not only contribute to zinc's distribution and consumption, but also frequently favoured it. It was, as a result, a practical material and an opportunity for economic participation that the working class seized.

The changes brought about by the Civil War extended beyond the market economy. As previous archaeological evidence has demonstrated, in the wake of war, communities seek to restabilize and often do so through commemoration of their dead (e.g., Beckstead *et al.*, 2011; Tarlow, 1997). Feelings of instability arise from the mass disruption and loss that accompany periods of conflict. Some communities responded to the aftermath of the Civil War by creating memorials and burial sites to honour the dead, providing a sense of closure, continuity and collective memory. As Beetham (2015) explains, "the American public's need to memorialize and interpret the Civil War fueled a boom in the construction of monuments beyond anything the nation had yet seen" (p. 36). In response to the substantial demand, artists and artisans quickly moved to produce them, and the most popular designs for Civil War soldier monuments were repeatedly produced and distributed (Beetham, 2015).

Zinc statuary's period of significance coincided with both the rise in demand for Civil War memorials and the technological advancement of moulds for mass production. The ability to create exact replicas of a single design revolutionized the statuary industry, as this was something not previously possible. A striking example of this technology was a statue produced by the Monumental Bronze Company of Bridgeport, Connecticut. The statue, titled "American

Soldier", is known to exist in at least eighty-six instances across twenty-three states. It was sold from the early 1880s into the 20th century. Made of commercially pure zinc, the figure depicted a generic infantryman wearing a forage cap and overcoat (Figure 2.1). Such deliberate ambiguity enabled The Monumental Bronze Company to appeal to multiple markets, selling the statue as both a Union and Confederate soldier memorial. At the same time, bronze statue

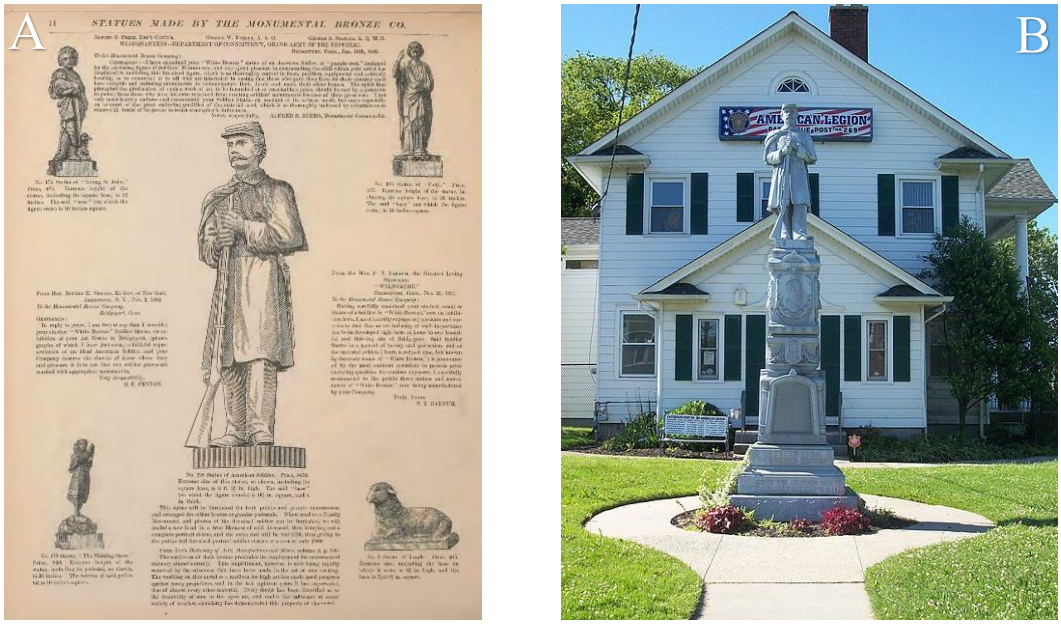


Figure 2.1: A) "Statue of American Soldier" manufactured by the Monumental Bronze Company (The Monumental Bronze Company, 1882). B) "Statue of American Soldier" located in Patchogue, New York (DanTD, 2013).

manufacturers employed similar marketing tactics. Bronze soldiers were produced, replicated and distributed across America; however, unlike zinc soldier cenotaphs, bronze was expensive and often prohibitively so. Communities wishing to memorialize their war dead were frequently reliant on the more affordable metal, zinc. Zinc soldiers could be produced for as little as $150 USD, whereas bronze soldiers regularly exceeded $10,000 USD (Grissom & Harvey, 2003). The Monumental Bronze Company catalogue of 1882 offered the "American Soldier", standing just over six feet tall, for $450.

Another factor which contributed to the success of The Monumental Bronze Company's zinc soldier was the American population's growing familiarity with mass production (Beetham, 2015). The 18th century introduced mechanized processes that enabled the mass production of commodities. By the 19th century, mass-produced commodities such as clothing and food were widely distributed, consumed, and subsequently, integrated into daily life. Civil War soldiers were especially exposed to mass-produced items, such as uniforms and rations. Following the advent of mass-produced commodities, came the emergence of mass-produced art. Though art has always been reproducible, mechanical reproductions of art were something new and unprecedented (Benjamin, 1968). Middle-class Americans consumed art through inexpensive copied forms and reproductions, such as chromolithographs and photographs. Reproductions were necessary to disseminate art beyond the bourgeois, as originals were prohibitively expensive. This shift in cultural perception led many, especially the working class, to accept that mass-produced items could be artistic and meaningful (Benjamin, 1968). Consequently, the replication of the "American Soldier" statue fit into a broader movement of reproduced art, causing many people to accept that such statues could be meaningful memorials for their war dead. The Monumental Bronze Company participated in a cultural movement that was filled with copies through all levels of the art market, cementing itself as a purveyor of artistic, yet reproduced, commodities (Beetham, 2015). Notably, for the upper classes, as well as those with an anaesthetic outlook, only originals or unique pieces would have a true or authentic 'aura'.

Ultimately, the proliferation of zinc statuary was driven by a convergence of factors: industrial advancements that made zinc production widespread, its affordability and ease of use, economic shifts following the Civil War that expanded the middle class, and growing comfort with mass production in art and memorialization. Though a unique phenomenon, zinc statuary

was largely confined to the 19th century and faded with the turn of the 20th. This decline was due to complex processes, including fashion, but can be summarized as a result of changing artistic tastes and advancements in materials and manufacturing. As other metals became more affordable and usable, zinc was supplanted.

2.2 The Monumental Bronze Company

During the 1870s, Milo A. Richardson and his partner, C. J. Willard, developed a cemetery marker made of zinc and patented the technology. M. A. Richardson is listed as the inventor on the patent, which was submitted in 1874 to the United States Patent Office (Richardson, 1874). Although the patent did not refer to them as White Bronze grave monuments, the misnomer was attached to Richardson's invention in all subsequent documentation and advertisements. Richardson and Willard later sold the company to other partners, and it was incorporated in 1879. It did not receive its recognizable name, The Monumental Bronze Company, until the 1880s. Asa Parsons served as the company's president from 1879 until 1903. Fittingly, both he and Richardson were commemorated by large White Bronze monuments in Mountain Grove Cemetery in Bridgeport, Connecticut and Sherman Cemetery in New York, New York, respectively (Figure 2.2). No internal business records from the company remain, resulting in the loss of certain details, though their products remain.

The grave monuments were made of 99% zinc, which was classified as 'commercially pure'. According to The Monumental Bronze Company Catalogue (1882), the company was sourcing its raw material from The Passaic Zinc Company of New York. The Passaic Zinc Company mined zinc at Sterling Hill of New Jersey. It was in operation from approximately 1853 until 1896, at which point it was dissolved (Russell, 1993). Once the raw material was received, it was cast and then underwent a unique manufacturing process, which involved

sandblasting the monument surfaces (Stewart, 1989). The purpose was to grant the material the appearance "of a superior sort of stone" (Schuyler, 1878 as cited in Grissom & Harvey, 2003). The sand-blasting technology was developed and patented by M. A. Richardson (1875) who described, in his patent submission, the process:

> "In the manufacture of zinc ornaments and monuments, it becomes desirable to provide the same with a neat and attractive finish. This I accomplish by applying the well-known sand-blast with steam or air. But the beautiful finish thus obtained is liable to be injured by exposure to moisture, which causes decomposition of the surface of the casting, and formation of white oxide of zinc, that runs down and over the work, giving it an unpleasant look. To prevent this decomposition and oxidation I next apply (after the sand-blast) a fixing material, consisting of some oil or gummy substance, preferably linseed oil, which will not colour the metal. I then direct upon the surface of the metal a strong blast of steam, and thereby drive off the excess of oil… it protects it from moisture and consequent oxidation."

Figure 2.2: A) White Bronze monument commemorating Asa Parsons located in Mountain Grove Cemetery of Bridgeport, Connecticut (Find a Grave, 2012). B) White Bronze monument commemorating Milo A. Richardson located in Sherman Cemetery of Sherman, New York (Find a Grave, 2025).

According to some scholars (e.g., Rotundo, 1989; Stewart, 1989), this process gave White Bronze its distinctive colour; however, it is unlikely that linseed oil, applied more than 150 years ago, remains embedded in the monuments. Notably, Richardson's patent reveals that he did not

believe that zinc alone could withstand the test of time; it required a protective finish. His fears seem to have been largely unfounded, as the monuments preserved remarkably well. They remain the same blue-grey colour and free from corrosion. They do not support moss or lichen growth and are unaffected by frost because they do not absorb moisture. The absence of colour change further demonstrates their longevity. At the time of their creation, the monuments were blue-grey. This is evidenced by the Monumental Bronze Company catalogue of 1882, which provided a printed sample of the colour for potential consumers to view, functioning like a paint chip (Figures 2.3).

The mould manufacturing process for White Bronze monuments was most descriptively recounted by the American Bronze Company catalogue of 1891 (as cited by Grissom & Harvey, 2003).

> "The designs are first modeled in clay and reproduced in plaster of Paris, from which a wax cast is taken, this cast being necessary in order to procure a perfect metal pattern, from which the monument is moulded and cast in the ordinary way. The fusing and joining together of the different parts by pouring molten metal of the same material as the castings, at a high degree of heat, along the joints, makes them practically one solid piece."

The moulds were then shipped to subsidiaries for use and replication by means of sand casting. Sand casting eliminated the need for subsidiaries to hire artists and permitted the reuse of moulds. This process contributed to the monuments' uniformity across time and space. Although the monuments were nearly endlessly customizable, the reuse of casts for letters, emblems and monument designs and styles created a cohesive aesthetic and somewhat standardized appearance. Beetham (2015) aptly described the company's products as "an army of simulacra."

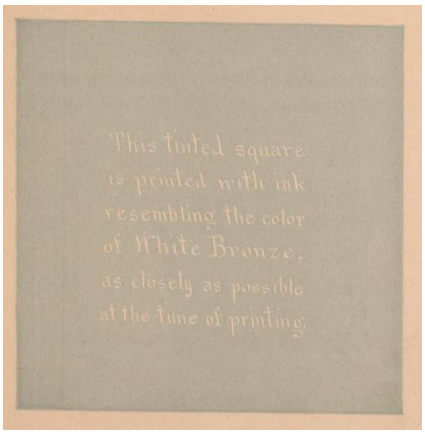


Figure 2.3: A) Printed sample showing colour of White Bronze (The Monumental Bronze Company, 1882).

By 1885, the Monumental Bronze Company had become a substantial enterprise, producing a wide variety of monument styles. Headstones and obelisks were the most commonly purchased, though the company also offered custom creations that permitted unique and grand monuments for those who could afford them (Figure 2.4). Overall, the company catered to individuals across a broad socioeconomic spectrum, from the working class to the wealthy. Customers could purchase footstones for as little as $2 USD or invest more than $5000 on larger creations (The Monumental Bronze Company, 1882). Irrespective of the cost, every single monument was made to order and richly ornamented (Stewart, 1989). Customers designed monuments without models because the parent firm did not have a showroom; consumers had to judge the final product based on monuments already erected in cemeteries, in combination with illustrations in catalogues (Rotundo, 1989). The most expansive White Bronze Company catalogue recovered, produced in 1882, indicates the diversity of designs. A wide range of monument styles, bas-relief emblems (Figure 2.5) and inscriptions (Figure 2.6) were available. Bas-relief emblems were provided at no extra charge and at least eighty different options were available, giving customers nearly unprecedented freedom of choice in monument design.

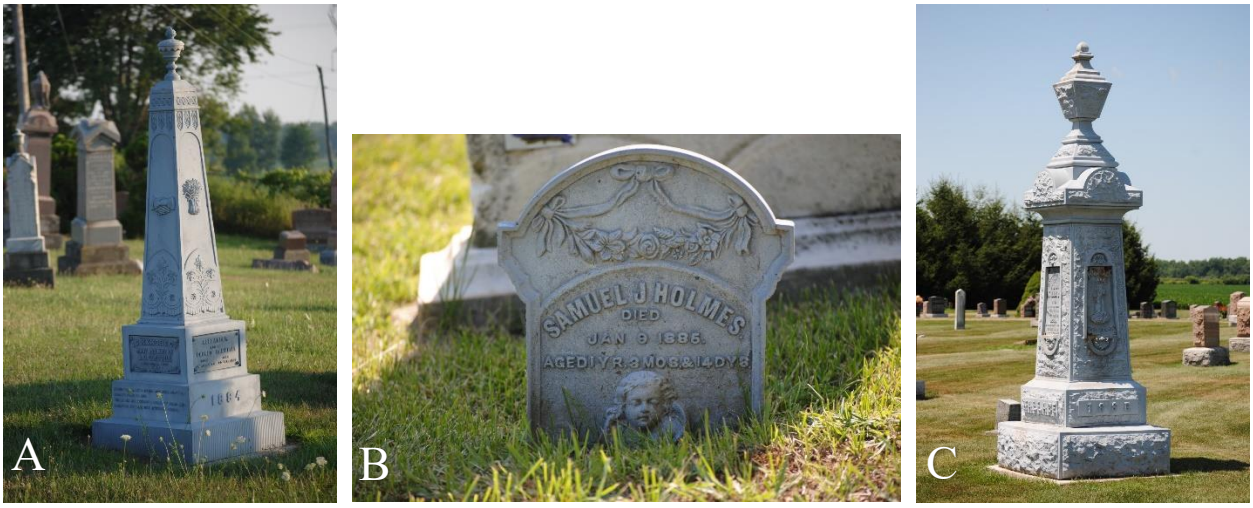


Figure 2.4: A) White Bronze obelisk located in McIntyre Cemetery. B) White Bronze headstone located in Cowal McBride Cemetery. C) Unique, customized White Bronze monument located in Fingal Cemetery. Images courtesy of Jan Row/Impala Image Works.

Figure 2.5: Bas-relief emblems. Images courtesy of Jan Row/Impala Image Works.

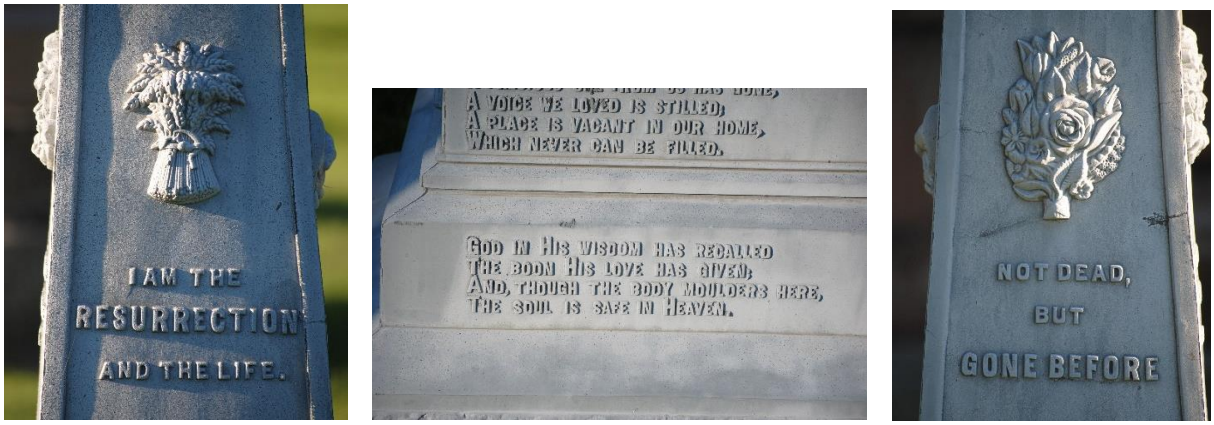


Figure 2.6: Standardized inscriptions. Images courtesy of Jan Row/Impala Image Works.

Some inscriptions, like the bas-relief emblems, were pre-fabricated. Scriptures were common and were replicated many times over (e.g., Figure 2.6). Other inscriptions were necessarily unique to the monument and the consumer – epitaphs for the deceased being clear examples of this. Typically, standardized inscriptions were placed on the body of the monument, while epitaphs appeared on removable tablets (Figure 2.7). The removable tablets were a mark of the ingenuity of the company. These were tablets, sometimes called plinths, that were bolted to the monument which enabled their removal and replacement. This allowed for the addition of

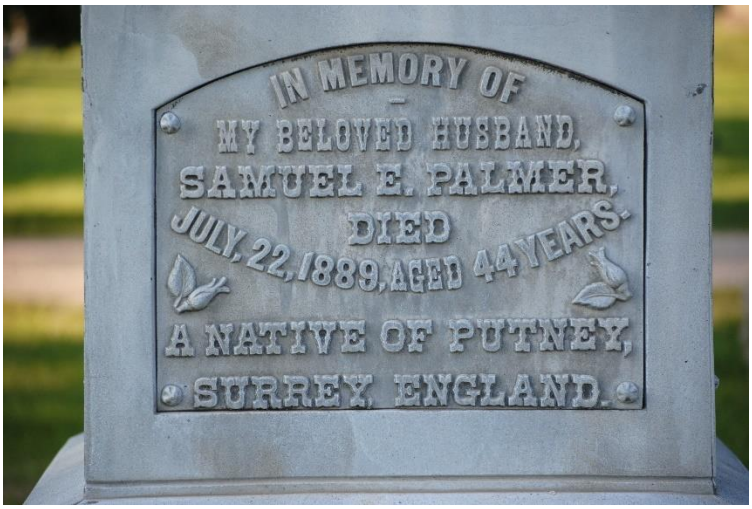


Figure 2.7: Removable tablet with epitaph. Image courtesy of Jan Row/Impala Image Works.

other individuals after the monument was initially erected. According to Jarvis and Drover (2018), future inscriptions could be added for a "small cost" and were guaranteed against incorrect inscriptions (p. 35). Placeholder tablets, usually featuring a single emblem, were bolted to the monument and were regularly replaced by customers as other family members died and required commemoration. Interestingly, a small, specialized tool was required to change out the tablets, something "looking vaguely like a screwdriver but with a negative rosette bolt head where the end of the screwdriver blade would be, was used to loosen and tighten the cast zinc nuts" (Ladd, 2012 as cited in Jarvis & Drover, 2018). Despite the need for a specialized tool,

even after the company dissolved, customers continued to update the monuments, with aluminum, traditional bronze and sandstone tablets often appearing in place of zinc (Figure 2.8). If this was the case, the cast zinc nuts could not be reused and other materials and tools were used to accomplish the task.

The Monumental Bronze Company claimed to have sold over 12,000 monuments by 1882 (The Monumental Bronze Company, 1882). Following the parent firm's success, subsidiaries also began producing the commodities, beginning in the 1880s. Subsidiaries were established in many large American cities including Chicago, Illinois; Detroit, Michigan; Des Moines, Iowa; New Orleans, Louisiana and Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. There was only one subsidiary outside of the United States of America, a Canadian company named the St. Thomas White Bronze Company.

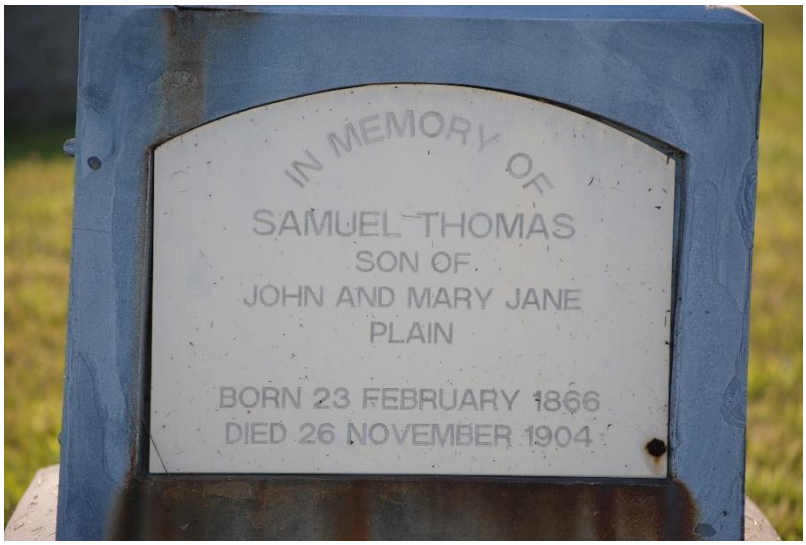


Figure 2.8: White Bronze removable tablet replaced by aluminum tablet. Image courtesy of Jan Row/Impala Image Works.

Advertisements produced by the White Bronze Companies emphasized their products' durability, artistic beauty and low cost (Figure 2.9). They also promoted them as marvels of a science, presenting them as significant technological advancements endorsed by scientists (The

Monumental Bronze Company, 1882). They appeared on the cover of *Scientific American* in 1885 (Figure 2.10) (Scientific American, 1885). This marketing strategy aimed to make their products seem more credible and advanced. It set them apart from the heavy deep-time tradition of stone and bronze. Notably, the claim of durability has proven true, as the monuments look largely the same today as they did when they were first manufactured over 120 years ago (Rotundo, 1989). In contrast, many of their stone counterparts have become illegible, cracked, crumbled, faded and overgrown with moss and lichen. In much the same vein, their bronze counterparts have developed patina. Though zinc monuments had obvious benefits, they were not infallible. Zinc statuary tends to creep, especially in large vertical monuments (Rotundo, 1989). Creep is caused by the monument's weight pressing down on itself, leading the metal to settle unevenly and statue figures to become distorted. For example, the heel of the "American Soldier" tends to sink into its base, causing the effigy to lean backward at an unnatural angle (Grissom, 2009). Fortunately, the gravestones are less affected by creep, and it is rarely visible, due to their smaller size and lesser weight. Customers were almost certainly unaware of this flaw during their era of production, as creep would not have been observable for years and progresses gradually (Rotundo, 1989).

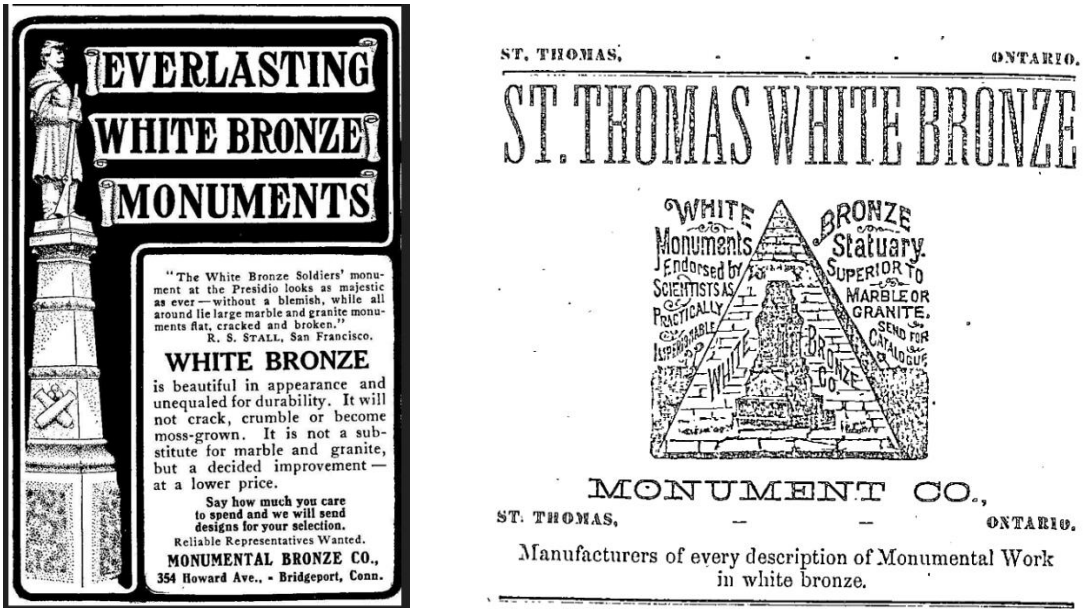


Figure 2.9: White Bronze Company advertisements (Ivanoff, n.d.; The Union Publishing Company 1886).

Despite the artistry and durability White Bronze monuments offered consumers, by 1939 Ralph Sperry, the president at the time, was forced to dissolve The Monumental Bronze Company. Though he asserted that the company was no longer profitable due to "the constantly increasing tax burden and government restrictions," the company had long ceased advertising White Bronze monuments by this time. No markers appear to have been erected after 1914; therefore, it was more likely that the company's decline stemmed from increasing public rejection and steadily falling sales (Rotundo, 1989). Consumers seemed to have predominantly returned to more traditional materials, such as stone and bronze, rather than investigating new innovations. Unlike many businesses of the era, The Monumental Bronze Company did not fail because its products became obsolete or because new and improved technology was introduced. Instead, more complex cultural contexts, such as changing artistic taste and new fashion trends, led to its demise.

2.3 The St. Thomas White Bronze Company

In 1883, Henry Pollock and Charles O. Ermatinger founded the sole Canadian subsidiary of the Monumental Bronze Company, The St. Thomas White Bronze Company of St. Thomas, Ontario. Construction of the company's foundry, reportedly a one-story, sixty by forty-five-foot brick building, began in June of 1883. D. Munro was awarded the contract and instructed to complete the building project within thirty days for $1,925 (St. Thomas Daily Times, 1883c). The facilities built for the company consisted of a moulding shop and an engine room, which presumably housed the 60-horsepower boiler and 25-horsepower engine required for daily operations. Other existing buildings on the purchased property were modified for their use as well (St. Thomas Daily Times, 1883e). There may have been a showroom for potential customers to browse their products, although this remains uncertain. Figure 2.10 is the only graphic material evidence of the building's appearance; it shows the foundry positioned to the left of the center in front of a large three-story building, with monuments clearly on display and railroad tracks immediately adjacent. It seems likely that the foundry was built as close as possible to the tracks to facilitate product distribution. The St. Thomas Daily Times, the city's newspaper, conveyed considerable excitement surrounding the company's construction and opening, having repeatedly reported on it from April of 1883 to September of 1883.

By September of 1883, the building was operational, and monument casting had officially begun. Henry B. Pollock served as President, Manager and Secretary, while Charles O. Ermatinger served as Vice-President (Stewart, 1989). The Ermatinger family was particularly influential in St. Thomas. At the company's inception, Charles Ermatinger was a Member of Provincial Parliament. He was also a judge and a wealthy merchant. His father was, similarly, a lawyer, judge and active political figure in Elgin County and St. Thomas. The family burial plot

is marked by a large White Bronze obelisk that memorializes Edward Ermatinger, his wife and other relatives (Figure 2.11). Their influence in the city cannot be overstated. The family owned the Ermatinger Business Block, a large property located in the industrial area of the city. It contained a number of businesses that the family either sold or rented space to, including the White Bronze Company ("St. Thomas and its men of affairs", 1914). The foundry was located at 110 Talbot Street (Stewart, 1989).

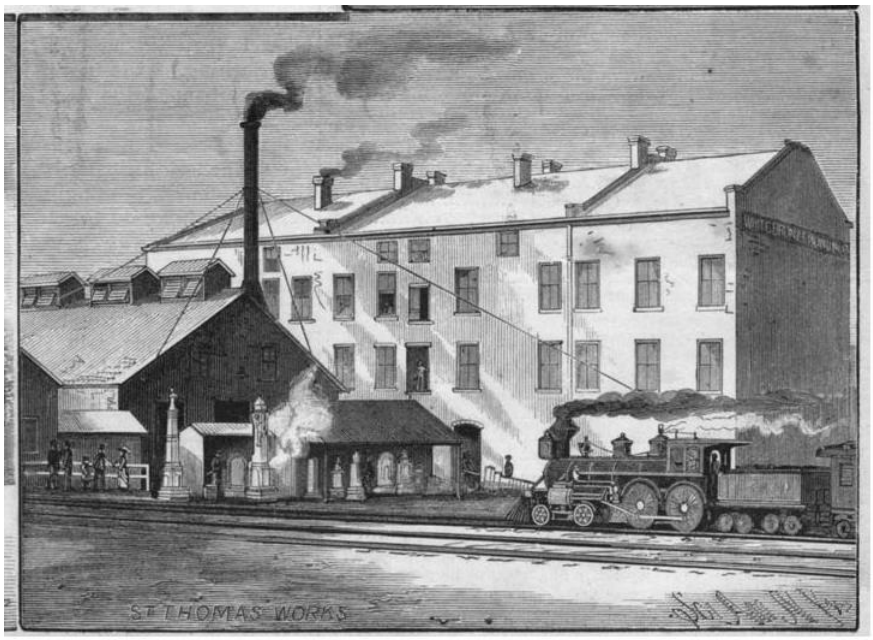


Figure 2.10: St. Thomas White Bronze Company foundry (Scientific American, 1885).

At its peak, the company employed twenty to thirty skilled workers (Rotundo, 1989). According to city directories from the era, engineers, carpenters, pourers, moulders, finishers and administrative staff (such as treasurers and bookkeepers) were full-time employees (Union Publishing Company, 1886). Most had been industrial labourers before their employment by the White Bronze company and resumed similar roles after it closed. Travelling sales agents were also an integral part of the St. Thomas-based company; however, they were not directly employed by it. The Monumental Bronze Company catalogue indicates that agents worked for

commission, as was typical for the role. They encouraged individuals to become agents, arguing it would provide “a business for a lifetime” with “no capital of investment needed” (The Monumental Bronze Company Catalog, 1882, 127). It seems reasonable to assume that the St. Thomas company adopted the same model.

Figure 2.11: Ermatinger White Bronze monument on the family's plot, located in Old English Cemetery. Image courtesy of Jan Row/Impala Image Works.

Initially, the managers of The St. Thomas White Bronze Company were ambitious and held high hopes for success. This zeal was likely spurred by the accomplishments of other White Bronze companies. For example, Detroit reported receiving 145 orders for monuments in April of 1883 alone (St. Thomas Daily Times, 1883d). Ermatinger appears to have been the chief instigator of the company. On June 25th of 1883, prior to the company beginning operations, the St. Thomas Daily Times (1883d) noted that Ermatinger was leaving to meet Hector Langevin – previously the Secretary of State for Canada, Mayor of Quebec, Postmaster General of Canada, Superintendent-General of Indian Affairs and primary architect of the Canadian residential

school systems (Government of Canada, 2023). The two travelled to the Detroit-based White Bronze foundry to view its products. Their purpose was to introduce Langevin to White Bronze so that he might commission the future St. Thomas White Bronze company to manufacture a statue of Jacques Cartier to be erected in Quebec City, Quebec (St. Thomas Daily Times, 1883b). Pollock and Ermatinger were negotiating for other significant endeavors as well, including a fountain for the city of Guelph, Ontario and in 1885, upon the death of P. T. Barnum's famous circus elephant, Jumbo, a monument dedicated to his memory was proposed. Langevin elected to have Cartier cast in traditional bronze, rather than White Bronze, and neither of the other projects came to fruition (Stewart, 1989).

The Canadian company did enjoy some success, though not in grand statuary. According to Stewart (1989), by 1887 the company had sold five hundred grave monuments across Canada. They were distributed across Ontario and are known to exist in significant quantities in New Brunswick and Nova Scotia. British Columbia and Manitoba also have White Bronze monuments, though in small numbers. It is unknown if the monuments can be found in every Canadian province, though it seems unlikely – more research is required. In 1886, the building of a distribution center in New Brunswick, to better serve the maritime provinces, was considered; however, it was never realized (Rotundo, 1989). Despite the distance some monuments travelled, nearly all White Bronze monuments in Canada were built in St. Thomas (with a very small number of exceptions to be discussed in later chapters). This monopoly was the result of "buy Canadian" legislation in place at the time and is supported by the appearance of the St. Thomas White Bronze Company's maker's mark (Figure 2.12), visible on monuments in New Brunswick and Nova Scotia (Stewart, 1989). This is indicative of the transportation power possessed by the company, as well as the agency of its producers and consumers.

Figure 2.12: St. Thomas White Bronze Company maker's mark visible on the base of an obelisk.

Although the St. Thomas-based company experienced some success, it was short-lived. By June of 1891, mounting liabilities and declining sales convinced Henry Pollock and Charles Ermatinger to liquidate all company assets. Five businessmen from the same city purchased the company and continued operations until at least 1899. By 1901, the St. Thomas White Bronze Company had ceased to exist, as its former foundry had been acquired by Erie Iron Works of St. Thomas, a producer of hardware specialties and agriculture implements (Stewart, 1989). Notably, Erie Iron Works was owned by the Risdon family, several members of which are memorialized with White Bronze monuments.

2.4 Processes of Transportation and Communication for The St. Thomas White Bronze Company

St. Thomas, Ontario now branded as “the railway city,” has been designated the Railway Capital of Canada, despite the absence of the railway industry in the city today. These monikers

refer not to contemporary reality but to its historical status as a major hub for railway activity. St. Thomas cemented its reputation as the Railway Capital of Canada during the 1860s when the Canada Southern Railway sought to connect Detroit to Fort Erie via a single rail line. St. Thomas was selected for a major station because it marked the approximate halfway point between the two cities. This led to the development of another integral line from Chicago to New York, with St. Thomas once again serving as the central hub (Brown, 2013). As Figure 2.13 shows, the city was a major railway junction. These projects spurred substantial economic expansion in the city, irrevocably shaping its industrial and cultural development. By the late 19th century, numerous lines converged in the city and upwards of 150 trains passed through daily. During its peak, over 25% of St. Thomas's working population was employed by the railway industry, exemplifying the mutual dependence between the city and the industry (Ontario Heritage Trust, n.d.). The economic success of St. Thomas came to a harsh close when the rail industry began waning in the 1940s. As people turned increasingly to automobiles, the era of the railroad came to an end (Brown, 2013).

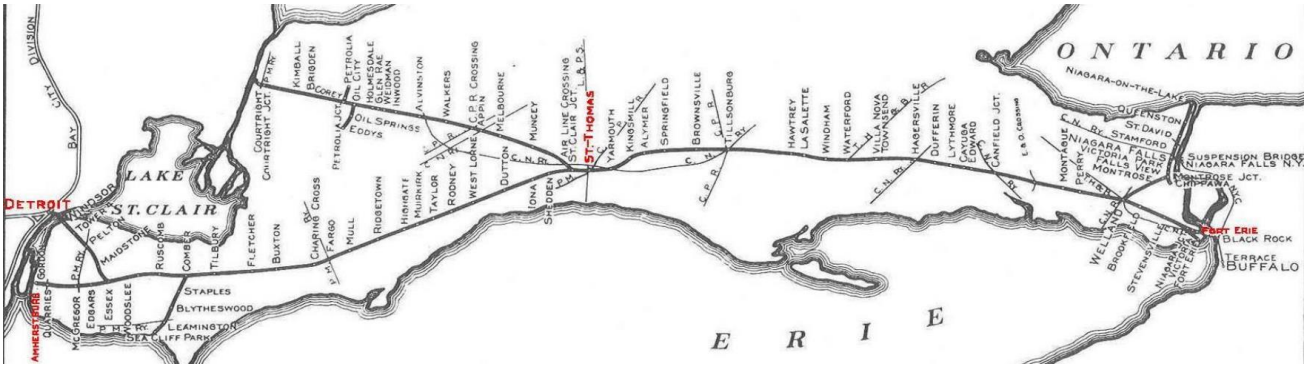


Figure 2.13: Railway network connecting with St. Thomas, Ontario (CASO Station, 2021).

Despite the eventual decline of the industry, the economic boom experienced by both the railway and the city created the conditions that enabled the St. Thomas White Bronze Company to produce and distribute its products across Canada. The integrity of the railroad to the St.

Thomas White Bronze Company is exemplified by the foundry's adjacency to a major railway artery, evidenced by Figure 2.10. Like many industrial enterprises, the company operated within a supply chain where raw materials were received, transformed into finished products and then distributed to customers. As a result, this proximity provided a twofold advantage by enabling the efficient receipt of incoming goods and the timely shipment of finished products. Notably, the Canadian company was not the only White Bronze company to base its operations around the railroad. Bridgeport, Connecticut; Detroit, Michigan and Chicago, Illinois were all major railway hubs during the era and were interconnected with one another and St. Thomas.

The St. Thomas White Bronze Company depended on the parent firm for monument casts, making regular shipments essential. In addition to importing casts, the St. Thomas company had to acquire zinc from an international source because Canada was not mining zinc at the time. Because America was mining zinc and the Monumental Bronze Company had a source for zinc ingots, it seems reasonable to suggest that the Canadian company obtained its raw material from the parent firm. These requirements, necessary for day-to-day operations, demonstrate the company's reliance on the railroad. Other modes of transportation, such as horses and carriages, could not have moved the significant quantities of material needed with the required efficiency and regularity.

Unlike other gravestone and funerary businesses of the Victorian era, the company intended for its products to be distributed nationwide rather than remain a local enterprise. Before White Bronze, all funerary businesses were run by local craftspeople who sold products within their own communities. Although there were exceptions later, such as the Sears catalogue of 1906 which mass marketed granite and marble monuments, none achieved the nationwide distribution success of the St. Thomas White Bronze Company (Sears Roebuck & Company,

1906). Even other White Bronze companies did not sell nationwide; they operated through multiple independent subsidiaries in different states rather than as a single national enterprise. Although relatively sparse, the Canadian company managed to distribute its products to at least five provinces—including British Columbia and Nova Scotia—making it a coast-to-coast phenomenon. This broad reach, achieved via the railway, underscores the transportation capabilities of the company, which set it apart from other monument and gravestone producers.

By the 1880s, the Monumental Bronze Company had made travelling sales agents an integral part of the business. The expansion of industrialization and globalization in the latter half of the 19th century allowed businesses to extend their reach beyond local communities and into national markets. Catalogue-based sales became feasible and widely implemented, driven by advancements in printing technology and the expansion of transportation networks, particularly railroads and postal services. These developments solidified the role of the travelling sales agent in many business structures and industries. Their purpose was to travel continually from region to region, communicating the existence and availability of their company's products and assisting with product orders and shipments (Spears, 1997). Despite their prevalence, their use in the funerary business was unprecedented when The Monumental Bronze Company adopted this model, a practice that was implemented by all of its subsidiaries.

Scholars echo the assumption that agents were responsible for the distribution of White Bronze products (e.g., Stewart, 1989; Rotundo, 1989). The Monumental Bronze Company catalogue of 1882 implies this dependence, suggesting that agents "show their customers the colour and finish of our work" and "be prepared to prove the correctness of engravings, at any time, when the fate of an order depends on such proof" (p. 124-126). It also promotes an "Agent's Tablet", a sample of White Bronze to show potential customers, available for $15

USD. The St. Thomas White Bronze Company did employ agents, although the number employed and the duration of their service remains uncertain. Among those recorded were W. T. Cripps and W. Scarlett (St. Thomas Daily Times, 1883f; Stewart, 1989). W. T. Cripps, a resident of St. Thomas, reportedly attended "the convention of White Bronze Monument Agents at Detroit" in August of 1883, indicating that agents were investing in the company and, presumably, exchanging strategies to enhance their collective success (St. Thomas Daily Times, 1883f). Despite this initial investment (both Cripps and Scarlett are listed as agents in census records and city directories), the companies they represented are not specified. This may be indicative of their divided loyalties. Since agents typically relied entirely on commissions and received no salary, they frequently worked for multiple companies simultaneously (Spears, 1995). This occurred because one company did not provide sufficient income, which was perhaps the case with the St. Thomas company. This interpretation is reinforced by the company's short lifespan. Even if an agent sold monuments for the life of St. Thomas company, sales declined after only ten years and ceased entirely after seventeen. The company could not offer its agents fruitful, long-term careers.

Although travelling sales agents may have been partially responsible for the White Bronze monument distribution in Canada, other forces played a role. For example, the Monumental Bronze Company catalogue was open to communicating directly with customers, streamlining distribution by eliminating the intermediary. Customers were encouraged to write the company directly for order forms, referred to as "Order Blank Contracts" (The Monumental Bronze Company, 1882). These forms directed customers on how to customize their chosen monument before sending the official monument order to the company. Once ordered, the company would ship the monument, along with "full instructions [on] how to prepare foundation

and erect the monument," (The Monumental Bronze Company, 1882). The ways in which these types of customers first came to know of White Bronze can be attributed to multiple forms of communication. The company published advertisements in newspapers and directories and of course, word-of-mouth has long been a powerful force. As people migrated, they likely brought knowledge of White Bronze monuments with them or acquired it, which will be discussed further in Chapter 5. Regardless, this forward-thinking model provided consumers with a custom, yet standardized grave monument, that reduced labour costs and facilitated shipping. They are somewhat akin to modern IKEA products. These distinctive commodities, the integration of direct customer communication, the use of sales agents, and strategic leverage of the railway system highlight the company's innovativeness and unconventional techniques for expanding its reach across Canada to create a unique archaeological distribution.

2.5 St. Thomas White Bronze Monuments as a Fashion Trend

There are many reasons why a product and a company may succeed or fail, as demonstrated by the complexity of fashion and its scholarship. The products of the White Bronze companies did not cease to be consumed because they were technologically improved upon or rendered obsolete (Rotundo, 1989). Instead, shifting consumer preferences, driven by evolving tastes and fashion trends, account for the short-lived success of the St. Thomas White Bronze Company. As Cannon (1998) indicates, fashion emerges from the assertion of self-identity and social comparison. On a psychological basis, it reflects the human desire to create a positive self-image. In societies with clearly defined class structures, positive self-identity is asserted through social hierarchy, as seen in Cannon's (1989) analysis of differentiation and emulation in Victorian cemeteries. However, consumer behaviour driven by class dynamics alone does not explain the diversity and changes in styles found in Victorian cemeteries; novelty-seeking

behaviour must be considered. Some individuals may seek to maintain or enhance their positive self-image through nonconformity, as certain people derive value from distinguishing themselves (Cannon, 1998).

As novel commodities, White Bronze monuments offered opportunities for visible distinction and consequently, an enhanced self-image. Similarly, as I will be arguing, they enabled individuals to participate in class-based displays and social positioning. This ability was particularly alluring to lower social strata. They offered height, detail and décor at a reduced price, allowing for more extravagant monuments at a lower cost than traditional monumental materials. This may explain why some consumers chose White Bronze to enhance their self-image by associating with higher social strata. By studying White Bronze consumers and their motivations, this project explores underlying factors influencing consumer behaviour.

While this project largely focuses on determining the reasons for why The St. Thomas White Bronze Company's products were accepted by specific consumers, much of the existing literature highlights their rejection by most consumers (e.g., Stewart, 1989; Rotundo, 1989). They argue that White Bronze monuments should have been popular choices for commemoration because they were exactly as the company claimed, durable and well adorned. These assumptions are flawed because they overlook the complexity of fashion, which extends beyond the prioritization of function. While function and practicality may play a role, aesthetic appeal, social signalling and cultural trends and norms are more influential in driving consumer behaviour.

White Bronze monuments were introduced into a market dominated by granite and marble. These materials were fashionable and the prevailing funerary materials of the era. They were produced by numerous manufacturers and were long-established, familiar options that were

widely recognized for their endurance. For marble, Ancient Greco-Roman statues stood as testaments to their strength and durability; for granite, Pharaonic Egyptian monumental works did much the same. This cultural association with permanence was further reinforced by the widespread influence of Neo-Classicism and Egyptomania, which reimagined ancient forms and aesthetics in ways that shaped modern funerary design (Fritze, 2016). In the 19th century, granite gained popularity in North American architecture due to its association with buildings of a great age, endurance and stability (Joyce, 2020). It was the preferred material for monuments of all kinds. Joyce (2020) points out a particularly alluring example of the power of granite in the public eye, with Daniel Webster's address concerning the opening of the Bunker Hill Monument in 1843, located in Boston, Massachusetts. He links the monument to the cemeteries and the dead, and states that the monument has the capacity for communication, which stems not from the inscription, but from the material affect, an "immortal memory" that will be conveyed "to the end of time" (Joyce, 2020, 42). The Washington Monument of 1848 is a similarly powerful example. This discourse led granite monuments to persist well into the 20th century. Even today, many cemeteries restrict purchasers to granite monuments, stating that any other material type requires too much maintenance (Hamilton Cemetery, personal communication, October 17, 2024). Despite this, White Bronze situated itself as a direct competitor. In the company's own words, their products were "beautiful in appearance and unequal in durability," (The Monumental Bronze Company, n.d.). Yet, it could not overcome the material and ideological dominance of granite in the commemorative landscape, despite certain attributes being designed to mimic them.

Ultimately, White Bronze monuments were not widely accepted as suitable memorials. Consumer behaviour led to the company's closure, despite efforts made by the producers to

prevent this. The producers used strategies like advertising to stimulate demand, but to no avail, demonstrating the power of the consumer in this context. The rejection is attributed to changing tastes and the fickleness of fashion by Rotundo (1989), Stewart (1989) and Neilson (2013). Many consumers were likely skeptical of zinc's ability to endure and associated it with the lower social classes. Ruhl's (1910) work demonstrates that zinc was not a material of the elite; as a result, individuals who may have chosen it for commemorative purposes eventually recognized that they could not derive a positive self-image via association with the upper classes and looked elsewhere. While novelty may have attracted certain individuals, as Cannon (1998) indicates, extreme non-conformity appeals only to "an extremely charismatic individual," (p. 25). Overly novel commodities risk falling out of fashion quickly, as consumers may struggle to integrate them into existing aesthetic and cultural norms, leading to its rejection in favour of more familiar alternatives (Sung *et al.*, 2016). Similarly, while many mass-produced objects were acceptable, a mass-produced gravestone was too far outside the realm of consumers' comfort and too impersonal to suitably commemorate the death of a loved one (Neilson, 2013).

Of course, two things can be true at once. As Knappett (2002) indicates, artifacts have no singular meaning; rather, dual or multiple meanings are normal and typical. This suggests that some consumers derived a positive sense of identity from White Bronze monuments because they were sufficiently novel and nonconforming. In contrast, others could not achieve this enhancement because they did not conform, which elicited discomfort. This viewpoint also indicates that artifacts exist within broad networks and are interconnected with people and other objects, just as individual agents exist as parts of larger collectivities (Knappett, 2002). These networks constantly shift, demonstrating that the meanings of artifacts change over time and take

on new interpretations; therefore, the meaning of White Bronze as a commemorative material varied among individuals, communities, and across time and space.

2.6 Skeuomorphism

In understanding the selling point and appeal of the White Bronze monuments, I argue that they are deliberately skeuomorphic in character, both with regard to their name, and their visual aesthetic. Skeuomorphism refers to "the manufacture of vessels in one material intended to evoke the appearance of vessels regularly made in another," (Vickers & Gill, 1994, 106). White Bronze emulated stone monuments, and its name evokes an inaccurate connection with bronze. The producers replicated the shape and texture (in some cases) of stone, and imitated the colour, though the match was not exact. Knappett (2002) analyzed Minoan silver and ceramic cups – where the silver cups signified the elite group's prestige and status and the ceramic cups with highly burnished slips were their skeuomorphs – to unpack the ambiguous and complex relationship between icon and index. In this context, the silver cup serves as an index because it is what the elite group 'looks like'; it is rare, valuable and expensive, qualities associated with the elite. The ceramic skeuomorph is more complex and its meaning dependent on numerous factors, since ceramic does not possess the prestigious qualities of silver. The ceramic cup attempts to access the "indexical status of the silver vessel through an exploitation of likeness and iconicity," (p. 110). The extent to which the ceramic skeuomorph functions as an index depends predominantly on how effectively it mimics the original. If it fails, the skeuomorph becomes merely an index of the emulation of elite status rather than a true index like the silver cup. This distinction reflects the relationship between White Bronze monuments and traditional stone monuments.

The limited success of White Bronze monuments can be explained when they are understood as skeuomorphs. As previously mentioned, artifacts exist in networks and frequently possess multiple meanings. They acquired different meanings depending on the agents who consumed them. Some consumers likely viewed them as a true index of the elite, while others perceived them as mere emulations of elite status. The latter perception is exemplified by Neilson's (2013) characterization of them as "cheap imitations" of stone (p. 353). In some contexts, certain individuals within specific networks at particular times accepted them as indexes, while in other instances, they were rejected due to their perceived inferiority. By examining the characteristics of those who consumed White Bronze, this thesis explores the entanglement of skeuomorphs and individual agents.

Although there is a tendency to assume that the index holds total power and complete influence over the skeuomorph, this is not always the case (Knappett, 2002). The complexity of White Bronze, as a phenomenon, cannot be reduced to a simple dichotomy of success or failure as a skeuomorph. The monuments were not simple imitations of elite status; rather, they influenced perceptions of the original elite markers and the broader elite network. For example, a White Bronze monument marks the family plot of one of the most influential families in St. Thomas, the Ermatingers. The adoption of White Bronze by such an elite family influenced the perception of what an elite monument could be within the community. In this way, skeuomorphs can alter the index of the elite by expanding, redefining or undermining traditional status markers. Of course, Charles Ermatinger, the person almost certainly responsible for erecting the monument, had a clear motivation for expanding the indexes of the elite to include White Bronze: to derive financial gain. Gell (1992) would characterize him as a "skeuomorphing

artisan," because he was responsible for the creation and distribution of White Bronze monuments in Canada.

Skeuomorphing artisans intend for their imitations to bend reality by rendering them as something that they are not. Returning to the silver versus ceramic cup example, the silver cup is an index of the elite because it is a rare, valuable and expensive – qualities that the ceramic cup lacks. Similarly, granite and marble were rarer, far more expensive and more valuable than zinc. This difference, and the skill required by the skeuomorphing artisan to establish their creations as indexes, is further exemplified by the production process. White Bronze monuments and traditional stone monuments were created in distinct environments, stone-cutting workshops or monument yards versus a foundry; they were crafted through different processes, by hand versus a mass-produced mould; and shaped by different craftspeople, specialized stone masons versus foundry workers. All of these factors are perfectly conspicuous in the finished product, rendering them what Knappett (2002) calls "honest skeuomorphs," despite the name, which is arguably an outright lie as it conceals the true material. Because they are honest, they function through an iconic relationship to the 'original'. This contrasts with deceptive skeuomorphs, which attempt to erase their origins altogether (Conneller, 2013). Subsequently, the shortcomings of White Bronze, from the perspective of those who rejected them, can be tied to several factors, including their "honest" nature. Their candid replication of elite originals drew attention to the fact that they were emulations. They failed to mimic elite craftsmanship and exhibited a mismatch in material. For example, many White Bronze monuments have faux stone bases, as shown in Figure 2.14. They were clearly not manufactured from stone and yet replicated the texture. As a result of these factors, they were rendered as mere representations of elite status. Despite their honest imitation of elite aesthetics, their failure to capture the superior craftsmanship and

material exclusivity of traditional monuments rendered them unacceptable as true markers of elite status and led to their rejection.

Figure 2.14: White Bronze base, the texture of which mimics stone.

Chapter 3 Methods

Agency primarily exists in relationships – between individuals and between individuals and objects. It is, as a result, something that cannot be usefully conceived of without individuals (Knapp, 2010). By centering on material culture, this study necessarily explores people's relationships with artifacts and how materiality contributes to identity construction and expressions of individual agency. Here, materiality refers to the "thingness of things" and their impact or agency with regard to people's lives and thoughts (Tilley, 2007). These lines of inquiry converge to examine agency and social identity at the moment of death, which Fowler (2013) identifies as a critical juncture where people and communities must define and negotiate identity. As outlined in Chapter 1, identities are complex, dynamic and multiple, invoked for diverse reasons in different contexts over the course of a lifetime. With this complexity in mind, the methodologies employed by this research integrate qualitative and quantitative approaches to analyze the identity and agency of those producing and consuming White Bronze monuments as expressed through the monuments themselves. Census records and epitaphs on monuments served as rigid historical references, providing specific aspects of identity such as names, dates of birth and death, ages, sexes, religions and occupations. Theoretical considerations of fashion further informed the understanding of those who produced and selected these monuments, positioning them as innovative and forward-thinking (Rotundo, 1989). This research draws upon methods developed by Aubrey Cannon, who supervised this project, as well as methods used in other student projects he has supervised (e.g., Thacher, 2024).

A total of 222 White Bronze monuments spread across 84 cemeteries were analyzed to achieve the objectives outlined above. Twenty cemeteries within St. Thomas and the surrounding rural area were selected because of their proximity to the St. Thomas White Bronze Company foundry. These 20 cemeteries contained 57 White Bronze monuments. From this point forward, this area will be referred to as the locus, as it represents both the origin and the most concentrated presence of White Bronze. The other 165 monuments came from cemeteries beyond this proximal zone, including locations in Ontario, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Manitoba and British Columbia. The selection of monuments in St. Thomas and its surrounding rural area, situated no more than 30 kilometres from the foundry, was presumed to have been influenced by direct local exposure to the monument producers. A sample of 57 monuments constructed of commonly used materials (primarily granite, marble and sandstone) was selected from the same 20 cemeteries to ascertain the specific social and demographic characteristics of those that selected White Bronze.

Another 77 White Bronze monuments from further afield within Ontario were identified and incorporated into this study. These monuments represent a geographic spread across Ontario from Windsor, near the border of Canada and the United States, to Sudbury in Northern Ontario. This distribution covers approximately 500 kilometres as the crow flies and over 700 km in travel distance by road and/or rail. The remaining 88 White Bronze monuments were from other provinces – namely, British Columbia, Manitoba, New Brunswick and Nova Scotia.

The Ontario cemeteries included in this study were selected based on the author's travel and proximity; they were visited in person, with their monuments photographed and recorded. With no surviving business or sales records, the locations of the monuments can only be ascertained through on-the-ground visits and observation. Fieldwork was necessary, though other

individuals' observations, recorded on various online forums, were employed as well. Given the distinctive nature of White Bronze monuments, I relied exclusively on visual recognition. To limit missing smaller, less conspicuous monuments, such as footstones and planters, I walked each row of monuments within the cemeteries.

The cemeteries with White Bronze monuments varied widely – from rural to urban, from sectarian to public and in size (from containing less than 50 memorials to over 15,000). This variability in cemetery landscapes highlights the diversity of the spaces in which White Bronze was consumed and integrated. It also underscores the strength of the sampling method, as it provides a broad and representative cross-section of the monument's use across different social, cultural, and geographic contexts. Travelling to view cemeteries not only allowed for the integration of many different landscapes into one study but also enabled the observation of unique phenomena relevant to this project. For example, while travelling in Parry Sound, I encountered a small but unexpected cluster of White Bronze monuments. Lakeview Cemetery, Hillcrest Cemetery, Fairholme Cemetery, and Maple Island Cemetery, located in the rural district of Parry Sound, contain disproportionately high numbers of White Bronze monuments relative to their total number of memorials, their distance from the foundry and the estimated national distribution of the monument type, which was about 500 according to Stewart (1989). Lakeview Cemetery has fewer than 200 monuments, six of which are White Bronze. This distinctive concentration is particularly notable when compared to Mount Pleasant Cemetery in Toronto, which has five White Bronze monuments out of a total of at least 200,000 monuments. This variability underscores the value of studying a diverse range of cemeteries and regions as material culture evidently does not spread uniformly from its point of origin (cf. Deetz & Dethlefsen, 1965).

Constructing the sample of White Bronze monuments from outside Ontario necessitated a somewhat different approach. Since visiting other provinces was not within the scope of this project, I had to rely on alternative methods. Fortunately, a community of passionate amateur historians, with an interest in zinc monuments, filled this research gap. Their interest and efforts to study this type of monument have led to the creation of Facebook groups (e.g., https://www.facebook.com/share/g/1GQcCo3cCz/) and Flickr accounts (e.g., https://flic.kr/s/aHsk1yguun) that feature photographs and information on White Bronze monuments. The information from these sources was supported by records from Find a Grave.

Find a Grave is an online database containing over 250 million memorial records. Volunteers contribute information such as photos of headstones, transcribed inscriptions, and obituaries. To create a comparative sample, one non-White Bronze monument was selected for each White Bronze monument in the same cemetery and from the same era. For example, if four White Bronze monuments were found in a cemetery, four traditional monuments from 1870 to 1910 were also included. This ensured both spatial and temporal consistency, meaning all monuments came from the same place and time period. Focusing on the same era was important to ensure that traditional monuments represented alternative choices made under similar historical and social conditions. To avoid selection bias, traditional monuments were chosen based on alphabetical order. For the non-White Bronze sample, the surname immediately following that of the individual on the White Bronze monument was selected. This method ensured a consistent and impartial selection process.

A total of 279 grave monuments, spanning across Canada, were catalogued. The recorded information included the cemetery names, locations, approximate total number of monuments and total number of White Bronze monuments. A complete list of cemeteries can be found in

Appendix A. For each monument, the style, height range, year of erection and number of individuals commemorated on it were catalogued (see Appendix B).

The monuments were subdivided into eight stylistic categories: (1) horizontal – monuments that remain at ground level, such as planters and footstones; (2) single-front headstones – headstones with inscriptions on only one side; (3) double-front headstones – headstones with inscriptions on both sides; (4) small obelisks/columns – vertical, four-sided monuments less than five feet tall; (5) medium obelisks/columns – vertical, four-sided monuments between five and eight feet tall; (6) large obelisks/columns – vertical, four-sided monuments over eight feet tall; (7) effigies – monuments whose primary structure consists of a human effigy, such as angels and cherubs; and (8) other – monuments that do not fit within any of the aforementioned categories. See Figure 3.1 for visual examples of these types. Notably, this classification system also reflects the relative cost of White Bronze monuments, with category (1) representing the least expensive and (7) the most, though there is some overlap and variation between the categories. See Table 1 for more details. These categories were primarily based on the titles ascribed by the Monumental Bronze Company to its products, although they were applicable to other monument types (Monumental Bronze Company, 1882). This classification system was implemented to discern which monuments were most popular, as well as to inform analyses concerning variation in consumption between and within geographic regions and social groups. For example, this analysis explores whether members of upper socioeconomic classes were more likely to commission larger, more expensive monuments or if such monuments were accessible to a broader range of social groups.

For both the White Bronze and traditional monument samples, the primary individual being commemorated was identified and recorded. See Appendix C for the results. When

multiple names appeared on a monument, the primary commemoration was usually the name at the top (on headstones) or on the front (on vertical monuments). If there was no clear front – such as on some White Bronze obelisks – the primary individual was identified as the one who died in the same year or an immediate subsequent one, as the decorative vine-like numerals. The vine-like numerals, which are large, stylized numerals, frequently cast on White Bronze monuments, denote the year of the monument's erection (Figure 3.2) (Stewart, 1989). The term "primary commemoration" refers to the individual for whom the monument was originally erected, thereby revealing the family's memorial priorities. This designation is central to the study, as it identifies the person for whom the monument was chosen, which directly corresponds with and informs who selected the monument. Although concerns have been raised about determining primary commemoration in the absence of burial records (Tarlow, 1999), this approach was necessary for assessing individuals and their characteristics.

Monument Type	Least Expensive (USD in 1882)	Most Expensive (USD in 1882)
Horizontal	4	unknown
Single-front headstone	6	16
Double-front headstone	17	49
Small vertical	35	64
Medium vertical	76	121
Large vertical	144	800
Effigy	75	700
Other	30	unknown

Table 1: White Bronze monument expense by type with least expensive option and most expensive option (based on Monument Bronze Company Catalogue of 1882).

Figure 3.1: Styles of White Bronze. A) horizontal type located in St. Thomas Cemetery; B) single-front headstone located in Cowal McBridge Cemetery; C) double-front headstone located in Cowal McBridge Cemetery; D) vertical monument located in Fingal Cemetery; E) effigy type located in St. Thomas Cemetery; F) other type located in Amherst Cemetery. Images B-E courtesy of Jan Row/Impala Image Works.

The recorded data for the primary commemoration included their name, birth date, death date, age, and sex. The monuments themselves provided the names and, in most cases, death dates and ages. Census and death records supplied the remaining required information. Age ranges were developed, due to the size of the sample. These ranges were designed to reflect socially meaningful and culturally recognized life stages, incorporating both social and biological age considerations. The ranges were as follows: 0-2 years for infants, 3-12 for

children, 13-19 for adolescents, 20-29 for adults in their twenties, 30-39 for adults in their thirties, and so on, with the final category encompassing individuals aged 80 and above, considered to be the very old. My analysis primarily focuses on only two age categories – children and adults aged 19 and older. These age-based distinctions were undeniably meaningful in 19th century Canadian mortuary contexts and are therefore appropriate for this study (Thacher, 2024).

Figure 3.2: Vine-like numerals commonly found on White Bronze monuments. Image courtesy of Jan Row/Impala Image Works.

This project focuses on the individuals selecting White Bronze, not just the deceased commemorated by them. As a result, further analysis was required to determine who was most likely to select the monument on behalf of the deceased, as well as to determine this group's social characteristics and identities (see Appendix D for the results). For example, a married person's monument was generally chosen by their spouse. Using historical records, the spouse of the deceased person, at the time of their death, was analyzed. If the individual commemorated was widowed and had not remarried, it was assumed that their children purchased the monument. If the deceased was a child, it was assumed that their parents made the commemorative choice. If

both parents were alive, it was assumed that they both played a role in making choices, as it is a fallacy that men were more commonly making these kinds of choices simply because they were predominantly responsible for the household's income (Cannon, 2005). If the deceased person was a young, unmarried adult (e.g., between the ages of 20 and 29), their parents likely made the commemorative choices and were treated as the monument selectors. Although there were exceptions, these were noted and recorded appropriately. These exceptions arose in cases where inscriptions on monuments specified who erected it and for whom, though many of these instances served to confirm who the individual selecting the monument was (e.g., "erected by his affectionate wife"). The monument of James H. Leach was an exception. He died at the age of 28 and is commemorated by a White Bronze monument which was "erected by his sister," according to an inscription on the monument (Figure 3.3). His sister was, therefore, assumed to be the decision-maker in this study. Similarly, two monuments were erected by fraternal organizations for deceased members and were treated accordingly. Overall, White Bronze has several characteristics that facilitate determining primary commemoration and the individual responsible for selecting the monument. The name, sex, age, occupation and socioeconomic class of the selector were determined and recorded. See Appendix D for the results.

Deciphering the social class of people in the past is complex; there are considerable dangers, not least of which is imposing modern assumptions about where any particular form of work fits within a hierarchy. Fortunately, there are ways to address these challenges and ample reason for doing so. Socioeconomic circumstances significantly shaped individuals' experiences, identities and social interactions. This study adopts the framework used by Thacher (2024), which expands on Cannon's (1986) work. The model classifies individuals into a five-tiered socioeconomic system, where placement is determined by the economic and social prestige

typically associated with their occupation. It is, importantly, tailored to the context of the 19th century. The tiers are as follows: (1) lower class – labourers and other unskilled workers employed by others; (2) lower-middle class – semi-skilled labourers, tradespeople, general servants and others who required some degree of training but did not operate their own businesses; (3) middle class – innkeepers, publicans, shopkeepers, and others who owned businesses and/or required some level of training; (4) upper middle class – landowners, proprietors, master tradespeople, and others who managed people and required a higher level of training; and (5) elite class – nobility, clergymen, and others who oversaw large-scale enterprises and/or had received formal education.

Figure 3.3: Monument dedicated to James H. Leach that was erected by his sister, located in Lakeview Cemetery.

There are specific challenges with categorizing farmers within a socioeconomic framework due to the wide variation in their work and the prestige associated with it. Thacher (2024) addressed this issue by categorizing farmers based on acreage owned, which creates a meaningful distinction. I adopted this method; however, some minor adjustments were required to account for the differences between land ownership in England and Canada. As land was being granted to individuals by the Canadian government into the 20th century, more acreage was

typically owned by Canadian farmers. The acreage to socioeconomic status was adjusted to reflect this. Farmers with less than 100 acres or acreage on undesirable land were classified as lower-middle, farmers with 100 to 300 acres were classified as middle and farmers with more than 300 acres were classified as upper-middle. If no acreage was owned, it was assumed that the farmers were lower-middle class.

Determining the amount of acreage owned by farmers proved challenging. Canadian census records, unlike English census records (as Thacher's work notes), do not indicate acreage or make any distinction between farmers. As a result, other historical records were consulted to compensate for this gap. The Canadian County Atlas Digital Project, developed by McGill University, was used as a supplementary source because it records the amount of acreage owned by individuals (https://digital.library.mcgill.ca/countyatlas/search.htm). The project created a searchable database of property owners' names from 19th century county atlases and township maps. This enables researchers to search for individuals, determine where their owned land was, as well as its size. As a result, the amount of acreage farmers owned can be determined through the digitized maps and records to effectively assign their socioeconomic status.

An additional difficulty pertaining to farmers and socioeconomic class was the result of the wide spatial coverage of this project. Land in southwestern Ontario, especially, was considerably more valuable than land in more northern Ontario, such as the Parry Sound district and Sudbury. The area of Parry Sound was not settled until the 1870s and land grants from the Canadian government were still being issued into the 1880s because the land was relatively undesirable (Mackey, 2000). Subsequently, farmers with acreage in this area owned significantly less valuable land than those in southern Ontario, which underscores an issue with generalizing farmers in this model and the need to account for spatial difference. Similarly, farmland in Nova

Scotia and New Brunswick was significantly less valuable than farmland in Southwestern Ontario. In 1921, an acre of farmland in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick was, on average, worth $23 CAD, while an acre of farmland in Ontario was worth approximately $57 CAD and thus 148% more (Government of Canada, 2025). To this end, the geographic location of a farmer's acreage was taken into account when assigning them to the five-tiered socioeconomic system. If the farmer owned farmland of little value, his acreage owned was considered irrelevant and was not recorded. If no record of a farmer's acreage could be found, he was assumed to be lower-middle socioeconomic class.

Another key aspect of this study was the use of historical records to examine patterns of migration and familial connections across regions. Census records and immigration documents such as passenger arrival manifests and border crossing records were used. The primary goal of this was to look for connections to St. Thomas, Ontario. Individuals beyond the locus who purchased White Bronze had sufficient knowledge about the company and its products to acquire one. The mechanisms for this knowledge are largely unknown. As aforementioned, previous research has overstated the role of travelling sales agents and published advertisements in the dispersal of White Bronze. Though the company did advertise in print, it is unlikely that they were targeting small rural communities; thus, their presence in these areas cannot be explained by the company's advertising practices. Similarly, travelling sales agents do not explain their movement to these areas as it seems unlikely that they were travelling to sparsely populated areas to make sales. Instead, their spread is better explained by migration and family connections. To explain this phenomenon, I analyzed records for evidence of migration to or from St. Thomas and its surrounding region, as well as family ties to the area.

By combining visual observation, historical records, and socioeconomic frameworks, this research highlights the complexity of identity construction at the moment of death and reveals patterns in primary commemoration and monument selection. The sampling methods ensure a broad representation of monument types and cemetery landscapes, enabling examination of White Bronze memorials and monument consumption across time and space. It adds nuance to discussions of fashion and material dissemination by acknowledging and contributing to research surrounding the influence of social connections, economic factors, and familial networks on product consumption.

Chapter 4 Results and Discussion

4.1 The White Bronze Monument Locus

4.1.1 Results

Fifty-seven White Bronze monuments make up the sample for the locus, which refers to the area including and surrounding St. Thomas, Ontario, as it is the point of origin of Canadian White Bronze. An additional 57 non-White Bronze monuments are included in this analysis to serve as a comparative sample. In the first year of the St. Thomas White Bronze Company, 1883, at least fourteen monuments were erected in the locus. This was the most of any year, as is demonstrated by Figure 4.1. Following this, there were some proportionately successful years from 1884 until 1889. This rate of consumption is largely in line with the belief of Stewart (1989) and Rotundo (1989) who explain that the monument type had peaked in popularity by 1887 and began to decline in consumption very shortly and rapidly thereafter. By 1889, there is a decrease, with zero monuments erected in 1892. Some were sporadically erected between 1892 and 1901.

In the locus, all known Canadian monument types were consumed, though the most popular were vertical monuments. Figure 4.1 shows that 42 of 57 monuments were vertical, 40 of which were obelisks, two were columns. Medium and large vertical monuments were the most common. Following vertical monuments, smaller monument types such as single-front headstones, double-front headstones and horizontal types were the most frequently selected,

though at a considerably lower rate. The locus area shows a clear preference for height in their White Bronze monuments.

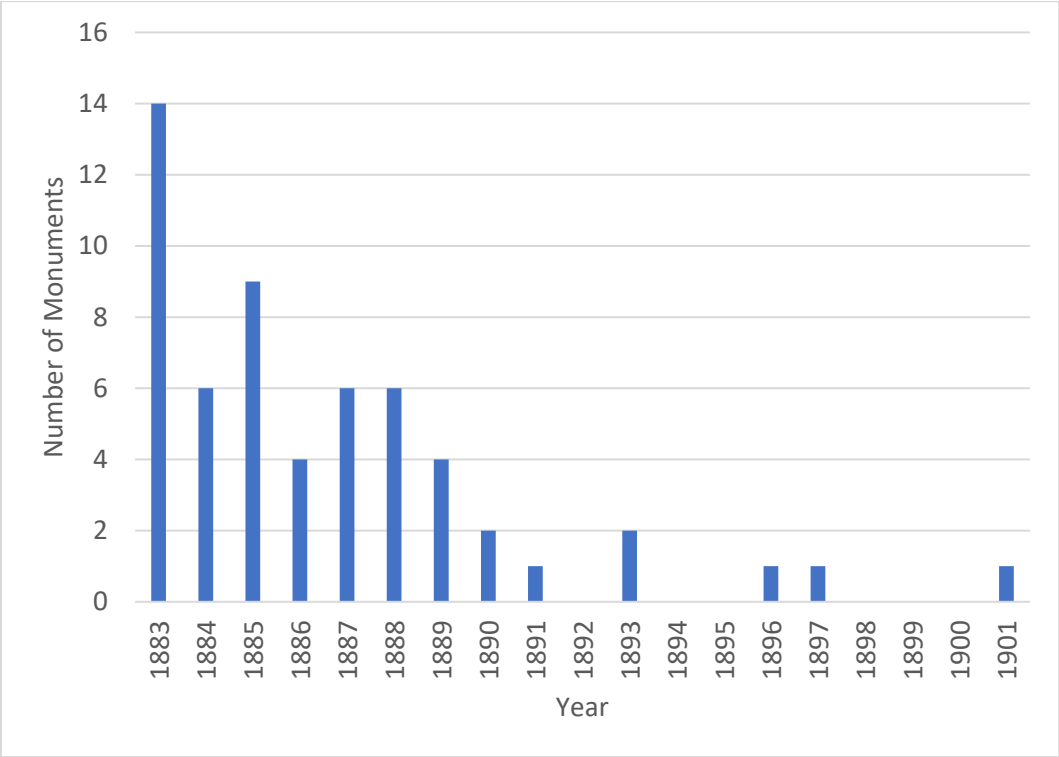


Figure 4.1: White Bronze monument erection date by year in the locus (n=57).

Only one effigy type was erected in the locus, and it was to commemorate the son of Henry B. Pollock, President of the St. Thomas subsidiary. Charles Ermatinger, Vice-President, also had a White Bronze monument made for deceased relatives. Commemorated on a large obelisk are his parents and two siblings. Both appear to have been erected in 1883. The individuals commemorated died prior to 1883 and it follows that Pollock and Ermatinger would have been motivated, and had the means, to erect White Bronze monuments once they became available. They do not appear to have erected more than one each and neither has a White Bronze dedicated to their own memory, which is easily explained by their deaths having taken place after the closure of the St. Thomas Company.

Of the 57 White Bronze monuments in the locus area, 22 were erected for females and 35 for males (Figure 4.2). In comparison, the non-White Bronze sample comprises 40 monuments erected for males and 17 for females. Males were consistently having monuments erected for them more frequently than females, though there is minimal evidence for a sex-based difference in who was being commemorated by White Bronze and who was not. The sample size is too

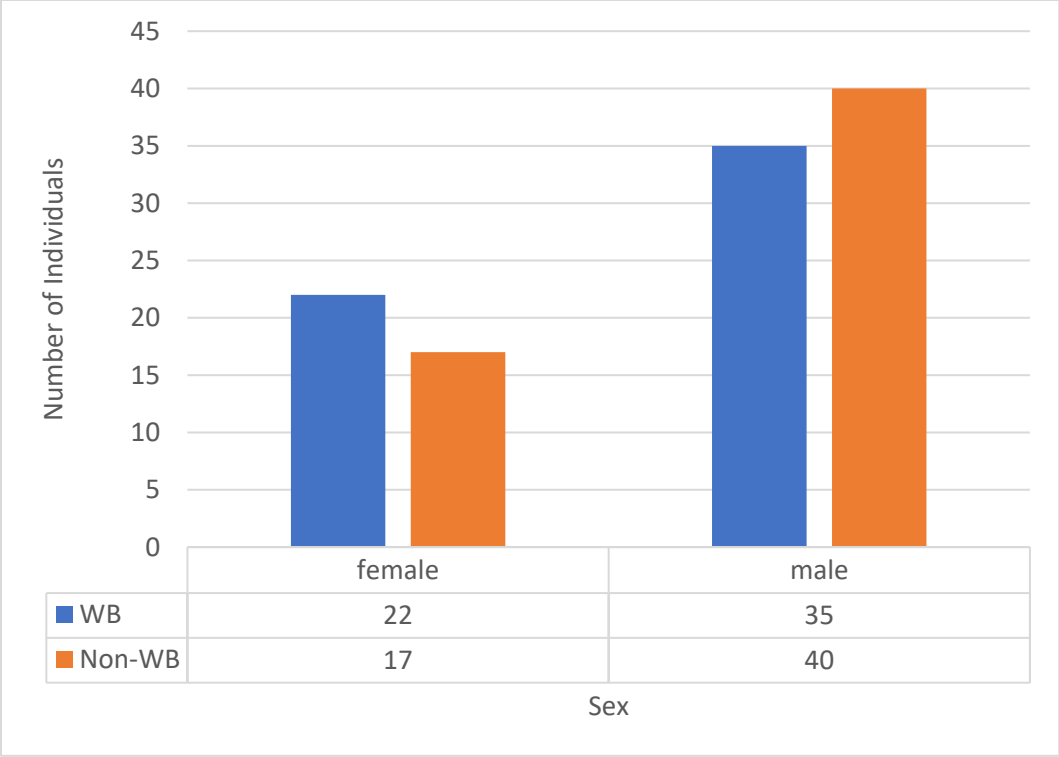


Figure 4.2: Sex of deceased individuals commemorated (n=114). (WB = White Bronze; Non-WB = Non-White Bronze).

small to suggest any significant difference. Other differences in the social characteristics of the deceased, between those commemorated by White Bronze and non-White Bronze monuments, were explored. Figure 4.3 shows that age was not an influential factor; all age ranges were commemorated by White Bronze with none being particularly likely or unlikely to have one selected for them. Notably, there is some observable difference in age between White Bronze and non-White Bronze when the average age of the deceased is taken into account. The average

age of the deceased commemorated by a White Bronze was 48.8 years. For non-White Bronze, the average age was 58.1, a difference of nearly 10 years. Due to the small sample size and the lack of observable trends, the data were not analyzed further. Following analyses of the deceased individuals, the individuals responsible for selecting the monuments were considered.

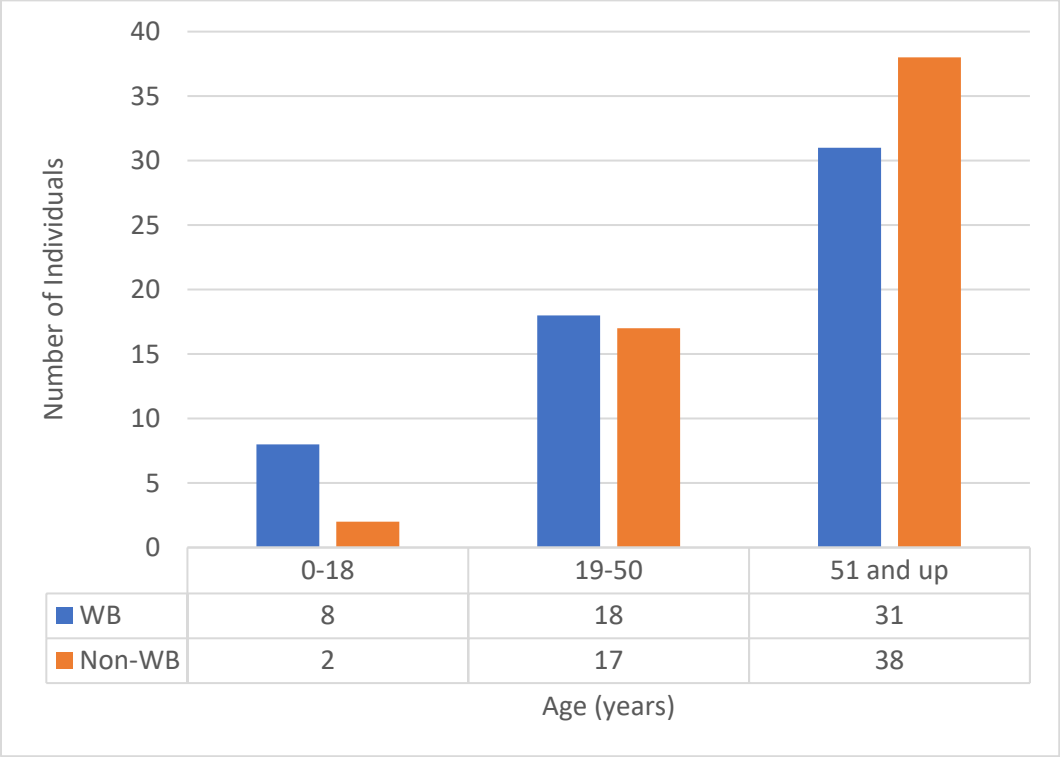


Figure 4.3: Age of deceased individuals (n=114). (WB = White Bronze; Non-WB = Non-White Bronze).

Figure 4.4 shows that the individual choosing the monument was most commonly a woman, for White Bronze and non-White Bronze, but no sex was more or less likely to consume White Bronze. Similarly, no age category was particularly accepting of or rejecting of White Bronze (Figure 4.5). The sole social characteristic that demonstrates a clear trend is socioeconomic class, as shown in Figure 4.6. Amongst the lower social strata, White Bronze was less likely to be chosen. The middle class demonstrates no particular preference, while the upper-middle and elite class more often chose White Bronze.

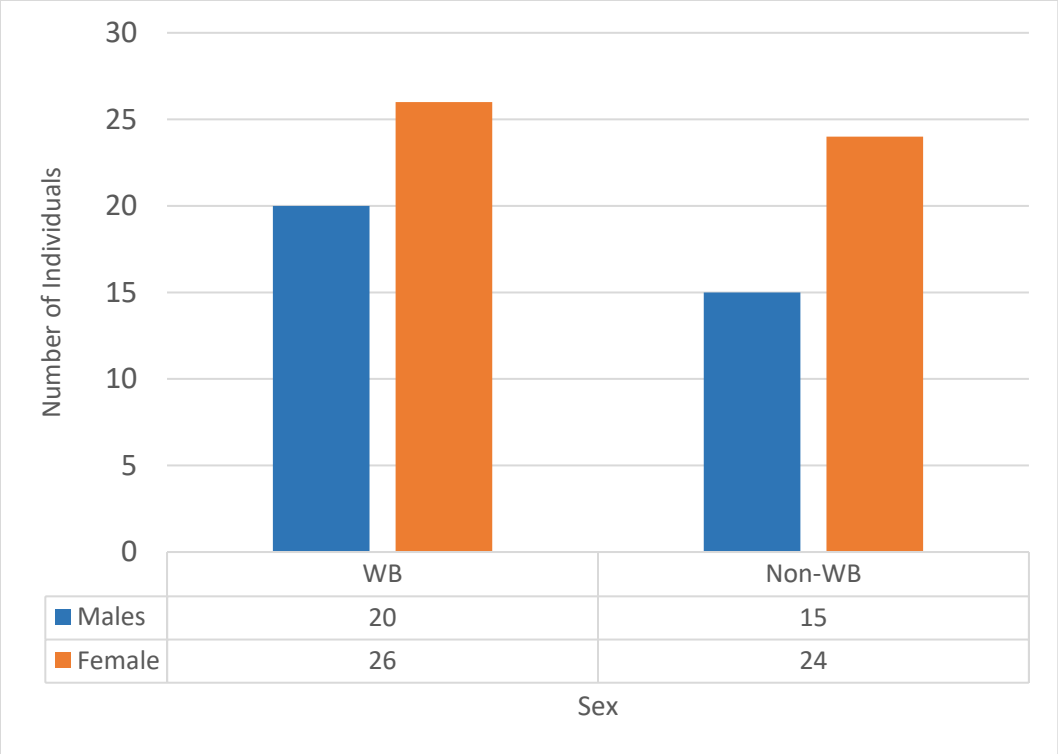


Figure 4.4: Sex of individuals selecting the monument (n=85). (WB = White Bronze; Non-WB = Non-White Bronze).

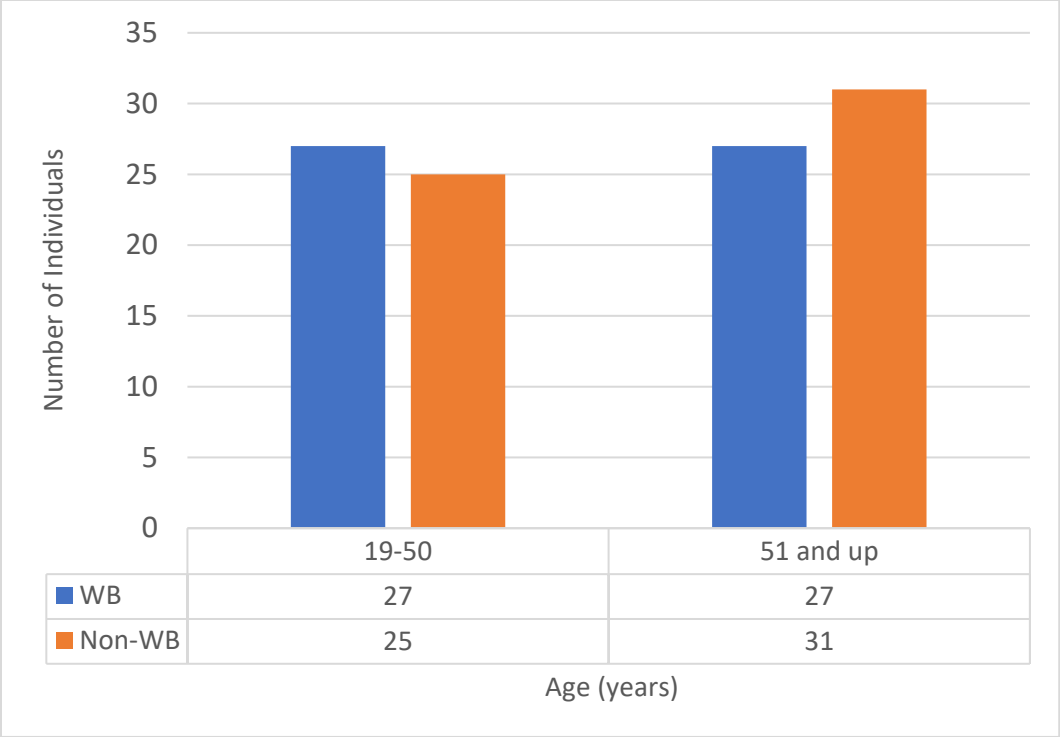


Figure 4.5: Age of individuals selecting the monument (n=110). (WB = White Bronze; Non-WB = Non-White Bronze).

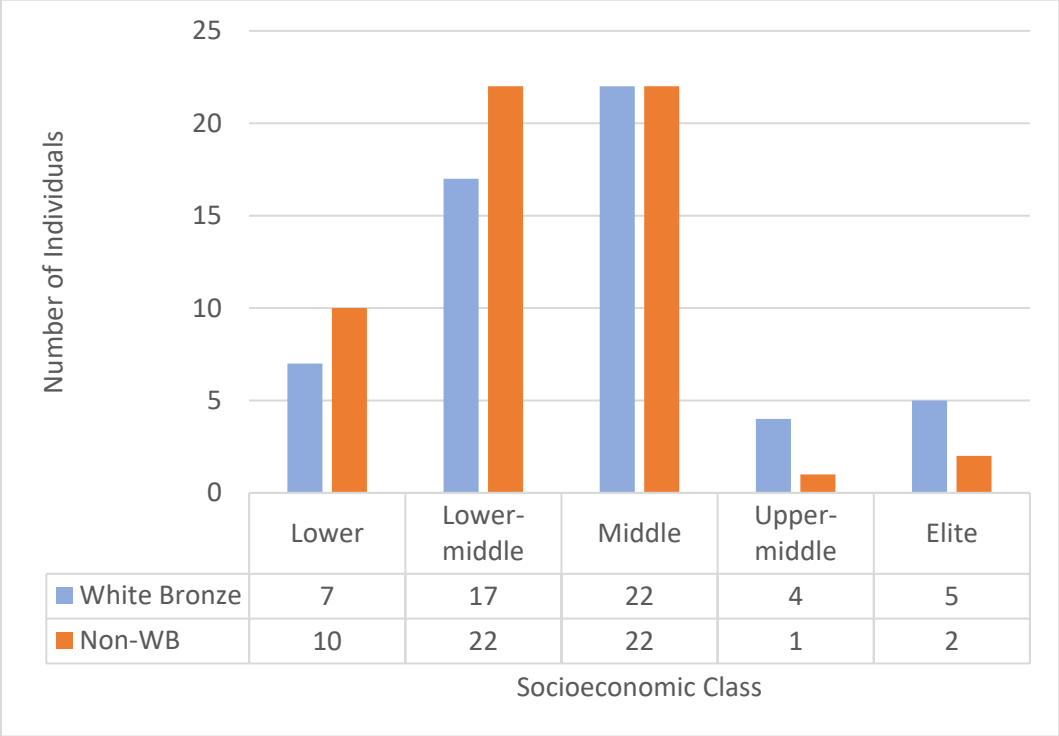


Figure 4.6: Socioeconomic class of individuals selecting the monument (n=112). (WB = White Bronze; Non-WB = Non-White Bronze).

4.1.2 Discussion

The White Bronze monument phenomenon emerged over a short period of time and was driven by a relatively small group of people. Despite its small scale, it altered consumer behaviour, left a visible impact on memorial landscapes and continues to draw public attention (e.g., https://www.flickr.com/groups/whitebronze/). The St. Thomas White Bronze Company's first year of operation, 1883, was key in bringing about these developments. Locally, it marked the company's most successful year with more monuments erected than in any subsequent year. Although two of fourteen monuments erected in 1883 were commissioned by executive officers of the company, for purposes related to marketing as much as commemoration, the remaining twelve were purchased by members of the public and placed in a variety of cemeteries across the area. This distribution demonstrates both the effective dissemination of product knowledge and the readiness of certain individuals to adopt new commodities. Several factors contributed to this early adoption and success.

The St. Thomas Daily Times played a significant role in shaping public awareness and attitudes towards White Bronze. Prior to and following the factory's opening, it regularly reported on the St. Thomas White Bronze Company's status, its leadership and its operations. As the city's primary news outlet, the newspaper granted widespread visibility. Residents consequently knew where and how to obtain a White Bronze monument before they had even reached the market; however, the media coverage of White Bronze and its producers was not limited to such pragmatic details. The newspaper marketed it, portraying it as a scientific advancement and something of local significance. *The St. Thomas Daily Times* described the company and its products as "a step in the right direction; it brings to St. Thomas an industry, the first of its kind to be established in Canada," (1883g). This narrative suggested that civic pride

and public interest were appropriate responses to the emerging industry, and by emphasizing its technological novelty, it framed White Bronze as both innovative and emblematic of progress. It is unclear whether or not the St. Thomas White Bronze Company paid for these specific endorsements, though it did engage in paid advertising (Stewart, 1989).

Novelty seeking is a fundamental aspect of consumer behaviour. While individual personalities and social contexts influence who, when, and what novel products are adopted, there is an inherent willingness to do so (Hirschman, 1980). This inclination is evident amongst White Bronze monuments in the locus area, as its first year was the peak year for local consumption. The relatively rapid uptake of White Bronze also reflects the social opportunities that early adoption afforded consumers. Being among the first to acquire and display a novel product carries symbolic value and affords social capital. It signals exclusivity, cultural awareness, and a position at the forefront of style (Courvisanos, 2007). As the material became more common and entered the mainstream, the social capital it once conferred began to fade, explaining the lessening of local consumption in the years following 1883. Despite this, their innovation was carefully situated within tradition. The company produced monuments that emulated the already established fashion trends of the time. As a result, they were initially sufficiently new and novel enough to evoke excitement, yet familiar enough to avoid immediate and outright rejection.

The St. Thomas Daily Times contributed to White Bronze's association with high-status individuals. Sir Hector Langevin, a nationally known and prominent member of parliament from 1856 until 1896, and Charles Ermatinger, part of a locally influential family involved in prominent businesses and active in municipal and provincial courts and politics, were both affiliated with the St. Thomas White Bronze Company. Their involvement lent the company

prestige and authority through association with well-known, affluent figures. Similarly, the media aligned the company with high-status and prestigious building projects like the proposed Jumbo monument and fountain for the city of Guelph, which contributed to its positive identity amongst the public (e.g., The St. Thomas Daily Times, 1883b). This social alignment enhanced the appeal of White Bronze, as they offered consumers an opportunity to participate in the status and sophistication such figures and projects signified.

Due to the foundry's proximity to consumers of the area, transportation was almost certainly clear and straightforward. The cemetery with the largest collection of White Bronze, at twenty-two, was less than 3 kilometres travel distance from the foundry. As a result, monument delivery by horse and carriage would have been both quick and easy. The foundry's proximity to a rail line also simplified transportation to cemeteries further afield, such as those beyond city limits. Consumers could have one shipped via horse and carriage or train; in either case, travel time would have been limited to a few hours and required minimal coordination from a shipping or traveling sales agent. The lightness of the monuments, though unlikely to be influential in their rate of consumption, facilitated transportation. White Bronze monuments were hollow, and small types, like headstones and small vertical forms, are easily moved singlehandedly. By comparison, granite and marble monuments, even small ones, typically weigh at least 100 kilograms with large ones commonly exceeding 500 kilograms (U.S. Department of Veterans Affairs, 2024).

A variety of monument types were purchased in the locus, though obelisks emerged as the most popular form. This preference reflects a deliberate and strategic form of social alignment exercised by consumers. The appeal of obelisks stems from their ostentation (tempered by conformity in that they fit within the already established fashion trend of the era),

relative affordability and association with members of the upper social classes. During the Victorian era, the popularity of obelisks as grave monuments reflected a broader cultural fascination with ancient Egypt, sometimes referred to as “Egyptomania”, which influenced funerary and architectural aesthetics, among others (Fritze, 2016). At the same time, ostentatious and elaborate mortuary practice was highly sought after because it presented an opportunity for social advancement. Individuals, especially those of the lower and middle classes, would endure financial hardship to ensure provision of sufficient funds for an adequately elaborate funerary display, in order to achieve status aspirations denied them in life (Chadwick, 1843 as cited in Cannon, 1989). White Bronze, being a less expensive alternative to other monument material types, enabled customers to create grand displays at a significantly reduced price. This is worth noting because, though members of the upper socioeconomic strata were predominantly purchasing the White Bronze monuments found in this area, they were accessible to other social strata. Vertical White Bronze forms, especially obelisks, were preferred due to their height and capacity for ornamentation. Horizontal and headstone types, by comparison, lacked the visual impact necessary for conspicuous display and were therefore less popular. Other, more unusual White Bronze forms were equally ostentatious but diverged too far from conventional norms. As Cannon (1998) notes, excessive non-conformity often invites negative self-images and social judgement. Obelisks, by contrast, adhered to established aesthetic trends in shape, offering consumers a way to participate in fashionable, status-signaling consumption without risking social disapproval. They struck the balance between novelty and conformity.

Charles Ermatinger demonstrated this preference for obelisks and ostentation in his selection of a large White Bronze obelisk for the Ermatinger family plot. The monument commemorates his parents. Notably, both had died prior to 1883 and were already memorialized

by existing monuments. The addition of White Bronze, then, was motivated less by commemorative necessity than by promotional intent. During the Victorian era, cemeteries were commonly used civic spaces and, as Streb, Kolnberger and Kmec (2019) point out, pre-existing monuments act as "silent advertisements" for potential consumers (p. 337). By adding a White Bronze monument to the landscape, Ermatinger advertised his products, familiarized cemetery visitors with the new material and worked to normalize and legitimize its presence within the space.

Ermatinger's promotional act reinforced the notion that they were monuments of status, fit for the bourgeoisie. Both of his parents were firmly members of the social elite. His mother, Achsah Burnham, was the daughter of Zacheus Burnham who was Justice of the Peace, a judge and wealthy merchant; his father, Edward Ermatinger, was the founder of The Bank of the County of Elgin and, similarly, a judge and wealthy merchant. His decision may have been a deliberate effort to counter the perception of White Bronze as unsuitable for the socially prominent, particularly given its affordability. For example, Rotundo (1989) claimed that they were perceived merely as cheap imitations of stone. As Veblen (1899) argues, the elite often engage in conspicuous consumption to maintain social distinction, and Ermatinger's endorsement of a more affordable material risks undermining the exclusivity that typically defines elite taste. Furthermore, his choice reflects full confidence in his product. Selecting the material for something as deeply personal and symbolically loaded as his parents' memorial demonstrates trust in quality, durability, and aesthetic value. In this context, the monument operates not only as a tribute, but as a strategic piece of commercial advocacy; it was a public demonstration designed to elevate the material's status, align it with elite taste and advertise its legitimacy to potential consumers through the authority of personal endorsement.

The influence of key individuals helps explain broader patterns in the demographics of White Bronze consumption, particularly the tendency for younger, male consumers to adopt the material. Younger people tended to purchase White Bronze because of an influence from the fashion suppliers and leaders of the phenomenon – roles that were occupied by the same individuals. As Cannon (1998) emphasizes, fashion suppliers attempt to generate opportunities for change and seek to create fashion leaders, in order to influence consumer preferences. They manipulate circumstances and engage in the fashion process in an attempt to control outcomes for personal gain. In the case of White Bronze, Ermatinger and Pollock were the fashion suppliers who sought to influence consumer behaviour. To do so, they adopted the roles of fashion leaders. Ermatinger and Pollock erected White Bronze monuments within the company's first year of operation to be silent advertisements in St. Thomas cemeteries. By doing so, they situated themselves as fashion leaders and actively attempted to steer stylistic preferences and consumption within the cemetery landscape (Cannon, 1998). This was, of course, for purposes related to personal financial and social gain resulting from increasing visibility and popularity.

At the inception of the company, Ermatinger was 31 and Pollock was 47. This places both men as younger consumers, if only slightly. They were also both men, and it was men who tended to choose White Bronze at a slightly higher rate than women. Importantly, Ermatinger and Pollock did not simply belong to this social group but also had social capital within it ("St. Thomas and its men of affairs", 1914). Ermatinger especially, as a prominent local figure, was a social exemplar. His visible endorsement of White Bronze set a standard for peers to emulate, making the material more desirable to certain people. Taste in fashion is shaped by cultural context, including peer group, as Bourdieu (1984) first indicated. Individuals gravitate toward styles that resonate within their social group, using shared tastes to reinforce group identity and

mark social boundaries (Bourdieu, 1984). In the case of White Bronze, the fact that its fashion leaders were well-connected, middle-aged men meant that their adoption of the material operated as a potent form of social signaling—both affirming their in-group status and distinguishing them from other cohorts. Ermatinger and Pollock did not simply follow group preferences; as influential middle-aged men with social capital, they actively defined and propelled White Bronze taste within their peer group, having drawn the age of consumption towards younger people.

This strategic use of White Bronze was amplified by the broader cultural role of Victorian era grave monuments as means of social signaling. White Bronze was specifically powerful, in this context, because it simultaneously created visual distinction and sameness. Beetham (2015) demonstrates that White Bronze Civil War memorials were effective due to their formal sameness. The visual repetition linked local trauma to national memory; thus, they were meaningful to individuals feeling the pain of loss and disruption, and to social groups, from municipal to a national scale. In cemeteries, White Bronze operated similarly; its mimetic qualities connected users through repetition, while its novelty allowed for differentiation from other groups, and its customizable elements facilitated personal expression.

While some forms of signaling may be subtle or coded, the Victorian era was marked by overt, ostentatious display (Trigg, 2001). White Bronze, being visually idiosyncratic and materially unconventional, was particularly conspicuous. This likely contributed to its appeal amongst the upper and upper-middle classes, as it was perceived as a means of distinction; however, conspicuous consumption was not limited to the affluent (Veblen, 1899). Each social class typically attempted to emulate the consumption behaviour of the class above, to an extent that even the poorest people were subjected to pressures to engage in the behaviour (Trigg,

2001). This created observable cycles of differentiation and emulation, which affected cemetery landscapes of the era and, by extension, White Bronze. Although the material was likely initially recognized by some elite as a chance to assert taste leadership in an already decorative environment, its accessibility undermined this potential for differentiation. The novelty that may once have distinguished early adopters quickly faded as White Bronze was available to, and adopted by, all social classes. As it failed to maintain exclusivity, the elite abandoned it, and lower classes, unable to use it as a marker of upward emulation, followed suit.

The elite and upper-middle classes' preference for White Bronze can also be linked to differences in disposable income and the financial risk-taking it enables. While lower socioeconomic groups did adopt White Bronze, they did so at lower rates, likely due to their reduced capacity to take risks (Rogers, 2003). White Bronze was more socially risky because it was a new and an untested choice, which deviated in material and appearance from more conventional options. Those with greater wealth are more willing and able to adopt novel fashions, whereas lower-income individuals, with limited disposable income, tend to opt for traditional and conservative choices, where outcomes are more predictable (Rogers, 2003). Ermatinger, for example, erected two monument types for his parents, one being traditional and one being innovative. Fashion-forward consumption inherently involves risk, which is more easily borne by the affluent and contributes to their nature as trendsetters (Rogers, 2003).

Although certain social groups demonstrate a predisposition for White Bronze, its adoption across diverse demographics underscores the role of individual psychology. All consumers are innovators because everyone, at some point, adopts something that is new to their perception (Hirschman, 1980). Innovativeness can be understood as something socially influenced and subject to change over an individual lifetime, as well as a personality construct,

possessed by a greater or lesser degree by all individuals. Rogers (2003) demonstrates that personality variables lead some to have more favourable attitudes toward change and a greater ability to cope with uncertainty and risk. Cannon (1998) observes something similar, that a specific type of personality can derive pleasure from commodities that are non-conformist. The psychological influence on commodity consumption is supported by the generally diverse consumption of White Bronze, as no social category was completely averse to it. It suggests that certain individuals, regardless or in spite of their social group and norms, were drawn to White Bronze. Although people's freedom to act and make choices is always influenced by their situation and surroundings, it is also shaped by personal feelings, motivations and tendencies.

4.2 White Bronze Across Ontario

4.2.1 Results

Across Ontario, 77 White Bronze monuments located outside of the locus area were analyzed. These monuments spanned much of the province, from the southwest in Leamington and Windsor, to the east in Ottawa, to the north in Sudbury and on Manitoulin Island. As previously mentioned, the purpose of this regional analysis is to generate a representative sample. These 77 monuments do not constitute the full extent of White Bronze monuments erected in Ontario. As such, it is likely that a horizontal monument type was erected somewhere in Ontario; however, it was clearly not a common choice. Figure 4.7 shows that small vertical monuments were most frequently chosen, followed by medium-sized ones. Double-front headstones were the next most common, while single-front headstones were rarely chosen. Of the 58 vertical monuments that were erected – 29 small, 22 medium and 7 large – 54 were obelisks, once again revealing the desirable nature of this type to consumers.

Figure 4.7: Types of White Bronze monument erected (n=77).

Figure 4.8 shows that White Bronze was more often selected for men, though the difference between men and women in this case is not sufficiently robust to argue the existence of a significant sex-based preference or aversion. The age of the deceased was also analyzed. Given the larger dataset, age categories were further divided for more detailed analysis. Infants aged 0-2, children aged 3-12, young people aged 13-19, adults aged 20-29 and so forth were used as discrete groups. Figure 4.9 presents these results which overall reflect a typical mortality pattern for the period, with higher death rates among the very young and very old and lower rates in between; however, there is a notable spike among those aged 20–29. This might initially be assumed to reflect elevated mortality from causes such as maternal death during childbirth; yet, further examination shows that women make up only six of the fifteen individuals in this group, with men comprising the other nine. This suggests that the spike is not due to population-wide mortality trends but rather to selective purchasing behaviours, such as families or peers choosing

White Bronze memorials more frequently for young adults, indicating a pattern of commemoration that differs from the broader demographic profile.

Following analyses of the deceased, the individuals selecting the monuments were considered. The role of sex in affecting change was considered, but the data show no one sex that was significantly more or less likely to choose a White Bronze monument to commemorate their loved one. While women may be slightly less inclined in this context, the trend is not sufficient to draw firm conclusions. Age, similarly, showed no particular group with a marked preference or aversion. Younger individuals did seem to select them at a higher rate than older individuals, but only a slight trend is evident. In contrast, socioeconomic status revealed a clear pattern. Lower-middle class people were choosing White Bronze far more frequently than other socioeconomic strata. These results are shown in Figure 4.10.

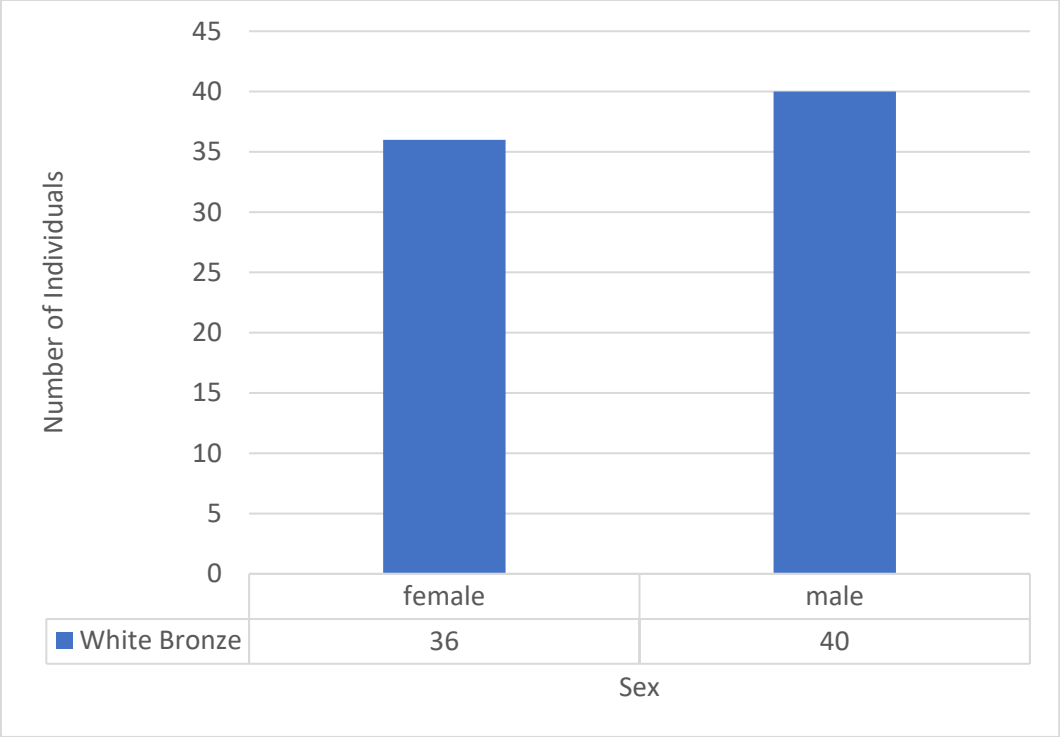


Figure 4.8: Sex of deceased individuals (n=76).

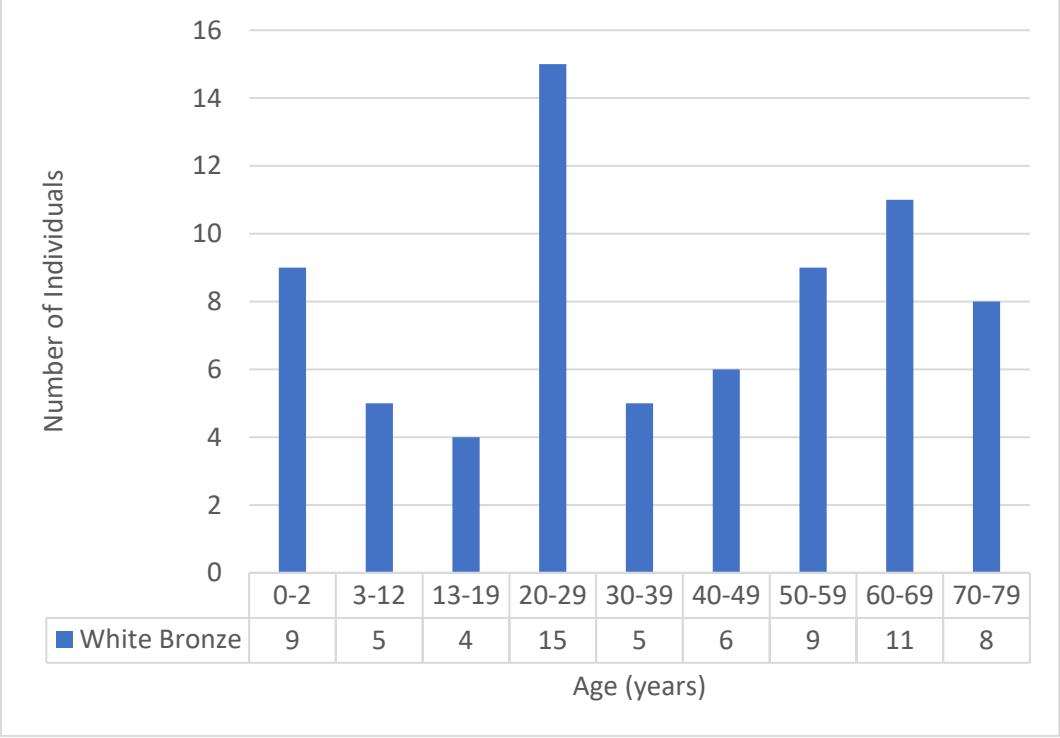


Figure 4.9: Age of deceased individuals (n=72).

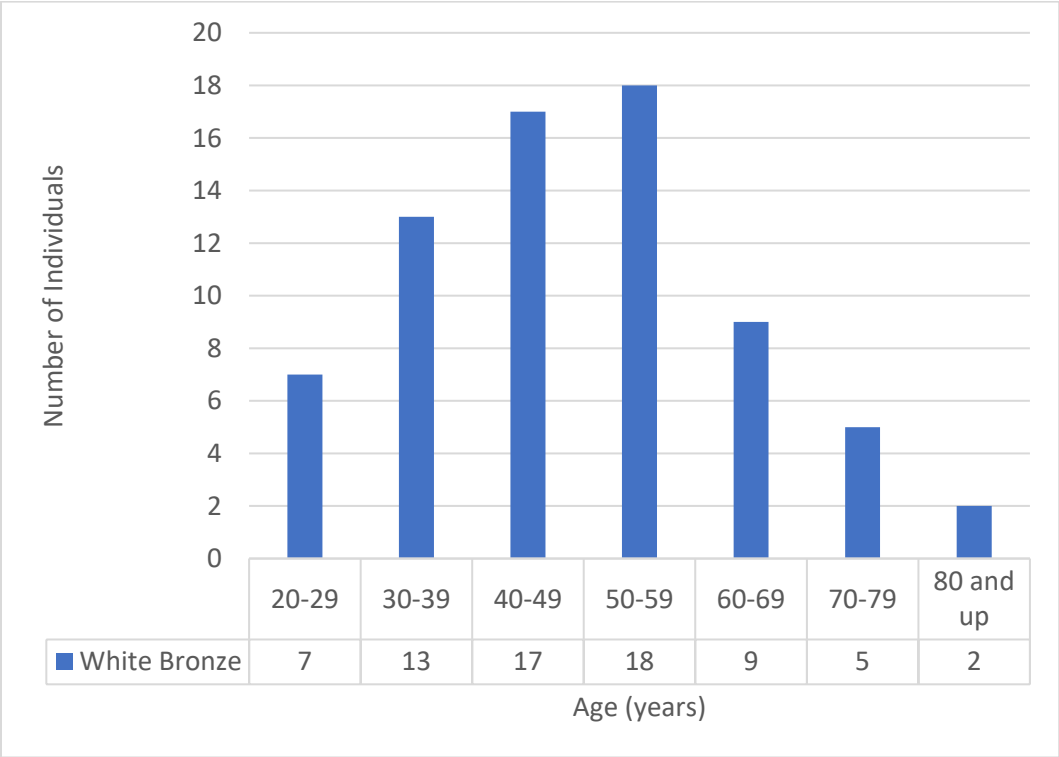


Figure 4.10: Socioeconomic class of monument selectors (n=71).

4.2.2 Discussion

Vertical monuments emerged as the most sought-after style of White Bronze in the Broader Ontario region. Among these, small vertical monuments were favoured over their taller counterparts, almost certainly for reasons relating to expense. As shown in Table 1, small vertical monuments ranged in price from $35 to $64 USD, whereas large vertical monuments started at $144 and could cost up to $800. This presented customers with a significant difference in cost, as well as scale. As a result, small obelisks may be understood as cost-effective memorials, while larger ones fell short in this department and were subsequently selected less. This interpretation is supported by a clear tapering pattern: the number of vertical monuments decreases steadily from small to medium to large. This trend reflects a classic price-sensitivity

effect, where rising price points result in reduced consumer uptake, as they become less willing or able to invest. Consumer perceptions of price, quality, and value are considered determinants of shopping behavior and product selection; consumers evaluate these factors and make trade-offs between cost, perceived quality and overall value each time they make a purchasing decision (Zeithaml, 1988). Confronted with steep cost differentials, White Bronze buyers deliberately weighed the additional material presence of larger monuments against the extra expenditure. Ultimately, the waning uptake of medium and large sizes illustrates how consumers negotiated a balance between monument size and affordability. They favoured smaller obelisks because they delivered, from their perspective, the greatest value per dollar spent while still fulfilling the symbolic and commemorative function essential to memorialization.

This preference for small obelisks was likely shaped by transportation. Almost certainly, the monuments were being moved by rail. This mode of transportation significantly reduced shipping rates from earlier overland transportation methods, such as wagon freight. The introduction and expansion of railroads played a crucial role in reducing transportation costs, facilitating trade, and supporting economic growth during this period (Spears, 1997). Both White Bronze producers and consumers took advantage of this; however, shipping was an additional cost to consumers who were already facing higher base prices for larger monuments. As a result, they were further incentivized to choose smaller, lighter markers. Although monuments in the locus still required shipment, it would have been minimal and significantly less costly, especially compared with deliveries to distant places such as Manitoulin Island or Ottawa. For a consumer to obtain a White Bronze in these locations, hundreds of kilometres needed to be covered. This cost dynamic also helps to explain the relative ease with which consumers in the locus acquired and erected larger styles.

To take advantage of the railroad and access products from outside of their locality, consumers first needed to know of the products and companies that supplied them. Beyond the locus, consumers were removed from the influence of Ermatinger and Pollock, meaning there were no key characters driving the consumption of White Bronze and leading by example. Instead, consumers relied on other channels to learn of White Bronze – what they were, where they came from, how to get one, and so forth. While it is often assumed that travelling sales agents were disseminating knowledge about the product (e.g., Rotundo, 1989; Stewart, 1989; Jarvis & Drover, 2018), this explanation falters when certain communities are considered. In metropolitan centres like Toronto, Ontario, home to at least sixteen White Bronze monuments, sales agents may have had a role in their initial introduction. Nevertheless, agents alone do not account for the sustained distribution of White Bronze even here. Typical sales agent campaigns lasted no more than one to two years (Spears, 1997), yet Toronto saw White Bronze monuments erected continuously from 1883 to 1889. A six-year dispersion of monument erection suggests that more complex dynamics were at play.

Certain small and rural communities have clusters of White Bronze that were, similarly, erected across a number of years. Parry Sound, Fairholme, Whitestone and Dunchurch, Ontario were small and relatively isolated settlements, too sparsely populated to justify regular or repeated visits from sales agents, yet, they accumulated multiple White Bronze memorials from 1883 to 1890. This sustained accumulation indicates that simple itinerant marketing cannot account for the spread of White Bronze. Additionally, certain larger centres, that one would expect to have attracted sales agents, have few to no White Bronze monuments. For example, Hamilton, Ontario, a city with a sizable population and considerable economic activity, has very few. The area would have warranted visits from White Bronze company sales agents; hence, a

larger presence of White Bronze was expected. Had sales agents been present and effective there, one would expect a stronger presence. Their limited success in both rural and urban settings underscores the notion that more complex cultural and economic forces drove the adoption and dispersion of this novel monument type.

As previously noted, travelling sales agents were perhaps responsible for initially introducing White Bronze monuments to certain cities in Ontario. The subsequent purchases of White Bronze, following the erection of the first monument in a given area can be attributed in part to their visibility and the ongoing use of cemeteries during the Victorian era. As novelty items, the monuments drew attention. Once noticed, potential consumers could learn more by inquiring with cemetery staff or community members. Since the names of the deceased were always cast prominently on the monuments, it would have been relatively easy to identify the purchaser and direct questions to them as well. The company also promoted its products through paid advertising in newspapers and city directories (Stewart, 1989). Just as sales agents would have targeted densely populated areas, these regions were logical choices for advertising campaigns as well. Of course, word of mouth is a powerful force that should not be underestimated. The striking appearance of White Bronze monuments, combined with their durability and affordability, may have made them topics of conversation within local communities. In smaller or more isolated communities, where formal advertising and agent visits were limited, these discussions likely played an even greater role in sustaining interest and driving future purchases. Ultimately, the spread of White Bronze monuments across Ontario resulted from a combination of producer-driven marketing efforts and consumer-driven curiosity and communication.

Regardless of what was introducing White Bronze to consumers, economic factors shaped consumer choices, which is evidenced by the heightened commemoration of younger individuals, especially those aged 20-29 years. As Pine and Phillips (1970) indicate, age influences funeral expenditures. Typically, people spent more on funerals and funerary display for older, rather than younger persons. This pattern stems from the tendency to scale spending according to the deceased's age and social status. Expensive and grand memorials were more acceptable and common for older adults who had lived longer public lives, whereas simpler, less expensive markers were deemed appropriate for those whose careers and legacies were still nascent (Pine & Phillips, 1970). In the Victorian era, 20–29-year-olds were young adults navigating the start of their careers and individuals who had not yet held long public lives or established long-standing public identities (Calvert, 2018). Consequently, families spent less on commemorating younger individuals, making the relatively inexpensive White Bronze monuments an economically sensible and logical choice.

The spike in the use of White Bronze to commemorate individuals in this age group can also be attributed to their relative financial situation. Typically, during the Victorian era, individuals relied upon their family for financial assistance until their mid-to-late twenties (Calvert, 2018). This limited financial independence and greater insecurity, shaped by early career stages and new marriages (with average marriage ages in the 1890s being approximately 25.5 for men and 22.2 for women), contributed to lower funeral expenditures (Ruggle, 2016). As Pine and Phillips (1970) argue, those with greater wealth beget more expensive funerary display, whereas those with lesser financial means beget less. This is evidenced by women, especially young adult women, and children typically having smaller, less grand monuments. This is not to imply that older people are always more financially secure than younger ones, but rather that

they have had more time to accumulate savings and superior access to funds, such as life insurance. As a result, White Bronze presented a less expensive funeral option to commemorate individuals with less financial resources, as was common practice.

The notion that White Bronze was an economical option and used accordingly, in comparison to other monument materials, is supported by the fact that individuals aged 60 and older selected it less than individuals under 60. As previously noted, older individuals generally had access to more resources and, therefore, a higher capacity to afford more expensive monument types. This financial advantage likely contributed to their lower rate of White Bronze selection. This phenomenon may also be attributable to Twigg's (2013) argument, that aging is accompanied by increasing adherence to norms of maturity and restraint. This can lead older adults to avoid novelty and fashion-forward products. As a new and unconventional monument, White Bronze may have been perceived as inappropriate for older consumers and, for the same reason, more appealing to younger adults. It is likely that it is some combination of the two, financial constraints and age-related social norms, that worked in tandem to create the distribution shown in Figure 4.9.

Given that White Bronze monuments were overwhelmingly selected by lower-middle class individuals in the broader Ontario region, namely semi-skilled labourers, tradespeople, and general servants, they must be understood primarily as an economical choice. This socioeconomic group had limited discretionary income and often lived with little financial security, making affordability a central concern in spending decisions, including funerary ones. The consistent preference for White Bronze among these consumers suggests that its appeal lay not in luxury or status, but in its cost-effectiveness. It offered a dignified and durable memorial at a price point far more accessible than materials such as marble, traditional bronze or granite. In

this context, White Bronze functioned as a practical solution for working families who sought to fulfill the social and emotional obligations of remembrance without incurring significant costs or financial strain. The lower socioeconomic class's lack of consumption of White Bronze may be interpreted as economic exclusion, where even inexpensive monuments were out of reach due to a lack of disposable income. Where the lower-middle class could afford certain monument types, the lower strata could not. The lower class is made up of labourers, unskilled workers who were employed by others. According to Willets (1903), unskilled labourers were often making no more than $300 USD per year in America in 1900. By comparison, individuals of the lower-middle class were making $570 to $700 USD (Willets, 1903). At this rate, even a small obelisk would have been worth seven weeks' worth of wages to the lower stratum.

In the Broader Ontario region, small vertical White Bronze monuments emerged as the most popular style due to their affordability. Consumers, especially from the lower-middle class, favoured these cost-effective obelisks over larger and more expensive alternatives, reflecting a price-sensitivity effect. This preference was particularly strong when commemorating younger individuals (aged 20–29), whose limited financial resources and transitional life stage made expensive memorials less appropriate. Age and wealth were key factors influencing funerary spending, with simpler markers being socially acceptable for younger and less affluent individuals. White Bronze appealed to semi-skilled workers and tradespeople who sought dignified yet affordable memorials, whereas the lower class often could not afford even these options. Ultimately, White Bronze's widespread use reflects its role as an economical solution for working families operating within certain financial constraints.

4.3 White Bronze in Other Provinces

4.3.1 Results

A total of 88 White Bronze monuments, located outside of Ontario, made up the sample for this part of my analysis. These monuments were found across Canada; 58 were located in Nova Scotia, 13 in New Brunswick, eight in Manitoba, and nine in British Columbia. As with the Broader Ontario sample, this selection is intended to be representative and does not account for all White Bronze monuments in the provinces listed. Newfoundland and Labrador has a collection of White Bronze, though these monuments were not incorporated into this study (Jarvis & Drover, 2018). This is largely because Newfoundland and Labrador were not a Canadian province until 1949. It is unknown whether the remaining seven provinces and territories of Canada contain any White Bronze monuments, although it seems reasonable to assume their presence in some of the more populated ones (e.g., Alberta), and their absence in less populated ones (e.g., Yukon). Quebec, as a predominantly French-speaking province, likely has few to no White Bronze monuments. Although one example of a White Bronze monument with a French epitaph was documented in Ontario (Figure 4.11), advertisements and catalogues seem to have been produced exclusively in English. This language barrier likely limited accessibility for non-English speakers; however, as this example shows, it was not entirely insurmountable.

Figure 4.11: White Bronze monument with a French epitaph, located in Sturgeon Falls Roman Catholic Cemetery.

Across Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Manitoba and British Columbia, small vertical monuments were the most commonly selected, followed closely by medium vertical monuments, as shown in Figure 4.12. Of the 56 vertical monuments erected, 40 were obelisks, making them the most popular style across Canada. Of the remaining 16 vertical monuments, 4 were column-style and 12 were block-style (the difference in vertical styles is illustrated by Figure 4.13). Double-front headstones were the next most frequently selected monument type in these provinces, followed by horizontal and single-front headstones. These were smaller, less expensive forms, as shown by Table 1, commonly used to commemorate children, though by no means exclusive to them. Also characteristic of these types is their tendency to commemorate just one individual. In contrast, vertical monuments often commemorated multiple individuals. Overall, there was clearly a greater willingness to choose non-obelisk monument types, which

were notably smaller and more affordable than obelisks, and a notable avoidance of large and non-conforming monuments. This is perhaps made most clear by the high rate of consumption of footstones. Of the eight horizontal monuments consumed, two were planter-style monuments and six were footstones. Footstones were the smallest, least decorative and least expensive White Bronze monuments on the market.

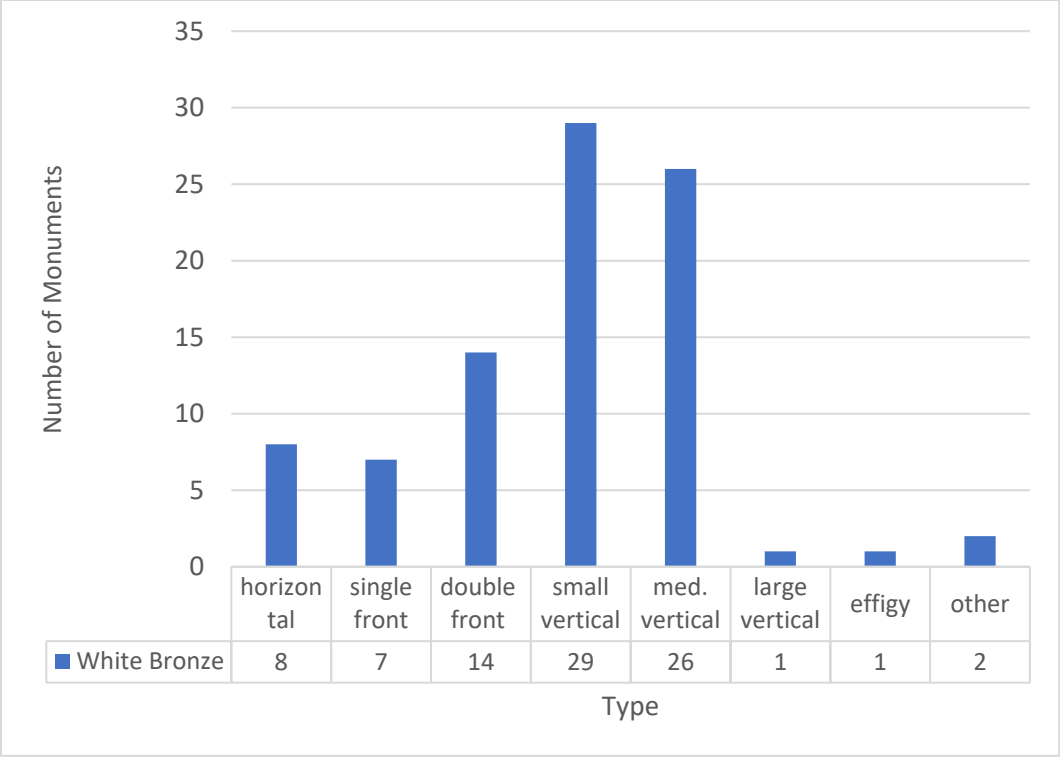


Figure 4.12: Types of White Bronze monuments erected (n=88).

Figure 4.13: Vertical White Bronze monument types located in Truro Cemetery. A) column; B) block (MacLeod Livingstone, 2016).

As with the other regions, no significant sex-based difference was observed in who was being commemorated by White Bronze monuments, as evidenced by Figure 4.14. Both males and females received them and in nearly equal measure. As with broader Ontario, age was broken down into more specific categories for analysis, with the results presented in Figure 4.15. Among older adults, there was no particular age group that was more or less likely to be commemorated by the novel material type, except for those aged 80 and above. This group had noticeably lower rates of commemoration by White Bronze; however, this aligns with broader demographic patterns and typical rates of commemoration. Younger adults, specifically those aged 20-29 and 30-39, were commemorated by White Bronze relatively frequently. Although they were commemorated less often than older adults, the difference is smaller than expected, given that mortality rates for these age groups were significantly lower. This suggests that there was no strong age-based pattern in determining who did or did not receive a White Bronze monument.

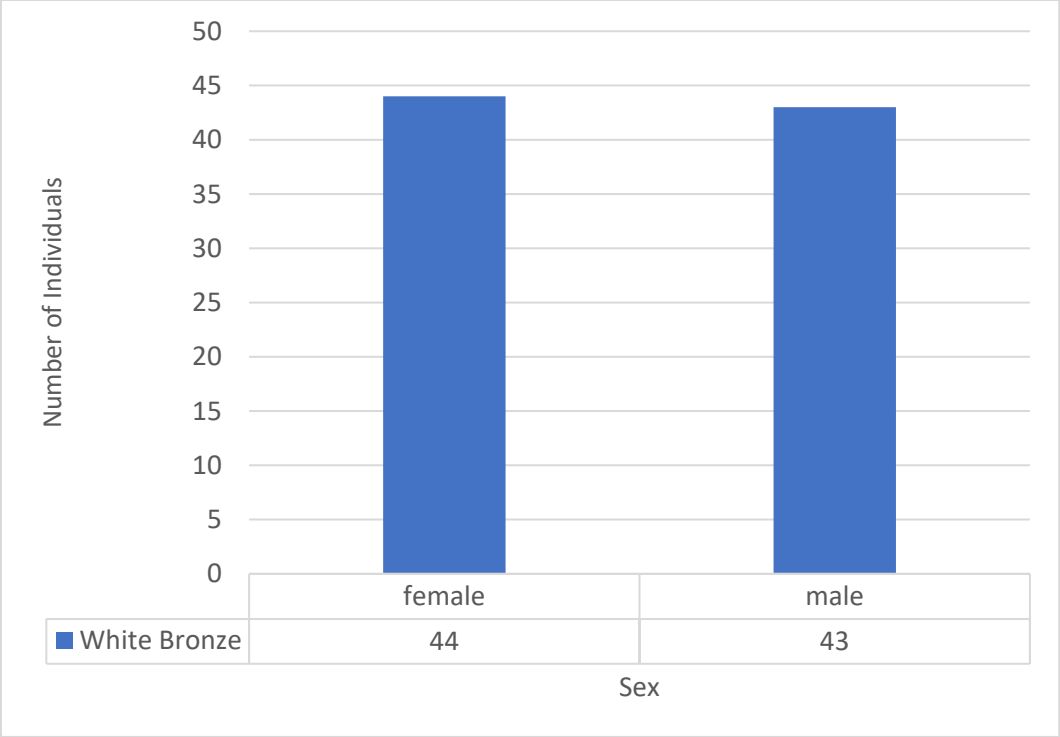


Figure 4.14: Sex of individuals commemorated by White Bronze (n=87).

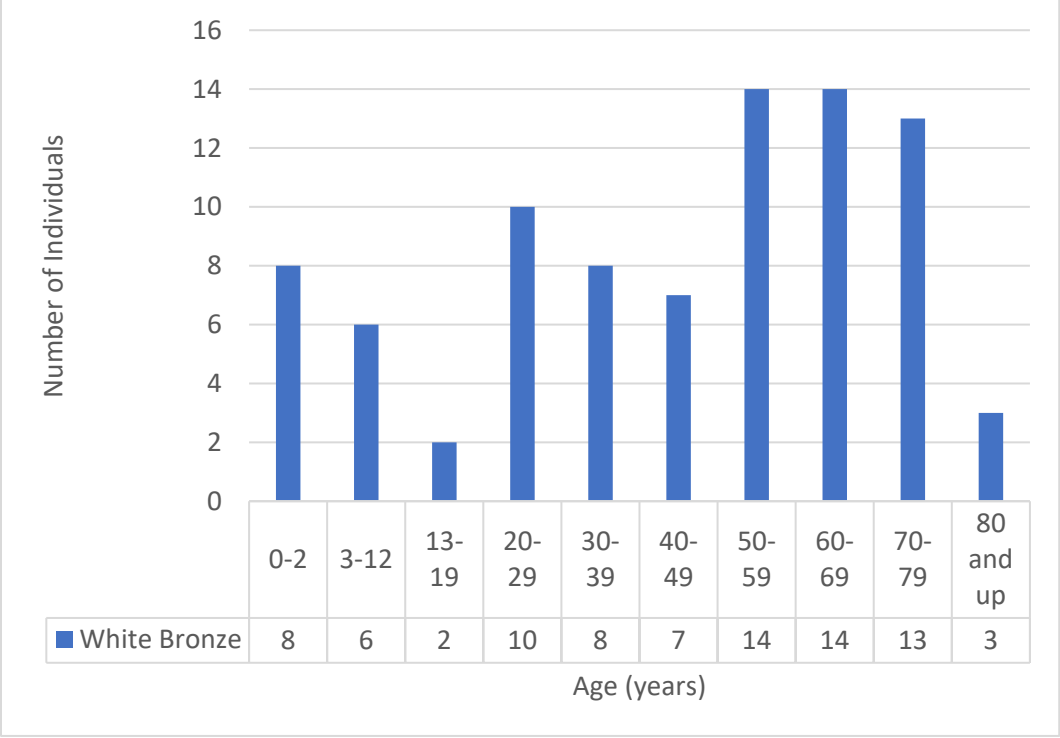


Figure 4.15: Age of individuals commemorated by White Bronze (n=85).

As for the individuals selecting White Bronze, men did so more often than women, though not at a statistically significant rate, as shown in Figure 4.16. This is in line with the findings from Figure 4.14, where men and women were being commemorated by White Bronze nearly equally. Figure 4.17 shows that individuals aged 40-49 were most likely to select White Bronze, though no age category avoided them. Though individuals aged 80 and up did not select any White Bronze in this geographic region, this is likely due to their smaller population size and the tendency for younger family members to handle this responsibility. As with the other geographically defined areas, socioeconomic class shows the most distinct differential trends in who was choosing the novel monument type. Figure 4.18 illustrates that lower-middle class individuals were the most frequent selectors of White bronze monuments, followed by middle-class individuals; however, there is a significant decrease from 54 lower-middle class people to just 15 middle-class people.

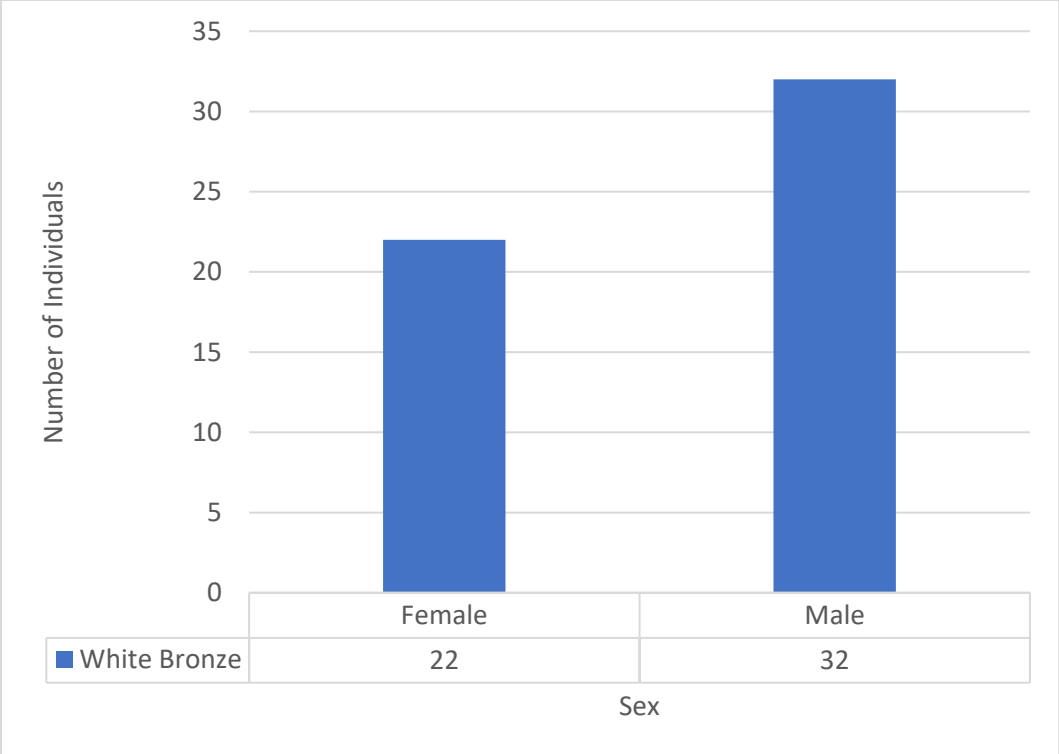


Figure 4.16: Sex of individuals selecting White Bronze monuments (n=54).

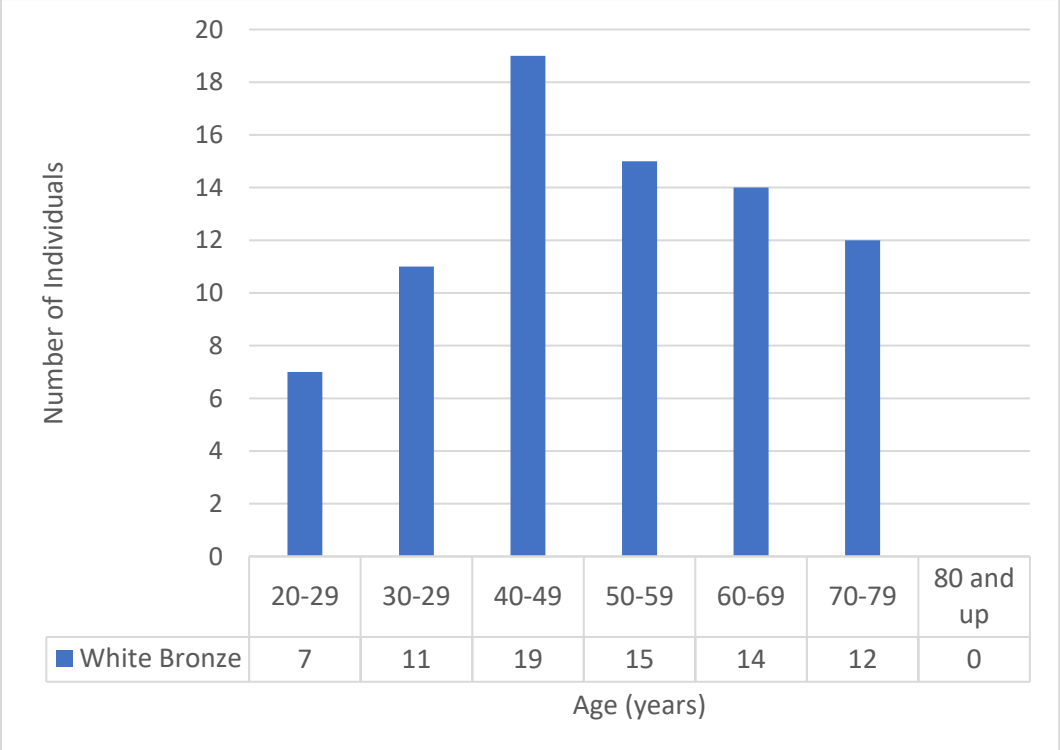


Figure 4.17: Age of individuals selecting White Bronze monuments (n=78).

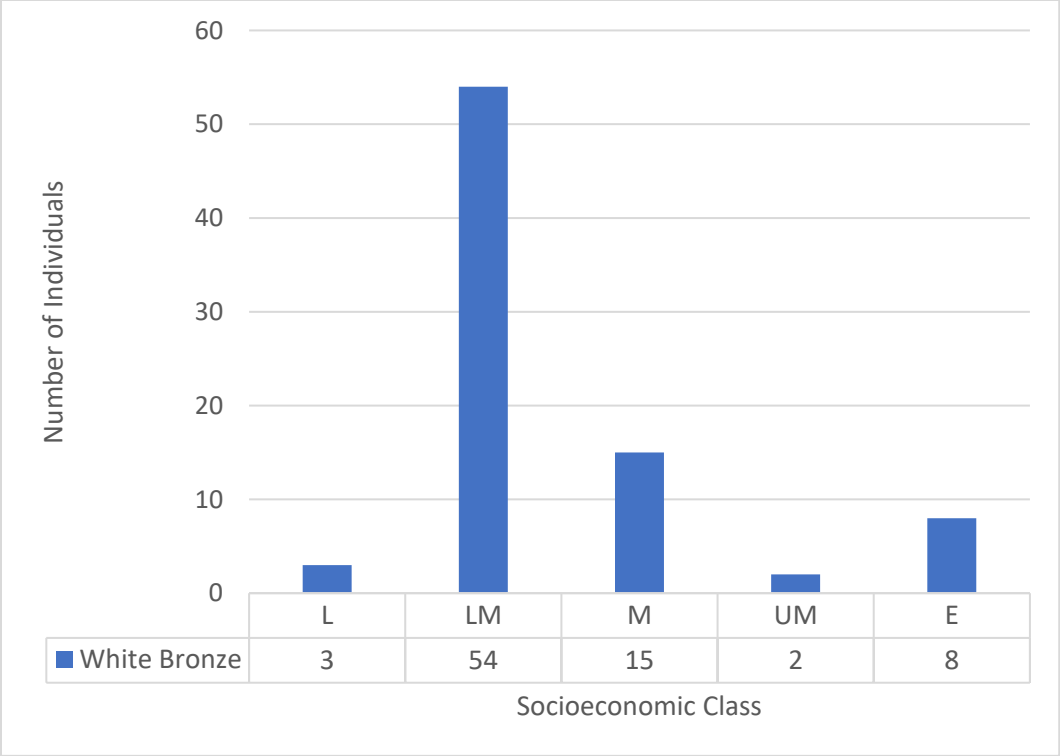


Figure 4.18: Socioeconomic class of individuals selecting White Bronze monuments (n=82).

4.3.2 Discussion

The general preference for smaller, less expensive monuments is evident amongst the people selecting White Bronze from outside of Ontario. This is largely in line with my findings from section 4.2 of this Chapter, where people outside of the locus region chose small White Bronze monuments for reasons relating to cost. The Company presented buyers with steep cost differentials between other monument types and their products and between small White Bronze monuments and large ones. This required that buyers weigh cast zinc against other material types available, and, if it was chosen, weigh the height and décor offered by larger White Bronze monuments against the extra expenditure. The selection of White Bronze and preference for smaller, inexpensive monuments reflects consumer negotiation among material type, monument

size and affordability where most ultimately opted for (or had limited financial means which required the selection of) small, inexpensive monuments.

When the transportation required for these monuments is considered, their particular cost-effectiveness is highlighted. For example, the nine White Bronze monuments erected in Ross Bay Cemetery in British Columbia travelled well over 3,000 miles. The distance from the foundry to this cemetery is approximately 3,300 kilometres (as the crow flies). Despite the undoubted presence of multiple local artisans capable of creating and erecting monuments in their locality, consumers opted to deal with a company, and have them ship their products, thousands of kilometres and provincial borders away. The particular expense of shipping, without business records, is unknowable, though it seems reasonable to suggest that it was relatively inexpensive. So much so that White Bronze remained an economical option amongst its competitors despite consumers having to pay a shipping fee that increased with each mile travelled.

The cost of shipping was very nearly reduced for those living in the eastern provinces of Canada, as the opening of a distribution center was considered in 1886. This distribution center was to be built in New Brunswick for the purpose of better serving the maritime provinces with the products of the St. Thomas White Bronze Company (Rotundo, 1989). Although the building project never came to fruition, it is indicative of the presence of the St. Thomas White Bronze Company beyond its home province. It seems likely that, in trying to establish distribution connections with other provinces, the company engaged in paid advertising there. This, in part, explains how consumers in these more distant locations came to know of White Bronze monuments. There were more mundane forces at work, however, as is demonstrated by several

examples from these other provinces. Patterns of migration and travel were at least partially responsible for the distribution of White Bronze in these regions.

The Sutherland White Bronze monument, erected in 1884 and located in Kildonan Presbyterian Cemetery in Winnipeg, Manitoba, demonstrates the role of migration. It commemorates Alexander Sutherland, the son of John Sutherland, a frequent guest of Elgin County, where the city of St. Thomas, Ontario is located. John Sutherland was a Senator of Manitoba who regularly travelled to Ottawa for senate sessions. It was, reportedly "known that the Senator would make a point of stopping in and visiting his relatives in Elgin County" when travelling between these locations (Sutherland, 2021). This explains how this individual came to know of White Bronze. Another example of this comes from Ross Bay Cemetery in Victoria, British Columbia. The Campbell monument, erected in 1886, memorializes Martha Campbell who was born in Toronto, Ontario. Her birth, residence and relatives who remained explain how the monument selector knew of White Bronze. Finally, the Hooper family monument, located in Necropolis Cemetery of Toronto, Ontario commemorates an individual whose parents lived in St. Thomas during the 1880s. As aforementioned, individuals in the city would have been well aware of the St. Thomas White Bronze Company and its products. When they moved to Toronto, they brought knowledge of the monument type with them and erected one near their new place of residence. Notably, all of these examples were the first White Bronze monuments to be erected in their respective cemeteries and regions. This suggests that migration was at times responsible for introducing White Bronze to an area, and following its introduction their presence in cemeteries was sufficient to bring about subsequent purchases.

No matter how White Bronze was introduced to an area, it was chosen by commemorators of all ages, revealing surprisingly little age-based distinction. This was an

unexpected outcome, given the previous parts of this chapter, which demonstrate age-based distinctions. A preference for White Bronze was expected amongst younger individuals, given their tendency to be more fashion-forward than older individuals (Twigg, 2013). This was observed in Broader Ontario and I am uncertain why this pattern does not carry forward into Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Manitoba and British Columbia. More research is required. In contrast, socioeconomic class follows with previously observed trends. The predominant consumption of White Bronze by individuals in the lower-middle socioeconomic class remains consistent outside of the locus; both broader Ontario and the other provinces studied show this pattern. It makes clear that White Bronze was an inexpensive memorialization option, which individuals consumed accordingly.

Evidently, consumers outside Ontario overwhelmingly opted for small, inexpensive White Bronze monuments, balancing material novelty against strict cost considerations, even when shipping them thousands of miles. Local social networks and migration pathways (e.g., visiting relatives or birthplaces) introduced the style to distant communities, after which its affordability and visibility fueled further uptake. Despite expectations that younger commemorators would lead fashion-forward choices, age distinctions largely disappeared outside the locus, whereas lower-middle-class prominence in White Bronze consumption remained consistent. This pattern underscores that practical economics and social connections, in combination with the desire for the new and novel, governed the diffusion of White Bronze across Canada.

4.4 Comparing the Three Regions

4.4.1 Results

The purpose of comparing the regions, the locus with broader Ontario and other provinces, is to highlight the different ways in which fashion operates across space. All 222 White Bronze monuments involved in this study are considered in this portion of the analysis. I began by comparing the sex of the deceased, which shows that in the locus, females were less likely to be commemorated by a White Bronze monument than in the other two regions. Broader Ontario and the other provinces show less of a sex-based disparity. These results are shown in Figure 4.19. In Figure 4.20, the age of the deceased was compared. The data show that individuals aged 0-2 and 3-12 years were less likely to be commemorated by a White Bronze in the locus than in the other regions. While the datasets from broader Ontario and the other provinces show a decline in White Bronze commemoration from ages 0-2 through 13-19, followed by a rise in the 20-29 category, the locus exhibits a steady increase in commemorations across the same age categories (except for the 13-19 age group, a deviation that is likely attributable to the small sample size). This suggests that older individuals were more frequently commemorated by a White Bronze in the locus than elsewhere, with those aged 70-79 being particularly overrepresented. In sum, children were less commonly commemorated by White Bronze monuments in the locus, while older adults were more commonly commemorated.

Following the analysis of the deceased, the monument selectors were considered. Figure 4.21 shows the sex of the monument selectors, divided by the three regions. There are no significant differences shown. The age of the selectors was then examined (see Figure 4.22). All regions show that those aged 20-29 and those aged 80 and up were the least likely to select

White Bronze, and those aged 40-49 and 50-59 were the most likely. The locus shows a slight deviation from this pattern, where individuals aged 50-59 were selecting it less than expected.

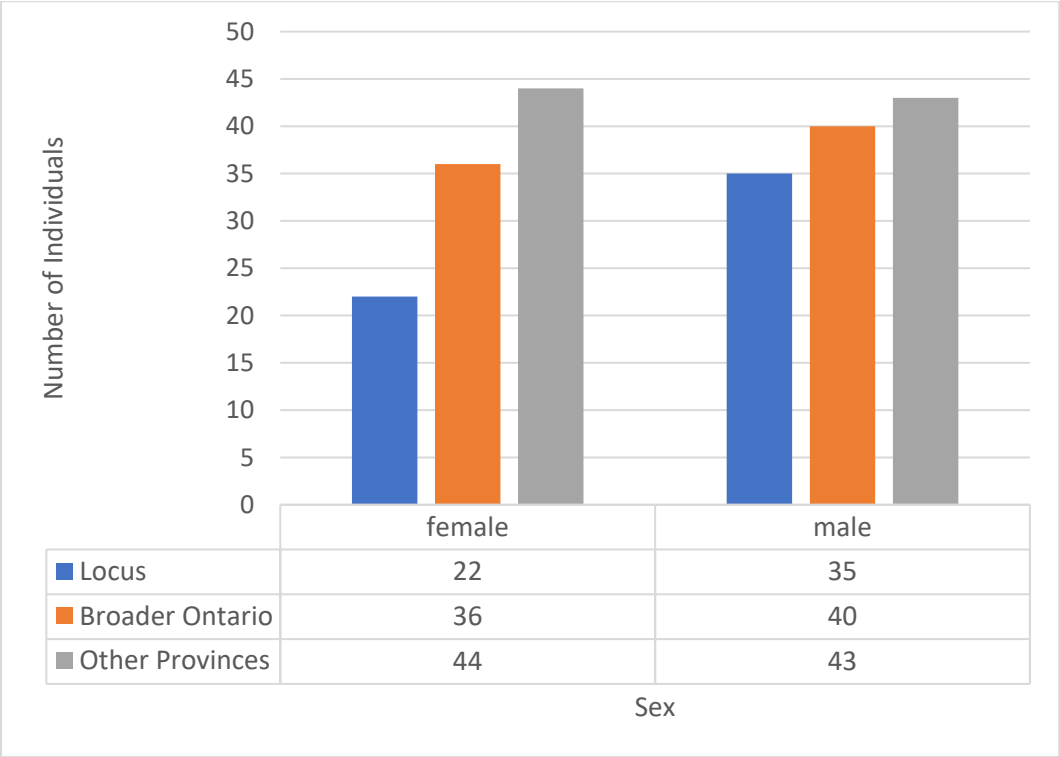
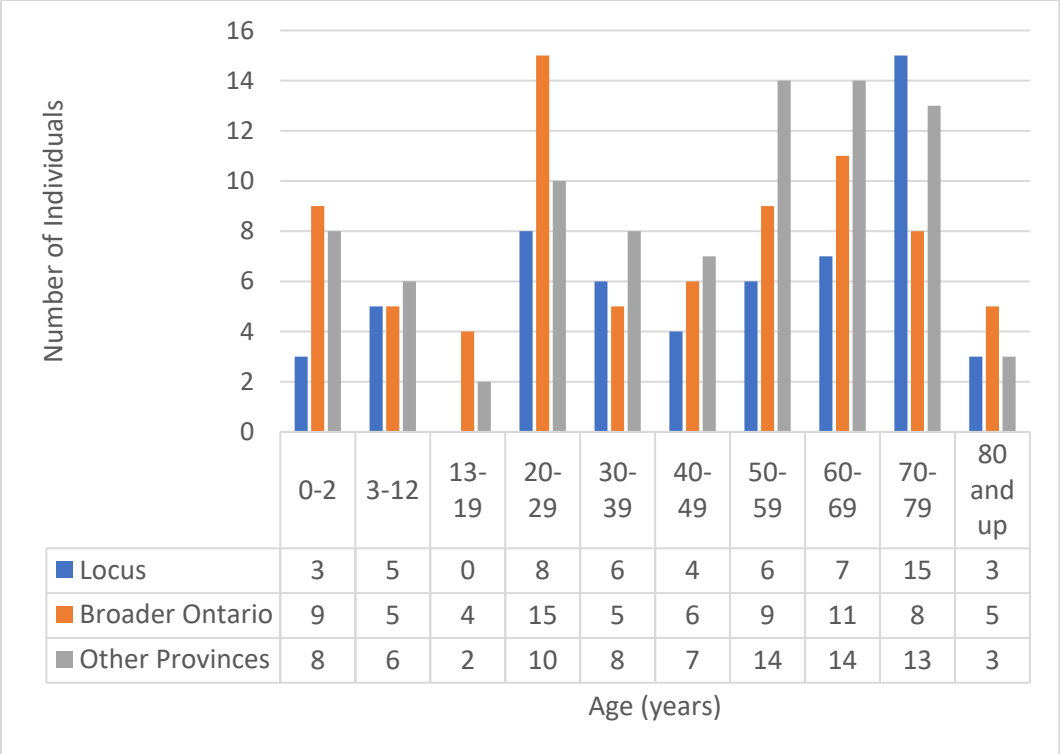


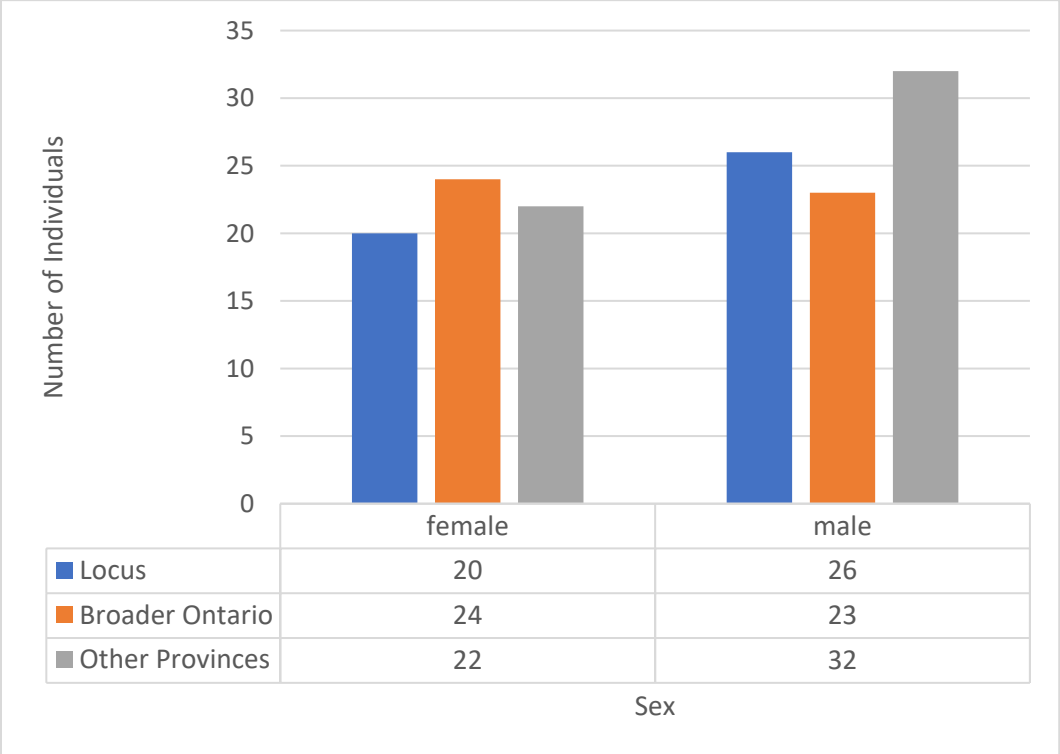
Figure 4.19: Sex of individuals commemorated by White Bronze monuments (n=163).

This anomaly is likely due to the small sample size, and it should not be interpreted as a statistically significant trend. In contrast, the other provinces show a clear tendency for older adults, those aged 50-59, 60-69 and 70-79 years, to choose White Bronze more often than anywhere in Ontario. This pattern was unexpected and, as a result, was investigated further. Age was considered in combination with socioeconomic class and sex to determine whether older adults were disproportionately represented within certain social strata or sex groups, potentially explaining their increased engagement with this commemorative material. This was not the case – older adults were relatively equally represented across all socioeconomic classes and sexes.



	0-2	3-12	13-19	20-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60-69	70-79	80 and up
Locus	3	5	0	8	6	4	6	7	15	3
Broader Ontario	9	5	4	15	5	6	9	11	8	5
Other Provinces	8	6	2	10	8	7	14	14	13	3

Figure 4.20: Age of individuals commemorated by White Bronze monuments (n=187).



	female	male
Locus	20	26
Broader Ontario	24	23
Other Provinces	22	32

Figure 4.21: Sex of individuals selecting White Bronze monuments (n=147).

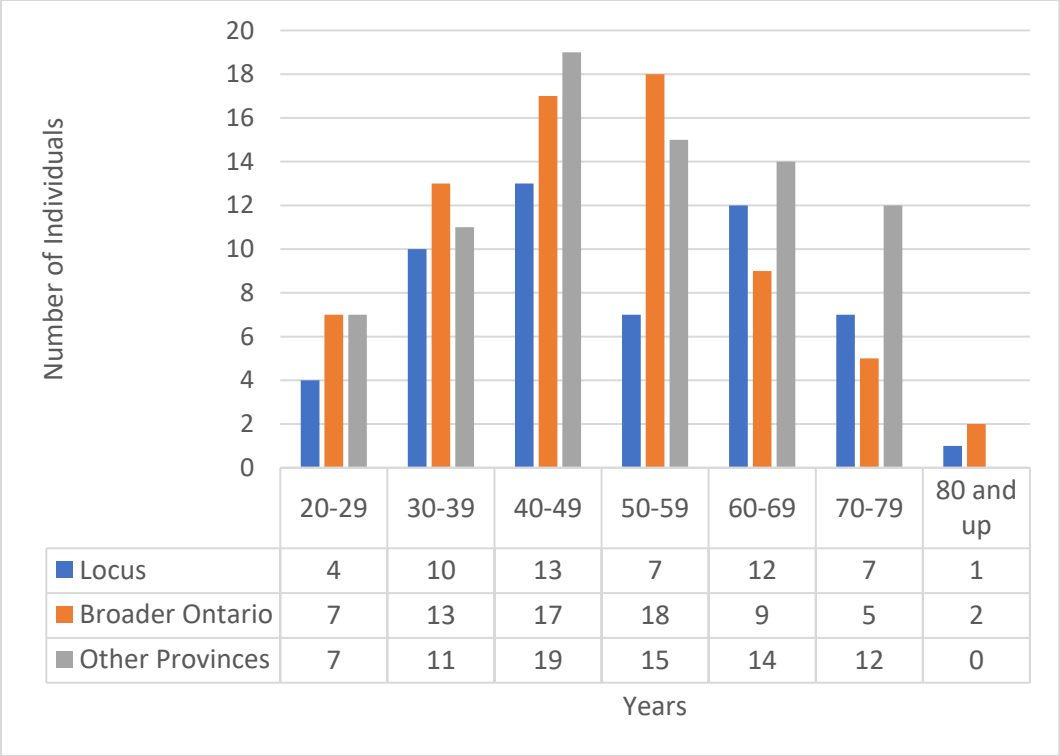


Figure 4.22: Age of individuals selecting White Bronze monuments (n=203).

A comparison of the socioeconomic status of monument selectors across the three regions reveals that in broader Ontario and the other provinces, the majority of those selecting White Bronze monuments belonged to the lower-middle class (Figure 4.23). This is consistent with the material's perceived affordability. The comparison of the three regions expands upon these earlier observations because it makes clear that as White Bronze radiated out from its locus, it was increasingly adopted by the lower-middle class. From one region to another, in terms of distance, White Bronze was increasingly adopted by lower social strata. In the locus, White Bronze was disproportionately selected by individuals from the elite and upper-middle classes, which can be explained by key characters influencing its adoption. Taken together, the analyses of sex, age, and class patterns across the three regions indicate that the cultural meanings and social functions of White Bronze monuments varied significantly by location.

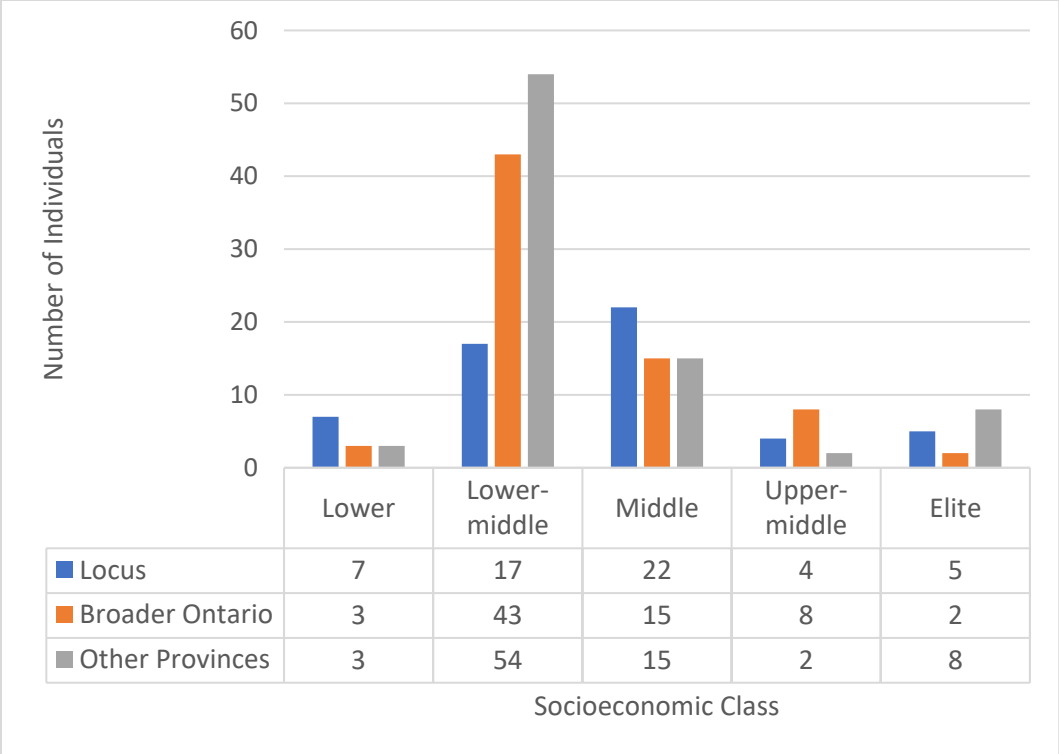


Figure 4.23: Socioeconomic class of individual selecting White Bronze (n=208).

4.4.2 Discussion

The White Bronze monument phenomenon is evidently a class-based one; however, it operates differently in different regions. In the locus, the distribution of White Bronze monuments was crafted by a marketing enterprise undertaken by individuals who understood innovation, novelty and status association. Beyond this area, it was out of their control and different forces shaped the distribution in broader Ontario and the other four provinces. As previously discussed, the regions beyond the locus were predominantly affected by the economical nature of White Bronze. As an inexpensive alternative to more typical materials, such as granite and marble, it offered consumers an opportunity to participate in commemorative practices of permanence and decoration, while remaining within the constraints of limited financial means.

This differential selection of White Bronze is supported by the sex-based patterns illustrated in Figure 4.19. A comparison of the three regions reveals a distinct trend; within the locus, men are more frequently commemorated by White Bronze monuments, whereas in regions farther from this core area, women increasingly become the primary subject of White Bronze commemoration. In these peripheral regions, the data suggest near parity between men and women, with women being equally likely to be commemorated using White Bronze. This shift reflects social and economic dynamics, particularly the gendered prioritization of commemoration. During the Victorian era, adult male commemoration was generally given precedence within families, often involving larger and more elaborate monuments. When families did invest in memorializing women, cost-conscious decisions were more common, resulting in the selection of smaller, less expensive markers (Clark, Johnson & Mathews, 2020; Gonzalez, 2014; Pine & Phillips, 1970). White Bronze, as a comparatively inexpensive alternative to traditional materials like granite or marble, emerged as a practical solution that aligned with the lower material expectations attached to female commemoration. Subsequently, in regions beyond the locus, where the material served less as a status symbol and more as an affordable substitute, White Bronze was viewed as more suited to female commemoration. In contrast, within the locus, where the efforts of Ermatinger and Pollock had successfully associated White Bronze with innovation and prestige, its use remained concentrated among men.

As for age, a comparison across the three regions reveals a pattern comparable to the sex-based trends. Within the locus, older individuals were being commemorated more frequently with White Bronze monuments, whereas in the other regions, the distribution shifts towards younger individuals. Younger people, especially children, were typically commemorated with

smaller, less costly monuments, as they were considered more appropriate in scale and symbolism for their short lives (Tarlow, 2005; Pine & Phillips, 1970). This suggests that, in the absence of the marketing enterprise undertaken by Ermatinger and Pollock, the material functioned predominantly as an accessible novelty, rather than a symbol of status. It echoes the dynamics observed with sex; adult males were often prioritized in memorialization practices, receiving the most elaborate and costly monuments, because of their perceived social importance, economic contribution and patriarchal status within the family and community (Tarlow, 2005). Where Ermatinger and Pollock maintained influence, they cultivated White Bronze as a symbol of prestige and, consequently, it was aligned with older individuals who typically possessed more financial resources and greater social capital (Pine & Phillips, 1970). Beyond that epicenter, however, consumers encountered White Bronze without any built-in status association and its affordability appealed instead to families commemorating younger individuals, who were less likely to warrant elaborate stone monuments. Just as White Bronze served as a cost-effective stand-in for female commemoration in peripheral regions, it likewise became the material of choice for memorializing younger decedents outside the locus.

This effect, of children and young people receiving White Bronze monuments more frequently was likely amplified by the company's specific creation of monuments and symbols for the graves of infants and children. Emblems such as "baby's hand", lambs and cherubs – motifs traditionally associated with children's graves – were some of the available options. The Monumental Bronze Company catalogue also offered statues for use with children's monuments, including the "Statue of 'Kneeling Girl'" and "Statue of 'Kneeling Boy'" (The Monumental Bronze Company, 1882, 13). Similarly, certain monument types, while sometimes used for adult graves, were clearly intended for children. As Tarlow (2005) observes, children's graves were

often “miniature versions of adult styles,” which made single-front headstones, small and simple White Bronze monuments, ideal options for parents wishing to commemorate their deceased children and infants (p. 165). Although the company did not explicitly market single-front headstones for child burials, the symbolic imagery strongly implied this purpose. The reverse side of all single-front headstones featured an emblem of a lily being plucked—a traditional representation of a life cut short—signaling the company’s implicit intent that these monuments commemorate young lives (Figure 4.24) (Wallace, 2023). In areas outside Ermatinger and Pollock’s marketing sphere, White Bronze shifted from a status symbol to an accessible, cost-effective medium—its child-oriented designs and emblems reinforcing its suitability for commemorating younger lives lost.

Figure 4.21 demonstrates that the proportion of men versus women who chose White Bronze monuments is statistically insignificant across all three regions. This lack of sex-based difference reinforces the notion that selection was driven not by inherent qualities of the

Figure 4.24: ‘Lily being plucked’ symbol on a single-front headstone, located in Talbotville Cemetery.

purchaser, but by extrinsic considerations of cost and perceived social value. It was the selectors' motivations and constraints, rather than their demographic characteristics, that governed the decision to adopt this novel material. This notion is supported by Figure 4.22, which reveals an absence of strong age-related patterns among selectors, with the exception of a marginal uptick in use by older adults in the other provinces. The driving force behind this unanticipated trend is unclear and warrants further investigation, but overall, the data substantiate the claim that White Bronze's appeal lay in its affordability and status signaling, and that these factors – more than selector identity – shaped the observable regional trends.

The distribution of socioeconomic class shows that, as White Bronze spread from their locus in Ontario, across the province and into more distant ones, they were increasingly adopted by the lower-middle class. Because lower-middle-income families tend to be more price-conscious, their preference for White Bronze demonstrates that the type's affordability, rather than its status association or prestige, was increasingly the monument's primary selling point. This transition occurred as they radiated outwards, moving away from Ermatinger and Pollock's influence. Overall, their targeted marketing and endorsement of White Bronze as an elite choice lost traction beyond their immediate network, allowing affordability to eclipse prestige as the defining value in more remote markets.

White Bronze demonstrates how fashion trends vary by region and are shaped by both producers and consumers. Consumers' motivations and perceptions drove much of the regional variation; yet, producers still exerted significant influence within areas under their control. This duality highlights that innovation and marketing can set a trend's trajectory, but its local adoption ultimately depends on consumer perceptions, desires and resources. As a result, the same material carried very different meanings for different individuals, even though it came from

a single factory and all monuments shared common mimetic features. Evidently, fashion is forged by the interplay of cultural capital, economic constraint and regional context.

4.5 Small Clusters and Idiosyncrasies

The differing motivations that led consumers to adopt White Bronze illustrates how fashion varies. A single trend or commodity can manifest differently across regions, embodying diverse meanings and eliciting different perceptions among consumers. This novel monument type did not radiate uniformly outwards from its point of origin; rather, it was adopted and rejected in distinct ways depending on the location. Evidence for this, beyond changing consumer characteristics and motives, includes the presence of idiosyncratic monuments and small clusters of White Bronze. Here, "idiosyncratic monuments" or "idiosyncrasies" refers to single White Bronze monuments that were erected in a given cemetery or region. They are examples of one individual or family unit selecting the style where no one else followed suit. "Small clusters" denote groupings of three to thirteen White Bronze monuments in a given cemetery or region. The difference between an idiosyncrasy and a small cluster, besides quantity, is in influence. An idiosyncrasy represents an isolated choice, while a small cluster is evidence of a localized trend, sparked by the initial choice of one key adopter. This pattern implies that certain individuals possessed enough social influence to shape local tastes and spur adoption, whereas others did not.

An idiosyncrasy is exemplified by the Henderson monument, located in Hamilton Cemetery in Hamilton, Ontario. Little is known about the family, but they commemorated a male infant with a small lamb-shaped White Bronze monument (Figure 4.25). Uniquely, the monument was painted silver, though when and why this was done is unknown; no records, burial or otherwise, remain. Among the approximately 36,000 graves that make up Hamilton

Cemetery, it stands alone as the only White Bronze monument. This suggests that local residents knew of the material, especially because it appears in surrounding areas like Toronto, but largely rejected it as an appropriate material for commemoration. Another example of an idiosyncrasy, and rejection of White Bronze by the majority, comes from Presbyterian Cemetery in Gloucester, a geographic region of Ottawa, Ontario. The Moore monument, a small double-front headstone, was erected in 1888 by a woman to commemorate her deceased husband. The two were of the lower-middle socioeconomic class. Like the Henderson monument, it is the sole example of a White Bronze in the cemetery. Although the cemetery is extremely small, just five monuments make up the landscape, it can be categorized as an idiosyncrasy because it is the only example of a White Bronze in the region. They were not commonly chosen memorial types in Ottawa, another relatively large city in Ontario.

Figure 4.25: Henderson White Bronze monument located in Hamilton Cemetery.

These cases show that White Bronze never achieved uniform acceptance and that its introduction to a community by no means guaranteed its adoption. Whether it took hold in a particular community or region hinged on the social standing of those who introduced it. Families like the Hendersons and Moores lacked the social capital and cultural influence

necessary to legitimize a new funerary style within their community. In contrast, Ermatinger and Pollock did. Typically, taste and fashion are shaped by elites and emulated by others; therefore, innovations introduced by lower-status individuals were more likely to be ignored or dismissed than adopted (Bourdieu, 1984). The Henderson monument is small and commemorates an infant; the Moore monument is similarly small and commemorates a member of the lower socioeconomic class. These individuals had little social capital, which the scale of the monument reinforced. Had the monuments been large and grand, they perhaps could have masked their status and introduced something capable of partaking in competitive mortuary display. Instead, these modest markers stood as visual confirmations of lower status rather than subversive statements. Although these families embraced an unconventional material, their low standing prevented their personal preference from catalyzing broader stylistic change, rendering their choices anomalies rather than trends.

Small clusters, in contrast, are examples where White Bronze gained traction and a micro-trend emerged. One of the clearest examples of this comes from the small, neighbouring communities of Parry Sound, Dunchurch, Whitestone and Fairholme, Ontario. Between the four main cemeteries of these towns, sixteen White Bronze monuments were erected between 1883 and 1890. Given the size of the cemeteries and the population living in these areas, this is a remarkably high concentration. The first two monuments were commissioned by locally prominent, middle-class people. In 1883, Henry Watkins, a wagonmaker and poster master, memorialized his three-year-old daughter; in the same year, Ellen (Leach) Ball, wife of a hotel owner, memorialized her brother. Though they were not members of the social elite, these individuals wielded enough social capital to legitimize the new material and bring about wider adoption in the area.

Community roles, such as postmaster and hotel owner, would have positioned Watkins and Ball at the center of local social networks, granting them visibility and influence. Furthermore, these communities were relatively poor, given their location, and that most of the people residing within them were members of the lower and lower-middle socioeconomic strata. Given this, members of the middle class may not have carried the same distinguishment as the elite, but they were elevated. Consequently, their elevated social standing made them exemplars whom others emulated in pursuit of prestige. This is supported by the fact that the remaining fourteen White Bronze monuments in the area (with one exception) were erected by members of the lower and lower-middle socioeconomic classes. Overall, small clusters illustrate how early adopters, with sufficient social capital, can introduce and legitimize a novel style, triggering localized uptake.

Jarvis and Drover (2018) allude to something similar, that certain persons were prone to adopting White Bronze, with their analysis of White Bronze monuments in St. John's, Newfoundland. Only four monuments were analyzed, but the authors concluded that the six individuals commemorated by them were all "well-connected, world-travelled, educated, creative, and engaged in the social and political life of St. John's," (Jarvis & Drover, 2018, 36). While this profile may not describe every early adopter of White Bronze, it illustrates the kind of person – possessing both the means and the networks – who could spark localized diffusion of the material.

As the above examples have shown, individuals draw inspiration from their community, rather than national trends, which produces unique, regionally varying and distinct distributions of commodities. This interpretation is supported by Exeter Cemetery in Hay, Ontario. There are thirteen White Bronze monuments within it, the most possessed by any one cemetery (with the

notable exception being St. Thomas Cemetery). Each monument within is an obelisk and twelve of the thirteen have the date cast in vine-like numerals. Though obelisks were the most common type in broader Ontario, only thirteen of the sixty-four monuments in this region had these vine-like numerals (with the exception of Exeter Cemetery removed). This demonstrates that community members were looking at examples of White Bronze within their communities and modeling their choices on local precedents, rather than solely on catalogues or broader trends. Fashion trends were community based and established, even if the producers were not.

Another example localized influence on fashion comes from a small cluster of American-made White Bronze monuments. Five appear in St. John's United Church Cemetery in Strathlorne, Nova Scotia and two in Congregation Cemetery of Margaree Harbour, Nova Scotia. The cemeteries are separated by less than fifty kilometres. Erected between 1903 and 1914, these markers postdate the St. Thomas White Bronze Company, lack its maker's mark and differ stylistically from Canadian examples, indicating that they were almost certainly imported from the United States (Figure 4.26). The first to commission such an import was John Moore on behalf of his wife, Catherine (Gordon) Moore. Prior to her death in 1903, their family lived in New York, New York. According to Broman (2014), New York City was dotted with White Bronze monuments, which explains the Moore family's knowledge of the monument type. After they moved to Canada and Catherine Moore died, John sought an American White Bronze monument to memorialize her. Once erected, their monument inspired others in the area to look beyond local options, leading them to source American White Bronze monuments as well. This demonstrates that local adopters can become trendsetters, shaping both stylistic choices and procurement practices within their communities.

These American examples also highlight the lengths some individuals will go to obtain a desired commodity. As this chapter has shown, certain White Bronze consumers arranged shipments spanning thousands of kilometres, crossing provincial and national borders, to acquire these monuments. This form of consumerism transcends practicality. The intense novelty seeking behaviour demonstrated by some consumers reflects the role of individual psychology, or "mental makeup" (Coursivanos, 2007, 50). Schaper and Volery (2004) identify one of the main characteristics of the mental makeup, that leads to intense novelty seeking, as a propensity for risk-taking. Early adopters, those with idiosyncratic monuments and the initial adopter in a small cluster, are especially likely to have this disposition because they demonstrate significant risk-taking behaviour in bringing a new and novel type to an area previously unfamiliar with them.

Figure 4.26: American imported White Bronze monuments located in St. John's Cemetery and Congregation Cemetery of Nova Scotia (Livingstone MacLeod, 2016).

Chapter 5 Conclusion

This research project pursued a nuanced understanding of individual choice and action, examining whether the consumption of mortuary monuments within the context of 19th century Canadian cemeteries varied according to individual identities and geographic location. White Bronze monuments enabled the creation of a tightly controlled and specific dataset, spanning a large geographic area. By combining these monument data with archival research, the project examined individuals – their social characteristics, identities and the specific choices they made following the death of a loved one. Through it, I demonstrated that what may appear to be a single and uniform phenomenon is, in fact, a complex interplay of regional tastes, personal motivations and social dynamics. Individuals adopted the novel commodity according to divergent meanings depending on local context, perceived social capital, and their own personal taste. This underscores how fashion is shaped by both producers and consumers, where power varies between them even within a single trend (Mytum, 2018). While producers may initiate or influence stylistic innovation, their control is never absolute. Consumers reinterpret, repurpose, or reject innovations based on their circumstances. The resulting patterns of White Bronze adoption, whether isolated, clustered, or widespread, revealed that fashion is not simply a top-down process but a dynamic negotiation between market forces and individual agency.

These findings contribute to multiple areas of scholarship, including material culture and consumer studies, fashion theory, historical cemeteries research and, more generally, mortuary archaeology. They provide a basis for understanding the connections between archaeological

data and levels of cultural behaviour, from the individual or household to cultural subgroups and national markets. Underpinning all of these areas of research, are the themes of identity and individual agency. As Knapp (2010) emphasizes, agency exists in the relationships between people and cannot be meaningfully conceived of without individuals. Similarly, Heilen (2012) argues that identity and agency are foundational to social life and are, therefore, integral to archaeological and historical research.

People regularly encounter new objects and technologies, and material culture and consumer studies – particularly within historical archaeology – acknowledge that this was equally true for people in the past. Past individuals not only encountered new and novel material forms, but often understood and embraced them, deliberately engaging with these objects to express and negotiate multiple and intersecting identities (Cochran & Beaudry, 2006). As Cannon (2005) notes, all choices are mediated by the desire either to conform with or to depart from prevailing practice. For these reasons, material choices are best understood as socially situated expressions of agency, shaped by context. This people-oriented framework enables scholars to investigate the diverse uses, experiences, and relationships between people and objects. It also aligns with the work of scholars such as Hodder (2012) and Knapp and Van Dommelen (2008), who emphasize the agency of objects and the entanglement of people and things in dynamic social relations.

Objects are not passive reflections of culture, but active participants in social processes, shaping and being shaped by human action (Knapp & Van Dommelen, 2008). This was evidenced by the "neighbourhood effect", first applied to gravestones by Streb, Kolnberger and Kmec (2019), and observed in the spatial distribution of White Bronze monuments. White Bronze monuments in a given area or community often resembled one another, suggesting that

the appearance of nearby graves influenced the choices of later consumers, leading to clusters of stylistically similar monuments. Exeter Cemetery was a particularly clear example of consumers drawing stylistic cues from neighbouring grave monuments, as the memorials throughout the site share certain stylistic features. Rather than drawing inspiration from distant trends or exercising individual artistic expression, individuals were influenced by the monuments, demonstrating the role of objects in guiding fashion and highlighting the relationship between people and objects.

As this project has demonstrated, White Bronze monuments were not merely commemorative markers of death; they were tools through which individuals negotiated identity, memory and status. Their dissemination and use across Canada revealed divergent cultural meanings and social functions. In the locus, they signaled elite status and were consumed by the social elite, as well as individuals seeking alignment with the elite. Beyond this area, however, White Bronze became an inexpensive yet novel alternative to conventional monument materials, often used by individuals with lesser financial means. This duality of use, status symbol in one context, economical substitute in another, highlights how objects acquire significance and meaning through the interplay of cultural context, individual intent, and structural conditions. These contradictory uses likely contributed to the overall lack of success experienced by the St. Thomas White Bronze Company. A status symbol, by definition, must signal distinction and exclusivity; when a commodity becomes inexpensive or widely accessible, it loses its capacity to convey social prestige. This highlights the importance of contextualizing consumption within local cultural and structural settings.

Altogether, this study documented consumer patterns, embedded them in broader structural and cultural influences, and underscored the range of ways consumers negotiate circumstances to socialize goods in distinctive ways. By spatially and temporally

contextualizing White Bronze monuments, it was possible to identify consumer patterns of adoption. Small clusters, idiosyncrasies, and other patterns of dissemination were visible. Similarly, consumers were systematically analyzed by variables such as socioeconomic status, sex, age and geographic location, to identify patterns in who was selecting or avoiding White Bronze monuments. Both micro-level consumer behaviours, such as the Sutherland family introducing White Bronze to Manitoba, and macro-level patterns, such as the frequent use of these monuments to commemorate young children, emerged. This dual focus and scale showed that there were multiple influences on consumer behavior. Consumption was shaped by elite influence, object agency, fashion cycles, and systems of transportation and communication, with varying impacts across regions. Ultimately, the diversity in uptake shows that consumers were not passive recipients of industry marketing, but active agents navigating constraints to infuse their memorial choices with local meaning and symbolic intent.

This project underscores the power of consumers by challenging the assumption that the spread of White Bronze monuments was primarily driven by top-down marketing through traveling sales agents. Evidence suggests that consumers themselves played a central role in the dissemination of this material form. Individuals and families who moved between communities brought with them not only physical possessions but also aesthetic preferences and cultural knowledge—including familiarity with White Bronze monuments. In this way, consumers became informal agents of stylistic diffusion, introducing the monuments to new locales where they may not have otherwise appeared. These consumer migrations helped seed interest in White Bronze in regions distant from the original locus, contributing to its uneven and localized adoption patterns. This underscores that mobility, memory, and materiality are interconnected,

and that consumers were not just responding to external trends but actively transmitting and transforming them across space.

Patterns of consumer identity and inequality are embedded in the ways people engage with material culture, particularly in commemorative practices. This project, in considering the specific identities of those commemorated by and responsible for selecting White Bronze, contributes to this established body of literature (e.g., Bourdieu, 1984; Storper, 2000; Carlisle, Hanlon & Hannah, 2008). Historically underrepresented individuals and peripheral groups, such as members of the lower socioeconomic strata, parents of young children, the elderly and women, were involved in this study and recognized as actors who altered fashion trends and produced archaeologically discernible change. For example, some members of the lower socioeconomic class selected White Bronze because it was an inexpensive alternative to stone, allowing them to project a higher status in death than they held in life. Similarly, some parents chose White Bronze monuments to commemorate deceased children in a way that was modest, yet meaningful, balancing affordability with appropriate remembrance for those considered less socially warranting of elaborate or expensive monuments. Their choices reflect complex negotiations of aspiration, affordability and symbolic expression.

While the project acknowledges the influence of marginalized groups, the locus area analysis focused on the elite actors who first introduced and popularized White Bronze. In this context, it is evident that the trendsetters were members of the elite and individuals from lower social strata adopted the style more gradually. This is more in line with common archaeological approaches, which focus on the actions and influence of the elite. As a result, this project's contributions are threefold. First, it expands the scope of consumer studies by centering the material and memorial practices of non-elite actors, offering a more inclusive understanding of

how identity is constructed and contested through consumption. Second, it recognizes that both elite and non-elite groups were active agents in shaping fashion, albeit through different mechanisms, thus integrating two distinct processes within a single study of one material form. Third, it demonstrates how these practices are preserved in the archaeological record.

The dynamic where elites initiated a trend and others adopted it through localized processes of imitation connects to broader models of stylistic diffusion. Deetz and Dethlefsen (1965) studied historical grave monuments to demonstrate that stylistic change radiates outward from an epicenter. It adds nuance to their model, showing that cultural change is more complex and individually driven. Though White Bronze monuments largely originated from one location in Canada, their spread was far from uniformly outward. Multiple centers of adoption emerged where people copied stylistic cues from local and neighbouring White Bronze monuments, rather than from the original St. Thomas locus. This pattern reveals that local networks of influence and imitation played a key role in shaping their dissemination, complicating linear models of stylistic diffusion.

Considering fashion's role in shaping burial trends helps to explain the role of individual agents in creating and transforming patterns of mortuary treatment (Cannon, 2005). While fashion is often framed as an elite-driven phenomenon, such views obscure the roles of diverse actors and the complexity of cultural processes. By examining individuals within multivalent social groups, this project challenges that narrative and adds nuance to fashion theory. For example, the capacity of individuals to bring about change in mortuary material culture, was highlighted in discussions of idiosyncratic White Bronze monuments. Although choices can be motivated by a variety of personal and structural forces, including individual psychology,

individuals are capable of initiating small-scale, localized trends. After all, the dead do not bury themselves (Parker Pearson, 1999).

This capacity for individual influence links closely with broader scholarly interest in the processes of innovation adoption. Economists, sociologists, anthropologists, psychologists – to name a few – have considered the complex processes involved, each with their own research questions, approaches and contexts. As Courvisanos (2007) points out, "innovation" has become an important word in the twenty-first century, reflecting all that is modern, progressive and exciting in a complex world. Although often conceptualized as a contemporary phenomenon, the past was equally subject to and shaped by processes of innovation, achieved via the introduction of new products, processes, movements and technologies. The adoption of White Bronze monuments in the late 19th century exemplifies such historical innovation: a novel funerary material that was mass-produced, customizable, and visually distinct from traditional stone markers. Despite this ubiquity, innovation and novelty are poorly understood. In contextualizing a novel innovation by considering who was using it, and when, why and how, this project contributes to a grounded understanding of how novelty and innovation operated within 19th century mortuary contexts. Such specific contextualization renders agency visible in the pursuit of innovation, which is necessary for understanding how human action makes innovation happen (Courvisanos, 2007).

Ultimately, this study is only preliminary. While its scale allowed for detailed exploration of broader cultural trends and processes, as well as individual commemorative choices, the research potential of White Bronze monuments has not been exhausted. These monuments are a unique mortuary phenomenon which allowed for the creation of a tightly controlled and specific dataset, but they are not the only materials suited for such analysis. Rather, this project and the

monuments have served to highlight the research potential such multivalent studies offer, underscoring the complexity of fashion, object consumption and the individual agents who create such processes.

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Appendices

Appendix A: Cemetery Information

A.1 Locus

Name	Address	Total Number of Monuments	Total Number of White Bronze Monuments
Aylmer Cemetery	8152 Imperial Road Aylmer, ON	11000	1
Mapleton Cemetery	46450 Mapleton Line, Mapleton ON	500	2
Necropolis Mapleton Cemetery	47471 Mapleton Line, Mapleton ON	400	2
St. Thomas Cemetery	67 West Ave St. Thomas, ON	16000	22
Old English Cemetery	55 Walnut St., St. Thomas, ON	1100	2
Holy Angels Cemetery	175 Sunset Drive, St Thomas, ON N5R 3C1	3500	6
McArthur Cemetery	36433 Second Line, Southwold, ON N0L 2G0	1000	1
North Street United Church Cemetery	5856 Colonel Talbot Road, London, ON N6P 1J1	30	1
Scottsville Pioneer Cemetery	5199 Colonel Talbot Road, London, ON N6P 1H8	900	2
Trinity Lambeth Anglican Church Cemetery	4307 Colonel Talbot Road, London, ON N6P 1R2	500	1
Talbotville Cemetery	39889 Talbot Line, St Thomas, ON N5P 3T2	300	2

Frome United Church Cemetery	37694 Talbot Line, Shedden, ON N0L 2E0	400	2
Fingal Cemetery	36244 Fingal Line, St. Thomas, ON N5P 3S5	2000	3
Shedden Cemetery	35600 Talbot Line, Shedden, ON N0L 2E0	600	1
Sparta Friends Cemetery	45870 Sparta Line, Sparta, ON N0L 2H0	300	1
Cowal McBride Cemetery	33163 Aberdeen Line, Iona Station, ON N0L1P0	1700	4
McIntyre Cemetery	34722 Fourth Line, Southwold, ON	170	1
Iona Cemetery	334888 Talbot Line, Iona, ON	200	1
Port Stanley Christ Anglican Church Cemetery	283 Colborne Street, Port Stanley ON, N5L 1B9	130	1
Union United Church Cemetery	6008 Stone Church Road, Union, ON N0L 2L0	5000	1

A.2 Broader Ontario

Name	Address	Total Number of Monuments	Total Number of White Bronze Monuments
Lakeview Cemetery	233 Erie Street South, Leamington, ON N8H 3C	7000	1
Birr United Church Cemetery	14295 Thirteen Mile Road, Denfield, ON	800	2
Bethel Munro Cemetery	3390 ON-23, Fullarton, ON N0K 1H0	450	1

Necropolis Cemetery	200 Winchester Street, Toronto, ON M4X 1B7	12000	4
Maple Island Cemetery	4 Maple Island Rd, Whitestone, ON P0A 1G0	90	2
St. James Cemetery	635 Parliament Street, Toronto, ON	15500	6
Mount Pleasant Cemetery	375 Mount Pleasant Road, Toronto, ON	218000	5
Fairfield Cemetery	69594 Airport Line, Crediton, ON N0M 1M0	140	1
Hamilton Cemetery	777 York Boulevard, Hamilton, ON L8R 2A4	36000	1
Lakeview Cemetery	137 Balsam Road, McKellar, ON	200	6
Hillcrest Cemetery	110 William Street, Parry Sound, ON P2A 1V6	6500	3
Fairholme Cemetery	1671 Highway 124, Fairholme, ON P0A 1G	600	5
Centreville Presbyterian Church Cemetery	574 County Road 28 & Zion Line, Peterborough, ON	350	1
Bostwick Pioneer Cemetery	1929 Hamilton Road, London, ON N6M 1G6	300	2
Hillsdale Cemetery	3725 Petrolia Line, Petrolia, ON	8000	2
Cataraqui Cemetery	927 Purdy's Mill Road, Kingston, ON K7M 3N1	50000	2
Woodland Cemetery	493 Springbank Drive, London, ON N6J 1H3	47000	1
Mount Pleasant Cemetery	303 Riverside Drive, London, ON N6H 1G2	50000	2

Dorchester Union Cemetery	2251 Dorchester Rd, Dorchester, ON	8500	1
St. James Cemetery	34092 Richmond Street North, Clandeboye, ON	3500	1
Barrie Union Cemetery	338 Sunningdale Rd, Barrie, ON	17000	2
Strathroy Municipal Cemetery	585 Metcalfe Street West, Strathroy, ON	11200	6
Harris Street Cemetery	334063 Plank Line, Ingersoll, ON	3700	1
Windsor Grove Cemetery	455 Giles Boulevard, East, Windsor, ON N9A 4C8	13500	1
Exeter Cemetery	39650 Dashwood Road, Hay, ON N0M 1W0	8600	13
Presbyterian Cemetery	4700, Ottawa Regional Road 25, Gloucester, ON	40	1
Eyre Cemetery	385 Regent Street, Sudbury, ON	1300	2
Sturgeon Falls Roman Catholic Cemetery	325 Nipissing Street, Sturgeon Falls, ON P2B 3C6	6400	1
Gordon Cemetery	459 Poplar Road, Gore Bay, Manitoulin District, ON P0P 1H0	2300	1
Kintore Presbyterian Cemetery	842890 Road 84, Kintore, ON	1600	1

A.3 Other Provinces

Cemetery Name	Address	Total Number of Monuments	Total Number of White Bronze Monuments
Camp Hill Cemetery	1600 Summer Street, Halifax, NS B3H 3A6	8500	7
Grand River Presbyterian Cemetery	Loch Lomond Road, Grandriver, NS	500	1
Old Port Medway Cemetery	1687 Port Medway Road, Port Medway, NS	500	3
Oak Point Baptist Cemetery	6659 NB-Route 102 Oak Point, Kings County, NB	150	1
Browns Flat Baptist Cemetery	I Beulah Road, Browns Flat, NB E5M 2N5	500	1
Saint Peter's Anglican Church Cemetery	2365 Woodstock Road, Fredericton, NB	200	2
Shelburne Methodist Church Cemetery	136 Hammod Street, Shelburne County, NS	60	4
North East Harbour Cemetery	5241 Shore Road, Shelbourne County, NS	150	2
Alma Baptist Cemetery	4065 Scenic Drive, Alma, NB	250	1
Bay View Cemetery	Harvey, Albert County, NB	900	2
Congregation Cemetery	3265 Shore Road, Margaree Harbour, NS B0E 2B0	450	2
Advocate Cemetery	3498 NS-209 Road, Advocate Harbour, NS	2000	1
Christ Church Cemetery	135 West Victoria Street, Amherst, NS B4H 1C7	500	1

Sackville Rural Cemetery	109 York Street, Sackville, NB	5000	6
St. John's United Church Cemetery	3180 Beaver Bank Road, Strathlorne, NS	700	5
Riverside Cemetery	28229 NS-368, Pugwash Junction, NS B0K 1M0	1000	1
Pine Grove Cemetery	84 Evangeline Trail, Middleton, NS B0S 1P0	3300	1
Jawbone Corner Cemetery	1782 NS-358, Port Williams, NS B0P 1T0	700	1
Truro Cemetery	125 Robie Street, Truro, NS	6500	7
Hardwood Hill Cemetery	106 Townsend Street, Sydney, NS B1P 5E1	6000	1
Brookside Cemetery	1035 Main Street, Sydney Mines, NS B1V 2M6	35000	1
Amherst Cemetery	83 East Pleasant Street, Amherst, NS B4H 1N2	2500	10
Ross Bay Cemetery	1495 Fairfield Road, Victoria, BC	30000	9
Dartmouth Cemetery	65 Victoria Road, Dartmouth, NS	1200	2
Holy Cross Cemetery	1259 South Park Street, Halifax, NS B3J 2K8	11000	7
Kildonan Presbyterian Cemetery	201 John Black Avenue, Winnipeg, MB R2V 4T5	6000	3
Brookside Cemetery	3001 Notre Dame Avenue, Winnipeg, MB R3H 1B8	101500	5

Appendix B: White Bronze Monument Information

B.1 Locus

Family Name	Style	Height (in feet)	Type	Year Erected (* when denoted by numerals)	Number of Individuals Commemorated
Bradley	obelisk	5-8	medium obelisk/ column/ block	*1887	7
McGregor	obelisk	2-5	small obelisk/ column/ block	1885	1
Moore	obelisk	2-5	small obelisk/ column/ block	*1887	2
Luton	obelisk	5-8	medium obelisk/ column/ block	*1885	6
Sherk	obelisk	5-8	medium obelisk/ column/ block	*1887	3
Broderick	obelisk	8+	large obelisk/ column/ block	*1901	3
Kirk	obelisk	5-8	medium obelisk/ column/ block	1884	3
Nicol	obelisk	5-8	medium obelisk/ column/ block	1883	1
Brooks	obelisk	2-5	small obelisk/ column/ block	*1893	2
Clarridge	planter	0-2	horizontal	1897	1
Beaufour	obelisk	8+	large obelisk/ column/ block	*1889	2
Miller	obelisk	8+	large obelisk/ column/ block	1893	3
Mattice	obelisk	2-5	small obelisk/ column/ block	1885	4

Noble	obelisk	8+	large obelisk/ column/ block	*1884	5
Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen	obelisk	8+	large obelisk/ column/ block	*1888	5
Pincbome	obelisk	8+	large obelisk/ column/ block	*1885	2
Palmer	obelisk	8+	large obelisk/ column/ block	*1889	2
Heidt	obelisk	8+	large obelisk/ column/ block	*1885	2
Claris	block	5-8	medium obelisk/ column/ block	*1888	2
Buchanan	obelisk	2-5	small obelisk/ column/ block	1888	2
Webb	obelisk	8+	large obelisk/ column/ block	1890	2
Maxwell	obelisk	8+	large obelisk/ column/ block	*1885	2
Pollock	effigy	2-5	effigy	1883	1
Phillips	double-front headstone	0-2	double-front headstone	1884	1
Brown	obelisk	8+	large obelisk/ column/ block	1896	2
McNicol	obelisk	2-5	small obelisk/ column/ block	*1885	2
Risdon	planter	0-2	horizontal	1885	1
Ermatinger	obelisk	8+	large obelisk/ column/ block	1883	4
Nicoll	obelisk	8+	large obelisk/ column/ block	1883	4
Reiser	obelisk	5-8	medium obelisk/ column/ block	*1884	3

Maginn	obelisk	5-8	medium obelisk/ column/ block	1883	2
Power	3-tiered block	5-8	medium obelisk/ column/ block	*1888	2
Clarke	Celtic cross	5-8	other	1887	1
Gorman	obelisk	2-5	small obelisk/ column/ block	1884	1
Harvey	obelisk	8+	large obelisk/ column/ block	1883	3
Plain	obelisk	8+	large obelisk/ column/ block	*1889	4
Meek	obelisk	2-5	small obelisk/ column/ block	1883	2
Vanstone	obelisk	5-8	medium obelisk/ column/ block	1883	3
Cummins	obelisk	5-8	medium obelisk/ column/ block	1891	5
Scoyne	obelisk	2-5	small obelisk/ column/ block	*1888	4
Hicks	Single-front headstone	0-2	single-front headstone	1883	1
Risdon	planter	0-2	horizontal	1890	1
Baird	obelisk	5-8	medium obelisk/ column/ block	1883	4
Wade	obelisk	2-5	small obelisk/ column/ block	1883	2
Taylor	obelisk	5-8	medium obelisk/ column/block	*1889	3
Wallace	unique block	8+	other	*1886	3
Smuck	Single-front headstone	0-2	Single-front headstone	1886	1
Ball	obelisk	5-8	medium obelisk/ column/ block	*1887	2

Mills	single-front headstone	0-2	single-front headstone	1886	1
Ross	single-front headstone	0-2	single-front headstone	1883	1
Ross	single-front headstone	0-2	single-front headstone	1883	1
Patterson	double-front headstone	0-2	double-front headstone	1883	1
Holmes	single-front headstone	0-2	single-front headstone	1885	1
Campbell	obelisk	2-5	small obelisk/ column/ block	*1884	3
Burns	double-front headstone	0-2	double-front headstone	1886	1
Price	obelisk	2-5	small obelisk/ column/ block	*1888	7
Black	obelisk	5-8	medium obelisk/ column/ block	1887	2

B.2 Broader Ontario

Family Name	Style	Height (in feet)	Type	Year Erected (* when specified)	Number of Individuals Commemorated
Watson	obelisk	5-8	medium obelisk/ column/ block	1887	6
Westman	obelisk	5-8	medium obelisk/ column/ block	1888	1
Morrow	obelisk	2-5	small obelisk/ column/ block	1883	1
Murch	obelisk	5-8	medium obelisk/ column/ block	1883	4

McIntosh	obelisk	2-5	small obelisk/ column/ block	*1887	3
Hooper	obelisk	2-5	small obelisk/ column/ block	1883	4
Turriff	obelisk	2-5	small obelisk/ column/ block	1884	4
McKelvie	double-front headstone	0-2	double-front headstone	1884	1
Johnston	double-front headstone	0-2	double-front headstone	1888	1
Wilkinson	obelisk	2-5	small obelisk/ column/ block	1888	1
Clougher	obelisk	5-8	medium obelisk/ column/ block	1883	1
Thompson	obelisk	5-8	medium obelisk/ column/ block	1884	3
Kidd	block	2-5	small obelisk/ column/ block	1883	4
Crackle	obelisk	5-8	medium obelisk/ column/ block	1883	4
Sherlock	obelisk	5-8	medium obelisk/ column/ block	1883	1
Padley	effigy	2-5	effigy	1885	1
Armstrong	obelisk	5-8	medium obelisk/ column/ block	*1888	1
Paterson	effigy with block	5-8	Effigy	1886	1
Norman	obelisk	5-8	medium obelisk/ column/ block	*1889	2
Piddington	obelisk	unknown	unknown	1886	1
Reid	obelisk	5-8	medium obelisk/ column/ block	1887	1
Kyle	obelisk	5-8	medium obelisk/ column/ block	1887	2

Elliott	block/column	2-5	small obelisk/ column/ block	*1889	unknown
Henderson	lamb	0-2	other	unknown	1
Marsden	double-front headstone	0-2	double-front headstone	1887	1
Little	double-front headstone	0-2	double-front headstone	1889	1
Watkins	double-front headstone	0-2	double-front headstone	1883	1
Spencer	obelisk	2-5	small obelisk/ column/ block	1888	2
Saunders	obelisk	2-5	small obelisk/ column/ block	1888	1
Leach	obelisk	2-5	small obelisk/ column/ block	1883	1
Robinson	obelisk	2-5	small obelisk/ column/ block	*1890	3
Gervis	double-front headstone	0-2	double-front headstone	1889	1
Cooper	double-front headstone	0-2	double-front headstone	1888	2
Bell	double-front headstone	0-2	double-front headstone	1889	1
Moore	double-front headstone	0-2	double-front headstone	1888	1
North	double-front headstone	0-2	double-front headstone	1886	1
Russell	obelisk	2--5	small obelisk/ column/ block	1887	1
Madigan	single-front headstone	2-5	single-front headstone	1887	1
Chambers	obelisk	2-5	small obelisk/ column/ block	*1888	1

Tibbits	double-front headstone	0-2	double-front headstone	1886	1
Stevens	obelisk	2-5	small obelisk/ column/ block	*1887	3
Barclay	obelisk	5-8	medium obelisk/ column/ block	1883	1
Durham	obelisk	5-8	medium obelisk/ column/ block	1885	1
McCutcheon	obelisk	5-8	medium obelisk/ column/ block	1889	1
Shaw	obelisk	5-8	medium obelisk/ column/ block	*1889	4
Sainsbury	obelisk	2-5	small obelisk/ column/ block	1883	2
Cumerledge	obelisk	2-5	small obelisk/ column/ block	*1887	2
Eckert	obelisk	2-5	small obelisk/ column/ block	unknown	1
Sutherland	obelisk	8+	large obelisk/ column/ block	*1887	3
Hodgins	obelisk	8+	large obelisk/ column/ block	1884	7
Gilpin	obelisk	5-8	medium obelisk/ column/ block	1889	2
Rogers	obelisk with effigy	8+	large obelisk/ column/ block	*1887	2
Bowley	Obelisk	8+	large obelisk/ column/ block	1883	4
Kilty	obelisk	5-8	medium obelisk/ column/ block	1884	1
Sibley	lamb	0-2	other	1885	1
Smith	obelisk	5-8	medium obelisk/ column/ block	*1893	2

Wilkinson	obelisk	5-8	medium obelisk/ column/ block	1883	1
Smithrem	obelisk	2-5	small obelisk/ column/ block	1884	3
Gillard	obelisk	2-5	small obelisk/ column/ block	1895	2
Dunn	block	2-5	small obelisk/ column/ block	1885	1
Chambers	column	2-5	small obelisk/ column/ block	1889	1
Stevens	column	2-5	small obelisk/ column/ block	*1890	2
Mawhinney	obelisk	8+	large obelisk/ column/ block	*1890	2
Hill	obelisk	5-8	medium obelisk/ column/ block	*1885	1
Hedden	obelisk	5-8	medium obelisk/ column/ block	*1889	1
Down	obelisk	8+	large obelisk/ column/ block	*1889	4
Horn	obelisk	2-5	small obelisk/ column/ block	*1887	2
Wakelin	obelisk	2-5	small obelisk/ column/ block	*1884	2
Page	obelisk	2-5	small obelisk/ column/ block	*1889	3
Box	obelisk	8+	large obelisk/ column/ block	*1889	2
Prouty	obelisk	2-5	small obelisk/ column/ block	*1887	1
Anderson	obelisk	2-5	small obelisk/ column/ block	*1890	1
Harness	obelisk	2-5	small obelisk/ column/ block	*1886	3

Moore	block	2-5	small obelisk/ column/ block	*1888	1
Porter	double-front headstone	0-2	double-front headstone	1890	1
Eyre	obelisk	5-8	medium obelisk/ column/ block	1889	1
Dicaire	headstone with cross	0-2	other	1895	1
Hall	double block	2-5	other	1894	2
McKay	obelisk	5-8	medium obelisk/ column/ block	*1886	1

B.3 Other Provinces

Family Name	Style	Height (in feet)	Type	Year Erected (* when specified)	Number of Individuals Commemorated
McEachran	double-front headstone	0-2	double-front headstone	1889	2
Mason	obelisk with effigy	5-8	medium obelisk/ column/ block	1886	2
Clarke	block	0-2	small obelisk/ column/ block	1888	1
Greenaway	obelisk with urn	2-5	small obelisk/ column/ block	unknown	1
Wallace	double-front headstone	0-2	double-front headstone	1886	2
Laruilliard	obelisk with urn	2-5	small obelisk/ column/ block	1886	2
Unknown	double-front headstone	0-2	double-front headstone	1887	1
Lamphier	block with effigy	5-8	effigy	1885	4

Matheson	single-front headstone	0-2	single-front headstone	1887	1
McIsaac	single-front headstone	0-2	single-front headstone	1888	2
Acker/Bowlby	obelisk with urn	5-8	medium obelisk/ column/ block	1887	2
Brown	obelisk	2-5	small obelisk/ column/ block	1889	3
Price	obelisk	5-8	medium obelisk/ column/ block	1892	2
Elson	single-front headstone	0-2	single-front headstone	1884	1
Hawkshaw	obelisk	2-5	small obelisk/ column/ block	1892	1
Hamilton	block	2-5	small obelisk/ column/ block	1898	1
Grovestein	double-front headstone	0-2	double-front headstone	1887	1
Muir	obelisk with urn	5-8	medium obelisk/ column/ block	1889	1
Crowell	obelisk	5-8	medium obelisk/ column/ block	1890	2
Taylor	obelisk	2-5	small obelisk/ column/ block	1889	1
Swain	single-front headstone	0-2	single-front headstone	1892	1
Greenwood	obelisk	5-8	medium obelisk/ column/ block	*1889	2
Martin	obelisk	5-8	medium obelisk/ column/ block	1889	2
Reid	obelisk with large effigy	5-8	medium obelisk/ column/ block	1889	5
Edgett	double-front headstone	0-2	double-front headstone	1890	1

Etheridge	headstone with planter	0-2	horizontal	1913	1
Munro	block	2-5	medium obelisk/ column/ block	1914	1
Dewis	obelisk	5-8	medium obelisk/ column/ block	1883	1
Moffat	block with urn	8+	large obelisk/ column/ block	1893	4
Pickard	obelisk	5-8	medium obelisk/ column/ block	1890	3
Bulmer	double-front headstone	0-2	double-front headstone	1886	1
Wells	double-front headstone	0-2	double-front headstone	1887	1
Wilson	obelisk	5-8	medium obelisk/ column/ block	1887	12
Wilson	footstone	0-2	horizontal	1889	1
Bickerton/ Thompson	obelisk	5-8	medium obelisk/ column/ block	1888	5
Maclean	block	2-5	small obelisk/ column/ block	1909	2
Maclean	planter	0-2	horizontal	1911	1
Mackinnon	block with effigy	2-5	small obelisk/ column/ block	1914	1
Moore	block with urn	2-5	small obelisk/ column/ block	1903	1
McKinnon	block with urn	2-5	small obelisk/ column/ block	1909	2
Woodland	obelisk	5-8	medium obelisk/ column/ block	1889	1
Dodge	obelisk	5-8	medium obelisk/ column/ block	*1886	1

Dickey	obelisk	2-5	small obelisk/ column/ block	1883	1
Downie	column	2-5	small obelisk/ column/ block	*1890	2
Fuller	footstone	0-2	horizontal	1889	1
McMullen	block	5-8	medium obelisk/ column/ block	1889	4
McMullen	footstone	0-2	horizontal	1889	2
Nelson	footstone	0-2	horizontal	1889	1
Parris	single-front headstone	0-2	single-front headstone	1890	1
Yould	obelisk	5-8	medium obelisk/ column/ block	1888	2
Gillis	obelisk	5-8	medium obelisk/ column/ block	*1887	1
Stewart	other with planter	5-9	other	*1914	1
Wolf	footstone	0-2	horizontal	1890	1
Pugsley	obelisk	5-8	medium obelisk/ column/ block	*1889	2
Bent	obelisk	5-8	medium obelisk/ column/ block	1889	2
Bent	obelisk	5-8	medium obelisk/ column/ block	1889	5
Moffat	other	5-8	other	1889	1
Campbell	obelisk	5-8	medium obelisk/ column/ block	1889	3
Cutten	obelisk	5-8	medium obelisk/ column/ block	*1889	5
Carter	block	5-8	medium obelisk/ column/ block	1887	4
Coates	footstone	0-2	horizontal	1888	1

Dunlap	obelisk	5-8	medium obelisk/ column/ block	1883	5
Campbell	obelisk	2-5	small obelisk/ column/ block	1886	1
Aden	obelisk	2-5	small obelisk/ column/ block	1890	3
Craft	obelisk	5-8	medium obelisk/ column/ block	*1886	5
Chambers	Column	2-5	small obelisk/ column/ block	1888	1
Carpenter	Column	2-5	small obelisk/ column/ block	1888	1
Harding	Column	2-5	small obelisk/ column/ block	1890	2
Walker	obelisk with urn	2-5	small obelisk/ column/ block	1888	2
Walker	obelisk with urn	2-5	small obelisk/ column/ block	1890	2
Whitlaw	triangular single-front headstone	0-2	single-front headstone	1887	1
Mitchner	double-front headstone	0-2	double-front headstone	1886	1
Austen	obelisk	5-8	medium obelisk/ column/ block	1888	3
Meagher	double-front headstone	0-2	double-front headstone	1888	3
O'Flaherty	double-front headstone	0-2	double-front headstone	1889	1
Webber	double-front headstone	0-2	double-front headstone	1890	1
Cecconi	single-front headstone	0-2	single-front headstone	1889	2

McCulloch	obelisk with cross	5-8	medium obelisk/ column/ block	1897	3
Netherton	obelisk	2-5	small obelisk/ column/ block	1889	4
Bowler	obelisk	2-5	small obelisk/ column/ block	1887	1
Sutherland	obelisk	5-8	medium obelisk/ column/ block	1884	3
Martineau	double-front headstone	0-2	double-front headstone	1892	1
Polson	obelisk	2-5	small obelisk/ column/ block	1889	1
Currie	double-front headstone	0-2	double-front headstone	1888	2
Kelly	obelisk	2-5	small obelisk/ column/ block	1888	2
Schwigler	double-front headstone	0-2	double-front headstone	1889	1
Walker	obelisk	2-5	small obelisk/ column/ block	1887	2
Webb	obelisk	2-5	small obelisk/ column/ block	1889	1

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Appendix C: Biographical Information on the Primary Deceased Commemorated by White Bronze Monuments

C.1 Locus

Cemetery Name	Name of Primary Commemoration	Sex	Birth Year	Death Year	Age (years)
Aylmer Cemetery	Harry Bradley	male	1884	1887	3
Mapleton Cemetery	Thomas H. McGregor	male	1859	1885	26
Mapleton Cemetery	David Moore	male	1812	1887	75
Necropolis Mapleton Cemetery	John Luton	male	1811	1884	73
Necropolis Mapleton Cemetery	Benjamin Sherk	male	1820	1886	65
St. Thomas Cemetery	Jane (Mosier) Broderick	female	1835	1901	65
St. Thomas Cemetery	John F. Kirk	male	1809	1884	75
St. Thomas Cemetery	John Nicol	male	1847	1883	36
St. Thomas Cemetery	Thomas Brooks	male	1836	1893	57
St. Thomas Cemetery	Sarah Elizabeth (Wilson) Clarridge	female	1864	1897	32

St. Thomas Cemetery	Hannah C. (Smith) Beaufour	female	1854	1889	34
St. Thomas Cemetery	Edward Miller	male	1820	1893	73
St. Thomas Cemetery	William Mattice	male	1879	1885	6
St. Thomas Cemetery	Mary (McBride) Noble	female	1838	1883	45
St. Thomas Cemetery	Thomas Price Jones	male	1862	1888	26
St. Thomas Cemetery	Catherine Radcliff	female	1831	1884	53
St. Thomas Cemetery	Samuel E. Palmer	male	1844	1889	45
St. Thomas Cemetery	Christian Frederick Heidt	male	1811	1885	74
St. Thomas Cemetery	Adela (Dougherty) Claris	female	1850	1887	37
St. Thomas Cemetery	William Buchanan	male	1811	1888	77
St. Thomas Cemetery	Nathanial Webb	male	1849	1889	40
St. Thomas Cemetery	Isabel (Carnegie) Maxwell	female	1815	1889	74
St. Thomas Cemetery	Herbert Pollock	male	1873	1873	0
St. Thomas Cemetery	Margaret Jane (Coyne) Phillips	female	1856	1884	28
St. Thomas Cemetery	Henry Brown	male	1824	1896	70
St. Thomas Cemetery	John McNicol	male	1812	1883	70

St. Thomas Cemetery	Ethel Maude Risdon	female	1881	1885	3
Old English Cemetery	Edward Ermatinger	male	1796	1876	80
Old English Cemetery	Richard B. Nicoll	male	1804	1882	78
Holy Angels Cemetery	William Reiser	male	1824	1882	58
Holy Angels Cemetery	James Maginn	male	1814	1883	69
Holy Angels Cemetery	Thomas Power	male	1840	1880	39
Holy Angels Cemetery	Matthew M. Clarke	male	1859	1887	28
Holy Angels Cemetery	Patrick Gorman	male	1842	1884	42
Holy Angels Cemetery	Richard Harvey	male	1814	1883	69
McArthur Cemetery	Mary Jane (Fisher) Plain	female	1850	1887	38
North Street United Church Cemetery	Mary Sarah (Owrey) Meek	female	1809	1882	73
Scotsville Pioneer Cemetery	Elizabeth (Oke/Arthur?) Vanstone	female	1830	1883	53
Scotsville Pioneer Cemetery	Margaret (Little) Cummins	female	1822	1891	68
Trinity Lambeth Anglican Church Cemetery	Emma (Bassett) Scoyne	female	1815	1888	73

Talbotville Cemetery	Edith Emma Mary Hicks	female	1877	1881	4
Talbotville Cemetery	Joseph Risdon	male	1803	1890	85
Frome United Church Cemetery	Frances Baird	female	1819	1884	65
Frome United Church Cemetery	Jacob Wade	male	1801	1881	79
Fingal Cemetery	William Taylor	male	1823	1888	64
Fingal Cemetery	Wilson Wallace	male	1835	1885	50
Fingal Cemetery	Susannah (Welter) Smuck	female	1830	1886	56
Shedden Cemetery	Hattie (Orchard) Ball	female	1859	1887	27
Sparta Friends Cemetery	Isaac Mills	male	1800	1886	86
Cowal McBride Cemetery	Mabel Ross	female	1877	1881	3
Cowal McBride Cemetery	Walter Ross	male	1881	1882	1
Cowal McBride Cemetery	Mary (McTavish) Patterson	female	1850	1879	29
Cowal McBride Cemetery	Samuel J. Holmes	male	1883	1885	1
Port Stanley Chirst Anglican	Samuel Price	male	1808	1888	79

Church Cemetery					
Union United Church Cemetery	Joseph Black	male	1814	1887	73
McIntyre Cemetery	Mary Ann (McIntyre) Campbell	female	1853	1882	29
Iona Cemetery	Maud Annie Burns	female	1865	1886	21

C.2 Broader Ontario

Cemetery Name	Name of Primary Commemoration	Sex	Birth Year	Death Year	Age (in years)
Lakeview Cemetery	William Alvin Watson	male	1860	1887	27
Birr United Church Cemetery	Sarah (Bracken) Westman	female	1823	1888	65
Birr United Church Cemetery	Catherine (Cranston) Morrow	female	1855	1883	28
Bethel Munro Cemetery	Elizabeth "Eliza" (Thorne) Murch	female	1816	1883	67
Necropolis Cemetery	James McIntosh	male	1845	1882	38
Necropolis Cemetery	Harriet and Thomas Hooper	male and female	unknown	unknown	infants
Necropolis Cemetery	William Turriff	male	1826	1883	57
Necropolis Cemetery	George R. McKelvie	male	1883	1884	8 months

St. James Cemetery	Emma J. Clougher	female	1849	1874	25
St. James Cemetery	Mary (Connor) Thompson	female	1810	1884	74
St. James Cemetery	John Kidd	male	1880	1883	3
St. James Cemetery	Harriet (Still) Crackle	female	1838	1883	45
St. James Cemetery	Sarah Sherlock	female	1864	1883	19
St. James Cemetery	Frederick "Freddie" Padley	male	1882	1885	3
Mount Pleasant Cemetery	Harry Richmond Armstrong	male	1886	1886	5 months
Mount Pleasant Cemetery	William Cameron Paterson	male	1859	1886	27
Mount Pleasant Cemetery	Addison Read Norman	male	1869	1889	19
Mount Pleasant Cemetery	May Gertrude Piddington	female	1884	1886	2
Mount Pleasant Cemetery	Thomas Reid	male	1845	1887	42
Mount Pleasant Cemetery	Thomas Kyle	male	1846	1887	41
Fairfield Cemetery	unknown Elliott	unknown	unknown	unknown	unknown
Hamilton Cemetery	George W. Goold Henderson	male	unknown	unknown	infant

Lakeview Cemetery	William Francis Marsden	male	1881	1887	6
Lakeview Cemetery	Mary Little	female	1851	1883	32
Lakeview Cemetery	Beatrice Alice Watkins	female	1880	1883	3
Lakeview Cemetery	William Spencer	male	1825	1888	63
Lakeview Cemetery	Sarah Rebecca Saunders	female	1866	1888	22
Lakeview Cemetery	James H. Leach	male	1854	1882	28
Hillcrest Cemetery	Cornelius Benjamin Robinson	male	1874	1890	16
Hillcrest Cemetery	John Herbert Gervis	male	1888	1889	10 months
Hillcrest Cemetery	Cathrine Cooper	female	1816	1888	72
Fairholme Cemetery	Arthur James Bell	male	1870	1889	29
Fairholme Cemetery	Joseph Moore	male	1887	1888	1
Fairholme Cemetery	William North	male	1821	1886	65
Fairholme Cemetery	Matilda Jane (Neely) Russell	female	1843	1887	44
Fairholme Cemetery	Margaret Allen Madigan	female	1881	1887	6
Centreville Presbyterian Church Cemetery	Jane (Vincent) Chambers	female	1802	1886	84

Bostwick Pioneer Cemetery	Elhanan Tibbits	male	1823	1886	63
Bostwick Pioneer Cemetery	Hannah (Tibbits) Stevens	female	1814	1887	73
Hillsdale Cemetery	Ethel Grace Elizabeth Barclay	female	1879	1880	1
Hillsdale Cemetery	James Elias Durham	male	1849	1885	37
Cataraqui Cemetery	William McCutcheon	male	1833	1889	56
Cataraqui Cemetery	Alexander Shaw	male	1829	1887	58
Woodland Cemetery	James Thomas Sainsbury	male	1819	1883	64
Mount Pleasant Cemetery	Elizabeth (Fletcher) Cumberledge	female	1809	1887	78
Mount Pleasant Cemetery	William Eckert	male	1873	1911	37
Mount Pleasant Cemetery	unknown	unknown	unknown	unknown	unknown
Dorchester Union Cemetery	Mary Ann (Neely) Sutherland	female	1820	1886	66
St. James Cemetery	William N. Hodgins	male	1828	1884	56
Barrie Union Cemetery	Catherine (Campbell) Gilpin	female	1812	1889	82
Barrie Union Cemetery	George Rogers	male	1862	1885	23

Strathroy Municipal Cemetery	Edith F. (Bowley) Bradshaw	female	1860	1883	23
Strathroy Municipal Cemetery	Rev. Henry James Kilty	male	1825	1884	59
Strathroy Municipal Cemetery	Maude Sibley	female	unknown	1885	unknown
Strathroy Municipal Cemetery	Jane (Hawkins) Smith	female	1837	1892	55
Strathroy Municipal Cemetery	Mary (Champion) Wilkinson	female	1837	1882	45
Strathroy Municipal Cemetery	Betsy Ann (Rowland) Smithrem	female	1818	1885	67
Harris Street Cemetery	Elizabeth "Betsy" (Mellish) Gillard	female	1828	1895	67
Windsor Grove Cemetery	George B. Dunn	male	1800	1885	85
Exeter Cemetery	William G. Chambers	male	1862	1889	27
Exeter Cemetery	John Stevens	male	1811	1885	74
Exeter Cemetery	James Mawhinney	male	1870	1892	22
Exeter Cemetery	Anne Hill	female	1833	1885	52
Exeter Cemetery	Samuel Hedden	male	1840	1888	48
Exeter Cemetery	Anne (Eynon) Down	female	1809	1888	79

Exeter Cemetery	Elizabeth Horn	female	1858	1881	23
Exeter Cemetery	Charles Wakelin	male	1797	1883	86
Exeter Cemetery	Maria (Bowers) Page	female	1824	1888	64
Exeter Cemetery	Jane Box	female	1823	1889	66
Exeter Cemetery	Jemima Prouty	female	1825	1883	58
Exeter Cemetery	Robert Anderson	male	1827	1885	58
Exeter Cemetery	Sarah Jane Harness	female	1866	1886	20
Presbyterian Cemetery	Samuel Moore	male	1806	1888	82
Eyre Cemetery	Eliza (Hannah) Porter	female	1854	1890	36
Eyre Cemetery	Frederick John Eyre	male	1861	1889	28
Sturgeon Falls Roman Catholic Cemetery	William Dicaire	male	1874	1895	21
Gordon Cemetery	Thomas Hall	male	1812	1889	77
Kintore Presbyterian Cemetery	Robina McKay	female	1811	1886	75
Maple Island Cemetery	Hiram Wilkinson	male	1873	1888	15
Maple Island Cemetery	Dora Johnston	female	1886	1888	2

C.3 Other Provinces

Cemetery Name	Name of Primary Commemoration	Sex	Birth Year	Death Year	Age (in years)
Camp Hill Cemetery	Captain Daniel McEachran	Male	1834	1889	55
Camp Hill Cemetery	S. M. Mason	male	1863	1886	23
Camp Hill Cemetery	Wilhelmina DeMolitor Clarke	female	1867	1888	21
Camp Hill Cemetery	Mary Ann Greenaway	female	1838	1865	27
Camp Hill Cemetery	Florence L. Wallace	female	1877	1886	8
Camp Hill Cemetery	Margaret M. Laurilliard	female	1811	1886	75
Camp Hill Cemetery	Annie ??	female	unknown	1887	unknown
Camp Hill Cemetery	Margaret Lamphier	female	1798	1885	87
Grand River Presbyterian Cemetery	Sarah Matheson	female	1853	1887	33
Old Port Medway Cemetery	Archibald McIsaac	male	1826	1878	52
Old Port Medway Cemetery	Wilfred Hilary Acker	male	1880	1887	6
Old Port Medway Cemetery	Susan (Annis) Brown	female	1837	1889	52

Oak Point Baptist Cemetery	Ruth Rachel (Secord) Price	female	1839	1892	53
Brown's Flats Baptist Cemetery	Ann Elson	female	1796	1884	88
Saint Peter's Anglican Church Cemetery	Robert Hawkshaw	male	1839	1892	53
Saint Peter's Anglican Church Cemetery	Jane I. Hamilton	female	1821	1898	77
Shelburne Methodist Church Cemetery	Sophia M. Grovestein	female	1842	1887	44
Shelburne Methodist Church Cemetery	Charlotte A. (Deinstadt) Muir	female	1830	1889	58
Shelburne Methodist Church Cemetery	Isaac Coffin Crowell	male	1824	1890	66
Shelburne Methodist Church Cemetery	Elizabeth (Crowell) Taylor	female	1822	1889	67
North East Harbour Cemetery	Mary E. Swain	female	1816	1892	76
North East Harbour Cemetery	Alexander R. Greenwood	male	1811	1889	78
Alma Baptist Cemetery	Captain Owen Martin	male	1837	1889	52

Bay View Cemetery	Mary Emma Edgett	female	1886	1890	3
Bay View Cemetery	Eugenia G. Reid	female	1857	1890	33
Congregation Cemetery	Donald R. Etheridge	male	1842	1913	71
Congregation Cemetery	David P. Munro	male	1868	1914	46
Advocate Cemetery	Albert S. Dewis	male	1857	1880	23
Christ Church Cemetery	Atcheson Moffat	male	1812	1893	77
Sackville Rural Cemetery	Humphrey Pickard	male	1813	1890	76
Sackville Rural Cemetery	Eliza Ruth (Merrill) Bulmer	female	1825	1886	61
Sackville Rural Cemetery	Lillian Kempton Wells	female	1887	1887	infant
Sackville Rural Cemetery	Richard Wilson	male	1794	1887	93
Sackville Rural Cemetery	Cynthia Jane (Ogden) Wilson	female	1823	1889	67
Sackville Rural Cemetery	Mary (Milton) Bickerton	female	1811	1888	76
St. John's United Church Cemetery	Alexander MacLean	male	1826	1886	59
St. John's United Church Cemetery	Ida Laura McLean	female	1910	1911	1

St. John's United Church Cemetery	Allan A. Mackinnon	male	1843	1914	71
St. John's United Church Cemetery	Catherine (Gordon) Moore	female	1860	1903	43
St. John's United Church Cemetery	Alexander S. McKinnon	male	1837	1909	72
Riverside Cemetery	Patrick C. Woodland	male	1828	1889	61
Pine Grove Cemetery	Harriet (Woodbury) Dodge	female	1809	1886	76
Jawbone Corner Cemetery	George Dickey	male	1802	1883	80
Truro Cemetery	George T. Downie	male	1827	1890	63
Truro Cemetery	Arthur Fuller	male	1875	1889	14
Truro Cemetery	Rebekah (Gotabed) McMullen	female	1822	1889	67
Truro Cemetery	Willie Muir McMullen	male	1889	1889	infant
Truro Cemetery	Frank W. Nelson	male	1872	1889	17
Truro Cemetery	Clarence Henderson Parris	male	1888	1890	2
Truro Cemetery	Maria (Shallcross) Yould	female	1822	1888	67
Hardwood Hill Cemetery	Angus Gillis	unknown	1839	1887	unknown

Brookside Cemetery	Angus Stewart	male	1868	1914	46
Amherst Cemetery	Otto Wolf	male	1889	1890	1
Amherst Cemetery	Sarah (Bliss) Pugsley	female	1833	1889	56
Amherst Cemetery	Edward Bent	male	1815	1891	75
Amherst Cemetery	Clifford Gillis Bent	male	1859	1889	29
Amherst Cemetery	Rosalind (Mowbray) Moffat	female	1816	1889	73
Amherst Cemetery	Emma (Kinder) Campbell	female	1855	1889	33
Amherst Cemetery	William F. Cutten	male	1830	1889	59
Amherst Cemetery	Jane E. (Coates) Carter	female	1827	1887	60
Amherst Cemetery	Hugh D. Coates	male	1888	1888	0
Amherst Cemetery	Henry Dunlap	male	1837	1878	41
Ross Bay Cemetery	Martha Campbell	female	1861	1886	25
Ross Bay Cemetery	Captain D. W. Aden	male	1827	1890	62
Ross Bay Cemetery	Ernest Augustus Craft	male	1884	1885	1
Ross Bay Cemetery	Coote Mulloy Chambers	male	1839	1888	49
Ross Bay Cemetery	Annie (Moss) Carpenter	female	1856	1888	32

Ross Bay Cemetery	Thomas Harding	male	1824	1890	66
Ross Bay Cemetery	Mary Jane Walker	female	1866	1890	24
Ross Bay Cemetery	Annie (Green) Walker	female	1855	1888	33
Ross Bay Cemetery	Kate Whitlaw	female	1821	1887	66
Dartmouth Cemetery	Murial J. Mitchner	female	1885	1886	1
Dartmouth Cemetery	Joseph Austen	male	1824	1888	64
Holy Cross Cemetery	Michael H. Meagher	male	1833	1888	55
Holy Cross Cemetery	Elizabeth O'Flaherty	female	1842	1889	47
Holy Cross Cemetery	Catherine Webber	female	1838	1890	52
Holy Cross Cemetery	Mary "Minnie" Cecconi	female	1877	1889	12
Holy Cross Cemetery	Catherine McCulloch	female	1832	1897	65
Holy Cross Cemetery	William Netherton	Male	1861	1889	28
Holy Cross Cemetery	Bridget Bowler	female	1829	1887	58
Kildonan Presbyterian Cemetery	Alexander McBeth Sutherland	male	1850	1884	34
Kildonan Presbyterian Cemetery	Annie (McBeath) Martineau	female	1855	1892	37
Kildonan Presbyterian Cemetery	Donald Polson	male	1833	1889	56

Brookside Cemetery	Maragret "Maggie" Beverly Currie	female	1882	1888	6
Brookside Cemetery	Sophia Ann (Hoare) Kelly	female	1848	1888	39
Brookside Cemetery	J. F. Schwigler	male	1863	1889	26
Brookside Cemetery	Charles Walker	male	1873	1887	14
Brookside Cemetery	William John Webb	male	1860	1889	28

Appendix D: Biographical Information on the White Bronze Monument Selector

D.1 Locus

Cemetery	Family Name	Sex	Age	Head of Household's Occupation	Lot Size (if farmer)	Socioeconomic Class
Aylmer Cemetery	Bradley	both	61; 69	farmer	80	LM
Mapleton Cemetery	McGregor	female	25	farmer	300	M
Mapleton Cemetery	Moore	female	66	farmer	250	M
Necropolis Mapleton Cemetery	Luton	female	68	farmer	100	M
Necropolis Mapleton Cemetery	Sherk	female	62	farmer	100	M
St. Thomas Cemetery	Broderick	male	70	merchant tailor		UM
St. Thomas Cemetery	Kirk	female	81	tailor		LM
St. Thomas Cemetery	Nicol	female	45	blacksmith		LM
St. Thomas Cemetery	Brooks	female	39	labourer		L
St. Thomas Cemetery	Clarridge	male	34	miller		LM
St. Thomas Cemetery	Beaufour	male	40	railroad fireman		LM

St. Thomas Cemetery	Miller	female	67	gentleman		E
St. Thomas Cemetery	Mattice	both	34; 31	blacksmith		LM
St. Thomas Cemetery	Noble	male	54	farmer	125	M
St. Thomas Cemetery	Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen	male	n/a	railroad		LM
St. Thomas Cemetery	Pincbombe	male	55	butcher		LM
St. Thomas Cemetery	Palmer	female	43	railway		LM
St. Thomas Cemetery	Heidt	male	42	sailor		LM
St. Thomas Cemetery	Claris	male	36	real-estate		UM
St. Thomas Cemetery	Buchanan	female	71	farmer	300	M
St. Thomas Cemetery	Webb	female	35	merchant, store clerk		M
St. Thomas Cemetery	Maxwell	female	70	farmer	25	LM
St. Thomas Cemetery	Pollock	both	47	merchant		M
St. Thomas Cemetery	Phillips	male	38	reverend		E
St. Thomas Cemetery	Brown	female	71	manager of factory, hardware merchant		M
St. Thomas Cemetery	McNicol	female	67	farmer	100	M
St. Thomas Cemetery	Risdon	both	41; 37	tin smith, hardware		UM

				merchant, owner of Erie Iron works		
Old English Cemetery	Ermatinger	male	37	judge, lawyer, merchant, landowner		E
Old English Cemetery	Nicoll	female	68	farmer and esquire	550	E
Holy Angels Cemetery	Reiser	female	55	brewer		LM
Holy Angels Cemetery	Maginn	female	63	brick layer		L
Holy Angels Cemetery	Power	female	34	machinist		LM
Holy Angels Cemetery	Clarke	unknown	unknown	unknown		unknown
Holy Angels Cemetery	Gorman	female	74	sailor		L
Holy Angels Cemetery	Harvey	unknown	unknown	unknown		unknown
McArthur Cemetery	Plain	male	50	farmer	100	M
North Street United Church Cemetery	Meek	male	45	night guard, convict/prison guard		L
Scottsville Pioneer Cemetery	Vanstone	male	59	farmer	200	M

Scottsville Pioneer Cemetery	Cummins	female	48	farmer	35	LM
Trinity Lambeth Anglican Church Cemetery	Scoyne	male	61	farm labourer		L
Talbotville Cemetery	Hicks	both	39; 40	railway labourer		L
Talbotville Cemetery	Risdon	male	62	butcher		LM
Frome United Church Cemetery	Baird	female	63	farmer	150	M
Frome United Church Cemetery	Wade	female	67	farmer	75	LM
Fingal Cemetery	Taylor	female	57	farmer	150	M
Fingal Cemetery	Wallace	female	48	farmer	100	M
Fingal Cemetery	Smuck	male	56	labourer		L
Shedden Cemetery	Ball	male	24	merchant		M
Sparta Friends Cemetery	Mills	female	79	farmer	100	M
Cowal McBride Cemetery	Ross	both	47; 43	farmer	100	M
Cowal McBride Cemetery	Ross	both	47; 43	farmer	100	M

Cowal McBride Cemetery	Patterson	male	42	farmer	100	M
Cowal McBride Cemetery	Holmes	both	22; 21	stone mason		LM
McIntyre Cemetery	Campbell	male	45	farmer	200	M
Iona Cemetery	Burns	male	25	farmer	100	M
Port Stanley Chirst Anglican Church Cemetery	Price	female	76	merchant, esquire		E
Union United Church Cemetery	Black	both	35	farmer	200	M

D.2 Broader Ontario

Cemetery Name	Family Name	Sex	Age	Head of Household's Occupation	Lot size (if farmer)	Socioeconomic Class
Lakeview Cemetery	Watson	both	58; 57	clerk		M
Birr United Church Cemetery	Westman	male	64	farmer	100	M
Birr United Church Cemetery	Morrow	male	30	farmer	50	LM
Bethel Munro Cemetery	Murch	both	39;37	school teacher		UM

Necropolis Cemetery	McIntosh	female	38	boiler maker		LM
Necropolis Cemetery	Hooper	both	33; 30	carpenter		LM
Necropolis Cemetery	Turriff	female	57	plumber		LM
Necropolis Cemetery	McKelvie	both	24; 29	agent, burnisher		LM
Maple Island Cemetery	Johnston	both	28; 36	farmer		LM
Maple Island Cemetery	Wilkinson	both	52; 39	farmer		LM
St. James Cemetery	Clougher	unknown	unknown	unknown		unknown
St. James Cemetery	Thompson	male	69	gardener		LM
St. James Cemetery	Kidd	both	40; 45	railway fireman		LM
St. James Cemetery	Crackle	male	45	prison/convict guard		L
St. James Cemetery	Sherlock	both	49; 54	labourer		L
St. James Cemetery	Padley	both	33; 39	piano maker		LM
Mount Pleasant Cemetery	Armstrong	both	41; 47	policeman		M
Mount Pleasant Cemetery	Paterson	both	57; 58	merchant, grocer		M
Mount Pleasant Cemetery	Norman	both	46; 41	electrician		UM

Mount Pleasant Cemetery	Piddington	both	45; 49	printer, compositor		LM
Mount Pleasant Cemetery	Reid	female	31	firehall foreman		M
Mount Pleasant Cemetery	Kyle	female	46	machinist		LM
Fairfield Cemetery	Elliott	unknown	unknown	unknown		unknown
Hamilton Cemetery	Henderson	unknown	unknown	unknown		unknown
Lakeview Cemetery	Marsden	both	33;33	shoemaker		LM
Lakeview Cemetery	Little	male	38	farmer		LM
Lakeview Cemetery	Watkins	both	40; 43	wagon maker, post master		M
Lakeview Cemetery	Spencer	female	59	harness maker		LM
Lakeview Cemetery	Saunders	unknown	unknown	unknown		unknown
Lakeview Cemetery	Leach	female	28	hotel owner		M
Hillcrest Cemetery	Robinson	both	54	yeoman		UM
Hillcrest Cemetery	Gervis	both	43; 33	teamster		LM
Hillcrest Cemetery	Cooper	unknown	unknown	tinsmith		LM
Fairholme Cemetery	Bell	female	23	farmer		LM
Fairholme Cemetery	Moore	both	29; 27	farmer		LM

Fairholme Cemetery	North	female	55	farmer		LM
Fairholme Cemetery	Russell	male	44	farmer		LM
Fairholme Cemetery	Madigan	both	53;50	farmer		LM
Centreville Presbyterian Church Cemetery	Chambers	male	91	tinsmith		LM
Bostwick Pioneer Cemetery	Tibbits	female	43	farmer	30	LM
Bostwick Pioneer Cemetery	Stevens	unknown	unknown	farmer	30	LM
Hillsdale Cemetery	Barclay	both	32; 52	postmaster		UM
Hillsdale Cemetery	Durham	female	40	baker		LM
Cataraqui Cemetery	McCutcheon	female	54	potash maker		LM
Cataraqui Cemetery	Shaw	female	63	farmer	80	LM
Woodland Cemetery	Sainsbury	female	45	clothing dealer, auctioneer		UM
Mount Pleasant Cemetery	Cumerledge	female	30	coachman		LM
Mount Pleasant Cemetery	Eckert	unknown	unknown	dry goods clerk		M
Dorchester Union Cemetery	Sutherland	male	76	farmer	100	M

St. James Cemetery	Hodgins	female	49	farmer	200	M
Barrie Union Cemetery	Gilpin	male	76	farmer		LM
Barrie Union Cemetery	Rogers	both	54; 50	bank clerk		M
Strathroy Municipal Cemetery	Bowley	male	24	proprietor		UM
Strathroy Municipal Cemetery	Kilty	female	59	reverend, clergyman		E
Strathroy Municipal Cemetery	Sibley	both	unknown	unknown		unknown
Strathroy Municipal Cemetery	Smith	male	60	carpenter		LM
Strathroy Municipal Cemetery	Wilkinson	male	43	cabinet maker		LM
Strathroy Municipal Cemetery	Smithrem	both	35; 34; 30	unknown		unknown
Harris Street Cemetery	Gillard	male	69	housekeeper		LM
Windsor Grove Cemetery	Dunn	female	64	banker		UM
Exeter Cemetery	Chambers	female	24	farmer	100	M
Exeter Cemetery	Stevens	female	72	farmer	70	LM
Exeter Cemetery	Mawhinney	male	64	farmer	100	M

Exeter Cemetery	Hill	male	59	farmer	320	UM
Exeter Cemetery	Hedden	female	47	farmer	50	LM
Exeter Cemetery	Down	male	57	farmer	100	M
Exeter Cemetery	Horn	male	35	labourer		L
Exeter Cemetery	Wakelin	female	56; 54; 53; 49	gentleman		E
Exeter Cemetery	Page	male	62	farmer	49	LM
Exeter Cemetery	Box	male	74	farmer	100	M
Exeter Cemetery	Prouty	male	63	township clerk, farmer	10	LM
Exeter Cemetery	Anderson	female	56	farmer	100	M
Exeter Cemetery	Harness	both	57; 50	labourer		L
Presbyterian Cemetery	Moore	female	84	farmer	50	LM
Eyre Cemetery	Porter	male	38	railroad fireman		LM
Eyre Cemetery	Eyre	female	28	engine pattern maker, prospecting miner		LM
Sturgeon Falls Roman Catholic Cemetery	Dicaire	both	55; 52	labourer		L
Gordon Cemetery	Hall	male	45	farmer	0	LM

Kintore Presbyterian Cemetery	McKay	male	78	farmer	100	M

D.3 Other Provinces

Cemetery Name	Family Name	Sex	Age	Head of Household's Occupation	Socioeconomic Class
Camp Hill Cemetery	McEachran	female	55	ship captain	LM
Camp Hill Cemetery	Mason	both	unknown	unknown	unknown
Camp Hill Cemetery	Clarke	female	79	merchant and ship owner	E
Camp Hill Cemetery	Greenaway	male	25	clerk	M
Camp Hill Cemetery	Wallace	both	32; 31	shoemaker	LM
Camp Hill Cemetery	Laurilliard	male	75	tailor	LM
Camp Hill Cemetery	Unknown	unknown	unknown	unknown	unknown
Camp Hill Cemetery	Lamphier	male	unknown	carriage maker	LM
Grand River Presbyterian Cemetery	Matheson	both	76; 71	farmer	LM
Old Port Medway Cemetery	McIsaac	female	60	nurse	LM
Old Port Medway Cemetery	Acker/Bowlby	both	45; 42	mariner, ship captain	LM

Old Port Medway Cemetery	Brown	male	54	fisherman	LM
Oak Point Baptist Cemetery	Price	male	52	farmer	LM
Brown's Flats Baptist Cemetery	Elson	unknown	unknown	unknown	unknown
Saint Peter's Anglican Church Cemetery	Hawkshaw	female	39	farmer	LM
Saint Peter's Anglican Church Cemetery	Hamilton	male	75	labourer, also listed as pauper	L
Shelburne Methodist Church Cemetery	Grovestein	male	45	carpenter	LM
Shelburne Methodist Church Cemetery	Muir	male	63	blacksmith	LM
Shelburne Methodist Church Cemetery	Crowell	female	62	boat builder	LM
Shelburne Methodist Church Cemetery	Taylor	male	55	farmer	LM
North East Harbour Cemetery	Swain	male	73	sea captain	LM
North East Harbour Cemetery	Greenwood	female	76	boat builder	LM

Alma Baptist Cemetery	Martin	female	52	ship builder, ship captain	LM
Bay View Cemetery	Reid	male	38	machinist	LM
Bay View Cemetery	Edgett	both	33; 22	master mariner	M
Congregation Cemetery	Etheridge	female	47	farmer	LM
Congregation Cemetery	Munro	female	45	fish farmer	LM
Advocate Cemetery	Dewis	female	28	mariner	LM
Christ Church Cemetery	Moffat	both	44; 40	merchant, general dealer	M
Sackville Rural Cemetery	Pickard	male	74	reverend, doctor of divinity, college president	E
Sackville Rural Cemetery	Bulmer	male	69	farmer; midwife	LM
Sackville Rural Cemetery	Wells	both	31; 30	reverend	E
Sackville Rural Cemetery	Wilson	both	56; 51	farmer	E
Sackville Rural Cemetery	Wilson	male		unknown	unknown
Sackville Rural Cemetery	Bickerton/ Thompson	male	72	store keeper, retailer	M
St. John's United Church Cemetery	Maclean	both	42; 42; 41	farmer	LM

St. John's United Church Cemetery	Maclean	both	44; 32	farmer	LM
St. John's United Church Cemetery	Mackinnon	female	68	farmer	LM
St. John's United Church Cemetery	Moore	male	48	farmer	LM
St. John's United Church Cemetery	McKinnon	female	49	farmer	LM
Riverside Cemetery	Woodland	female	63	farmer	LM
Pine Grove Cemetery	Dodge	male	73	farmer, carpenter	LM
Jawbone Corner Cemetery	Dickey	female	74	farmer	LM
Truro Cemetery	Downie	unknown	unknown	confectioner	LM
Truro Cemetery	Fuller	both	73; 48	store keeper, retailer	M
Truro Cemetery	McMullen	male	77	watchman, saloon keeper	M
Truro Cemetery	McMullen	both	43; 36	shoemaker	LM
Truro Cemetery	Nelson	both	50;49	carpenter	LM
Truro Cemetery	Parris	both	24; 24	teamster	LM
Truro Cemetery	Yould	male	68	railway track master	M
Hardwood Hill Cemetery	Gillis	female	57	store keeper, retailer	M

Brookside Cemetery	Stewart	female	43	accountant	E
Amherst Cemetery	Wolf	both	30;23	blacksmith	LM
Amherst Cemetery	Pugsley	male	58	farmer	LM
Amherst Cemetery	Bent	male	74	farmer	LM
Amherst Cemetery	Bent	both	70; 64	carpenter	LM
Amherst Cemetery	Moffat	female	42; 40; 38	farmer	LM
Amherst Cemetery	Campbell	male	35	accountant	E
Amherst Cemetery	Cutten	female	37	clerk	LM
Amherst Cemetery	Carter	male	61	carpenter	LM
Amherst Cemetery	Coates	both	30; 27	machinist	LM
Amherst Cemetery	Dunlap	female	48	merchant	M
Ross Bay Cemetery	Campbell	male	26	seaman	LM
Ross Bay Cemetery	Aden	female	58	master mariner	M
Ross Bay Cemetery	Craft	both	48; 33	retail clerk	M
Ross Bay Cemetery	Chambers	female	46	accountant, civil servant, land owner	E
Ross Bay Cemetery	Carpenter	male		grocer, merchant	M

Ross Bay Cemetery	Harding	female	45	confectioner, owned a bakery	LM
Ross Bay Cemetery	Walker	male	40	manufacturer	LM
Ross Bay Cemetery	Walker	male	25	night watchman	M
Ross Bay Cemetery	Whitlaw	unknown	unknown	milliner	LM
Dartmouth Cemetery	Mitchner	both	27; 36	expressman, engineer	LM
Dartmouth Cemetery	Austen	female	66	proof officer, customs officer	M
Holy Cross Cemetery	Meagher	unknown	unknown	porter	LM
Holy Cross Cemetery	O'Flaherty	unknown	unknown	unknown	unknown
Holy Cross Cemetery	Webber	male	58	labourer	L
Holy Cross Cemetery	Cecconi	both	52; 49	picture framer, gilder	LM
Holy Cross Cemetery	McCulloch	male	66	mariner, ship captain	LM
Holy Cross Cemetery	Netherton	n/a	n/a	groom; teamster	LM
Holy Cross Cemetery	Bowler	male	51	truckman	LM
Kildonan Presbyterian Cemetery	Sutherland	both	63; 62	lawyer, provincial secretary, attorney general	E
Kildonan Presbyterian Cemetery	Martineau	male	46	Indian agent	UM

Kildonan Presbyterian Cemetery	Polson	unknown	unknown	unknown	unknown
Brookside Cemetery	Currie	both	45; 43	farmer	LM
Brookside Cemetery	Kelly	male	38	hotel owner, grocery merchant	M
Brookside Cemetery	Schwigler	both	58; 53	labourer	L
Brookside Cemetery	Walker	both	38; 34	proprietor	UM
Brookside Cemetery	Webb	both	52; 48	milliner	LM

Appendix E: Biographical Information on the Primary Deceased Commemorated by Non-White Bronze Monuments

E.1 Locus

Cemetery Name	Name of Primary Commemoration	Sex	Birth Year	Death Year	Age (in years)
Aylmer Cemetery	Thomas Brighty	male	1812	1896	83
Mapleton Cemetery	Donald McLean	male	1812	1897	84
Mapleton Cemetery	William Wallace Peer	male	1841	1897	56
St. Thomas Cemetery	Sylvester T. Pettit	male	1829	1912	83
St. Thomas Cemetery	John McCallum	male	1801	1885	84
St. Thomas Cemetery	Andrew Warwick	male	1795	1874	79
St. Thomas Cemetery	Henry J. Brooks	male	1860	1882	22
St. Thomas Cemetery	Sarah (Tweedale) Kirkland	female	1830	1893	62
St. Thomas Cemetery	Allan McPherson	male	1812	1895	82
St. Thomas Cemetery	Horace Brotherhood	male	1819	1889	69
St. Thomas Cemetery	O'Neal Cloes	male	1792	1879	87
St. Thomas Cemetery	Mary M. Beavis	female	1845	1894	49

St. Thomas Cemetery	James Milligan	male	1832	1907	74
St. Thomas Cemetery	Angus May	male	1818	1898	80
St. Thomas Cemetery	John Nolan	male	1845	1895	50
St. Thomas Cemetery	Matilda Pollock	female	1848	1911	62
St. Thomas Cemetery	Daniel Parish	male	1812	1875	63
St. Thomas Cemetery	Sarah Hendershott	female	1851	1894	42
St. Thomas Cemetery	Alice Clark	female	1869	1894	25
St. Thomas Cemetery	George Buck	male	1811	1885	74
St. Thomas Cemetery	John Wegg	male	1824	1882	57
St. Thomas Cemetery	James Maynard	male	1814	1889	75
St. Thomas Cemetery	James Ponsford	male	1854	1922	67
St. Thomas Cemetery	Charles Philp	male	1838	1882	44
St. Thomas Cemetery	Esther Brown	female	1861	1890	29
St. Thomas Cemetery	Duncan McTaggart	male	1806	1861	34
St. Thomas Cemetery	Clara Roach	female	1858	1883	25
Old English Cemetery	Hester Futcher	female	1810	1890	80
Old English Cemetery	Henry Payne	male	1813	1896	82
Holy Angels	Daniel Ryan	male	1833	1901	68
Holy Angels	Jeremiah Mahoney	male	1826	1906	80

Holy Angels	Margaret Clowry	female	1870	1897	87
Holy Angels	Ellen (Egan) Price	female	1852	1908	56
Holy Angels	Eleanor Hatton	female	1820	1873	52
Holy Angels	Daniel Hayes	male	1805	1885	80
McArthur Cemetery	Isabella (Thompson) Campbell	female	1863	1892	29
North Street United Church Cemetery	Sebrina Smale	female	1844	1872	28
Scottsville Pioneer Cemetery	Elvin Willsie	male	1825	1896	71
Scottsville Pioneer Cemetery	Jabez Dangerfield	male	1837	1872	34
Trinity Lambeth Anglican Church Cemetery	John Skuse	male	1796	1882	86
Talbotville Cemetery	Margaret (Devey) Hitsman	female	1817	1894	77
Talbotville Cemetery	Erastus Smith	male	1886	1907	21
Frome United Church Cemetery	Christopher Charles Claris	male	1816	1895	78

Frome United Church Cemetery	Josiah Watson	male	1856	1882	25
Fingal Cemetery	John Stevenson	male	1827	1895	68
Fingal Cemetery	James N. Teetzel	male	1830	1884	53
Fingal Cemetery	Reuben Ward	male	1830	1899	68
Shedden Cemetery	Richard Balsdon	male	1821	1898	76
Sparta Friends Cemetery	William F. Minard	male	1859	1891	32
Cowal McBride Cemetery	Christina "Christie" Sharp	female	1852	1895	43
Cowal McBride Cemetery	Albert Smith	male	1878	1882	4
Cowal McBride Cemetery	John Edward Plain	male	1890	1893	3
Cowal McBride Cemetery	Charlotte O. Humphries	female	1824	1882	57
McIntyre Cemetery	Frederick Glover	male	1871	1893	21
Iona Cemetery	John B. Decow	male	1815	1876	61
Port Stanley Christ Anglican Church Cemetery	James Morgan	male	1810	1886	76

Union United Church Cemetery	Sarah Lee Briest	female	1820	1892	73

Appendix F: Biographical Information on the Individuals Selecting Non-White Bronze Monuments

F.1 Locus

Cemetery Name	Family Name	Sex	Age	Head of Household's Occupation	Lot size (if farmer)	Socioeconomic Class
Aylmer Cemetery	Brighty	female	54	machinist		LM
Mapleton Cemetery	McLean	female	71	farmer	175	M
Mapleton Cemetery	Peer	female	53	labourer		L
St. Thomas Cemetery	Pettit	both	58; 57; 56	farmer	150	M
St. Thomas Cemetery	McCallum	female	81	farmer	50	LM
St. Thomas Cemetery	Warwick	male	53; 48	farmer	200	M
St. Thomas Cemetery	Brooks	both	61; 60	bricklayer		LM
St. Thomas Cemetery	Kirkland	male	66	bookkeeper		M
St. Thomas Cemetery	McPherson	female	78	farmer	250	M
St. Thomas Cemetery	Brotherhood	female	69	farmer	25	LM
St. Thomas Cemetery	Cloes	female	78	farmer	75	LM
St. Thomas Cemetery	Beavis	male	49	teamster		LM
St. Thomas Cemetery	Milligan	both	47; 43; 40	blacksmith		LM

St. Thomas Cemetery	May	female	70	master mariner		M
St. Thomas Cemetery	Nolan	female	47	locomotive engineer		LM
St. Thomas Cemetery	Pollock	male	63	master mariner		M
St. Thomas Cemetery	Parish	female	50	farmer	100	M
St. Thomas Cemetery	Hendershott	male	44	farmer		LM
St. Thomas Cemetery	Clark	male	39	railway brakeman		L
St. Thomas Cemetery	Buck	both	n/a	farmer	100	M
St. Thomas Cemetery	Wegg	female	58	wagon maker		LM
St. Thomas Cemetery	Maynard	female	75	farmer	100	M
St. Thomas Cemetery	Ponsford	female	56	brick mason		LM
St. Thomas Cemetery	Philp	female	35	farmer	218	M
St. Thomas Cemetery	Brown	male	30	grocer		M
St. Thomas Cemetery	McTaggart	female	34	railway		LM
St. Thomas Cemetery	Roach	male	31	railway		LM
Old English Cemetery	Futcher	both	61; 60; 58	farmer	300	UM
Old English Cemetery	Payne	both	55; 48; 42	mill owner; farmer	175	M
Holy Angels	Ryan	both	43; 41; 39; 37; 33	labourer		L
Holy Angels	Mahoney	female	70	labourer		L
Holy Angels	Price	male	58	grocer		M
Holy Angels	Clowry	male	39	derrickman		L
Holy Angels	Hatton	male	52	farmer	100	M
Holy Angels	Hayes	female	74	labourer		L

McArthur Cemetery	Thompson	male	30	tinsmith		LM
North Street United Church Cemetery	Smale	male	23	blacksmith		LM
Scotsville Pioneer Cemetery	Willsie	female	62	farmer	50	LM
Scotsville Pioneer Cemetery	Dangerfield	female	68	farmer	125	M
Trinity Lambeth Anglican Church Cemetery	Skuse	both	54; 47; 39	farmer	100	M
Talbotville Cemetery	Hitsman	both	44; 42; 39	farmer	50	LM
Talbotville Cemetery	Smith	both	55; 50	farmer	50	LM
Frome United Church Cemetery	Claris	both	52; 50; 43	farmer	400	UM
Frome United Church Cemetery	Watson	female	24	labourer		L

Fingal Cemetery	Stevenson	female	54	farmer	200	M
Fingal Cemetery	Teetzel	female	57	fruit dealer		M
Fingal Cemetery	Ward	both	72; 67; 60	butcher		LM
Shedden Cemetery	Balsdon	both	48; 45; 43; 40	labourer		L
Sparta Friends Cemetery	Minard	female	53	surgeon; physician		E
Cowal McBride Cemetery	Sharp	male	43	blacksmith; house keeper		LM
Cowal McBride Cemetery	Smith	both	32; 24	teamster		LM
Cowal McBride Cemetery	Plain	both	41; 27	farmer	100	M
Cowal McBride Cemetery	Humphries	both	30; 27; 24; 22	farmer	275	M
McIntyre Cemetery	Gilchrist	both	59; 46	labourer		L
Iona Cemetery	Decow	female	51	farmer	50	LM
Port Stanley Christ Anglican Church Cemetery	Morgan	both	48; 41; 39	farmer	200	M

Union United Church Cemetery	Briest	male	63	labourer		L