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Parceling the Picturesque: “Rural” Cemeteries and Urban Context
in Nineteenth-Century Philadelphia

by

Aaron Vickers Wunsch

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the

requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

in

Architecture

in the

Graduate Division

of the

University of California, Berkeley

Committee in Charge:

Professor Margaret Crawford, Chair

Professor Paul Groth

Professor David Henkin

Fall 2009

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by Aaron Vickers Wunsch

Abstract**Parceling the Picturesque: “Rural” Cemeteries and Urban Context in Nineteenth-Century Philadelphia**

Aaron V. Wunsch

Doctor of Philosophy in the History of Architecture

University of California, Berkeley

Margaret Crawford, Chair

Moving beyond traditional studies of the picturesque as a European-born artistic phenomenon, this dissertation connects the naturalistic treatment of landscape to a particular city’s cultural and economic transformation in the early industrial age. Three narrative strands unite the project. The first traces the arrival of garden-like graveyards on Philadelphia’s periphery. Known after 1830 as “rural” cemeteries, these places were incubators for new conceptions of home, community, and outdoor aesthetic propriety. Closely related to this geographical shift was a vocational one. Beginning in the antebellum decades, several occupations involved in the division and depiction of land recast their services in new terms. Although Philadelphia’s landscape architecture profession eventually emerged from this ferment, my focus is on the period just prior to coalescence – a period when surveyors, horticulturists, and “rural architects” competed for legitimacy (and commissions) in a field without clear-cut boundaries.

Embedded in these stories is a third, involving the city as built and imagined. In the early nineteenth century, Philadelphia was America’s grid city par excellence. As such, it exemplified a uniform and “neutral” approach to land division – one initially lauded as compatible with the aims of a republican society but increasingly derided as a speculator’s instrument of convenience. Coded “rural” by its proponents, the picturesque curve seemed to offer an alternative. Its pedigree was aristocratic but its meaning grew less stable with the dawn of mass culture. A metropolitan picturesque had emerged by mid century. With it came new ways of thinking about art, commerce, and urban community.

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Edward North, a professor of ancient languages at Hamilton College, once declared: “Every burial-place is a repository of unorganized history.” The same is true of many doctoral theses and this one now joins their ranks. A project too long in the making creates deep debts and high expectations. I don’t pretend to have satisfied either in the pages that follow. Still, those who have contributed advice, questions, source materials, and moral support deserve to be thanked. They have made this opus possible and will have to live with the consequences.

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Ciregna, Linzy Brekke (now Brekke-Aloise), and Briann Greenfield, all of whom made valuable suggestions. Earlier still, a Mellon Foundation Fellowship at the Library Company of Philadelphia and Historical Society of Pennsylvania acquainted me with the staffs of those institutions and with materials I would use in years to come.

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Table of Contents

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....	i
LIST OF ILUSTRATIONS.....	iv
INTRODUCTION.....	ix
Chapter	
1 Death and Life in the Walking City, 1793-1825.....	1
2 Towards New Homelands.....	37
Quakers, Commerce, and Crisis.....	51
The First True Homeland: Urban Chaos and the Rise of Laurel Hill Cemetery.....	65
3 Dream Houses of the Dead and the Living.....	88
Institutions and the Villa Ideal.....	90
Laurel Hill: The Landscape of Genteel Literature.....	102
Monument Cemetery: The Rational City.....	123
Communities, Commodities, and the Picturesque: the case of Woodlands Cemetery.....	129
4 Sorting Things Out: Mass Culture and the Metropolitan Picturesque.....	145
The Cemetery as Microeconomy.....	148
The Cemetery as Catalyst of Careers.....	166
Professionalism, the Grid, and the Curve in the Era of Parks and Suburbs.....	184
BIBLIOGRAPHY	204
FIGURES.....	246

List of Illustrations

Chapter 1

- Fig. 1.1. *A Portraiture of the City of Philadelphia in the Province of Pennsylvania in America*, Thomas Holme, surveyor, 1683. (Haverford College Special Collections.)
- Fig. 1.2. *Plan of the City of Philadelphia and Its Environs*, John Hills, surveyor and draughtsman, 1796. (Philadelphia Water Department Archives / Adam Levine.)
- Fig. 1.3. *Plan of the Improved Part of the City* [of Philadelphia], Nicholas Scull, surveyor and draftsman, 1762; detail showing Arch Street burial ground cluster. (Reps, *Making of Urban America*.)
- Fig. 1.4. View of Gloria Dei or Old Swedes' Church, Philadelphia, John Moran, photographer, ca. 1862. (Library Company of Philadelphia.)
- Fig. 1.5. *Plan of the City of Philadelphia*, F. Drayton, surveyor, J. H. Young, engraver, 1833. (Library Company of Philadelphia.)
- Fig. 1.6. New Burying Ground, New Haven, Josiah Meigs, draftsman, 1797. (Sloane, *Last Great Necessity*.)
- Fig. 1.7 Detail of *Map of Washington Square, Philadelphia*, John B. Colahan, surveyor, M. Schmitz, delineator, T. Sinclair, lithographer, 1843. (Cohen, "Alternative Designs for Washington Monument.")
- Fig. 1.8. Shop and warehouse of Nicholas Helverson, undertaker, W. H. Rease, artist, Wagner & McGuigan, lithographers, ca. 1846. (Library Company of Philadelphia.)
- Fig. 1.9. *Map of the City of Philadelphia Together with All the Surrounding Districts*, J. C. Sidney, surveyor, 1849; detail of the social cemetery district. (Historical Society of Pennsylvania.)
- Fig. 1.10. Cover of *Preamble to, and Constitution of the Mutual Family Burial Ground Association* 1827. (Historical Society of Pennsylvania.)
- Fig. 1.11. Cover detail of *Charter and By-Laws, of the Machpelah Cemetery Society of Philadelphia*, 1832. (Historical Society of Pennsylvania.)
- Fig. 1.12. Plan of Philadelphia Cemetery, *Philadelphia Cemetery. Copy of the Deeds of Trust...*, 1845. (Historical Society of Pennsylvania.)

Fig. 1.13. Late-nineteenth-century view through Philadelphia Cemetery, n.d. (Casnter Collection, Free Library of Philadelphia.)

Fig. 1.14a. View of Philadelphia Cemetery gatehouse, ca. 1930. (Philadelphia Department of Pubic Transit – Historic Philadelphia Sites Photograph Collection, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.)

Fig. 1.14b. Outline plan of Philadelphia Cemetery, detail from Fig. 1.12, above.

Chap. 2

Fig. 2.1. Plan of Philadelphia wards, ca. 1810. (Mease, *Picture of Philadelphia*.)

Fig. 2.2. Mound Township, McDonough County, Illinois. (Conzen, “County Landownership Map.”)

Fig. 2.3. Arch Street Burial Ground, northeast corner of southern section. (Friends Historical Library, Swarthmore College.)

Fig. 2.4. Friends’ Western Burial Ground. David J. Kennedy, artist, 1864. (Historical Society of Pennsylvania.)

Fig. 2.5. Plan of Western Burial Ground, Joseph H. Young, surveyor and draftsman, 1891; detail of the site’s northwest corner showing separate rows assigned to Hicksites. (Arch Street Meeting Archives, Haverford College.)

Fig. 2.6. *Map of the City of Philadelphia Together with All the Surrounding Districts*, J. C. Sidney, surveyor, 1849; detail of Union Burial Ground. (Historical Society of Pennsylvania.)

Fig. 2.7. “Laurel Hill,” William Croome, artist, A. W. Graham, engraver, *Godey’s Lady’s Book*, March, 1844. (Free Library of Philadelphia.)

Fig. 2.8. “Laurel Hill Cemetery Gate, Philadelphia,” unknown artist, ca. 1840. (Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts.)

Fig. 2.9. Plan of Laurel Hill Cemetery, *Statues of Old Mortality and His Pony*, 1838. (Laurel Hill Cemetery Company.)

Chapter 3

Fig. 3.1. “Woodlands, the Seat of William Hamilton, from the Bridge at Gray’s Ferry,” James Peller Malcom, artist, 1792. (Snyder, *City of Independence*.)

- Fig. 3.2. “Blockley Almshouse,” John Casper Wild, artist, 1838. (Free Library of Philadelphia.)
- Fig. 3.3. Ground plan of Friends’ Asylum, 1832. (Gerlach-Spriggs, *Restorative Gardens*.)
- Fig. 3.4. Ground plan for the Preston Retreat, Thomas Ustick Walter, designer, 1837, photograph of drawing. (Historic American Buildings Survey.)
- Fig. 3.5. “View of Robert Buist’s City Nursery & Greenhouses,” Alfred M. Hoffy, lithographer, 1846. (Library Company of Philadelphia.)
- Fig. 3.6. “Lemon Hill,” B. R. Evans, artist, 1852. (Wolf, *Philadelphia*.)
- Fig. 3.7. View of Laurel Hill Cemetery’s main entrance, n.d. (Castner Collection, Free Library of Philadelphia.)
- Fig. 3.8. Old Mortality enclosure, half of a stereograph view, n.d. (Library Company of Philadelphia.)
- Fig. 3.9. Old Mortality sculpture group, early twentieth-century photograph. (Laurel Hill Cemetery Company.)
- Fig. 3.10. Proposed entrance to Harewood, Humphry Repton, *Observations on the Theory and Practice of Landscape Gardening*, 1803. (Library Company of Philadelphia.)
- Fig. 3.11. “Laurel Hill Cemetery,” Augustus Köllner, artist, Laurent Deroy, lithographer, 1848. (Castner Collection, Free Library of Philadelphia.)
- Fig. 3.12. Cover of *Waldie’s Select Circulating Library*, 1833. (Library Company of Philadelphia.)
- Fig. 3.13. “Laurel Hill Cemetery,” John Casper Wild, artist, 1838; detail showing principal buildings of the cemetery. (Castner Collection, Free Library of Philadelphia.)
- Fig. 3.14. Laurel Hill Cemetery chapel, John Notman, architect and delineator, Pinkerton, Wagner & McGuigan, lithographers. ([Smith], *Guide to Laurel Hill Cemetery*, 1844 ed.)
- Fig. 3.15. “[Superintendent’s] Cottage & Office at North Laurel Hill Cemetery...,” David J. Kennedy, artist, 1881. (Historical Society of Pennsylvania.)

- Fig. 3.16. “Ground Plan of Laurel Hill Cemetery,” John Notman, architect and delineator, Pinkerton, Wagner & McGuigan, lithographers, ([Smith], *Guide to Laurel Hill Cemetery*, 1844 ed.)
- Fig. 3.17. “Entrance to Laurel Hill Cemetery,” Neville Johnson, engraver, *Ladies’ Garland*, January, 1838. (Laurel Hill Cemetery Company.)
- Fig. 3.18. “Old Mortality,” William Croome, artist, George H. Cushman, engraver, *Godey’s Lady’s Book*, April, 1842. (Castner Collection, Free Library of Philadelphia.)
- Fig. 3.19. Nathan Dunn’s cottage, Mount Holly, New Jersey. (Downing, *Treatise on the Theory and Practice of Landscape Gardening*.)
- Fig. 3.20. Page from Aaron and Nathan Stein scrapbook, 1853. (Athenaeum of Philadelphia.)
- Fig. 3.21. “Ground Plot of Monument Cemetery,” *Act of Incorporation, By-laws, Rules and Regulations of the Monument Cemetery...*, 1839. (Historical Society of Pennsylvania.)
- Fig. 3.22. “Design for an Entrance to Monument Cemetery on Broad Street,” John D. Jones, architect, R. S. Gilbert, engineer, *Act of Incorporation, By-laws, Rules and Regulations of the Monument Cemetery...*, 1839. (Historical Society of Pennsylvania.)
- Fig. 3.23. Ground plan of Woodlands Cemetery, central zone, Philip M. Price, surveyor, ca. 1846. (Woodlands Cemetery Collection, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.)
- Fig. 3.24. Woodlands Cemetery, Section C, Philip M. Price, surveyor, ca. 1845. (Woodlands Cemetery Collection, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.)

Chapter 4

- Fig. 4.1. *Smedley’s Atlas of the City of Philadelphia*, 1862; detail showing the cemetery cluster at Ridge Avenue and Islington Road. (Library Company of Philadelphia.)
- Fig. 4.2. *Barnes Map of the Whole Incorporated City of Philadelphia*, 1867; detail showing the city’s 28th Ward. (Library Company of Philadelphia.)
- Fig. 4.3. Advertisement for Robert Wood’s ironworks, *O’Brien’s Philadelphia Wholesale Business Directory...*, 1848. (Courtesy, Ann Howell.)

- Fig. 4.4. *Robert Wood's Railing, Architectural & Ornamental Iron Works*, R. F. Reynolds, artist, ca. 1851. (Library Company of Philadelphia.)
- Fig. 4.5. *John Baird, Steam Marble Works*, Wagner & McGuigan, lithographers, ca. 1848. (Library Company of Philadelphia.)
- Fig. 4.6. One of J. & M. Baird's mantel warerooms as shown in *Godey's Lady's Book*, January, 1853. (Library Company of Philadelphia.)
- Fig. 4.7. *H. S. Tarr's Marble Yard*, W. H. Rease, lithographer, ca. 1858. (Library Company of Philadelphia.)
- Fig. 4.8. *Eli Hess' Penn Steam Marble Mantel Manufactory*, W. H. Rease, lithographer, 1859. (Library Company of Philadelphia.)
- Fig. 4.9. Opposite pages in R. A. Smith's *Philadelphia as It Is, in 1852*, 1852. (Library Company of Philadelphia.)
- Fig. 4.10. Title page of John Jay Smith's *Designs for Monuments and Mural Tablets*, 1846. (Library Company of Philadelphia.)
- Fig. 4.11. Trade card of Adam Steinmetz, n.d. (Joseph Downs Collection, Wintherthur Library.)
- Fig. 4.12. *Sidney's Map of Ten Miles round*, 1847. (Historical Society of Pennsylvania.)
- Fig. 4.13. *Plan of Farms near Jenkintown, Designed for Country Seats*, James C. Sidney and James P. W. Neff, designers and surveyors, 1855. (Library Company of Philadelphia.)
- Fig. 4.14. *Plan of the Woodlands Cemetery*, Philip M. Price, surveyor, ca. 1846. (Woodlands Cemetery Collection, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.)
- Fig. 4.15a. *Map of South Laurel Hill Cemetery, near Philadelphia*, James C. Sidney and James P. W. Neff, designers and surveyors, 1854. (Laurel Hill Cemetery Company Collection.)
- Fig. 4.15b. *Map of South Laurel*, 1854; detail showing "corner lots" and double-lot rows.
- Fig. 4.16. *Smedley's Atlas of the City of Philadelphia*, 1862; detail of West Philadelphia index map. (Library Company of Philadelphia.)
- Fig. 4.17. Two illustrations from Thomas E. Hill, *Manual of Social and Business Forms* 17th ed., 1879.

Introduction

In the decades following America's Civil War, the gridiron plan upon which so many New World cities had grown found no more eloquent a detractor than Frederick Law Olmsted. What he took to be form's implicit worldview maddened him. Disregarding the physical and social inequalities that characterized Gilded Age New York, he proceeded to dissect that city's early-nineteenth-century spatial arrangements as if they had produced uniformity: "some two thousand blocks were provided, each theoretically 200 feet wide, no more no less; and ever since, if a building site is wanted, whether with a view to a church or a blast furnace, an opera house or a toy shop, there is, of intention, no better place in one of these blocks than in another."¹ Since my dissertation deals only glancingly with the Sage of Central Park and the city whose layout he disparaged, this playful and seemingly familiar passage makes for an improbable point of departure. And yet, I will argue, we don't really know it at all. Long taken at face value, Olmsted's words are remarkable for inverting a set of social and aesthetic norms that developed a century beforehand. In that story, Philadelphia must figure centrally.

The chapters presented here are in some ways a prologue to Olmsted's pronouncement as well as to the development of the American landscape architecture profession more generally. Nonetheless, it is worth stating at the outset that I am not attempting anything like a comprehensive study of professional origins or of antebellum "picturesque" aesthetics. Good scholarship exists on both subjects, particularly the latter.² What I hope to accomplish instead is an interpretation of the way a particular type, the non-sectarian urban cemetery, evolved in a particular place and time. That this story relates to others, both regional and national, undoubtedly contributes to its importance. By the middle decades of the nineteenth century, Philadelphia's cemetery builders stood at the center of wide-ranging debates over urban form, print culture, and the future of "landscape gardening." Even then, however, local context remained important. Frederick Law Olmsted's values were never quite at home in the Quaker City. By looking at what came beforehand, we may begin to understand why.

Two basic figures, the grid and the curve, lie at the heart of my analysis. If that approach verges on reductionism, it also has several advantages. One is clarity. Terms such as "picturesque" or "beautiful," while hallowed by traditional aesthetic discourse and relevant to the values and practices in question, were used so technically, vaguely, and variously in the antebellum era as to create an ivy-clad Tower of Babel. "Picturesque" will crop up below, most often in its general sense: "the ability to please the eye with variety in color or form and to present the viewer with an element of surprise through vistas and irregularity."³ But the grid and the curve throw that

¹ Frederick Law Olmsted and James R. Croes, "Preliminary Report of the Landscape Architect and the Civil and Topographical Engineer, upon the Laying Out of the Twenty-third and Twenty-fourth Wards," City of New York, Document No. 72 of the Board of the Department of Public Parks, 1877, as reprinted in Frederick Law Olmsted, *Civilizing American Cities: A Selection of Frederick Law Olmsted's Writings on City Landscapes*, ed. S. D. Sutton (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1971), 45-46.

² I am thinking here of John Conron, *American Picturesque* (University Park, PA: Penn State University Press, 2000). See also Angela L. Miller, *The Empire of the Eye: Landscape Representation and American Cultural Politics, 1825-1875* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1993); William Barksdale Maynard, "The Picturesque and American Architecture: A Reappraisal" (Ph.D. diss., University of Delaware, 1997).

³ Beth A. Twiss-Garrity, "Double Vision: The Philadelphia Cityscape and Perceptions of It," in *Shaping a National Culture: The Philadelphia Experience, 1750-1800*, Catherine E. Hutchins, ed. (Winterthur, DE: Henry Francis du

meaning into higher relief. Another strength of this opposition is the attention it draws to metaphorical and material phenomena that, far from being mutually exclusive, played off and defined each other throughout the period in question. Were sinuous “rural” cemeteries the opposite of the gridded “reform” cemeteries that preceded them? Surely, the answer is no. Yet conventional aesthetic categories do little to explain the relationship.

Over a fifty-year period, the grid went from striking cultural commentators as a humanistic emblem of order to a symbol of hubris and avarice. The curve seemed to offer an alternative, and the fact that it did so early on in graveyards was important. The dead were objects of fear and sympathy in the early republic. As such, they called out for reform. Prostrate before the anatomist’s knife and the improver’s shovel, they needed special protection from the living, whose lives they might also endanger. In literal sense, the new cemeteries that appeared at this time constituted early gated communities. Yet where that term now suggests anti-social impulses, reform cemeteries promised just the opposite. Laden first with fraternal and then with maternal associations, they traded in moral and market values that worked their way through American culture.

To begin to address that paradox, one must grapple with the concept of *disinterestedness*. Sociologist Pierre Bourdieu once issued this provocative statement: “Whereas, in order to grasp the specificity of the aesthetic judgment, Kant strove to distinguish that which pleases from that which gratifies and, more generally, to distinguish disinterestedness, the sole guarantor of the specifically aesthetic quality of contemplation, from the interest of reason which defines the Good, working-class people expect every image to explicitly perform a function, if only that of a sign, and their judgments make reference, often explicitly, to the norms of morality and agreeableness.”⁴ In the period under study, most of America’s cultural arbiters were not intent

Pont Winterthur Museum, 1994), 11. Twiss-Garrity here summarizes conventional definitions of the term, notably the one set forth in Carroll L. V. Meeks, *The Railroad Station: an Architectural History* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1956; repr., Secaucus, NJ: Castle Books, 1978), 2-11. The classic American formulation appears in Andrew Jackson Downing, *A Treatise on the Theory and Practice of Landscape Gardening, Adapted to North America...*, 4th ed. (New York: George P. Putnam, 1850), 63-84. For scholarly treatments of the phenomenon's English roots, see Christopher Hussey, *The Picturesque: Studies in a Point of View* (London, UK: G. P. Putnam’s Sons, 1927; repr., Hamden, CT: Archon Books, 1967); Malcolm Andrews, *The Search for the Picturesque: Landscape Aesthetics and Tourism in Britain, 1760-1800* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1989); Sidney K. Robinson, *Inquiry into the Picturesque* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1991); John Dixon Hunt, *Gardens and the Picturesque: Studies in the History of Landscape Architecture* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1992).

⁴ Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgment of Taste*, trans. Richard Nice (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1984), 5, although the same statement appears, virtually verbatim, on p. 41. Situating the concept of “aesthetic disinterestedness” in Western thought is an exceedingly unwieldy undertaking. See, for instance, Jerome Stolnitz, “On the Origins of ‘Aesthetic Disinterestedness,’” *Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism* 20, no. 2 (Winter 1961): 131-143, and the systematic assault on the same offered by Miles Rind, “The Concept of Disinterestedness in Eighteenth-Century British Aesthetics,” *Journal of the History of Philosophy* 40, no. 1 (2002): 67-87. Steering clear of that debate (on which I am unqualified to comment), I have nonetheless found value in historical discussions of disinterestedness as manifested in architectural discourse. Key sources include: Mary N. Woods, *From Craft to Profession: The Practice of Architecture in Nineteenth-Century America* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1999), 6, 10, 16, 29-31; Dell Upton, “Pattern Books and Professionalism: Aspects of the Transformation of Domestic Architecture in America,” *Winterthur Portfolio* 19, nos. 2-3 (Summer-Autumn 1984): 119; Julia Scalzo, “All a Matter of Taste: The Problem of Victorian and Edwardian Shop Fronts,” *JSAH* 68, no. (March 2009): 53, 70 (n.6); Gary Stevens, *The Favored Circle: The Social Foundations of Architectural Distinction* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1998), 15.

on separating moral and aesthetic modes of experience. If anything, they looked favorably on a body of ideas that blurred the distinction: the teachings of Scottish common-sense philosophy. Nonetheless, the notion of disinterestedness hovers at the edges of what many elite commentators thought and wrote between 1790 and 1860. When Europhile observers of New World culture celebrated “rural” life, extolled *otium* over *negotium*, defended republican virtue, or advanced the cause of landscape professionalism, they edged their way, albeit often unwittingly, toward the stance Bourdieu identifies with Kant.

Between 1790 and 1830, the grid struck many Americans as the best means of organizing cities, towns, and new settlements as well as factories, schools, and graveyards. Architectural historian Dell Upton has tied the disparate results to his concept of the “republican spatial imagination,” a grouping I, too, have found useful.⁵ But, since my temporal scope extends well past the early republic, readers will naturally want to know: “What came next?” The question defies easy answers. While “next” implies a neat break, it is clear that antebellum critics such as Andrew Jackson Downing believed they were faithfully pursuing a republican project that originated with the nation’s founding. Nonetheless, Downing’s writings and designs departed significantly from those offered by a previous generation of reform-minded proselytizers. For one thing, Downing derided the grid. So, again, what came next?

In trying to outline a response, I have identified pairs of terms that seem to capture the transition. Corresponding loosely to my grid-versus-curve opposition, they include:

- * extensive vs. intensive
- * isotropic vs. anisotropic
- * diffusion vs. concentration (or accumulation)
- * universal and interchangeable vs. specific, unique, and “original”
- * international vs. national
- * Classical vs. Romantic
- * rationalistic and sympathetic vs. sentimental and domestic
- * scientific (or scientific) vs. artistic (i.e., the realm of fine art)

The list could march on much further. However, hoping to spare the reader from a text that resembles my notes, I will simply add that the rationale behind these distinctions should grow clearer in the chapters that follow. If forced to characterize what succeeded the “republican spatial imagination,” I would offer the “culture of Romantic retrenchment.” But I hope not to be so compelled. The risk is to suggest rupture or negation where, in fact, continuity was as crucial.

* * *

Philadelphians were once less particular about where and how they were buried. In the colonial era, graves ranged loosely along a central path typified most denominations’ grounds, whether Quaker, Anglican, Catholic, or Jewish. The potter’s field, by contrast, was a scene of disorder. Cattle grazed there, creeks flooded, and marginalized groups used the site for rituals excluded from polite public spaces. Chapter One lays out that story within the larger context of the city’s

⁵ Dell Upton, *Another City: Urban Life and Urban Spaces in the New American Republic* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2008), 9, 113-144.

eighteenth-century geography. I examine, among other things, the period's growing emphasis on cleanliness, walled spaces, and commemoration. By 1800, *no* group wished to allow its members to be buried in the Potter's Field. Nor, it seems, did any group wish to live near that institution. As the bodies of the poor were shipped ever further afield, non-sectarian groups arose to assist families priced out of the churchyard but unwilling to surrender their loved ones' remains to the dreaded public alternative.

Where domesticity and romanticism surface briefly in the first chapter, they are central to the second. As the pace of urbanization increased in the 1820s, it gave cause for excitement and regret. Were the dead receiving due respect? Their colonial repositories – or “homes” as they were now sometimes called – no longer occupied the city's margins. Instead, they lay near the core, subject to the “unfeeling gaze” of the crowd and the vagaries of urban development. Of course, in earlier decades, neither the public's gaze nor its lack of feeling had seemed especially lamentable. That they came to do so testifies less to new physical circumstances than to changing perspectives and emotions. The deceased called out for protection – the more so as bodysnatching entered its heyday and religious strife triggered harrowing turf battles. As a result, new cemeteries appeared. Offering respite from all forms of molestation, they also catered to recent taste for monuments and property in the grave.

Long part of the equation, literature played a growing role in the way Philadelphians thought about and handled the dead during the so-called Age of Jackson.⁶ The publishing market was awash with new books and periodicals, many of them hawking matter reprinted from British journals. This project was partially enabled by the lack of international copyright. Combined with new printing technologies, freely borrowed texts sparked hopes that a longstanding republican goal, the widespread diffusion of knowledge, might now be attainable through commercial mechanisms. But if this market-based republic of letters summoned visions of boundlessness, so too, like the urban grid, did it underscore the problem of access. Who could buy in? Were all citizens equal, or were some more equal than others? Librarian, magazinist, and cemetery founder John Jay Smith brings these issues to the fore in Chapter Three.

Smith introduced Philadelphians to a new type of institution. Building on English and American precedent, he and his mostly Quaker peers established the city's first “rural” cemetery. Like earlier reform cemeteries, Laurel Hill offered private lots for family burial. But the differences were no less striking. Where gridded predecessors stood near the city, Laurel Hill lay well outside of it. And where flatness had previously seemed desirable, it was now actively repudiated. More than anything, Laurel Hill set a local precedent for turning aging villas and their grounds into “gardens of graves.” Departing from the example of Mount Auburn Cemetery near Boston, Philadelphians reworked an older topography of gentility. In doing so, they gave new institutional form to entrenched, British-born ideals connecting health, horticulture, and neoclassical architecture to “rural” values, regeneration, and disinterestedness.

Chapter Four returns to that conundrum: what came next? As extramural cemeteries became widespread, they gave rise to a new urban sector. At once aesthetic and economic, this “rural”

⁶ Daniel Walker Howe challenges the supremacy of this term in “Goodbye to the ‘Age of Jackson’?,” *New York Review of Books* 56, no. 9 (28 May 2009): 35-37, but does not suggest a viable alternative. The Age of Whiggery hardly seems preferable.

realm included monuments, lot fences, pattern books, and popular journals. Rather quickly, it also came to encompass the kinds of “cottages and villas” then being promoted by the nation’s leading arbiter of taste, Andrew Jackson Downing. But Downing’s objectives were not wholly compatible with either the republican spatial imagination or the related “culture of reprinting” on which the likes of John Jay Smith built their careers. What was the role of taste in mass culture? Who would or should exercise leadership? It is to those questions that this chapter’s final section turns. While the answers were never conclusive, they did help clarify the terms through which America’s landscape architecture profession came to define itself.

Chapter One: Death and Life in the Walking City, 1793-1825

Late in the spring of 1826, Quaker diarist, collector, and historian Deborah Norris Logan rode by carriage into Philadelphia to attend the funeral of a distant relative. Logan was in her mid sixties, recently widowed, and increasingly prone to contemplate her own mortality. It was in this frame of mind that she came to scrutinize the burial customs of her sect. For over a century, Friends' emphasis on plainness in manners and material life had led them to condemn the use of gravestones. The same principle discouraged families from claiming distinctive places in the graveyard, and, in recent years, several meetings had forced the point by burying their members individually and sequentially, in rows.⁷ Logan was dismayed. Following James Smith's funeral, she noted: "...Friends Policy about their burial places is at war with all my feelings, [I] who now have a comfort in expecting to repose my bones near to those of my ever honored and beloved husband. Why cannot families be permitted this satisfaction in a Public Burial place?"⁸

It was a question many Philadelphians were asking, albeit for different reasons. While Logan and other members of the city's Quaker gentry bemoaned the anonymity that attended Friends' handling of the dead, laboring families struggled to afford the fees that bought posthumous proximity and a modicum of security in churchyards. Paupers, meanwhile, could typically look forward to complete annihilation of their social identities when their remains reached the city's Potter's Field. These problems were not especially new. Indeed, they would have struck fewer people *as* problems in previous decades. More than the cost or appearance of the grave, it was Philadelphians' sensibilities that were changing.

That shift was gradual and, in outline, not unique to Philadelphia. Throughout urban North America and much of Western Europe, sentimental re-conceptions of the family figured in evolving views of death. Burial grounds were only one of several arenas in which this trend found expression. Mourning pictures, personal letters, and proto-romantic poetry all registered the new sensibility, often in advance of gravestones and landscape. Finally, it is worth emphasizing that such rising "feelings" (Logan's word) were not limited to one social class. Although costly funerals and monuments were an elite prerogative, the families of mechanics and artisans paid increasing attention to their dead. Indeed, they had special reason to do so, as I will discuss later on.

⁷ This system appears to have been introduced at Philadelphia's Arch Street Burial Ground, as discussed in Chap. 2. On "plainness" and Friends' graveyards, see J. William Frost, "From Plainness to Simplicity: Changing Quaker Ideals for Material Culture," in *Quaker Aesthetics: Reflections on a Quaker Ethic in American Design and Consumption*, Emma Jones Lapsansky and Anne A. Verplanck, eds., (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2003), 16-40; Bill Richardson, "Quaker Burial Grounds: Plainness Texts from Community and Family in Dutchess County, New York," *Material Culture* 25, no. 1 (1993): 37-48.

⁸ Deborah Norris Logan diary, 9: 162 (1 June 1826). Logan's diary, running to seventeen volumes and spanning the years 1825-1839, is held at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. Barbara Jones' transcription at the Downs Collection of the Winterthur Museum and Library (Col. 359) is not always accurate but is indexed and easy to use. For a brief overview of Logan's life and works, see Frederick B. Tolles's entry in Edward T. James, ed., *Notable American Women, 1607-1950: A Biographical Dictionary* (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press, 1971). On Logan's late-in-life outlook, see Terri L. Primo, "'Like A Being Who Does Not Belong: The Old Age of Deborah Norris Logan,'" *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 107, no. 1 (January 1983): 85-112.

Despite the widespread nature of these impulses, the particularities of place inflected attitudes toward death in certain important ways. In Philadelphia, where groundwater lay close to the earth's surface and summer heats could be crushing, reigning theories of disease dovetailed with bourgeois notions of hygiene and urbanity to make these conditions seem intolerable. During the last third of the eighteenth century, streets grew cleaner, graveyards tidier, and summer villas more common on the urban fringe. Quakerism and the early prominence of medical education were also important factors. William Penn's ideals influenced how merchants and civic leaders thought about the good life and the city-country relationship. Doctors-in-training, meanwhile, became increasingly determined to explore the body's inner reaches, and their quest for cadavers had powerful implications for the poor.

This chapter explores changes that structured Philadelphia's relationship with the dead in the half-century after American independence. Often intertwined, the strands look something like: notions of self and family in an age of science and sentiment; the shifting status of the grave lot as property; and the emergence of the urban periphery as a respectable locus of burial. Each strand could be studied on its own, and, to varying degrees, it has been. Together, they point to a more profound transition in which geography, economy, and psychology played a part.

Historians tend to focus on change, sometimes leading to exaggerations of scale or pace. For that reason, it is worth stating at the outset that while the shifts in question look dramatic in retrospect, they stood out to contemporaries only at particular points. One was the yellow fever epidemic of 1793. Although numerically less deadly than other plagues, this event played profoundly on Philadelphians' social imagination and, ultimately, on the contours of their city.⁹ Another decisive turn occurred around 1825. This time, the problem was not a surfeit of corpses but a dearth of them. Again, medical professionals sounded the alarm, and again the urban fabric was re-stitched.

Finally, readers may wish to understand where this chapter fits within my larger project. What I hope to supply here is a social and geographic overview that sets the stage for subsequent chapters. Beginning in the 1830s, Philadelphia would become known for its contributions to the "rural cemetery" movement – a push to create sanitary and picturesque burial places on the outskirts of American cities.¹⁰ That crusade falls outside our immediate purview but necessarily hovers in the background. In 1800, Philadelphia's inner suburbs were disreputable places, associated with poverty and disease.¹¹ Five decades later, the very meaning of the word

⁹ Estimating the fever's toll is tricky business, but recent scholarship tends to confirm the longstanding figure of 5,019, or roughly ten percent of the city's 51,200 inhabitants in mid-1793. As Susan Klepp has observed, this "was not the worst single epidemic in Philadelphia's history – either proportionately or absolutely"; see her "Appendix I: 'How Many Precious Souls are Fled?': The Magnitude of the 1793 Yellow Fever Epidemic," in *A Melancholy Scene of Devastation: The Public Response to the 1793 Philadelphia Yellow Fever Epidemic*, eds. J. Worth Estes and Billy G. Smith (Canton, MA: Science History Publications / USA, 1997), 164, 166, 171 (quote) -172. However, the plague significantly altered Philadelphia's self-conception at a crucial and nationally observed moment in the city's history. See Eve Kornfeld, "Crisis in the Capital: the Cultural Significance of Philadelphia's Great Yellow Fever Epidemic," *Pennsylvania History* 51, no. 3 (July 1984): 189-205.

¹⁰ The major studies of the movement are Blanche Linden-Ward, *Silent City on a Hill: Landscapes of Memory and Boston's Mount Auburn Cemetery* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1989); David Charles Sloane, *The Last Great Necessity: Cemeteries in American History* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1991), chaps. 2-6.

¹¹ Kenneth T. Jackson, *Crabgrass Frontier: The Suburbanization of the United States* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985), 16-18.

“suburb” had changed – a process in which rural cemeteries and their predecessors were implicated. Here, our immediate concern is more limited. We will analyze what came first: how respectable bodies began replacing the corpses of “strangers” on the urban fringe.

* * *

According to boosters and certain visitors, early national Philadelphia was a paragon of order. Unlike Boston or New York, the Quaker City had always benefited from wide streets, public “squares,” and rectilinear land division. These were the amenities bequeathed by William Penn’s and Thomas Holme’s plan of 1683 (**Fig. 1**). The grid that Penn and Holme projected between the Delaware and the Schuylkill rivers encompassed two square miles of damp and hilly terrain, substantially leveled and drained over time. Ordinary streets were fifty to sixty feet wide while major thoroughfares spanned eighty to one hundred feet – dimensions deemed “almost extravagant by European standards.” Equally prominent, at least on paper, were the five public squares ordained by the founders. One lay in the city’s proposed center while the others served surrounding quadrants at equal distances. The combined effect was an elegant lattice, designed to reduce crowding, facilitate commerce, and promote health to an extent unprecedented in the New World.¹²

Of course, as even enthusiasts conceded, things had not worked out as planned. Philadelphia was a mercantile outpost, tied to the larger Atlantic world by a trade whose oceangoing vessels required the sort of deep-water access that the Delaware, but not the Schuylkill, provided. Although Penn had envisioned a dual-fronted city, houses and businesses naturally gravitated to the settlement’s eastern edge. By 1790, a settlement whose population exceeded 43,600 had stretched far beyond the city’s original northern and southern boundaries while extending only about seven blocks to the west (**Fig. 2**). The status of the public squares was in doubt; all had succumbed to various private uses and practices. And while broad streets were indeed a reality, side streets and alleys, both envisioned from the beginning, now fostered Old-World-style crowding. Around Second and High (now Market) Streets, some 1,400 people lived in one-and-half city blocks.¹³

The Federal city was compact but far from uniform. Southwest of Second and Market stretched a well-to-do enclave that Mary Schweitzer has termed “New Society Hill”; (the anachronistic label distinguishes the area from its older and slightly less fashionable namesake to the east). Slaves lived with their masters’ households in these areas, and also along the waterfront. Further

¹² John W. Reps, *The Making of Urban America: A History of City Planning in the United States* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1965), 172 (quotation); see also Carole Shammas, “The Space Problem in the Early United States,” *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3d ser., 57, no. 3 (July 2000): 511. The most rigorous study of the plan’s genesis and early evolution is Hannah Benner Roach, “The Planting of Philadelphia: A Seventeenth-Century Real Estate Development,” *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 92, no. 1 (Jan 1968): 3-47, and no. 2 (April 1968): 143-194. See also Gary B. Nash, “City Planning and Political Tension in the Seventeenth Century: The Case of Philadelphia,” *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 112, no. 1 (15 February 1968): 54-73; Dell Upton, “The Grid and the Republican Spatial Imagination,” in Dell Upton, *Another City: Urban Life and Urban Spaces in the New American Republic* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2008), 113-144.

¹³ Populations statistics are from Mary M. Schweitzer, “The Spatial Organization of Federalist Philadelphia, 1790,” *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 24, no. 1 (Summer 1993), 35, 39. On population density, see also Sharon V. Salinger, “Spaces, Inside and Outside, in Eighteenth-Century Philadelphia,” *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 26, no. 1 (Summer 1995): 2, 12, 14-15 30-31; Billy G. Smith, *The ‘Lower Sort:’ Philadelphia’s Laboring People, 1750-1800* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1990), 164-165; Shammas, 506, 511-514.

to southwest lay a zone of free black settlement, stretching beyond city limits into the suburban district of Southwark. Alongside shipyard owners, captains, and the occasional “gentlewoman,” many of Philadelphia’s poorest residents lived in Southwark, cooking and washing or walking to jobs on the waterfront as shipbuilders, coopers, or dockworkers. North of Market Street, racial and economic contrasts were less pronounced. Artisans, innkeepers, and shopkeepers – the latter often widows – mixed together in a mostly white and “middling” district that grew poorer as it tapered off to the north.¹⁴

Recent scholarship has thrown these enclaves into relief, permanently dispelling the image of the “walking city” as a homogenous environment whose pre-industrial economy kept social differences from rising to the neighborhood level. Yet it is easy to overstate the case. For one thing, early residential segregation occurred within a settlement whose geographical spread was minute by later standards. Just as importantly, early national Philadelphia was still a place where home and work mixed together in the same block and, typically, in the same building. For these reasons, Stuart Blumin’s assessment still obtains: in the 1790s, Philadelphia was “small in scale, small in the scale of its enterprises, and largely lacking in the specialized areal homogeneity that would later come to characterize large parts of the modern metropolis.”¹⁵

Amid this teeming landscape of the living, the dead crept in around the edges. The oldest church-affiliated burial grounds tended to cluster near Arch Street between Second and Fifth Streets (**Fig. 3**). Here the Quakers, Anglicans, Presbyterians, and Baptists had brought bodies since the late seventeenth or early eighteenth century. But there were many exceptions to the rule. The first Presbyterian graveyard had been on High Street, while Catholics buried their co-religionists around St. Joseph’s at Fourth and Walnut. Swedish Lutherans went further afield. Having settled in what became Philadelphia’s Southwark neighborhood as early as 1638, they continued to use Gloria Dei (or Old Swedes’) churchyard, located over a mile to the southeast.¹⁶

In the latter half of the eighteenth century, the focus of graveyard development shifted further south. Potter’s Field, the official repository for Philadelphia’s deceased paupers and friendless immigrants, served to anchor the trend. It occupied Southeast (Washington) Square and, in 1706, had been set aside “for a common and public burying ground, for all strangers and others who might not so convenient be laid in any of the particular enclosures appropriated by certain religious societies for that purpose.”¹⁷ Mikveh Israel Cemetery took shape on nearby Spruce

¹⁴ Schweitzer, *passim*; Norman J. Johnston, “The Caste and Class of the Urban Form of Historic Philadelphia,” *Journal of the American Institute of Planners* 32, no. 6 (November 1966): 337-342; Jackson, 16-17. My description of Southwark also draws on James J. Farley, “The Shipbuilding Community of Southwark, 1788-1810: An Embattled Enclave,” a paper presented at the McNeil Center for American Studies Seminar Series, 26 October 2007.

¹⁵ Stuart M. Blumin, *The Emergence of the Middle Class: Social Experience in the American City, 1760-1900* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 25. See also Smith, ‘*Lower Sort*,’ 162-165; Robert J. Gough, “The Philadelphia Economic Elite at the End of the Eighteenth Century,” in *Shaping a National Culture*, 19-21.

¹⁶ A useful survey of graveyard development in Philadelphia is René L. C. Torres, “Cemetery Landscapes of Philadelphia,” M.S. thesis, University of Pennsylvania, 1997), 41-47, 78-166. For the relative percentages of burials handled by each sect in the colonial era, see Billy G. Smith, “Death and Life in a Colonial Immigrant City: A Demographic Analysis of Philadelphia,” *Journal of Economic History* 37, no. 4 (December 1977): 868.

¹⁷ Patent issued by the Commissioners of Property to the Mayor and Corporation of the City of Philadelphia, 29 January 1706, quoted in J. Thomas Scharf and Thompson Westcott, *History of Philadelphia, 1609-1884* (Philadelphia: L. H. Everts & Co., 1884), 3: 2355. On the demographics of Potter’s Field, see Smith, “Death and Life,” 867-868, 873-874, highlighting the “Negroes Ground” as a separate subset of this area.

Street west of Eighth in 1740. After a two-decade intermission, both Catholic and Quaker burial grounds appeared in the same general area, forming a ragged row north of Spruce Street.

While no simple formula underlay the pattern of graveyard distribution, two factors weighed heavily in the minds of churchmen and public officials. Cost was one: ground set aside for burial was lost to more stately or remunerative uses, and it needed to be cheap. In practice, this dictate pushed graveyards toward the urban fringe where they joined almshouses, hospitals, and noxious industries; (Potter's Field occupied notoriously damp and undesirable terrain).¹⁸ But if cost exerted a centrifugal force, custom and convenience pulled the other way. Unlike Deborah Logan, most Philadelphians could not afford to travel by carriage. They walked to funerals just as they walked to their workplaces, markets, and taverns. As a result, churchyards rarely drifted far from the neighborhoods they served. Simon Newman detects a similar logic at work in the disposal of outcasts when he observes that Southeast Square "lay conveniently close to the three great institutions of the poor, the Walnut Street Jail, the Pennsylvania Hospital, and the almshouse."¹⁹ This principle, however, was less uniformly observed. Friendless or destitute bodies were as likely to end up in far-flung locations, for it was the churchyard that kept the dead both physically and symbolically within the community.

The records of Gloria Dei Church (**Fig. 4**) are instructive here because they highlight the neighborhood-churchyard relationship and help locate it within the wider economy of urban burial. Between 1786 and 1831, Nicholas Collin served as pastor of this Swedish Lutheran congregation. Recording births, marriages, and deaths in detailed registers, he inadvertently chronicled the history of his flock, his area, and some of its less fortunate visitors.²⁰ Southwark was then a burgeoning, port-oriented suburb. Most of the people whom Collin buried had lived on the city's south side, and though his lengthiest notes described the presumed cause of death, he often took pains to record the deceased's home address in terms showing familiarity with the location. Street numbers appeared when Collin knew them. When he did not (or, more likely, when none existed), he might simply observe, "She lived near the Drawbridge."²¹

Burial at Gloria Dei did not come cheap. While Collin interred dues-paying congregants free of charge, "strangers" could expect to pay ten dollars for adults and five dollars for children around 1800. Such fees often constituted a major hardship for surviving friends and family.²² Luckily,

¹⁸ This centrifugal force pushed burial grounds away from Second and Market, where real estate values peaked in the early national period (Schweitzer, 35, 39). On the repellent topography of Potter's Field, see Scharf and Westcott, 3: 2356; Simon P. Newman, *Embodied History: The Lives of the Poor in Early Philadelphia* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2003), 131. On the logic of graveyard location more generally (and for a somewhat later period), see William D. Pattison, "The Cemeteries of Chicago: a Phase of Land Utilization," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 45, no. 3 (September 1955): 245-257.

¹⁹ Newman, 131.

²⁰ Billy G. Smith and Susan E. Klepp, "The Records of Gloria Dei Church: Burials, 1800-1804" *Pennsylvania History* 53, no. 1 (January 1986): 56-79; Susan E. Klepp and Billy G. Smith, "Marriage and Death: The Records of Gloria Dei Church" in Billy G. Smith, ed., *Life in Early Philadelphia: Documents from the Revolutionary and Early National Periods* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1995), chap. 7.

²¹ Smith and Klepp, "Burials," 70.

²² According to the federal government, a Philadelphia laborer in 1800 could expect to earn ten dollars in as many days of work (*Historical Statistics of the United States from Colonial Times to 1970* [Washington: U.S. Department of Commerce, 1975], 163). Whatever the accuracy of this statistic, Billy G. Smith has shown that laborers' earnings frequently failed to cover the costs of their household's basic necessities in the last quarter of the eighteenth century

the pastor was willing to charge on a sliding scale. He routinely agreed to discounts based on tenuous ethnic claims – “The woman assuring me that her husband is a Swedish seaman” – and in cases of extreme poverty.²³

Many Philadelphians belonged to no church but wished to be buried in a churchyard. Thus Collin’s burial log is filled with the names of people unaffiliated with his congregation though sometimes known to him through other circumstances.²⁴ This pattern suggests “strangers” had powerful reasons for seeking the umbrella of the church, despite the high costs involved. Again quoting Newman:

non-membership did not mean...that local residents did not share elements of a basic Christian belief system and did not think it important to bury family members in consecrated ground. Perhaps more important, like the generations of European peasants from whom they were descended, the poor of Southwark were likely to gain comfort from the burial of family members close to one another in a church cemetery that was in the center of their community, a fixed point that their surviving relatives might pass several times each day, allowing as much of a sense of connection with the dead as the living required.²⁵

The requirements of the living were not static, however. If tradition fostered a desire to keep family remains within the communal pale, that desire assumed a new urgency and specificity in the course of the eighteenth century. Increasingly, even families from society’s lower ranks wished to claim a fixed place in the graveyard, more visible and distinctive than before. Gravestones likewise grew in number and importance. While port cities like Philadelphia had always been scenes of flux, accelerating urbanization and westward movement combined with changing notions of self and time to make personal memory and oral accounts seem inadequate records of gravesites. Never a welcoming place, the potter’s field became an abominable blank slate – a threat to identity itself.²⁶

Potter’s fields might be termed fixtures of early American cities if fixity were not the quality they lacked. A type rooted in Biblical tradition and, perhaps, in ancient Greece, the potter’s field

(Smith, *Lower Sort*, 107-112), and anecdotal evidence in Nicholas Collin’s notes confirms that paying for a grave lot was a great burden for many working families. Still, Gloria Dei’s prices were cheap compared to those of many churches. In roughly the same era, St. Pauls’ charged \$40 “for the privilege of erecting a gravestone 6 feet by 3 feet, and two and a half dollars extra for every square foot of ground”; see Norris Stanley Barratt, *Outline of the History of Old St. Paul’s Church, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania* ([Philadelphia]: Colonial Society of Pennsylvania, 1918), 18.

²³ Smith and Klepp, “Burials,” 67. Collin likewise agreed to bury a man, apparently free of charge, after reasoning that “He and his wife are of Irish race and akin to Swedes” (62).

²⁴ Analyzing 1000 burials at Gloria Dei between 1791 and 1809, Newman (130) calculates that 76 percent were of non-members. The case of Manuel Peterson’s infant son is especially telling. As Collin noted, Peterson was “indigent, supporting himself by carrying fish for sale; he pleaded with tears his desire to enter the babe in consecrated ground, and his being a member of the Lutheran Church, having been brought up in Hesse-Darmstadt, from whence he came two years ago” (Smith and Klepp, “Burials,” 67).

²⁵ Newman, 131-132.

²⁶ Philippe Ariès, *Western Attitudes Towards Death: From the Middle Ages to the Present*, trans. Patricia M. Ranum (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1974), 49, 72; Sarah Tarlow, “Romancing the Stones: the Graveyard Boom of the Later 18th Century,” in *Grave Concerns: Death and Burial in England 1700-1850*, ed. Margaret Cox (York, UK: Council for British Archaeology, 1998), 33-43; Linden-Ward, 146-147, 154.

absorbed the bodies of citizens whose poverty, race, or cause of death made them worthless or threatening to the larger society. Impermanence and anonymity were these sites' hallmarks. Taking shape on public land or in specific parts of churchyards, they frequently doubled as pastures for local farm animals and backdrops for a host of unsanctioned social activities.²⁷

Again, the strong stigma attached to interment in such places was relatively new. Although bodily isolation and individualized commemoration had been the perquisites of churchmen and wealthy laity since the Middle Ages, most Europeans wound up in unmarked graves well into early modern era. Christian doctrine held that the body was a vessel or husk, cast off at death when the spirit fled elsewhere. Whether or not they subscribed to this view, the urban poor were typically interred in large trenches, and even the wealthy could generally expect their bones to arrive at a charnel house, joining those pulled from the *fosses aux pauvres* after a dignified waiting period. As Phillipe Ariès reminds us, the “idea that the dead person should be installed in a sort of house unto himself” is essentially modern in nature.²⁸

During the colonial and early national periods, several spaces around Philadelphia served as potter's fields. The most heavily used was Southeast Square, a site notoriously overcrowded with corpses during the Revolution and subsequent yellow fever epidemics. In fact, the site had long played an important role in the city's social history, and not always in connection with death. No sooner had Philadelphia's Common Council designated the area for interments than they began leasing it to farmers. (One tenant brazenly set up his own burial ground in the center, keeping cattle at bay with an enclosure.) At the same time, the city's least propertied residents made use of the site during rare intervals of leisure. Early historians recorded oral tradition when they observed: “In times of festival...the slave blacks of both sexes used to go to the square in considerable numbers, and amuse themselves by dancing, singing, and speaking.” Among religious denominations, only Catholics seem to have laid claim to Southeast Square for burial purposes; they did so for a limited time and within a clearly demarcated area.²⁹

Still, Potter's Field had become an object of disdain, even dread, for most Philadelphians by the dawn of the republic. Depositing the corpse on municipal property stripped away “the deathbed scene with family and friends, the spectacle of the procession, and the personalized grave” that softened the final departure. The utilitarian substitute left little trace above ground and even less by way of fond memories. Deepening emotional bonds with the deceased made this fate seem more wrenching, and poor people did their utmost to avoid it. The wealthy were rarely at risk.

²⁷ By standard definition, the original Potter's Field was the piece of land purchased with money a repentant Judas cast down in the temple; the priests bought this tract “to bury strangers in” (Matthew 27:7). However, Athens' famous extramural cemetery, the Ceramicus, had also been the site of ancient potteries, suggesting an alternative etymology. See *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, 3rd ed., (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), s.v. “Ceramicus,” and, on modern potter's fields, Sloane, 24-25; Gary Laderman, *The Sacred Remains: American Attitudes Toward Death, 1799-1883* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996), 41-42; Thomas Bahde, “The Common Dust of Potter's Field,” *Common-Place* 6, no. 4 (July 2006), available at www.common-place.org.

²⁸ Ariès, 22. See also Linden-Ward, 17, 29; Laderman, 52; and, for a detailed study of the European context, Vanessa Harding, *The Dead and the Living in Paris and London, 1500-1670* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2002).

²⁹ Scharf and Westcott, 2:1369, 3:2356 (quotation).

They did, however, grow increasingly determined to remove such sites beyond the reach of their senses, and to bury their own dead in tight family clusters.³⁰

The Revolution's human toll helped galvanize local opinion. Soldiers killed on the battlefield joined those dying of "camp fever" in the Pennsylvania Hospital and prisoners of war who took ill at the Walnut Street Jail. So many bodies accumulated that sorting them by station became impractical. In January of 1777, a young Deborah Norris (not yet married to George Logan) informed her friend, Sally Wister, "Large pits are dug in the negroes burying ground, – and forty or fifty coffins are put in the same hole." By April, John Adams could report that "upwards of 2000 soldiers had been buried there."³¹ English occupation of the city brought more such interments, as did the yellow fever epidemic of 1793. Physician Benjamin Rush, who tried to mitigate the latter catastrophe, was horrified by its leveling effect. Alongside summaries of the death toll, his letters noted incidents such as the plight of Major David Franks, "deserted by all his former friends – so much so that he was buried in the Potter's field."³² Further inquiry revealed that Franks had actually been deposited at Christ Church Burial Ground, and Rush corrected his error. Nonetheless, elite fears of commixture and anonymity soon joined distaste at overcrowding in forcing the closure Southeast Square to burials.

The centrality of Potter's Field to Philadelphia's social and military history has earned the site extended mention in recent scholarship. The attention is warranted but also misleading. While only Southwest Square carried the title of Potter's Field in the eighteenth century, many other places performed the same function (**Fig. 5**). Some were loosely affiliated with the Society of Friends. Such was the case with the Upper and Lower Burying Grounds, located on the west bank of the Schuylkill River above Market Street. These were chaotic, unregulated

³⁰ Laderman, 41 (quotation). Born in the eighteenth century, the dread of posthumous depersonalization was still running strong two hundred years later when it attracted the interest of sociologists. The author of a Philadelphia-based study observed, "A pressing fear among many lower class families is the vision of a burial in the potter's field. Such families, it was reported, will go to almost any length to avoid this kind of burial. . . Individuals interred at potter's field are stripped of all the symbols which classify them as human beings. They are buried without flowers, without clothes, without graves, without names" (William M. Kephart, "Status After Death," *American Sociological Review* 15, no. 5 [October 1950]: 643); see also Bahde, *passim*. On elite family groupings in Philadelphia burial grounds, see Patricia C. O'Donnell, "This Side of the Grave: Quakers and the Rituals of Death to 1830," a paper presented at the Conference of Quaker Historians and Archivists, Guilford College, 23 June 2006, p. 22; John Jay Smith, *Recollections of John Jay Smith*, ed. Elizabeth Pearsall Smith (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott Co., 1892), 140, 268; Jean K. Wolf, *Lives of the Silent Stones in Christ Church Burial Ground: 50 Family Profiles* (Philadelphia: Christ Church Preservation Trust, 2003), 2, 5, 20.

³¹ Deborah Norris to Sally Wister, 27 January 1777, as transcribed in *Sally Wister's Journal: a True Narrative, Being a Quaker Maiden's Account of Her Experiences with Officers of the Continental Army, 1777-1778*, Albert Cook Myers, ed. (Philadelphia: Ferris & Leach, 1902), 190; John Adams as quoted in Scharf and Westcott, 3: 2356.

³² *Letters of Benjamin Rush*, ed. L. H. Butterfield (Princeton: Princeton University Press for the American Philosophical Society, 1951), 2:706; see also 2:703, 711. Significantly, Major Franks is the only Jew known to have been buried at Christ Church Burial Ground. The yellow fever epidemic permitted, even demanded, such temporary rule-bending. In Franks' case, class trumped ethnicity, evidently to Rush's relief. But the larger disruption of social and spatial conventions did not sit as well. As one scholar has noted, Rush's "reaction to the epidemic is best understood within the context of his larger social and political concerns," specifically his fear that over-democratization had brought America to the brink of a second revolution; see Jacqueline C. Miller, "Passions and Politics: The Multiple Meanings of Benjamin Rush's Treatment of Yellow Fever," in *A Melancholy Scene of Devastation*, 80. On Rush and the risk of inter-class social contagion, see also Ronald Takaki, *Iron Cages: Race and Culture in Nineteenth-Century America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 22. On the social meanings of a friendless body and the impact of epidemics on burial custom, see Laderman, 20, 41.

environments but heavily used nonetheless. Only in 1806 did Friends assert exclusive rights to the Lower Ground, and citizens soon contested the claim. They argued that the site “had been used for many years as a free place of interment and was no doubt public property.”

Philadelphia’s Board of Health took charge after a ten-year court battle. Meanwhile, in 1813, the state gave control of the Upper Grounds to the Guardians of the Poor.³³

Closer to town, other de facto potter’s fields went in and out of operation. Part of Northeast Square served as the graveyard of the German Reformed Church starting in 1741. Unauthorized burials occurred outside the church’s lot, continuing even after City Councils officially banned the practice. Similar conditions governed Northwest Square. Located beyond the reach of colonial-era development, this tract likely served as a graveyard for residents on the city’s western fringe. (Later, it briefly held the title of Potter’s Field after civic leaders exiled that function from New Society Hill.)³⁴

City authorities were aware of these habits and tried to curb them with various alternatives. Thus three lots on Lombard Street between Ninth and Twelfth Streets served intermittently as municipal burial grounds from the 1780s to the 1810s. In acquiring these tracts and encouraging their use, local legislators abetted the southwestern march of graveyard development that commenced before the Revolution. In later years, the sites purchased for pauper burials became still more remote. One, located at the Vineyard (1816), lay almost two miles northwest of town. Its successor (1831) turned up in neighboring Penn Township.³⁵

If a single theme emerges from this survey of necrogeography, it is the correlation between distance and poverty. Even more than in life, the bodies of poor were pushed to the fringes of the walking city and beyond. Potter’s Field was no exception, at least at the time of its founding. Only by the late eighteenth century had development progressed so far as to make the institution seem wholly out of place, and by this point other factors were in play. Beginning in the 1790s, residential segregation in the Quaker City became more pronounced.³⁶ The houses of the wealthy grew larger and were more likely to be built adjacently – often within a stone’s throw of Potter’s Field. The poor, meanwhile, continued to live throughout the city but were increasingly confined to small houses on the edge of town. In light of this trend, decisions to ban burial in the

³³ Scharf and Westcott, 1: 542-543, 547-548, 559-560, 597, 3: 2358 (quotation). Confusion over ownership of these sites seems to have stemmed from the Quakers’ early role in the colony’s affairs, approaching that of an established church. Outlying villages later absorbed by the city sometimes had their own potter’s fields, and the Upper and Lower Burial Grounds may have originated in this way. For another example, see Eugene Glenn Stackhouse, “Germantown’s Potter’s Field,” *Germantown Crier* 53, no. 1 (Spring 2003): 25-27. One or both of the West Philadelphia sites is illustrated in David J. Kennedy’s watercolor, “Potters Field, West Philadelphia, 1848,” David J. Kennedy Coll., Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 3:2357. While the title of Potter’s Field shifted to Northwest Square in the early nineteenth century, the functional migration occurred in 1793. See J. H. Powell, *Bring Out Your Dead: The Great Plague of Yellow Fever in Philadelphia in 1793* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1949; repr., New York: Time Incorporated, 1965), 203.

³⁵ Scharf and Westcott, 3: 2356-2358; Torres, 91, 93; “Proceedings of Councils,” *Hazard’s Register of Pennsylvania*, 9 June 1832, via APS online. It is worth noting the close parallels between the movements of potter’s fields in Philadelphia and New York. Class anxieties and public health concerns produced similar results in both cities. See Bahde, *passim*.

³⁶ Smith, ‘*Lower Sort*,’ 164; Salinger, 24-27.

squares and to locate new paupers' graveyards far from the respectable core assume greater social meaning. A sort of urban renewal of the dead had quietly gotten under way.

To acknowledge that wealth played a role in the distribution of Philadelphia's dead is not, however, to argue that graveyards of the period were neatly segregated by class. The social structure of cities in the early republic is notoriously hard to pin down. To what extent did Philadelphia (as compared to Boston or New York) retain "vertical" notions of social order, inherited from Europe and dependent on codes of deference? Did the Revolution and the rise of Jeffersonian Republicanism undermine this structure or was it already starting to crumble? While historians continue to debate these questions, burial habits in early national Philadelphia show signs of perpetuating what Stuart Blumin has called "the culture of rank."³⁷

Again, it was distance that established spatial hierarchy. Since the early days of Christianity, burial in or near the church had been an honor, bringing the deceased close to the remains of a saint whose venerated grave had determined the building's location. Proximity, not architecture, was what mattered: the "church" encompassed both the structure and its immediate environs, and burial *ad sanctos* symbolically enclosed the dead within the institution's corpus. The Reformation disrupted this pattern. Quakers and Calvinists, for example, assertively removed the place of burial from the place of worship, calling the former a *burial ground* (not a churchyard) as insistently as they called the latter a meetinghouse and deconsecrating both. Nonetheless, other sects continued to view church-grave proximity as an indicator of standing. In Pennsylvania, this commitment was especially notable among Catholics and Anglicans, both flourishing in a colony committed to religious freedom. Retaining traditional Christian burial arrangements, these denominations gave physical expression to a pyramidal social order, and, in so doing, reproduced a burial geography like that of the city as whole.³⁸

Churches themselves, of course, occupied disparate positions in Philadelphia's social order. Some sense of their relationship can be gleaned from a study conducted by Norman Johnston in the 1960s. Using occupational data from the census, Johnston composed a crude ranking system for Philadelphia's pre-Civil War churches and found they conformed to a national pattern: "Episcopalians and Presbyterians at the high end of the scale, Baptists and Methodists somewhere below them, and the Negro counterparts all sharing the bottommost limits of status."³⁹ The scheme seems predictable enough, but it is also problematic. Johnston focused on the antebellum decades; his search for "class churches" can only hint at social arrangements in

³⁷ Blumin, 17-30, 38, 64-65, 231. Blumin sees rank and class as interlocking structures by the late eighteenth century, a sort of warp-and-weft relationship in which the "horizontal" (class) threads were growing stronger. For a largely compatible view, see Gary B. Nash, *Urban Crucible: Social Change, Political Consciousness, and the Origins of the American Revolution* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1979), x-xi and *passim*. In more recent scholarship, compare Newman's emphasis on the persistence of ranks (3-5) to the variously located points of disruption presented in Joyce Oldham Appleby, *Capitalism and a New Social Order: the Republican Vision of the 1790s* (New York: New York University Press, 1984), chaps. 1 and 3; Christopher Clark, "Comment on the Symposium on Class in the Early Republic," *Journal of the Early Republic* 25, no. 4 (Winter 2005): 559-560. While these discussions address conditions in the early republic as a whole, Robert J. Gough argues that Philadelphia possessed an exceptional degree of fluidity ("Philadelphia Economic Elite," 27-34). See also Steve Rosswurm, "Class Relations, Political Economy, and Society in Philadelphia," in *Shaping a National Culture*, 45-76.

³⁸ Gwynne Stock, "Quaker Burial: Doctrine and Practice," in *Grave Concerns*, 129; Ariès, 16-18, 46-49; Harding, 99-100, 192, 270-273; Linden-Ward, 3-4, 17-18, 20, 22, 24, 157.

³⁹ Johnston, 335.

an era when rank held greater sway.⁴⁰ Furthermore, it is important to remember how many Philadelphians belonged to no church at all. If they were poor, black, or classifiable as strangers, members of these groups often fell out of Johnston's tidy matrix and, ultimately, into the potter's field.⁴¹

Within the churchyard, class proves just as problematic. Physical proximity to the church building bespoke rank rather than simply wealth. Further complicating efforts at socioeconomic categorization was the liminal status of the grave lot as property. In some cases, it came free with church membership. This, after all, was the arrangement at Gloria Dei where only strangers (albeit in ever-larger numbers) paid for interment. But even when money changed hands, the matter of tenure was hazy. Nicholas Collin referred to sums used "to pay for the ground," but this was no fee-simple purchase.⁴² Rather, it was a transfer of burial rights, attached to a particular piece of ground but understood more as a privilege than as property. Money was involved, but only as part of a web whose strands included kinship, religion, and a sense of mutual obligation.

The records of Gloria Dei Church may again serve to illustrate the point. In theory, Nicholas Collin charged strangers a fixed price for burial. In practice, he used a more malleable system of charges, constantly recalibrating to account for the biography of the deceased, the plausibility of her Swedish ancestry, her family's ability to pay, the number of dependents still in need of support, and so on. It is hard to know the extent of such practices. As early as 1740, Gloria Dei buried only four percent of Philadelphia's dead, and this figured was halved by the start of the Revolution.⁴³ Still, Collin's flexible, face-to-face approach to allocating grave lots is suggestive. It may well have been shared by other churchmen who ministered to the "lower sort."

* * *

At first glance Deborah Norris Logan might seem to have inhabited a world far removed from Nicholas Collin's Southwark. Living at Stenton, a mansion near the outlying village of Germantown, she came to funerals in the city by private carriage, buried her husband on their estate, and, excepting household servants, rarely encountered members of other ranks. Nor did the differences end there. Most women of the period would not have attended graveside funeral ceremonies in urban areas. Their role in such instances was generally limited to services

⁴⁰ Eighteenth-century distinctions based on wealth and prestige do not translate neatly into later class categories. A study such as Johnston's could not be conducted on the Federal city without a substantial redefinition of terms. Moreover, Johnston's study might itself be revised to account for the rapid shifts in status among the occupations on which he based his ranking of churches. See Blumin, chap. 4.

⁴¹ It is also, of course, important to note that these groups *did* form their own churches when possible and that these, too, exhibited social gradations both in and beyond the graveyard. See Rebecca Yamin, "Life and Death in the Nineteenth-Century City," in Rebecca Yamin, *Digging in the City of Brotherly Love: Stories from Philadelphia Archaeology* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008), 101-102, 110, 114-119.

⁴² Smith and Klepp, "Burials," 73. The ambiguous nature of such transactions left the grave's legal status in doubt. During the nineteenth century, litigants would strive for clarity as development pressures and demographic shifts drove congregations to sell off their churchyards. See Barratt, 9-19.

⁴³ Smith, "Death and Life," 868. Though Smith's timeframe ends in 1775, it seems likely that this percentage actually increased at the close of the century as Southwark's population mushroomed.

performed in the home. That Deborah Logan felt at liberty to do otherwise was largely a function of her Quakerism.⁴⁴

On closer inspection, though, one crucial continuity does surface. Just as Logan could not countenance the separation of families at death, neither could the mother of one Elizabeth Low, or Loe, buried two decades earlier at Gloria Dei. Nicholas Collin recounted: “As [Low’s] mother was anxious to bury her in the old cemetery along with her children, I consented, strictly charging the sexton to find out the vacant spot in order to make the grave sufficient deep.”⁴⁵ Here was an attempt to gather family remains in a single location, involving three generations. Deborah Logan would presumably have approved. Harder to ascertain is whether she and Elizabeth Low’s mother were speaking the same coded language. For Logan, at least, spoke the language of domesticity.

Following the lead of Lawrence Stone, historians have tried to locate the rise of the “closed domesticated nuclear family” on American soil. They have acknowledged, to varying degrees, the temporal, regional, and social differences that might distinguish his English study from their own. Stone himself tended toward broad generalizations, making the project more difficult for successors. To the extent that a consensus has emerged, it holds that such an institution did indeed spread throughout the more populous parts of United States between 1770 and 1830; that it was based on newly affectionate relationships between husbands and wives, as well as parents and children; that it was less patriarchal and hierarchical than previous family structures; and that child rearing occupied a more central place in the household’s emotional life.⁴⁶

How this story played out in the graveyard has itself become a scholarly subfield. Attempts to collect family remains at a fixed spot and to give that spot a new sort of permanence are generally interpreted as signs that Stone’s “affective individualism” has taken hold. And though various efforts in this direction appeared prior to 1830 (most famously in the 1790s at New Haven’s New Burying Ground), historians have tended to agree that the so-called rural cemetery

⁴⁴ Laderman, 43-44; Susan M. Stabile, *Memory’s Daughters: The Material Culture of Remembrance in Eighteenth-Century America* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2004), 208-214. Still more unusual by contemporary standards was the sanction Quakers gave to graveside eulogies delivered by women, though Deborah Logan was not always pleased with the result; see Logan diary, 9: 163 (1 June 1826). Religion was not the only factor that enabled Logan to attend such events; her status as a widow and her well-developed sense of independence were relevant, too.

⁴⁵ Smith and Klepp, “Burials,” 64.

⁴⁶ Lawrence Stone, *The Family, Sex and Marriage in England, 1500 – 1800* (New York: Harper and Row, 1977); Carl N. Degler, *At Odds: Women and the Family in America from the Revolution to the Present* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980), chs. 1-5; Mary Ryan, *Cradle of the Middle Class: The Family in Oneida County, New York, 1790 – 1865* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1981), introduction and chs. 1-2; Carole Shammas, “The Domestic Environment in Early Modern England and America,” and Daniel Blake Smith, “Autonomy and Affection: Parents and Children in Chesapeake Families,” in Michael Gordon, ed., *The American Family in Social-Historical Perspective*, 3rd ed. (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1983); Jan Lewis, *The Pursuit of Happiness: Family and Values in Jefferson’s Virginia* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1983), especially chap. 6; Barry Levy, *Quakers and the American Family: British Settlement in the Delaware Valley* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), *passim*; J. William Frost, *The Quaker Family in Colonial America: A Portrait of the Society of Friends* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1973), 162-168; Robert J. Gough, “Close-Kin Marriage and Upper-Class Formation in Late-Eighteenth Century Philadelphia,” *Journal of Family History* 14, no. 2 (1989): 119, 121, 127-128.

movement of the antebellum decades represents the posthumous apotheosis of the feminized, sacralized, and increasingly consumption-oriented nuclear family.⁴⁷

Does any of this theorizing bring us closer to Deborah Logan and Elizabeth Low? Perhaps. A central premise of this chapter is that most cultural and material innovations on which the rural cemetery depended were in place *avant le lettre*.⁴⁸ At the same time, it is probably facile to locate Logan and Low's mother at the same point on this trajectory. Not only do Logan's critiques of graveyard atomism come two decades later than those recorded by Nicholas Collin, they also come from the opposite end of the socio-economic spectrum. According to historians of the family, Deborah Logan's wealth, literacy, and Quaker background would have made her a better spokesperson for new ideals of domesticity than would the attributes of a woman whose daughter received Collin's discount burial rate on account of her straitened situation. Then again, it is possible that existing scholarship has over-weighted affective individualism's role in the drive to unify families in death. Perhaps the lingering influence of European folk beliefs was as important as any modern *mentalité* – a ratio as difficult to establish as it would be pointless to pursue. Whatever the precise breakdown, some combination of natural affection, increased mobility, and cultural adjustment contributed to the appeal of churchyard burial among the early republic's poor.⁴⁹

Beyond retaining symbolic ties to family and community, there was a more visceral reason for seeking the churchyard's hallowed ground. It was the prospect of disinterment and dissection. The practice was not limited to the poor, though their bodies were especially vulnerable. Nor did church oversight guarantee safety, though it was instances of churchyard bodysnatching that provoked the most public outrage. Rather, interment under church auspices combined an extra degree of security with a desirable position in the city's posthumous spatial hierarchy.⁵⁰

In 1765, Philadelphia earned the dubious distinction of hosting the first of several anti-dissection riots that swept through urban America in the second half of the eighteenth century. Known as the Sailors' Mob, the gathering broke up an anatomy class taught by Dr. William Shippen, Jr., brought violence to his house and carriage, and sent a message to the city's fledgling medical

⁴⁷ Ann Douglas, "Heaven Our Home: Consolation Literature in the Northern United State, 1830 – 1880," in *Death in America*, ed. David E. Stannard (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1975); Ann Douglas, *The Feminization of American Culture* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1977; repr., New York: Anchor Books, 1988), chap. 6; Linden-Ward, 7-8, 30, 135, 192; Sloane, 54, 60, 70, 83-86, 94-95; Michael Sappol, *A Traffic of Dead Bodies: Anatomy and Embodied Social Identity in Nineteenth-Century America* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002), 35-36. On English parallels, see Tarlow, "Romancing the Stones," 33-43.

⁴⁸ Here I follow Dell Upton, "The Urban Cemetery and the Urban Community: The Origin of the New Orleans Cemetery," in Annmarie Adams and Sally McMurry, eds., *Exploring Everyday Landscapes: Perspectives in Vernacular Architecture, VII* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1997), 132-133, 139-142; Upton, *Another City*, 231, 233-235.

⁴⁹ If the desire for such sanctuary was growing, it may help to explain the dwindling proportion of burials in Philadelphia's Potter's Field in the course of the eighteenth century. Smith, "Death and Life," 868, has Potter's Field handling 34% of Philadelphia's burials between 1738 and 1744, 29% between 1746 and 1760, and 23% between 1761 and 1775. Churchyards may indeed have received a higher percentage of these burials over time but so may outlying paupers' graveyards. On heightened domesticity among elite Quakers, see Levy, 3-21, chap. 4, *passim*; Robert J. Gough, "Close-Kin Marriage," 121, 127-128, 133.

⁵⁰ Steven Robert Wilf, "Anatomy and Punishment in Late Eighteenth-Century New York," *Journal of Social History* 22, no. 3 (Spring 1989): 509-512.

establishment about popular respect for the dead.⁵¹ Predictably, it was occupants of potter's fields who were most vulnerable to dissection. Paupers, blacks, and criminals were routinely hauled from their shallow graves and onto the anatomist's table, a practice that met increasingly organized resistance by the 1780s. In New York, free black leaders petitioned the Common Council to limit dissection to criminals. Although the council took no immediate action, this proposal and the subsequent "Doctor's Mob" riot led to passage of the landmark anatomy act of 1789, strengthening the connection between dissection and punishment while supposedly protecting the dead.⁵²

Historian Stephen Wilf has interpreted New York's anatomy act as a defense of urban socio-geographical norms. For while free blacks' demands helped bring the law into being, the more immediate catalyst was the Doctor's Mob that brewed in response to a white woman's disinterment from the yard of Trinity Church. Dissection only compounded the insult. As Wilf observes: "Anatomists had violated a taboo as important as that against disinterring the deceased. They had failed to respect the hierarchical spatial arrangements which circumscribed late eighteenth-century death. It was a mistake to confuse Trinity Church's burial place, segregated and attached to an important religious institution, with a black cemetery situated in the midst of paupers' graves."⁵³

Legislation was only one of several defenses against invasion. Convinced that "the theater for dissecting dead bodies has become... a terror to the citizens," Philadelphians built physical and symbolic barriers.⁵⁴ The most ad hoc and temporary might consist of citizens themselves. A case in point was the posse that gathered to defend the remains of relatives in the Quaker burial ground on Arch Street during the late 1780s. Other, less well-established, groups sometimes devised more lasting arrangements. It was no coincidence that New York's and Philadelphia's first free black churches formed in this period. Burial privileges were a major incentive for joining, and were also offered by black mutual-aid societies.⁵⁵

* * *

The organized quest to protect Philadelphia's dead coincided with a broader reformation of the city. Streets, markets, and docks that had served the colonial populace now seemed dingy, crowded, and unhealthy – in need of a far-reaching overhaul. The sheer number of people who came to live and work in the city threatened to overwhelm its aging infrastructure. Between 1750 and 1800, the urban population jumped from 12,736 to 67,811, and the numbers of dead climbed accordingly.⁵⁶ But just as important were the new ways many Philadelphians evaluated

⁵¹ Sappol, 45.

⁵² *Ibid.*, 45, 105-110; Wilf, 511-514.

⁵³ Wilf, 512.

⁵⁴ *Pennsylvania Mercury*, 8 March 1788, quoted in Wilf, 509.

⁵⁵ Wilf, 509, 512; Yamin, 100-102, 105-114; Gary B. Nash, "Forging Freedom: The Emancipation Experience in Northern Seaport Cities, 1775-1820," in *Slavery and Freedom in the Age of the American Revolution*, eds. Ira Berlin and Ronald Hoffman (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia for the United States Capitol Historical Society, 1983), 44-45; Leslie J. Pollard, "Black Beneficial Societies and the Home for Aged and Infirm Colored Persons: A Research Note," *Phylon* 41, no. 3 (3rd Qtr., 1980): 230.

⁵⁶ Smith, *Lower Sort*, table B.I, p. 206. These figures are for the city and its two largest suburbs, Southwark and Northern Liberties. There were 716 burials recorded in 1750 versus 1,762 in 1800, though, as Smith and Susan

their public spaces. While the free flow of traffic and commerce had long been municipal priorities, beauty and sanitation emerged as competing if complementary objectives.

As early as the 1760s, major campaigns to clean and pave city streets had commenced. Targeting such habitual nuisances as dead horses, trash piles, and heaps of earth, reformers in this environmental crusade also challenged commercial encroachments on public thoroughfares. Bulkheads, “jut-windows,” hanging shingles and signs all came under attack. So did the noxious substances emitted by butchers, distillers, and tallow chandlers.⁵⁷ However, the intentions underlying this drive were not anti-business per se. The overarching aim was to open up streets and sewers, facilitating their public use while combating pollution in all its sensory forms. Smell and disease seemed linked in especially pernicious ways, for this was the era in which “miasma” came into focus as a subject of extended medico-scientific theorizing.⁵⁸

The Revolution temporarily stalled these activities but soon they resumed, sometimes to greater effect. Dock Creek, for instance, was at last singled out for major rebuilding. Running into the Delaware from a point near Third and Chestnut, this watercourse had long served the city as a sewer and a conduit for barge traffic. In 1763, citizens charged that it had become “a Receptacle for the Carcases of dead Dogs, and other Carrion, and Filth of various kinds, which laying exposed to the Sun and Air putrify and become extremely offensive and injurious to the Health of the Inhabitants.”⁵⁹ It took another two decades, however, before renewed complaints about “exhalation of the most putrefying matters” led public officials to enclose the stream beneath a brick archway.⁶⁰

Meanwhile, public institutions were assuming new grandeur and polish. Opened to inmates in 1776, the Walnut Street Prison served as a monument to penal reform; (by the 1790s, inmates were being grouped by sex, race, and offence). The State House – today’s Independence Hall – also received major facelifts. A seven-foot wall enclosed the institution’s “yard” in 1770, pierced by a portal resembling the doorway of a Georgian mansion. Fourteen years later,

Klepp has noted, mortality rates were generally in decline over this period. See Smith, “Death and Life,” 877-879; Susan E. Klepp, “Demography in Early Philadelphia, 1690-1860,” *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 133, no. 2 (1989): 92, 96-97.

⁵⁷ Charles S. Olton, “Philadelphia’s First Environmental Crisis,” *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 98, no. 1 (January 1974): 93-96; Beth A. Twiss-Garrity, “Double Vision: The Philadelphia Cityscape and Perceptions of It,” in *Shaping a National Culture: The Philadelphia Experience, 1750-1800*, Catherine E. Hutchins, ed. (Winterthur, DE: Henry Francis du Pont Winterthur Museum, 1994), 4.

⁵⁸ Indeed, under the influence of Benjamin Rush, Philadelphia played a leading role in the scientific study of miasma, thus the advancing the “anticontagionist” cause; see Michal McMahon, “Beyond Therapeutics: Technology and the Question of Public Health in Late-Eighteenth-Century Philadelphia,” in *A Melancholy Scene of Devastation*, 104; Kornfeld, 196-201; Richard H. Shryock, “A Century of Medical Progress in Philadelphia: 1750-1850,” *Pennsylvania History* 8, no. 1 (January 1941): 20-21; Erwin H. Ackerknecht, “Anticontagionism Between 1821 and 1867,” *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 22, no. 5 (September-October, 1948), 568-570. On the wider place of miasma in American medical and scientific thought, see also Richard H. Shryock, *Medicine in America: Historical Essays* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1966), 173, chap. 11; John Duffy, *The Sanitarians: A History of American Public Health* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1990), 67-68.

⁵⁹ *Pennsylvania Archives*, Eighth Series, VI, 5384-5385, as quoted in Olton, 92.

⁶⁰ *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 27 August 1783, as quoted in Olton, 99. See also Michal McMahon, “Publick Service’ versus ‘Mans Property’: Dock Creek and the Origins of Urban Technology in 18th-Century Philadelphia,” in *Early American Technology: Making and Doing Things from the Colonial Era to 1850*, ed. Judith McGaw (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1994).

Jamaica sugar planter Samuel Vaughan devised a genteel landscape for this space. A wide, tree-lined walk ran through the center and snaking paths wound around the perimeter. Though Vaughan had envisioned specimen plantings, a donation of one hundred elm trees eventually filled out the whole.⁶¹

The cumulative effect of these efforts convinced Whiggish observers that Philadelphia and America were indeed capable of attaining the highest levels of civilization. Over the course of a century, William Penn's settlement had grown in size and sophistication. It now led the republic in scientific and literary achievements, in medicine and in law, and it seemed fitting that the "Athens of America" should likewise proclaim itself the archetype of urban improvement.⁶² The aura of health, optimism, and order was palpable. Even before these qualities won the city the honor of serving as the nation's capital, they ran together in a sort of catechism. As one proud local prison reformer enthused:

We whose settlement on these shores is of so recent a date, every day behold new academies, hospitals, dispensaries, and public institutions arise, at once accommodating the citizens, and ornamenting their metropolis. I can scarcely walk out, without discovering constantly improvements in the appearance of our city. Where a large unhealthy jail and workhouse exhibited their gloomy fronts, we now see almost a square of elegant and handsome brick buildings. New mark-houses, where necessary, are erected; new ferries opened; churches ornamented and repaired; and streets paved...⁶³

What makes this encomium interesting is the space given over to graveyards. Bodysnatching and beautification had together re-stitched the urban fabric, for the passage continues:

nor is attention confined to the living: even the burial-grounds of the dead become respected, and enclosed with elegantly-ornamented walls; their ashes protected with a neat, but becoming decency; and from having been the pasture-grounds of all the herds in the vicinity, graveyards are become the solemn haunts of meditation, and the silent walks of pensive recollections.⁶⁴

⁶¹ Richard L. Bushman, *The Refinement of America: Persons, Houses, Cities* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1992), 158-159; Michael Meranze, *Laboratories of Virtue: Punishment, Revolution, and Authority in Philadelphia, 1760-1835* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996), 173-181; Edward M. Riley, "The Independence Hall Group," and Thorsten Sellin, "Philadelphia Prisons of the Eighteenth Century," in *Historic Philadelphia from the Founding Until the Early Nineteenth Century. Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* 43, no. 1 (1953): 7-8, 326-328; Therese O'Malley, "Landscape Gardening in the Early National Period" in *Views and Visions: American Landscape before 1830*, Edward J. Nygren and Bruce Robertson, eds. (Washington: Corcoran Gallery of Art, 1986), 145, 147.

⁶² Richard G. Miller, "The Federal City, 1783-1800," and Edgar P. Richardson, "The Athens of America," in *Philadelphia: A 300-Year History*, Russell F. Weigley, Nicholas B. Wainwright, and Edwin Wolf 2nd, eds. (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1982), 155-257; Kornfeld, 189-193, 198-201; Twiss-Garrity, 5-6.

⁶³ "Observations Recommendatory of the Philadelphia Society for Alleviating the Miseries of Public Prisons," *American Museum* 1 (May 1787): 457. My thanks to Amanda Moniz for supplying this intriguing quotation.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 457. Christ Church Burial Ground was likely among the sites the author had in mind; its seven-foot-high brick wall was built in 1772 (Jean Wolf, *Lives of the Silent Stones*, 2, 5). On the enclosure of outdoor spaces as a genteel gesture in this period, see Bushman, *Refinement of America*, 135.

Late eighteenth-century Philadelphia's polite transformation was impressive but by no means complete. Smells were reduced, nuisances abated, and trees planted but the improvements were uneven. In keeping with the spreading culture of refinement, inhabitants often conceived the city as having "upper" and "lower" parts, and this schema helped determine the allocation of resources. During the first push for street reform, a critic who dubbed himself "Tom Trudge" noted that paving proceeded more rapidly on streets "hallowed with the residence of the gentry."⁶⁵ Others made the same observation, supporting their claims with statistics. But the elite themselves did not fixate solely on the urban core. Determined to beautify civic institutions and nearby townhouses, they also built villas on the English model, creating zones of health, wealth, and civility beyond the reach of commerce and contagion.

Centuries of extinction and rediscovery gave the villa its accumulated meanings. Roman statesmen had built these retreats, as had their self-styled successors in the Renaissance. Near London, villas sprouted up along the Thames in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, erected first by members of the court, then increasingly by the gentry and prosperous merchants. Each time the type resurfaced, it was adjusted to suit new social and geographical contexts. What linked these successive iterations was an aura of power, seclusion, and cultivation, typically expressed through classicism in architecture and an artistic approach to landscape; (the latter need not rule out agricultural production, though, by the late eighteenth century, it often did).⁶⁶

Philadelphians had been among the first colonists to erect villas in the New World. Penn himself emphasized the moral superiority of "country life," and the terms of his settlement plan were meant to encourage the spread of a prosperous and civilized yeomanry. For every five thousand acres purchased in the colony, an investor would receive one hundred acres in the "liberties" that ringed the city's commercial core.⁶⁷ This diffuse sort of urbanism was intended to make Philadelphia a "greene Country Towne," and though subsequent revisions gave greater importance to the city proper, some trace of the original scheme's spirit lived on in the larger environs. As early as 1698, Gabriel Thomas could report seeing "many Curious and Spacious Buildings, which several of the *Gentry* have erected for their Country-Houses."⁶⁸

Early country houses tended to be modest structures lying several miles from the city. Designed for daytime visitation, they contained two or three rooms and were relatively rustic in appearance. But there were always exceptions to the rule. Penn laid plans for a suburban manor called Springettsbury near the Schuylkill, and those who represented his interests in the colony often betrayed similar ambitions. Quaker merchants Isaac Norris and James Logan were cases in

⁶⁵ "Tom Trudge," *Pennsylvania Chronicle*, 27 March 1769, quoted in Olton, 97.

⁶⁶ The most thorough study of the type is James S. Ackerman, *The Villa: Form and Ideology in Country Houses* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990). See also Robert Fishman, *Bourgeois Utopias: The Rise and Fall of Suburbia* (New York: Basic Books, 1987), 39-47.

⁶⁷ Roach, pt. 1, 18-19, makes clear that this system applied to the Penn's "great town," that is, to the "liberties of the town" rather than to its core. On Penn's financial and philosophical motivations for making Philadelphia a villa-ringed city, see Scharf and Westcott, 1: 119; Mark Reinberger and Elizabeth McLean, "Isaac Norris's Fairhill: Architecture, Landscape, and Quaker Ideals in a Philadelphia Colonial Country Seat," *Winterthur Portfolio*, 32, no. 4 (Winter, 1997): 243-244, 267-268.

⁶⁸ Gabriel Thomas, *An Historical and Geographical Account of the Province and Country of Pennsylvania...* (London, 1698), 42, quoted in Elizabeth McLean, "Town and Country Gardens in Eighteenth-Century Philadelphia" in Robert P. Maccubbin and Peter Martin, eds., *British and American Gardens in the Eighteenth Century* (Williamsburg: The Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 1984), 137.

point. Norris was Penn's executor and in 1712 began work on Fairhill, a country house notable for its early date and unusual H-shaped plan. Over the following decade, Logan erected Stenton some two miles to the north. A two-story, double-pile brick mansion, it suggested the importance of Penn's colonial secretary and in later years lent an air of antique grandeur to the life of Logan's granddaughter-in-law, Deborah Norris Logan.⁶⁹

It was in the latter half of the eighteenth century, however, that the Philadelphia villa truly came into its own. The breakup of large estates like that of Thomas Shute and the increasing value assigned to variegated topography brought a host of elite families to the east bank of the Schuylkill in the 1750s and 1760s.⁷⁰ Most were members of Quaker clans connected through business, friendship and blood. Possessed of means and drawn increasingly to forms of leisure that could be classified as edifying, they erected symmetrical Georgian houses for use in the warmer months.⁷¹ In this way, Anglophile culture joined the flight from heat and disease in promoting a seasonal custom.

As such migration gained broader acceptance, its social implications grew clearer. Mortality rates declined among the upper and middle classes; (lower immigration and cleaner streets were likely the decisive factors, but diminished crowding helped, too). At the same time, the high ground north and west of the city became associated with health and wealth. Increasing numbers of villa dwellers opted to stay in the "Northern Liberties" year-round, especially as they reached middle age. The city proper thus showed faint, premonitory signs of turning more exclusively toward business. Boosterish rhetoric and medical prowess aside, Philadelphia was still saddled with the high water table and polluted wells that came with lower-coastal-plain geography; it was a zone those with money had sometimes decided to abandon.⁷²

For all its disrupting effects, the yellow fever epidemic of 1793 ultimately reinforced this pattern. Miasma seemed omnipresent – a kind of nimbus that originated in poor neighborhoods and then spread through the city as a whole. In Charles Brockden Brown's *Arthur Mervyn*, a fictionalized but socially astute account of the plague, one character expresses what many members of the upper classes believed: the disease should be attributed "not to infected substances imported from the east or west, but to a morbid constitution of the atmosphere, owing wholly, or in part to

⁶⁹ On Fairhill, see Reinberger and McLean. On Philadelphia villas, see Carl and Jessica Bridenbaugh, *Rebels and Gentlemen: Philadelphia in the Age of Franklin* (New York: Reynal & Hitchcock, 1942), 181-182, 186, 191-198, 215-221; Fredrick B. Tolles, *Meeting House and Counting House: The Quaker Merchants of Colonial Philadelphia* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1948; repr., New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1963), 132-134; Aaron V. Wunsch, "Schuylkill River Villas," HABS No. PA-6184, Historic American Buildings Survey, National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior, 1995.

⁷⁰ Maria M. Thompson, "Evolution of a Country Property: 'Laurel Hill,' East Fairmount Park, Philadelphia," 1982 (TMs in archives of the Fairmount Park Commission), 1-11; Twiss-Garrity, 8.

⁷¹ Reinberger and McLean, 271-274, stress the shift at this time from a Stoic agricultural ideal to an Epicurean, leisure-based ideal in Philadelphia Quaker conceptions of country life.

⁷² Susan E. Klepp, *Philadelphia in Transition: A Demographic History of the City and Its Occupational Groups, 1720-1830* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1989), 225-226, 230-239; Klepp, "Demography," 92, 96-97; Shryock, "Century of Medical Progress," 8; Ben Marsh and Peirce Lewis, "Landforms and Human Habitat," in E. Willard Miller, ed., *A Geography of Pennsylvania* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1995), 36-37; Bridenbaugh and Bridenbaugh, 181-182, 191-192; J. P. Brissot de Warville, *New Travels in the United States of America, 1788*, ed. Durand Echeverria, trans. Mara Soceanu Vamos and Durand Echeverria (Cambridge, MA: Belknap / Harvard University Press, 1964), 254-255.

filthy streets, airless habitations and squalid persons.”⁷³ The plague’s short-term effect was desolation. More than 5,000 people died and nearly half of all city-dwellers fled, many trudging past Fairhill and Stenton on their way to safe haven in Germantown. The long-term effect was to entrench and expand older habits. As sociologist E. Digby Baltzell observed: “After their experience with the epidemic, many Philadelphia families bought land in Germantown and others spent the summer at various boarding houses.”⁷⁴

In the midst of the ordeal, however, it was chaos, not custom, that reigned. Hallowed socio-spatial distinctions stretched to the breaking point, as the fate of the Hamilton family’s Bush Hill estate suggests. Erected in 1740, the mansion had passed down through three generations of a clan that figured prominently in the leadership of the colony. The estate lay on a landscaped hillock on the northwestern outskirts of town, and, after serving as the terminus of a famed 1788 Constitutional parade, had housed Vice President John Adams. Now, it did more prosaic public duty. Having pledged to establish “An Hospital in an airy and healthy place,” the city’s mayor stood by as the Guardians of the Poor claimed Bush Hill for that purpose.⁷⁵ Four paupers were the first to arrive, soon followed by a stream of fellow sufferers. No longer set off as spotless sleeping chambers, the house’s upper rooms hosted scenes in which “The sick, the dying, and the dead were indiscriminately mingled together.”⁷⁶

That fear of mixture was a potent force. Over time, its salience grew among the villa-building classes.⁷⁷ It underlay anxieties about Potter’s Field and helped drive that institution ever-further from fashionable neighborhoods. The same unease assumed scientific legitimacy as it shaped new institutions. Separation and classification were, after all, the principles around which the Walnut Street Prison was reorganized – a reminder of the link between elite yearnings for the

⁷³ Charles Brockden Brown, *Arthur Mervyn or Memoirs of the Year 1793*, ed. Warner Berthoff (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1962 [pt. 1 originally pub. 1799]), 153. Learned opinion on the causes of the epidemic was far from uniform, however. Brown’s character, the worthy Medlicote, gives voice to the views of Benjamin Rush and his partisans (see Kornfeld, 196-197, 201). On the class dynamics at work in the novel and their historical context, see Mark Decker, “A Bumpkin Before the Bar: Charles Brockden Brown’s Arthur Mervyn and Class Anxiety in Postrevolutionary Philadelphia,” *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 124, no. 4 (October 2000): 469-487.

⁷⁴ E. Digby Baltzell, *Philadelphia Gentlemen: The Making of a National Upper Class* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1979), 199. See also Powell, 112, 246; Stephanie Grauman Wolf, *Urban Village: Population, Community, and Family Structure in Germantown, Pennsylvania, 1683-1800* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1976), 14-15.

⁷⁵ Mayor Matthew Clarkson as quoted in Powell, 57. On this incident and the broader history of the house, see Powell, 64-66; Henry A. Boorse, “Bush Hill: An Historic Philadelphia House,” *Imprint: the Journal of the American Historical Print Collectors Society* 9, no. 2 (1984): 12-18; *Thompson Westcott, The Historic Mansions and Buildings of Philadelphia* (rev. ed.; Philadelphia: Walter H. Barr, 1895), 415-423.

⁷⁶ Mathew Carey as quoted in Powell, 155. Charles Brockden Brown supplies a plethora of lurid (and probably accurate) references to Bush Hill in *Arthur Mervyn*, 142, 150-151, 158-159, 162, 164-166, 168-169, 171-173. The contrast between dying patients in the house’s upper rooms and a “banquet” of negligent attendants below underscores the breakdown of social and ethical norms wrought by the epidemic (Brown, 165); it was also rooted in historical fact (Powell, 155-156, 159, 161).

⁷⁷ A glimpse of this mentality comes from Samuel Breck, whose 1790s villa still stands on the west bank of the Schuylkill. After riding in an early railroad car, Breck opined: “The rich and the poor, the educated and the ignorant, the polite and the vulgar, all herd together in this modern improvement in travelling [sic]. The consequence is a complete amalgamation;” (Samuel Breck, *Recollections of Samuel Breck with Passages from His Note-Books*, ed. H. E. Scudder [Philadelphia: Porter and Coates, 1877], 275-276).

“immaculate body” and reformers’ quest for bodily discipline.⁷⁸ And yet, where death was concerned, other forces were at play. Order as much as separation seemed to preoccupy contemporaries. And with order, paradoxically, came the first hallmarks of Romanticism. As the above-mentioned booster noted, Philadelphia’s walled and neatened graveyards had also become “the solemn haunts of meditation, and the silent walks of pensive recollections.”

* * *

Gentry attitudes towards death shifted subtly in this period. Prolonged grieving for a lost child or spouse, for instance, remained partially taboo – as likely to suggest weakness on the part of the sufferer as to demonstrate refined sensibilities. Deeply troubled by his wife’s death, Thomas Jefferson recorded the event succinctly and stoically in his journal. At the same time, death in the abstract might now be savored for the poetic melancholy it induced. Mourning pictures had begun to circulate, showing urns and solemn willow trees. The works of Thomas Gray and other Graveyard Poets appeared in American editions. Writing to the young Deborah Norris, her friend Sally Fisher reflected on a cousin’s demise: “nothing so exalts the human soul except the genuine flame of piety as the sweet emotions of humanity which affords a kind of pleasing pain and leaves serenity almost divine.”⁷⁹

The gradual “softening” of Anglo-American Protestantism and rising interest in literary romanticism also left their mark in the graveyard. As archaeologists James Deetz and Edwin Dethlefsen demonstrated in their pioneering research of the 1960s, the iconography of New England gravestones shifted gradually (and unevenly) from fearsome death’s heads to cherubs and willow trees in the course of the eighteenth century.⁸⁰ Obelisks occasionally appeared on the graves of the elite, and fantasy might take this group further. Well before Martha Jefferson’s death, her husband contemplated turning Monticello’s surroundings into a somber and picturesque landscape, complete with “venerable oaks,” a Gothic temple, and a pyramid commemorating “a favorite and faithful servant.” Little came of the scheme, though Jefferson did ultimately plant rows of willow trees around his intended gravesite. Near Philadelphia, his friend Charles Willson Peale took more concrete steps. Like Jefferson, Peale designed an

⁷⁸ The phrase “immaculate body” is Bushman’s (*Refinement of America*, 41-43). On genteel attitudes toward the body and the related reordering of space, see Dell Upton, “Another City: The Urban Cultural Landscape in the Early Republic,” in Catherine E. Hutchins, ed., *Everyday Life in the Early Republic* (Winterthur, DE: Henry Francis du Pont Winterthur Museum, 1994), *passim*; Dell Upton, “Architecture in Everyday Life,” *New Literary History* 33, no. 4 (Autumn 2002): 718-719; Meranze, chap. 5.

⁷⁹ Sally Fisher, Duck Creek Cross Roads, to Deborah Norris, Duck Creek Cross Roads, March 1780, in John A. H. Sweeney, ed., “The Norris-Fisher Correspondence: A Circle of Friends, 1779-82,” *Delaware History*, 6, no. 3 (March 1955): 200 (quotation); Thomas Jefferson, Account Book, 6 September 1782, quoted in Dumas Malone, *Jefferson and His Time*, vol. 1, *Jefferson the Virginian* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2005), 396. On the latter quotation and Jefferson’s status as a “transitional figure” in the history of American mourning practices, see Jan Lewis, 69-70. On the rising American penchant for melancholy, see Linden-Ward, *Silent City*, chap. 5; Jan Lewis, chap. 3; Ariès, 56-59, 67-68.

⁸⁰ Edwin Dethlefsen and James Deetz, “Death’s Heads, Cherubs, and Willow Tress: Experimental Archaeology in Colonial Cemeteries,” *American Antiquity* 31, no. 4 (April 1966): 502-510; James Deetz, “Remember Me as You Pass By,” in James Deetz, *In Small Things Forgotten* (New York: Anchor Books, 1977), 89-124. For a (partially) complementary study of English graveyards, see Sarah Tarlow, *Bereavement and Commemoration: An Archaeology of Mortality* (Oxford, UK: Blackwell Publishers Ltd., 1999), which also supplies a brief review of criticisms attending Deetz’s and Dethlefsen’s work (p. 15).

obelisk to mark his grave. Terminating a garden path, it featured “mottoes extolling Christian virtues and the Protestant work ethic.”⁸¹

Important as Romanticism was in the designs of particular gravestones and monuments, it had little obvious effect on the layout of graveyards themselves. *Order* was the watchword of early republican burial reform, and it aligned closely with evolving notions privacy, property, and personhood. Emblematic of this turn was New Haven’s New Burying Ground (1796) (**Fig. 6**). Like Philadelphia, New Haven suffered bouts of yellow fever in this period. What troubled statesman James Hillhouse, however, was less the immanent threat of disease than the prospect of posthumous erasure. Having visited the sort of family graveyard that afforded Deborah Logan such solace, Hillhouse felt anything but reassured. What was to prevent the dissolution of the site when the larger property changed hands? Might new owners be careless or unfeeling stewards? With these thoughts in mind, Hillhouse set out to create “a sacred and inviolable burial place” for his family and fellow citizens.⁸²

It was at the New Burying Ground that contemporary interests in privacy, permanence, and family preservation first converged. New Haven had a semi-public “Church-yard” but this was crowded and falling from favor. Centrally located on the town green, it struck Yale theologian Timothy Dwight as being lodged “in the current of daily intercourse” and thus “too familiar to the public eye to have any beneficial effect on the heart.”⁸³ Hillhouse supplied the remedy. Not only did his institution take shape on the edge of town, away from the hustle and bustle, it was also subject to new kinds of controls. Hillhouse was a seasoned legislator, well aware of the powers of the state. This experience doubtless familiarized him with a legal instrument that he deployed in a novel way: the New Burying Ground would be a corporation, but unlike turnpikes and canals, it would not be run for profit. Lots would be sold as freeholds, and their owners would elect the board from among their own numbers. Rather than a church or town council, the heads of elite households would be in charge.

Family lots were the building blocks of Hillhouse’s scheme but a grid supplied the overarching armature. Rectangular blocks of lots marched along linear roads measuring eighteen or twenty four feet across. Planned vehicular access was itself a novelty. It indicated that lot owners might arrive by carriage or could afford the cost of a hearse. More importantly, the grid structure supplied a kind of system. Each lot contained 576 square feet of ground and bore a number on the general plan. This arrangement facilitated bookkeeping. When marked out on a map, it also

⁸¹ Emily T. Cooperman, “Belfield, Springland and [the] Early American Picturesque: the Artist’s Garden in the American Early Republic,” *Studies in the History of Gardens and Designed Landscapes* 26, no. 2 (April-June 2006): 126. Peale is also supposed to have honored his pet dog with a commemorative obelisk made of wood; see “A Tomb for Aristocratic Dogs,” undated newspaper clipping in the Castner Collection Scrapbook, 24: 24-25, Free Library of Philadelphia. On Peale, Jefferson, and the romantic turn in graveyards, see Linden-Ward, 131-136; Therese O’Malley, “Charles Willson Peale’s Belfield: Its Place in Garden History,” in Lillian B. Miller and David C. Ward, eds., *New Perspectives on Charles Willson Peale: A 250th Anniversary Celebration* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1991), 271.

⁸² *Report of the Committee Appointed to Inquire into the Condition of the New Haven Burying Ground and to Propose a Plan for Its Improvement* (New Haven: B. L. Hamlen, 1839), 4, as quoted in Linden-Ward, 136. My discussion of the New Burying Ground relies principally on Linden-Ward’s analysis. See also Sloane, 30-34, emphasizing the corporation’s significance.

⁸³ Timothy Dwight, *Travels in New-England and New York* (New Haven: T. Dwight, 1821), 2: 191, as quoted in Linden-Ward, 137.

helped visitors orient themselves in a largely undifferentiated environment where squares divided into smaller squares – “the *square* not being lost sight of for a moment.”⁸⁴

New Haven’s exemplary graveyard excited attention, especially in New England. However, many of the ideals that motivated Hillhouse were broadly adrift in the early republic, with or without direct influence from his plan. Around Philadelphia, several Quaker meetings showed interest in a grid system for the dead. Friends at Arch Street were probably the first to undertake such initiatives, but their counterparts at Buckingham, in Bucks County, were at least as avid. After buying land to extend an older burial ground, members formed a committee to consider how new lots should be apportioned. Their 1805 report concluded “that all white people may be permitted to be buried in a regular succession of interments, in some unoccupied part of the yard, to be assigned by the meeting in ranges of suitable depth for the different length of graves.”⁸⁵

Racial exclusivity and religious affiliation differentiated this example from New Haven’s. Moreover, while Quakers understood the larger culture’s desire to demarcate family burial space, decision-makers at Buckingham hoped their scheme would counteract that tendency. The committee expressed their wish

That no family distinction be kept up in any part of the new grounds...It is our judgment that Friends would do well by advice and example to remove all distinction among themselves in their interments, so that a general arrangement of graves in a regular succession of funerals might supercede the custom of striving to extend to the remains of the deceased distinction kept up or looked for among the living.

More than Friends’ doctrine of plainness was at work here. Bent on reordering their burial arrangements, Buckingham Quakers saw in the grid the promise of (white) egalitarian property division and the orderly assignment of lots.

In invoking the language of regularity and equality, these reformers touched on elements of what Dell Upton has called the “republican spatial imagination.” The phenomenon’s intellectual foundations were broad. They reached into Enlightenment science, especially Linnaean botanical classification. They drew on assumptions about human predictability emerging from classical economic theory and its popular expressions. They involved notions of sovereignty, legitimacy, and citizen “comparability” supporting Anglo-American republicanism. But more important than any single set of origins was the general and less explicit epistemology they fostered. People moved by the “systematic spirit” fused physical and mental landscapes, the existing and the possible. The emblem of their outlook was the grid.⁸⁶

⁸⁴ Edward Augustus Kendall, *Travels through the Northern Parts of the United States in the years of 1807 and 1808* (New York: I. Riley, 1809), 1: 253, quoted in Linden-Ward, 139. On Kendall and the significance of the New Burial Ground’s grid, see Upton, “Gridding the Graveyard,” 21-24.

⁸⁵ “No. VI. 1805 – 1820,” newspaper clipping in Atkinson Family Scrapbook (SC 166), Friends Historical Library, Swarthmore College. My thanks to Catherine Lavoie for pointing me to this source. The case of Arch Street Burial Ground will be discussed in Chapter 2. For other examples of grid-based burial reform in the early republic, see Richard Becherer, “Placing the Dead: Burial Sites in Early Boston, and Beyond,” *Modulus* 17 (1984), 96, 98.

⁸⁶ Upton, “Grid and the Republican Spatial Imagination,” 14-30, and “Another City,” 62-68. On the larger role of “systematics” in late Enlightenment thought, see John E. Lesch, “Systematics and the Geometrical Spirit” in Tore

Amid devastating bouts yellow fever, Philadelphians looked increasingly to systems as the basis for sanitary reform. The plague itself returned forcefully in 1797 and 1798, with less deadly encounters continuing until 1805. By then, however, new safeguards were in place. A permanent Board of Health had been established, and “Ever more elaborate lists of numbers” became the medium through which health policy was studied and advanced. (In 1809, Cadwallader Evans hoped to correlate daytime temperatures with disease spikes using detailed numerical tables).⁸⁷ Most spectacular of all were the new waterworks. Blaming polluted wells for their annual scourges, city leaders adopted a plan advanced by the English architect and engineer, Benjamin Henry Latrobe. The result was a network of pipes and pumps that drew water directly from the Schuylkill. The design set a national example.⁸⁸

Despite inroads made by church congregations, systematic reform came more slowly to public burial. The dead seemed implicated in the spread of disease inasmuch as they were associated with miasma, and fears of contaminated water periodically focused on graveyards. The 1794 ban on interments in Southeast Square represented a direct upshot of the yellow fever experience. Yet comprehensive burial reform did not follow. Rather than devising a broad-based solution, something on par with the Board of Health or the Waterworks, civic leaders concentrated, as we have seen, on shifting deceased paupers to the fringe. The 1794 law constituted the first big step in this direction. Thereafter, bodies destined for the potter’s field were directed to Ninth and Lombard Streets, laying way for beautification of the old site. Over the next two decades, (ultimately fruitless) plans for a monument to George Washington got under way. So did an intensive re-landscaping campaign. By 1819, all trace of the previous century’s mass graves receded beneath “gravel walks and...a great variety of trees, procured from different parts of the United States...” (Fig. 7).⁸⁹

These changes occurred gradually, and they were not confined to the space locals had begun calling “Washington Square.” An 1812 ordinance prohibited public burial in *all* the city’s squares. Recognizing that the Lombard Street alternative would now be used more heavily and, perhaps, that fears of bodysnatching would increase, City Councils simultaneously decreed that the site be “enclose[d] with a substantial board fence, of sufficient height.” There were exceptions. The city’s German Reformed Church managed to grandfather its Northeast (or Franklin) Square graveyard into the ordinance and burials continued there for another two decades. However, the general clampdown settled in, gaining strength from subsequent laws. While disease prevention weighed on the minds of city fathers, it appears to have preoccupied

Frängsmyr, J. L. Heilbrun, and Robin E. Rider, eds., *The Quantifying Spirit in the 18th Century* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1990), 73-111.

⁸⁷ Klepp, “Appendix I,” 176 (quote) – 179. On similar efforts, see Duffy, 67-68. On the Board of Health, see Edward P. Allinson and Boies Penrose, *Philadelphia, 1681-1887: A History of Municipal Development* (Baltimore: Publication Agency of the Johns Hopkins University, 1887), 112-113, 215-217.

⁸⁸ McMahan, “Beyond Therapeutics,” *passim*; Sam Bass Warner, Jr., *The Private City: Philadelphia in Three Periods of Its Growth* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1968), 102-105; Upton, “Grid and the Republican Spatial Imagination,” 37.

⁸⁹ “Improvement of Philadelphia,” *Philadelphia Register and National Recorder*, 15 May 1819 (quotation); Twiss-Garrity, 5; Jeffrey A. Cohen, “Alternative Designs for Washington Monument, Washington Square, Philadelphia,” in James F. O’Gorman et al., *Drawing Toward Building: Philadelphia Architectural Graphics, 1732-1986* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press for the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, 1986), 66-67.

them less than an amorphous wish to separate the dead from the living. Contemporaries now spoke of the “rights” of each group, a telling shift in public discourse.⁹⁰

Such changes were occurring up and down the Eastern seaboard. When New York suffered a severe spell of yellow fever in 1822, suspicions turned to Trinity churchyard as they had on earlier occasions. Heated debate ensued over whether contagion, rather than miasma, might be to blame, but, in keeping with prevailing medical opinion, the latter camp held sway. More heretical was a proposal from local publisher Francis Allen. Noting that Europeans had started to move their graveyards beyond city limits, Allen suggested respectable New Yorkers do the same. That thought, however, came too close to inverting social and spatial norms. While City Council banned interments south of Canal Street the following year, extramural burial remained off the table for the time being.⁹¹

Bostonians, too, had cause for debate. The first round of controversy commenced in 1811 when public officials ordered bodies removed from old burial grounds. The idea was to create space for more graves, but it provoked unexpected outrage. Four years later, a ban on individual graves again aimed at efficiency. But when St. Paul’s Episcopal Church sought to build basement tombs – a traditional and space-saving measure – another outcry arose. Sectarian politics joined democratic rhetoric and editorial fear-mongering to block the plan. In 1826, the city passed an ordinance ending burial in many established graveyards.⁹²

Philadelphians’ concerns did not map neatly onto those of their northern neighbors. New Yorkers stressed sanitation and thought about real estate. Bostonians emphasized aesthetics and played on nascent populism. In Philadelphia, all of these impulses came into play. By the mid 1820s, however, a particular set of social economic circumstances supplied their own distinctive rationale for reform.

* * *

“The tender sensibilities of many of our good citizens were greatly shocked by the announcement, in the city papers a few weeks ago, of the establishment of a ready-made *coffin* ware-house.”⁹³ So began an 1827 article on Philadelphia Cemetery, one of several innovative graveyards taking shape around the city at the time. In the early twenty-first century, non-customized coffins are such a consumer commonplace that their modernity in the Age of Jackson is almost totally lost on us.⁹⁴ Yet the *Ariel*’s reporter struggled to describe and justify something so strange (**Fig. 8**). “To many,” the writer continued, “the idea was altogether new; and the

⁹⁰ Scharf and Westcott, 3: 2357. The 1812 ordinance is reproduced in *Poulson’s American Daily Advertiser*, 29 June 1812. For the subsequent 1818 ordinance, see John C. Lowber and C. S. Miller, *A Digest of the Ordinances of the Corporation of the City of Philadelphia; and of the Acts of Assembly Relating Thereto* (Philadelphia: Robert Desilver, 1822), 103. On the living and the dead as conflicting (if mutually sympathetic) interest groups, see Sappol, 15, 17-18, 79, 87; Upton, “Gridding the Graveyard,” 2-3, 30-35; and, implicitly, Upton, “Another City,” 102-104, which touches on the squares’ transformation.

⁹¹ Linden-Ward, 153-155; Sloane, 34-38. For a broader discussion of antebellum New Yorkers’ attitudes toward the dead, see Bahde, *passim*.

⁹² Linden-Ward, 152-153, 155-165.

⁹³ “Philadelphia Cemetery,” *The Ariel: A Semimonthly Literary and Miscellaneous Gazette* 1, no. 2 (19 May 1827): 14, via APS Online.

⁹⁴ On the abandonment of custom-made coffins and its implications for personhood, see Laderman, 31, 46.

solemn paraphernalia of death so abruptly exposed to the public gaze, impressed them with a mingled feeling of terror and amazement.” What could have warranted such a rupture? Could the “melancholy trappings” of mourning be thrust into the marketplace without threatening the sanctity of the dead?

In fact, there was as much (unconscious) novelty in the author’s way of seeing as in the phenomenon he described. The extravagant fears of exposure revealed a growing sense of privacy that had descended upon all things funereal. A passing reference to “narrow houses” was equally suggestive. Likening graves to hallowed abodes, it underscored the extent of domesticity’s reach into the urban graveyard. Perhaps most significantly, these sentiments now attached to the tombs of the poor. It was their plight that seemed especially compelling, their plight that rendered ready-made coffins and non-sectarian burial acceptable in print and in practice. For what feeling citizen could deny decent burial to “the unfortunate stranger, cut off suddenly while tarrying among us”? And if the stranger’s case lacked pathos, what of “the heart-broken widow, left with but just resources enough to perform to a lamented husband her last and most agonizing duty”? Such tear-jerking scenarios were surely common enough in reality. Here, though, they played on middle-class ideals. It was important, for instance, that neither the widow nor the stranger lacked friends or financial resources through any fault of his or her own.

The 1820s marked a turning point in Philadelphians’ attitudes towards the poor. A decade earlier, the city had been notable for the scale and number of its charities. These groups did not disappear. But as the nation neared its fiftieth birthday, they lost support, changed focus, and struggled. Population was part of the problem. Beginning around 1815, more needy people arrived in the city or were produced by its economy. Their presence drained institutional coffers and triggered a formal investigation. Then came the Panic of 1819, making matters much worse. Many would-be reformers now became stern critics. Infused with the language of liberalism and self-discipline, their emergent condemnation of the poor dwelt on “improvidence” to suggest that personal judgment, not divine will or happenstance, was fundamentally at issue.⁹⁵

Historians favor another interpretation. Sifting through data, they point to industrialization and the spread of wage labor as new sources of instability in the urban economy. Such arguments, however, were heard rarely at the time. (For better or worse, contemporaries lacked modern rubrics such as the “market revolution.”) Instead, policy makers grasped at crude strategies for reducing dependency. As hard times preyed even on more affluent citizens, both public and private poor relief shrank markedly. Free-market ideology helped supply a rationale.⁹⁶

The implications for burial practice were initially unclear. The public squares were already closed to dead paupers, making their disposal more arduous or secretive. Technically, at least,

⁹⁵ Bruce Dorsey, *Reforming Men and Women: Gender in the Antebellum City* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2002), 51-76. This shift in attitude towards the poor took place amid a broader process in which many Americans came to see work as “the integrator of society” (Joyce Appleby, “Republicanism and Ideology,” *American Quarterly* 37, no. 4 [Autumn, 1985]: 469-470). Consequently, fears that existing means of poor relief “encouraged idleness” and “destroyed character” were crucial to the rise of the poorhouse in this era. See Michael B. Katz, *In the Shadow of the Poorhouse: A Social History of Welfare in America* ([New York]: Basic Books, 1986), 16-25, and, on the related conviction that “mobility was completely dependent on the will and actions of the individual,” John G. Cawelti, *Apostles of the Self-Made Man* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1965), 44.

⁹⁶ Dorsey, 60-62.

similar bans now also applied to the newer public lots on Lombard Street.⁹⁷ As a result, a friendless or penniless decedent would need to be hauled across the Schuylkill to the Upper or Lower Burial Grounds, or out Ridge Avenue to the city lot at Francisville. Such a fate was as ignominious as at it was inconvenient. The potter's field, after all, was a place of last resort. But what of those families who could afford something better? While the transition to industrial capitalism dragged many artisans and laborers into poverty, others saved just enough of their wages to escape the potter's field. Traditionally, members of this latter group had bargained with church sextons; (they came daily to Nicholas Collin). Now, though, their prospects were dimmer. As the Second Great Awakening gained momentum, evangelicals increasingly joined economy-minded social reformers in stressing moral and financial autonomy. Missionary efforts mounted while monetary aid diminished. Churchmen like Collin, willing to negotiate on burial costs, surely remained active in some quarters. On the whole, though, the "spiritualization of poverty" tended to counteract churchyard leniency.⁹⁸

But diminishing access alone hardly explains what came next. Over the last few decades, the sorts of people who approached Collin had come to share certain assumptions about the deceased. Individualized commemoration, "hygienic distance," the association of death with repose – all of these cultural modes held increasing appeal for men and women who had previously considered them out of reach or had never considered them at all.⁹⁹ These were the buyers of ready-made coffins, so shocking to refined observers. And yet refinement, or at least *respectability*, was precisely what these buyers wanted. Churchyard burial was probably compatible with their wishes. From all evidence, it was still what they preferred. But shrinking availability combined with growing demand, democratic political impulses, and Philadelphia's history of religious and ethnic pluralism to bring forth a parallel structure. This transposed the churchyard's main benefits onto secular, market-based forms.

Philadelphia Cemetery seemed to epitomize this shift. Conceived by restless entrepreneur James Ronaldson, this prim and tended landscape drew curious visitors and newspaper coverage from the outset. People marveled at its attractive design, so suited to its benevolent mission. Yet the *Ariel's* vaunted subject emerged from a wider movement. If we wish to make sense of the site, we must study its local context, for Ronaldson's was only the politest version of an emerging cemetery type.¹⁰⁰ Between 1826 and 1834, five graveyards with distinctive traits appeared on the city's southwest fringe (**Fig. 9**).¹⁰¹ All were geared to the lower or middling classes. All

⁹⁷ Scharf and Westcott, 3: 2357.

⁹⁸ Dorsey, 76-81 (I have adapted Dorsey's "spiritualizing poverty," p. 76); Scharf and Westcott, 3: 2357.

⁹⁹ Sappol, 9, 17, 34-37; Upton, "Gridding the Graveyard," 18.

¹⁰⁰ In emphasizing local context, I hope to reveal traits that might vanish in a broader survey of cemetery development. Nonetheless, Philadelphia's "mutual" cemeteries were part of a phenomenon that occurred elsewhere in the Atlantic world. New Orleans was one such locale, as analyzed in Upton, "Urban Cemetery," *passim*. Britain's "Dissenting" cemeteries are another relative, accompanied by some of the same populist language as their Philadelphia counterparts, albeit for different reasons. See Julie Rugg, "The Origins and Progress of Cemetery Establishment in Britain," in Peter C. Jupp and Glennys Howarth, eds., *The Changing Face of Death: Historical Accounts of Death and Disposal* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1997), 107-112; Julie Rugg, "A New Burial Form and Its Meanings: Cemetery Establishment in the First Half of the 19th Century," in *Grave Concerns*, 45-48.

¹⁰¹ Two standard histories of the city indicate that six graveyards of the new type took shape in this period: Mutual, Philadelphia, Union, Machpelah, Philanthropic, and Lafayette; see Scharf and Westcott, 1: 620, 3: 2359; John F. Watson, *Annals of Philadelphia and Pennsylvania, in the Olden Time; Being a Collection of Memoirs, Anecdotes, and Incidents of the City and Its Inhabitants...Enlarged, with Many Revisions and Additions by Willis P. Hazard*

lacked religious affiliation. All seemed to function as benevolent associations, though there was significant latitude in the details. Finally, all paired these abstract traits with an orthogonal form of land division that meshed more or less explicitly with republican ideology. (While the presence of leading Democrats among the founders did not confer the party's seal of approval on these institutions, it does shed some light on their ideals).¹⁰²

Proximity underscored the cemeteries' kinship. One lay in Southwark, the others in neighboring Moyamensing, and together they traced out the city's southwest line of development.¹⁰³ This was a heterogeneous if largely working-class area. Its eastern half, Southwark, was densely settled, and constituted what latter-day sociologists might have termed a "zone of emergence." Some houses were brick, more were frame, and a shipwright or skilled carpenter could reasonably expect to own one. Moyamensing was still largely rural. Lying further from the waterfront, it combined Southwark's maritime character with open fields and empty lots. Nonetheless, institutions were beginning to take hold there. Some, such as the Lebanon Garden, were known strongholds of Jacksonianism. Others, such as the new cemeteries, might have Democratic overtones but draw upon a wider public. Their presence testified to modest property values and concomitant low-density land use.¹⁰⁴

(Philadelphia: Edwin S. Stewart, 1884), 3: 137. However, Lafayette was not founded until 1838 (see *The Act Incorporating the Lafayette Cemetery, Together with the Deed of Trust, Containing the Rules Governing the Same* [Philadelphia: Rawlings & Zeising, pr., 1853]) and information on Philanthropic is thin. The account books of the Philanthropic Burial Ground Association (two vols., Historical Society of Pennsylvania) indicate a start date of 1834.

¹⁰² Peter A. Grotjan, the first president of Mutual Cemetery, corresponded with Jefferson, campaigned for Jackson, and help found the Philadelphia Hickory Club in 1822. His two-volume memoir is housed at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania and excerpts appear in Alfred A. Wheeler, "A Contemporary of Washington," *California and Overland Monthly* 6, no. 35 (November 1882): 1-7 and no. 36 (December 1882): 496-508; Peter A. Grotjan, "To Philadelphia in the New World," *Harper's Monthly Magazine* 172, [no. 1] (December 1935): 33-45 and [no. 2] (January 1936): 160-170. James Ronaldson, also a Jefferson correspondent, was likewise "a sincere friend of Andrew Jackson," and funerals at Philadelphia Cemetery were sometimes attended by entire Democratic ward associations. See Henry Simpson, *The Lives of Eminent Philadelphians, Now Deceased* (Philadelphia: William Brotherhead, 1859), 849; "Funeral of William Perry," *Aurora* 1, no. 19 (8 October 1834): 148, via APS Online. But Ronaldson eventually became a Whig, a shift perhaps related to his increase in wealth. See "Proceedings of the Citizens of Philadelphia and Adjoining Districts at a Town Meeting Held on the 26th of August, 1814," *Memoirs of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania* 8 (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co., 1867), 13; Joseph Dorfman, "The Jackson Wage-Earner Thesis," *American Historical Review* 54, no. 2 (January, 1949): 300.

¹⁰³ A useful locator map accompanies *A Plan of Philadelphia, or the Stranger's Guide to the Public Buildings, Places of Amusement, Streets, Alleys...&c. &c. of the City of Philadelphia and Adjoining Districts* (Philadelphia: E. L. Carey, & A. Hart, 1832). However, researchers should be aware that the names of the Mutual and Union burying grounds have been transposed.

¹⁰⁴ Harry C. Silcox, *Philadelphia Politics from the Bottom Up: the Life of Irishman William McMullen, 1824-1901* (Philadelphia: Balch Institute Press, 1989), 25-30; Richard Webster, *Philadelphia Preserved: Catalog of the Historic American Buildings Survey*, 2d ed. (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1981), 155-160; Scharf and Westcott, 2: 944, 945; Farley paper, *passim*. See also **note 127**, below. The term "zone of emergence" was coined by early-twentieth-century sociologists to designate "lower middle and upper working class" neighborhoods plagued by poverty and violence but reinforced by voluntary associations; (see Robert A. Woods and Albert J. Kennedy, *The Zone of Emergence: Observations of the Lower Middle and Upper Working Class Communities of Boston, 1905-1914*, abridged and edited by Sam Bass Warner, Jr. [Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1962]). There are two risks in applying it to early-republican Southwark and Moyamensing: anachronism and over-optimism. The social scientists who developed the term were studying urban neighborhoods in the age of the streetcar, a time when geographic sorting by class was necessarily more advanced. The term may also suggest greater prospects for

Several church burial grounds appeared in the area for the similar reasons. But while inexpensive real estate ringed most of the city, the bulk of potential customers did not. Death rates in the southern suburbs had risen sharply since 1818. Experts cited poor ventilation in alleys – the standard recipe for miasma.¹⁰⁵ In fact, contaminated water was probably to blame, and by the 1820s the problem was getting worse. Citywide, the benefits bestowed by the waterworks were being outweighed by pollution, population, and poverty, but Southwark and Moyamensing were especially hard-hit. Perhaps the prevalence of death at this end of town registered in the minds of cemetery founders.¹⁰⁶

Whatever the weight of such factors, it was bureaucracy, not demography, that ultimately served as the catalyst. Members of Gloria Dei were entitled to free burial in the churchyard so long as they paid up their pew rents. Delinquents, however, were required to make full payment before their families could regain this privilege. Tellingly, it was not the very poor but those just above the threshold of poverty who led the revolt. Seeking family lots rather than single graves and still priced out of other churchyards, these pew-holders of modest means joined forces with several wealthier citizens to form the Mutual Family Burial Ground Association (**Fig. 10**).¹⁰⁷

“The Mutual,” as it was known, represented the first example of the new type. Convening at a local inn on July 12th, 1826, projectors agreed that their institution would serve “without any

upward mobility than historians such as Gary Nash and Billy G. Smith have identified in early Southwark. Mr. Farley’s study of deed and tax records, however, suggests otherwise.

Of the two districts, Moyamensing was the more open and functionally variegated. During the 1820s, cemeteries, botanical gardens, taverns, and ropewalks mixed with the last remnants of agriculture – sometimes on the same site. At Tenth and Prime Streets, for instance, a tract carved off Alexander Parker’s Botanic Garden became the Mutual Family Burying Ground. During the transition, the land served as a truck farm, with the farmer eventually becoming the cemetery’s superintendent. See “Death of an Aged Citizen,” 3 December 1861, in Campbell Coll. 19: 168, Historical Society of Pennsylvania; Scharf and Westcott, 2: 945.

¹⁰⁵ Gouverneur Emerson, “Medical Statistics: Being a Series of Tables, Showing the Mortality in Philadelphia, and Its Immediate Causes, During a Period of Twenty Years,” *American Journal of the Medical Sciences* 1, no. 1 (November, 1827): 123; Gouverneur Emerson, “Medical Statistics; Consisting of Estimates Relating to the Population of Philadelphia, and Its Changes...from 1821 to 1830 Inclusive,” *American Journal of the Medical Sciences* 9, no. 17 (November 1831): 25-27.

¹⁰⁶ Klepp, *Philadelphia In Transition*, 235, 237-239. Although mortality rates were much higher for blacks than whites in this period, the new cemeteries specifically excluded African-Americans as discussed below.

¹⁰⁷ The story of the pew-holders’ revolt is recounted in “Reminiscences, No. 33 [Extracts from the manuscript Biography and Diary of William Adams, from 1779 to 1858, continued],” *The Journal* 2, no. 10 (8 April 1874): 74. (I am grateful to Christopher Densmore of the Friends Historical Library, Swarthmore College, for pointing me to this key source.) However, Mutual’s founders were a more heterogeneous group than Adams’s account suggests. Of the fifteen original board members, roughly half are identifiable as laborers and artisans; Joseph Rhinehart, a boot- and shoemaker, was the first vice president. But title of president went to German-born merchant and business-news publisher Peter Grotjan, whose Democratic activism has already been mentioned (see fn. 97). Equally intriguing is the name of Rev. Maskell M. Carll, the city’s leading Swedenborgian minister. His presence on the list suggests religious liberalism played a role in the split, for while Nicholas Collin had known Swedenborg and helped marry some of his followers, their ideals were incompatible with mainstream Lutheranism. See Marguerite Beck Block, *The New Church in the New World: A Study of Swedenborgianism in America* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1932; repr., New York: Octagon Books, 1968), 76, 82, 97; [**also Cox, Body and Soul, on Swedenborgian attitudes toward the afterlife**]. On Mutual’s founders and their backgrounds, see *Preamble to, and Constitution of the Mutual Family Burial Ground Association, of the City and County of Philadelphia* (Philadelphia: Joseph Rakestraw, pr., 1827), 15; *The Philadelphia Directory and Stranger’s Guide, for 1825* (Philadelphia: Thomas Wilson & Wm. D. Vanbaum, 1825).

exception or distinction on account of differences of religious tenets, to economize the heavy expense attending [the purchase] of sepulchral ground for an interment.”¹⁰⁸ Prices, established soon afterward, rivaled those at Gloria Dei. While burial at Christ Church might now cost \$102 (plus \$29 for a traditional coffin), ten dollars would buy an 8’ x 10’ lot at Mutual and was payable in quarterly installments.¹⁰⁹ The men who drafted these terms staunchly defended potential patrons’ dignity. In their view, the high cost of decent burial was not the bane of an unlucky few but “an evil to society at large.”¹¹⁰ Here the languages of liberalism and republicanism came to bear against moralistic bigotry. Those barred from the churchyard were not shiftless or undisciplined; they were victims of “sectarian prejudices” and “misfortunes not within the scope of human wisdom to foresee.” Private property would come to their aid. Instead of haggling over ethnic or sectarian credentials, people like Nicholas Collin’s supplicants could buy ground outright at fixed prices.¹¹¹

The insertion of market relations into customarily religious terrain looks in retrospect like secularization. That view, however, would have displeased Mutual’s founders. Their primary goal was to supply the key (non-religious) benefits of churchyard burial: fixity and family cohesion (**Fig. 11**). In an age when the patriarchal family seemed increasingly embattled, such objectives animated a wide array of reform movements. Little surprise, then, that cemetery backers used the same arguments as their church-based counterparts when articulating their mission. Together, they pledged that every member would have “a separate piece of ground, as a family cemetery [sic] or burial place; and that after the manner of the scriptures, ‘as the family of Israelites of old,’ . . . husband or wife, parents or children, brothers, sisters, or friends, all may have the consoling idea, that our and their remains shall be placed together.”¹¹²

Use of the phrase “family cemetery” here points to more than typographical error. Hastily stating their principles, Philadelphia’s burial reformers seem to have conflated individual and joint property. In fact, their language was carefully chosen. It announced the formation of an ideal community – one in which individual and collective spaces were both mutually constitutive and

¹⁰⁸ Minutes [?] of the Mutual Family Burial Ground Association, quoted in Scharf and Westcott, 1: 620.

¹⁰⁹ *Preamble to . . . the Mutual Family Burial Ground Association*, 20. Figures on Christ Church come from Court of Common Pleas, Insolvency Petitions and Bonds, 1790-1868, Book N, p. 298 (1830). I am grateful to Matthew Osborn for supplying this citation, uncovered during his research on *delirium tremens*.

¹¹⁰ *Preamble to . . . the Mutual Family Burial Ground Association*, 1.

¹¹¹ Even more than at Mutual, promoters of Philadelphia Cemetery were adept at wielding the language of liberalism against sectarian prejudice. They boasted: “Any person of whatever religious persuasion, may now have his own freehold estate in the ground consecrated and blessed in any manner of faith consistent with his belief, without any hindrance or unkind feelings from his neighbors” (*Philadelphia Cemetery. Copy of the Deeds of Trust, Charter, By-Laws, and List of Lot-Holders; with an Account of the Cemetery* [Philadelphia: Mifflin & Parry, pr., 1845], 2). Republicanism and liberalism may have been competing ideologies, but they coexisted in this era and were often indistinct to contemporaries. As Joyce Appleby has observed, “many writers managed to think in both languages.” See her “Republicanism and Ideology,” 469, and Sean Wilentz, *Chants Democratic: New York City and the Rise of the American Working Class, 1788-1850* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1984), 14, 92-95.

¹¹² *Preamble to . . . the Mutual Family Burial Ground Association*, 1 (quotation), 11. See also the association’s minutes [?] as quoted in Scharf and Westcott, 1: 620. In these passages, Mutual’s founders invoked the Abrahamic covenant – a favorite of contemporary moral reformers. Indeed, the theme of the family as a bulwark against social decay was a staple of contemporary religious tracts, to which Mutual’s *Preamble* bears a strong resemblance. See Ryan, 65-67; Paul Boyer, *Urban Masses and Moral Order in America, 1820-1920* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1978), 30.

mutually exclusive.¹¹³ The very idea of a *cemetery*, as opposed to a burial ground, was something new. Although the term was Greek in origin and had some currency in Europe, Americans adopted it only when their notions of the afterlife came to comport with the root meaning: “sleeping chamber.” Ideals of privacy and respite accompanied a softer image of death. They emerged under the combined influences of Romanticism, Arminianism, and other liberalizing trends in Protestantism, and they were key to Mutual’s appeal.¹¹⁴ As one local paper reported: “The objects of such a Society [are]...to furnish the members a place of *rest*, a portion of ground in which they may ‘bury their dead out of sight!’”¹¹⁵

Yet, by applying the novel term to the family lot *and* to the larger institutional property, creators of Philadelphia’s cemeteries suggested that collective privacy begat a form of publicity. Each piece became an equal and interchangeable subset of a unifying, organizing whole.¹¹⁶ The same idea carried over to the landscape with extraordinary precision. At Mutual and its sister institutions, the grounds were always discussed as perfect rectangles, regardless of their actual boundaries. To either side of a central path, identical eight-foot-by-ten-foot lots lined up, their short sides turned toward the walk to maximize the number of lots with direct pedestrian access. If secondary paths were employed, the same arrangement generally obtained.

Family lots were considered the basic units and their distribution received the most attention. As Mutual Burial Ground’s constitution ordained: “A draft or plan, shall be accurately drawn for the regulation and order of the ground...[on] which lots shall all be marked and numbered, beginning with the number one, on or at the top right corner of the row fronting on the centre or main path; and the odd numbers shall be continued on the right hand side, and the number two shall be at the left hand corner of the row opposite to number one; and the even numbers shall be continued on the left hand side, and so on until the whole are numbered.”¹¹⁷

¹¹³ Nomenclature was very much in flux during the early years of the American cemetery. Thus Mutual was still a “burial ground” though the founders typically referred to individual lots as cemeteries. By the early 1830’s, founders of Machpelah Cemetery were more comfortable with the new terminology but still referred to “Payment for the Lots or Cemeteries”; see *Charter and By-Laws, of the Machpelah Cemetery Society of Philadelphia* (Philadelphia: John Coates, pr., 1832), 13.

¹¹⁴ Sloane, 55; Laderman, 53; Sappol, 17; James J. Farrell, *Inventing the American Way of Death, 1830-1920* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1980), 111. The influence of Arminianism was clearest in New England, where it stood in stark contrast to the pessimistic preachings of Puritanism. By invoking the term I do not wish to imply either that the trend was as tidy in the Mid Atlantic region or that it carried all of the socio-political baggage imputed to it by Charles Sellers in *The Market Revolution: Jacksonian America, 1815-1846* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991). A useful corrective to the latter’s portrait is Daniel Walker Howe, “The Market Revolution and the Shaping of Identity in Whig-Jacksonian America,” in Melvyn Stokes and Stephen Conway, eds., *The Market Revolution in America: Social, Political, and Religious Expressions, 1800-1880* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1996), 261-262.

¹¹⁵ Untitled article, *Saturday Evening Post* 5, no. 33 (19 August 1826): 3, via APS Online.

¹¹⁶ The conflation of private and joint property is a consistent theme in the literature of Philadelphia’s first cemeteries; see *Preamble to...the Mutual Family Burial Ground Association*, 1, 4, 20; *Charter and By-Laws, of the Machpelah Cemetery*, 3, 13. My interpretation has benefited from Upton, “Another City,” 64; Appleby, *Capitalism and a New Social Order*, 22, 96; Wilentz, *Chants Democratic*, 102, with its discussion of “collective individualism”; Philip Fisher, *Still the New World: American Literature in a Culture of Creative Destruction* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1999), 24-27, 46-47; Daniel Boorstin, *The Americans: The National Experience* (New York: Vintage Books, 1965), 72, 144, 160-161, 254.

¹¹⁷ *Preamble to...the Mutual Family Burial Ground Association*, 8. Intriguingly, city lawmakers had been attempting to apply much the same numbering system to houses on Philadelphia’s streets since the early years of the

“Strangers” graves were considerably smaller and occupied their own discrete section. Located to one side of the site, they were to be filled and numbered in the same manner as their larger counterparts, creating a sort of orderly potter’s field.¹¹⁸ Buyers did not acquire enough real estate to reconstruct the “affectionate family” in death. While a family lot might plausibly accommodate up to sixteen burials, the stranger’s grave was designed for one; (two might be allowed under extenuating circumstances).¹¹⁹ Nonetheless, these two grids operated in parallel. If the stranger’s section lacked the privileges accorded to “members” who owned family lots, it nonetheless partook of the same order that governed the grounds as a whole.

Such systems functioned also as metaphors. Their order arose from numerical assignment and their foundation was in private property. Historian Michael Sappol has observed: “The middle- and lower-class obsession with burial plots as existential security corresponded to the nineteenth-century obsession with landownership as social security.”¹²⁰ In some instances, the link surfaced with special clarity. Ronaldson’s cemetery followed a template like Mutual’s but its numbering system employed baselines and cardinal points. The resulting grid, with its X-Y coordinates and “ranges” of graves, resembled nothing so much as the scheme accompanying Jefferson’s Land Ordinance of 1785 – the primary mechanism for settling the Northwest Territory.¹²¹

Again, though, more than existential security was a stake. While cemeteries founded upon “the mutual or associate plan” were generally conceived in two dimensions, the major exception was their enclosures.¹²² Mutual’s founders made security a priority. Their constitution decreed that profits from lot sales go first toward erecting “a substantial brick or stone wall of a proper height, or with iron palisading.”¹²³ The need for such measures required little explanation. The *Ariel* article on Ronaldson’s Cemetery mentioned grave robbers almost as an afterthought:

It is known, also, that extravagant prices are demanded from persons who have no *right*, for the privilege of breaking ground in any burial place in this city. The friends of strangers dying in the city, and others who were anxious that their remains should be deposited in some regular burial ground, rather than consigned

republic. See James Mease, *The Picture of Philadelphia, Giving an Account of Its Origin, Increase and Improvements In Arts, Sciences, Manufactures, Commerce and Revenue* (Philadelphia: B. & T. Kite, 1811), 27-28.

¹¹⁸ Mutual’s founders made the connection explicit, calling this section the “Stranger’s or Sojourner’s Ground” (Ibid., 11). But the new strangers’ sections were quite different from their namesakes. Based on private property and numerical order, they were more closely related to recent Quaker grid cemeteries.

¹¹⁹ *Preamble to...the Mutual Family Burial Ground Association*, 11; “Reminiscences, No. 35 [Extracts from the manuscript Biography and Diary of William Adams, from 1779 to 1858, continued],” *The Journal* 2, no. 17 (27 May 1874): 134.

¹²⁰ Sappol, 36. On the republican foundations of this link, see Appleby, *Capitalism and a New Social Order*, 17-18; Rowland Berthoff, “Independence and Attachment, Virtue and Interest: From Republican Citizen to Free Enterpriser, 1787-1837,” in Richard Bushman et al., eds., *Uprooted Americans: Essays to Honor Oscar Handlin*, (Boston: Little, Brown, 1979), 107-108, 111.

¹²¹ *Philadelphia Cemetery. Copy of Deed of Trust. April 2, 1827* (n.d., n.p.), 3-4. On the Land Ordinance, see Hildegard Binder Johnson, *Order Upon the Land: The U.S. Rectangular Land Survey and the Upper Mississippi Country* (New York, Oxford University Press, 1976), chaps. 3 and 4; Boorstin, 243-247.

¹²² I have adopted Scharf and Westcott’s term “mutual or associate plan” (1: 620) because it seems well suited to the type’s local origins. Equally appropriate would have been William Adams’s “social system,” underscoring the formative role of societies and the systematic nature of their schemes.

¹²³ *Preamble to...the Mutual Family Burial Ground Association*, 12.

to a receptacle of the promiscuous dead, liable to be sifted by every midnight villain, all experienced the injustice of such heavy demands, without being able to avoid them.

The formation of Philadelphia's new cemeteries was timely in this regard. By the 1820s, demand for cadavers among the nation's medical schools was escalating rapidly. Enrollment increased just as dissection became the gold standard of medical education, and leading anatomists now turned their eyes to the Quaker City.¹²⁴ There, dissection was especially widespread – a source of national prestige. There, too, body snatchers were famously unfettered; other cities came to rely on them. But, by 1824, this system showed signs of strain. William E. Horner, who taught anatomy at the University of Pennsylvania, was forced to decline a request from his Harvard counterpart, pointing apologetically to “the influx of students” at a time when “the town had been so uncommonly healthy.”¹²⁵ (Statistically, of course, the latter was untrue).

From such professors' perspective, the advent of cheaper, more secure modes of burial could only have made matters worse. Public officials and their employees gladly accepted bribes to facilitate access to the city's two public burial grounds; (in 1829, a “harvest” of some 450 bodies was shared by local medical schools).¹²⁶ Yet even these repositories were exhaustible. A second threat to the supply chain came from public sentiment. When state legislators considered a bill that would have increased the penalties for bodysnatching, local doctors reacted angrily, raising the specter of “an end to the medical preeminence of Philadelphia.”¹²⁷ The city's leading anatomists quietly reached a cadaver-sharing agreement soon afterwards but supplies remained scarce. Eventually, Philadelphia came to depend on New York for anatomical “material” – a lesser-known if telling symptom of the latter city's growing economic ascendancy.¹²⁸

It was during Philadelphia's cadaver shortage that the city's new cemeteries began to appear. James Ronaldson was already at work on Philadelphia Cemetery when the Mutual Family Burial Ground opened. Assembling the requisite parcels of land in early 1826, the “retired” typefounder soon convinced reformer Roberts Vaux and three other prominent citizens to serve as trustees. Union Burial Ground took shape at Sixth and Prime Streets in the same era. A few

¹²⁴ Sappol, 60, 114-117.

¹²⁵ W. E. Horner, Philadelphia, to J. C. Warren, Boston, 30 November 1824, as quoted in Sappol, 114-115. Horner's excuse may have concealed his reluctance to share cadavers with other members of his profession. See the allegations set forth in James Webster, *Facts Concerning Anatomical Instruction in Philadelphia* (Philadelphia: n.p., 1832), *passim*.

¹²⁶ Sappol, 115-116.

¹²⁷ Benjamin H. Coates, “Notice intended for the Report of the Commission on Penal Code, on Law against Dissection,” 31 June 1828, Coates Reynell Collection, Historical Society of Pennsylvania. Coates attributed much of the “celebrity and high standing of the University of Pennsylvania” to “the facility and cheapness of dissection.” While he considered bodies of “those who have no surviving claimants” to be fair game, he acknowledged that stealing “the remains of respectable persons” might warrant mild punishment. My thanks to Matthew Osborn for pointing me to this source.

¹²⁸ Sappol, 116, 124. Sappol characterizes the 1828 agreement as “a secret treaty among Philadelphia anatomists” but that description may be misleading. The agreement, although secret, appears to have governed only three doctors: its author, William E. Horner, his colleague, John P. Hopkinson, and their competitor, James Webster. See Webster, 4,9,11.

blocks down the road, the Machpelah Cemetery Society claimed land between Tenth and Eleventh Streets in 1830 (**Fig. 9**).¹²⁹

Location may have served as an index of status among these institutions. Union, Mutual, and Machpelah all clustered along Prime Street (now Washington Avenue) but Machpelah lay furthest to the west. This site was among the least desirable. Although it overlooked Alexander Parker's boxwood-filled botanic garden, it also faced the Alms House Burial Ground on the other side of Eleventh Street. Philadelphia Cemetery fell at the other end of the spectrum. Situated on Shippen (now Bainbridge) Street between Ninth and Tenth, the grounds were three blocks closer to the city's core. The Lebanon Garden, with its popular tavern and grounds, lay northwest of the main entrance. To the northeast rose Ronaldson's Row, a block of prim, marble-stepped town houses named for their developer and notable occupant.¹³⁰

Newspapers played up Ronaldson's association with his venture. Quoting his descriptions of the grounds, they portrayed him as a self-made man who tended to the needs of fellow citizens. The *Ariel*, for example, proclaimed:

Mr. Ronaldson is known as the first successful Type Founder in America, and a gentleman of enlarged and patriotic views. He is a firm supporter of internal improvements, and is an efficient member of the Franklin Institute – a society whose liberal encouragement of American Manufactures has done much to advance them to their present respectable standing.¹³¹

Although it read like advertising copy (and may have been just that), this profile was reasonably accurate. Ronaldson was a diligent baker-turned-businessman, the ex-partner of type pioneer Archibald Binny, and successful enough to wear the label of "gentleman." What tended to fall out of such portraits was notable, too. Only rarely did journalists hint that Philadelphia Cemetery was itself a kind of business.¹³²

¹²⁹ *Philadelphia Cemetery. Copy of Deed of Trust. April 2, 1827, 5; Charter and By-Laws, of the Machpelah Cemetery, 13; Scharf and Westcott, 1: 620; 3: 2359; Watson (1891 ed.), 3: 137.* Ronaldson's Cemetery opened in the spring of 1827, as indicated in "Philadelphia Cemetery," *National Gazette*, 11 April 1827. While Philadelphia was arguably America's most important cadaver clearinghouse at this time, the peak in demand from anatomists was felt also in Britain and provided a similar impetus to cemetery founding. See Rugg, "A New Burial Form," 45-46, 48.

¹³⁰ *A Plan of Philadelphia, or the Stranger's Guide*, map and pp. 240, 261, 269, 280; Gordon M. Marshall, III, "James Ronaldson (1769-1841)," in *Philadelphia: Three Centuries of American Art* ([Philadelphia]: Philadelphia Museum of Art, 1976), 238; Scharf and Westcott, 2: 944, 945; "Union Burial Ground," *Mechanics Free Press*, 16 May 1829; "Burial Ground," *Saturday Bulletin*, 1 October 1831. My thanks to Matthew Osborn for pointing out the latter two sources.

¹³¹ "Philadelphia Cemetery," 14. Ronaldson was part of a segment of master craftsmen whom Sean Wilentz has labeled "craft entrepreneurs"; see his *Chants Democratic*, 36, and Bruce Laurie, *Working People of Philadelphia, 1800-1850* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1980), 5. An earlier generation of historians tended to take the democratizing rhetoric of this group at face value but were chided for doing so as early as the 1940s (see Dorfman, *passim*). More recently, students of the Jacksonian era have taken self-identified "master mechanics" as members of an emergent middle class (Blumin, 112-121, 133-137).

¹³² A notable exception probably overstated the case by lumping Mutual, Machpelah, and Ronaldson's together and claiming that "property of this kind yields an enormous income" ("Moyamensing," *Atkinson's Saturday Evening Post* 13, no. 633 (14 September 1833): 3, via APS Online. On Ronaldson's biography, see Marshall, 238-239; Simpson, 849.

In visual and textual representation, Ronaldson's Cemetery differed from its competitors more in degree than in substance. The goal was to provide "a decent and respectable Cemetery or Burial Place, with a view to moderate funeral expenses, and a hope that it will contribute to cherish those tender feelings that connect the living with their deceased friends."¹³³ This language was more sentimental than that employed at Mutual or Machpelah, and it lacked the Enlightenment-inspired emphasis on the brotherhood of man. The landscaping was more lavish, too. Lots still measured 8' x 10,' and a central path still lent bilateral symmetry to the whole (**Figs. 12-13**). Now, though, that passage was flanked by grass walks, making it more of an avenue. "Carriage gates" terminated both ends, while other walks traced out the perimeter and divided linear blocks of grave lots. In time, Ronaldson would invest in horticulture. Trees and shrubs arrived at the site, along with "several thousand loads of earth."¹³⁴

There were more eye-catching amenities, too. Philadelphia Cemetery's enclosure went beyond the norm, combining a wall with an iron railing. If this feature did not proclaim bodily security loudly enough, the message was amplified by two buildings at the main entrance (**Figs. 14a and 14b**). One served as the "Keeper's House," a post for a vigilant gravedigger. The other was identified as the "House for Bier, etc., etc." At a time when newspapers and gothic novels played up the threat of premature burial, this structure housed a parlor-cum-laboratory designed to preclude such a fate.¹³⁵

On the whole, though, it was details rather than theatrics that set Ronaldson's scheme apart. For one thing, only traces of the voluntary association model survived. The cemetery's rules, written into the original deed of trust, were called "articles," but they neither rested on lot-holder consensus nor amounted to a constitution. Mutual and Machpelah determined the locations of their members' lots by ballot. No such lottery system obtained at Ronaldson's. Moreover, while the former institutions limited member purchases to one or two lots, Ronaldson deliberately left the door open to speculators. It was for these reasons, perhaps, that Philadelphia Cemetery's backers were called a "company" rather than a society in their 1833 charter.¹³⁶

¹³³ *Philadelphia Cemetery. Copy of Deed of Trust. April 2, 1827, 4.*

¹³⁴ *Philadelphia Cemetery. Copy of the Deeds...and List of Lot-Holders, 1 and plan.*

¹³⁵ These buildings appear on the plan accompanying *Philadelphia Cemetery. Copy of the Deeds...and List of Lot-Holders*; see Simpson, 849, for a description. A high-profile case of premature burial at nearby Union Cemetery may have convinced Ronaldson to install his life-detection system or at least brought him more business; see "Buried Alive," *Literary Register* 1, no. 18 (6 October 1828): 274, via APS Online. In any case, Philadelphians seem to have been particularly afraid of vivisepture, perhaps because of actual or reported cases that occurred during the yellow fever epidemic of 1793; (the theme crops up repeatedly in Brown's *Arthur Mervyn* [pp. 133, 141, 144, 181]). Ronaldson's Scottish roots raise the question of whether his life-detection chamber might have British antecedents. The answer appears to be: no. "Asylums for doubtful life" began appearing in Germany in the 1790s and inspired similar waiting mortuaries in Paris, Vienna, and, possibly, New York. Britain, however, failed to produce parallel institutions. See George K. Behlmer, "Grave Doubts: Victorian Medicine, Moral Panic, and the Signs of Death," *Journal of British Studies* 42 (April 2003): 209-210; Jan Bondeson, *Buried Alive: the Terrifying History of Our Most Primal Fear* (New York; W. W. Norton & Co., 2001), chap. 5.

¹³⁶ *Philadelphia Cemetery. Copy of the Deeds...and List of Lot-Holders, 8-15, 19-24; Preamble to...the Mutual Family Burial Ground Association, 10-12; Charter and By-Laws, of the Machpelah Cemetery, 7.* There were, in fact, important shades of difference here, with Mutual explicitly prohibiting profit-taking by members, employees, or officers (pp. 4, 12), Machpelah allowing but limiting such profits (pp. 5, 7, 8, 10, 12, 13), and Philadelphia implicitly condoning them.

While all the new cemeteries implicitly defined themselves in contrast to the potter's field, their differences were equally telling. Mutual prohibited the interment of African-Americans but set aside one-third of the grounds for "strangers and sojourners." Machpelah promised "the interment of strangers at a very moderate charge": one to three dollars, depending on age; (again, blacks were prohibited, along with executed criminals). Predictably, Ronaldson's venture was the most restrictive. Both the rules and the charter repeated the ban on "persons of colour." Also barred from lot ownership was the city's coroner. However, this last provision bordered on redundancy: officially, at least, Philadelphia Cemetery offered no single graves and started lot prices at \$25.¹³⁷

Perhaps the most interesting aspect of Ronaldson's scheme was its thoroughgoing urbanism. All customers were viewed as would-be builders. Concerned with postmortem security, they would presumably wish to erect subterranean burial chambers or "vaults." Elaborate rules governed the design of these structures. Their walls, for instance, had to be at least nine inches thick, and could encroach half that distance onto adjoining lots in order to support another unit. Earthen graves, however, might spread contamination. Although permissible, they needed to be set back from the edges of the lot to avoid intruding on neighbors. A neutral framework held these properties together: walks were treated as public terrain, set off like streets for "common use." The combined effect was a sort of subterranean city, complete with a municipal code.¹³⁸

The grid plan made such relations possible. Its economy, legibility, and promise of "spatial neutrality" arose from a checkerboard composed of seemingly interchangeable parts.¹³⁹ In Ronaldson's hands, though, the grave-lot-as-real-estate was not quite such a standardized item. Like Mutual's founders, Ronaldson dwelt on the numerical assignment of personal topography. His system, however, was more nuanced – a recipe for orderly hierarchy. Philadelphia Cemetery was laid out in four long blocks, separated by eight-foot walks. Each block, in turn, consisted of eight rows of lots, termed "ranges" and running north-south. While ordinary lots cost twenty-five dollars, Ronaldson charged five dollars extra for lots in two ranges at the center of each block. Here, proprietors might enclose their land with low masonry walls and surmount them with iron railings. This privilege effectively reproduced the cemetery's form in miniature. Initially, at least, it extended also to odd-numbered lots in the southern half of the grounds and even-numbered lots to the north.¹⁴⁰

¹³⁷ *Preamble to...the Mutual Family Burial Ground Association*, 8, 11-12; *Charter and By-Laws, of the Machpelah Cemetery*, 3, 8; *Philadelphia Cemetery. Copy of the Deeds...and List of Lot-Holders*, 2, 8, 11, 20. The latter source puts Ronaldson's original bottom lot price as \$26 but 1827 newspaper articles give \$25. A modern biographer claims that "certain lots were provided free to the deserving poor of any creed and a section was set aside for 'friendless Scots'" (Marshall, 238). True or not, this idea may well derive from "Men and Things," a biographical sketch of Ronaldson that survives as an undated clipping in the Castner Collection Scrapbook, 24: 24-25.

¹³⁸ *Philadelphia Cemetery. Copy of Deed of Trust. April 2, 1827*, 7. The rules on party walls were later revised to make construction more substantial; see *Philadelphia Cemetery. Copy of the Deeds...and List of Lot-Holders*, 17, 23.

¹³⁹ I borrow the phrase "spatial neutrality" from Upton, "Another City," 73; see also Philip Fisher, *Still the New World*, 43-45-49, on the related notions of uniformity, transparency, and intelligibility.

¹⁴⁰ The system of raised ranges is outlined in *Philadelphia Cemetery. Copy of Deed of Trust. April 2, 1827*, 7-8. The corresponding price structure is clarified in "Philadelphia Cemetery," 14, which makes no mention of the supplementary odd-versus-even number distinction.

What was the cumulative effect? In theory, the rules imposed an airy lattice on the landscape. Forming raised bands of brick and iron, the north-south axes dominated their single-row, east-west counterparts, and both stood in relief against surrounding lots. In practice, this pattern emerged slowly. For years, it existed more in words than in physical fabric, and received no indication on the company's official map. Nonetheless, Ronaldson had performed an important operation. His design was homogenous in plan but hierarchical in program, and this step revealed the potential malleability of the grid.

* * *

What had happened to the culture of rank that helped order the walking city? To be sure, it had not entirely disappeared. What occurred instead was a disruption, neither straightforward secularization nor monetization, but something slower and more complicated that partook of both. Republican ideals helped generate the pattern. Connecting property, citizenship, and equality of opportunity, they undergirded all of Philadelphia's new cemeteries. In this respect, Ronaldson's project resembled the others; indeed, it was Ronaldson who exploited these ideals most artfully. Like his competitors only more so, he found ways of restoring hierarchy through the market – a gentrifying strategy based on working-class forms.

The quest for posthumous respectability need not have been driven by solely by emulation.¹⁴¹ Inclined to construct genealogies for emergent types, we might wish to classify Philadelphia's "mutual" cemeteries as descendants of New Haven's New Burying Ground – modest progeny of a genteel pioneer. One problem with this approach is that it suggests more direct chains of influence than surviving documents can support. (If anything, it was religious congregations' reformed burial grounds that inspired the mutual model). More problematic is the desire to contain cultural values in neat socio-economic compartments. "Bourgeois" notions of the body, the family, and the sanctity of the corpse were increasingly widespread in the early republic, regardless of their ultimate origin. Even as class boundaries hardened, these ideas spilled across them, unsettling received tradition in large swaths of urban society.

In the end, the worlds of Deborah Logan and Nicholas Collin were not so separate after all. Caught at the crux between the potter's field and the churchyard, Collin's clientele searched desperately for security and familial unity when staking out a loved one's grave. (If they were lucky, they found solace in the new economy and in the institutions it supported.) Deborah Logan's concerns were more abstract. They involved frustration with her sect's customs and a notable dose of romanticism. And yet Collin and Logan both recorded modern impulses that touched on death, space, and the body. Over the next ten years, these currents would converge in the form of Philadelphia's rural cemetery movement.

¹⁴¹ I am, of course, taking issue with Richard Bushman's central thesis in *Refinement of America*. However, Bushman himself stresses the disrupting effect of consumerism and refinement on class categories and even briefly concedes the possibility of "upward borrowing" of cultural forms (pp. xv-xvi, 27-29, 182-186, 237, 279, 404-405, 431-434)

Chapter 2: Towards New Homelands

The flight of time, the everlasting progressiveness of all around us, our own advance to maturity and decay, are themes that are constantly present to my mind.

– Deborah Norris Logan, Diary, 18 March 1829

Burlington has been invaded by a furious railroad and numerous steamboats, and my family there is nearly extinct.

– John Jay Smith, ca. 1850, *Recollections* (1892)

Curved lines, you know, symbolize the country, straight lines the city.

– Daniel Drake, “Cincinnati in 1850” (1852)

Philadelphia in the age of Jackson was a tumultuous place. New buildings went up at dizzying speed, consuming vast quantities of materials and land. Businesses unknown to previous generations proliferated, as did new forms of association. Newspapers, once the province of merchants and manufacturers, reached an ever-wider audience thanks to new technologies and demands. And, as the pace of change increased, so did many Philadelphians’ sense of uncertainty. Caught up in the celebration of progress, they were also preoccupied with the past. Nowhere were these competing impulses more evident than in discussions of the dead. Their precarious position in a shifting landscape seemed to distill larger concerns about social order, concerns a slower and less tumultuous city had managed to sidestep. Was there something sacred about places of burial? And, if so, did this principle extend beyond the churchyard to the lands of non-sectarian cemetery companies? While no simple answer emerged, a sense that displacement of the dead constituted an “outrage” entered even (or, perhaps, especially) the sunniest accounts of urban change.

The southern district of Moyamensing was among Philadelphia’s fastest-growing suburbs by the early 1830s, “rife with the elements of improvement” according to *Atkinson’s Saturday Evening Post*.¹⁴² “To many persons,” the article continued,

the name conveys an idea of the open country, instead of the dense and compact street; but the township commences at a point where every inch of ground is in active competition with its neighbour, while those parts that two years ago were open country, enclosed in post and rail fences, within which the quiet milk man

¹⁴² “Moyamensing,” *Atkinson’s Saturday Evening Post*, 14 September 1833. On the quasi-rural character of Moyamensing at this time, see also Harry C. Silcox, *Philadelphia Politics from the Bottom Up: the Life of Irishman William McMullen, 1824-1901* (Philadelphia: Balch Institute Press, 1989), 25-27.

and his ample fold luxuriated on the rich soil of this neck, are now beautified with new streets, crossing each other at angles, leveled, paved, and built up with solid rows of brick and mortar...Perhaps as many as five hundred houses will be built this year.

Moyamensing also hosted the city's first "mutual" or "social" cemeteries, formed as respectable alternatives to the potter's field. They, too, were outposts of a growing city, holding the secure and private "homes" of the dead. However, when it came to discussing these places, as new and artificial as surrounding streets, the article changed tone abruptly. The landscape assumed a mellower hue as the *Post* contributor continued:

Now, for a very small sum, the ashes of the poor man may slumber unmolested by the outrages of modern improvement, enclosed within defenses, surrounded by embellishments of art and nature, that of themselves entice the survivor to revisit the tomb of the departed, and impress on the mind of the mere passing visitor, a feeling of solemnity unalloyed by disgust.

The jarring stylistic shift now has a bathetic ring but it was characteristic of the way many urban Americans thought about the built environment in the decades leading up to the Civil War. Without any sense of contradiction, commentators might simultaneously extol the extension of the urban grid – a triumph of reason and regularity – and the formation of bosky retreats, set apart from such growth through language and landscape design. At times, in fact, the two tendencies appeared mutually sustaining, the penchant for luxuriant artifice mounting as streets lengthened and hills subsided. Yet, in rhetoric at least, contemporaries were determined to keep these realms separate. On one side stood naturalism and a sense of enclosure. On the other were things rectilinear, reproducible, and boundless.

Suggesting that an underlying order might connect these arenas is hardly a radical proposition. By now, a generation of literary critics, sociologists, and historians, often of a materialist bent, has highlighted the links between rationalism and romanticism, consumerism and environmentalism, "space" and "counter-space."¹⁴³ Rather than rehearsing these arguments individually or accepting them categorically, I wish to bring their shared insights to bear on two basic emblems that haunted antebellum thought: the grid and the curve. Scholars generally relate the rise of the "picturesque" in American landscape design to an aesthetic category of the same name, originating in eighteenth-century England out of Continental roots. While this theoretical provenance may cast light on the recesses of Gothic villas or the grottoes of Central Park, it does little to explain why a cemetery might seem capable of offsetting the "outrages of modern improvement" with "embellishments of art and nature." Such ways of conceiving urban space are better understood in terms of the grid and the curve.

¹⁴³ Formative works include: Raymond Williams, *The Country and the City* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1973); Colin Campbell, *The Romantic Ethic and the Spirit of Modern Consumerism* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1987); Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, trans. Donald Nicholson-Smith (Oxford: Blackwell, 1991). Lawrence Buell revisits some of these themes in *The Environmental Imagination: Thoreau, Nature Writing, and the Formation of American Culture* (Cambridge, Mass.: The Belknap Press of the Harvard University Press, 1995), 4, 12, 75-76, 389-390. On the analogous structures connecting seemingly opposed urban spaces, see Dell Upton, "Another City: The Urban Cultural Landscape in the Early Republic," in Catherine E. Hutchins, ed., *Everyday Life in the Early Republic* (Winterthur, DE: Henry Francis du Pont Winterthur Museum, 1994).

During the eighteenth century, William Penn's town had been America's paradigmatic grid city. This remained true even after the famed Commissioners' Plan of 1811 gave Manhattan a regular and regulated template for growth, for by that time Philadelphia had left its impress on upstart settlements throughout the western frontier. In the antebellum era, Philadelphia also became a leading producer of the curve. Architects, landscape gardeners, and cartographers poured out of the city, designing cemeteries, villas, and parks. Andrew Jackson Downing, the leading advocate of all things "rural," turned to the Quaker City for architectural ideas and counted on Philadelphians to circulate his books. Along with textiles and heavy machinery, the curve became one of Philadelphia's growth industries.

This turn of events, traced primarily in subsequent chapters, was long in the making. Among its earliest manifestations was the refashioning of the "mutual" or "social" cemetery model, established in the 1820s, into something more sentimental and profitable. Later, advances in printing and lithography as well as the artful interweaving of landscape and literature would prove to be crucial accelerants. But prior to and larger than any of these trends were two interlocking dynamics in American society that held particular sway in Philadelphia. One was a growing tendency to associate grid-based development with such morally fraught terms as "commerce," "ambition," and "the world." The other involved the production of an alternative to this linguistically debased arena through the interplay of consumerism and romanticism.

The curve, of course, is an abstraction, albeit a useful one employed by contemporaries.¹⁴⁴ Here, as in the Age of Jackson, the term operates as shorthand for broad social and aesthetic values that stood in putative opposition to the straight lines of the surveyor and the developer. If the grid represented a particular vision of society, as descriptions of Philadelphia's "social" cemeteries suggest it did, might the curve represent its antithesis? Some observers evidently thought so, though they rarely said so explicitly. More often, they tied the curve to a complex sensibility of reaction – a constellation of ideas and associations whose meanings remained in flux. Sometimes the form appeared overtly political, even partisan; more typically, it functioned as a metonym for lost communal order – an order as much imagined as real but made increasingly real by imagining. That impulse became the basis for a new sort of homeland. Serving the needs of the living, it would initially house an emergent stratum of the city's dead.

* * *

¹⁴⁴ A central motif of this and the following two chapters, the curve likewise captured the imagination of Cincinnati booster Daniel Drake; (see epigraph at beginning of this chapter, a quotation from Daniel Drake, "Cincinnati in 1800," address delivered 9 January 1852 before the Cincinnati Medical Association and quoted in Charles Theodore Greve, *Centennial History of Cincinnati and Representative Citizens* (Chicago: Biographical Pub. Co., 1904), 1:349). Drake's symbolic juxtaposition of curved and straight lines is discussed in Richard C. Wade, *The Urban Frontier: The Rise of Western Cities, 1790-1830* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1959), 27-28; Kenneth T. Jackson, *Crabgrass Frontier: The Suburbanization of the United States* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985), 74. For a more extended meditation, see John Higham, *From Boundlessness to Consolidation: The Transformation of American Culture 1848-1860* (Ann Arbor: William L. Clements Library, 1969), 1-5. Higham's interpretation of the curve as "a compromise, adapted both to the practical needs of business and to the tasteful elegance of social life" (1) strikes me as underplaying the cultural politics at work in the form but I have benefited from his essay and am grateful to Johann Neem for brining it to my attention.

Despite a reputation for wealth and complacency, Philadelphia in 1830 was alive with change and unease. The population of the city proper had nearly doubled in the last three decades, jumping from 41,220 to 80,458. Immigrants, still mostly from the backcountry, came to work on the waterfront, in new factories, or in hundreds of small shops. More radical than changes in established neighborhoods was the transformation of outlying districts. Home to flour and paper mills since the eighteenth century, they now boomed with ironworks, carpet mills, and widely dispersed knitting shops, helping to sustain a population of 87,353.¹⁴⁵

Such signs of prosperity did not stop civic leaders from worrying about the city's relative decline. Building on advantages that ranged from an ice-free harbor to closer contacts with England, New York had secured much more of the nation's foreign export trade by 1810, the year the Empire City's population eclipsed Philadelphia's on the federal census. Baltimore, too, stood as a formidable rival. Already exceeding Philadelphia's profits from exports, the newer city tapped central Pennsylvania's agricultural wealth via the Susquehanna River and Port Deposit. Only gradually had Philadelphia recovered from the economic malaise that followed the War of 1812. Now, interurban competition was stiffer than ever.¹⁴⁶

Canals and turnpikes were the region's best hopes, along with mineral riches. Land routes had been a point of pride since the nation's first paved turnpike connected Philadelphia to Lancaster in the 1790s. Other turnpikes soon extended to Reading and Perkiomen, and by 1821 the state had chartered eighty-five such roads, typically backed by Philadelphia capital. It was canals, however, that became the main conduits to and from the hinterland. Built haltingly since the eighteenth century, canals attracted huge quantities of capital after the industrial potential of anthracite coal became clear in the 1810s. The Schuylkill Navigation Company connected Philadelphia to Reading and, via the Union Canal, to the Susquehanna River. The Lehigh Coal and Navigation Company brought coal to the Lehigh River and, ultimately, to the Delaware. The sprawling Pennsylvania Mainline system cut far into the interior.¹⁴⁷

This web of public works, soon expanded by railroads, made Philadelphia a new sort of city. Merchant ships such as those of Thomas Pym Cope still sailed for foreign ports but ready access to coal and iron increasingly turned capitalists' gaze from the Atlantic to the hinterland and to other Eastern cities. The result was large-scale industrialization. Nearby villages such as Manayunk sprouted new textile mills, further aided by the use of steam. Foundries multiplied. Machine tools and railroad equipment became local specialties with global markets. If

¹⁴⁵ Population statistics are drawn from Sam Bass Warner, Jr., *The Private City: Philadelphia in Three Periods of Its Growth* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1968), 51; Diane Lindstrom, *Economic Development in the Philadelphia Region, 1810 – 1850* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1978), 25. As Lindstrom observes, “migration accounted for from one-third to two-thirds of Philadelphia's population increase in every decade” between 1810 and 1850 (24). On Philadelphia's textile industry and its conspicuous de-concentration as compared to New England counterparts, see Philip Scranton, *Proprietary Capitalism: the Textile Manufacture at Philadelphia, 1800-1885* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1983).

¹⁴⁶ Lindstrom, 30-40, 100; Edgar P. Richardson, “The Athens of America,” and Nicholas B. Wainwright, “The Age of Nicholas Biddle, 1825 – 1841,” in *Philadelphia: A 300-Year History*, eds. Russell F. Weigley, Nicholas B. Wainwright, and Edwin Wolf 2nd (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1982), 208-210, 214-215, 218, 265-266.

¹⁴⁷ Donald C. Jackson, “Roads Most Traveled: Turnpikes in Southeastern Pennsylvania,” in Judith A. McGaw, ed., *Early American Technology: Making and Doing Things in the Early Republic* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1994), 197-239; Lindstrom, 100-108; Richardson, 230, 235-239; Wainwright, “Age of Nicholas Biddle,” 266-270.

Philadelphia had lost its mercantile prowess, it remained the nation's largest textile city and became the heart of an industrial network spreading from Delaware to New York State.¹⁴⁸

Real estate development jumped accordingly, if unevenly. Older, densely built-up neighborhoods near the Delaware River waterfront saw the least activity. Around 1830, one authority noted that in “the eastern parts of the city... there is very little room for further improvement by building.... [New] family residences are generally occupying the western portions of the city.”¹⁴⁹ The category of “family residences,” as opposed to houses combining workshops and living quarters, was a recent innovation. Its appearance at this date hints at the onset of the sort of residential segregation then making great strides in Manhattan. However, demand for such buildings, or at least for unified enclaves of them, was initially less acute in Philadelphia.¹⁵⁰ More crucial to growth in the western wards was the industrialization of the Schuylkill.

Up and down the city's western waterfront, coal wharves began to appear. Completion of the Schuylkill Canal put a premium on such frontage, squeezing out smaller businesses and threatening idyllic views from nearby country houses.¹⁵¹ Elsewhere in Philadelphia County, steam power and the first omnibuses drew factories and houses to the urban periphery. Immediately northwest of the old city, Spring Garden developed in response to steam and rail, while districts such as Germantown, Kensington, and Moyamensing fostered hand-loom knitting and weaving. As economic historian Diane Lindstrom notes, “The division between the commercial center and the manufacturing ring surrounding it had not yet formed with the clarity

¹⁴⁸ Thomas C. Cochran, “Philadelphia: The American Industrial Center, 1750 – 1850,” *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 106, no. 3 (July 1982): 325-340; Sam Bass Warner, Jr., “Innovation and the Industrialization of Philadelphia, 1800-1850,” in *The Historian and the City*, Oscar Handlin and John Burchard, eds. (Cambridge, MA: MIT and Harvard University Presses, 1963), 63-69; Scranton, chaps. 4 and 5; Lindstrom, 40-54; Wainwright, “Age of Nicholas Biddle,” 274-277; Warner, *Private City*, 69-71.

¹⁴⁹ *Register of Pennsylvania* (October 1829), 4: 266, quoted in Lindstrom, 25. Other papers further emphasized that it was not simply houses but “houses of a highly respectable stamp” that were rising on the west side of town; see “Improvements upon the Schuylkill,” *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 1 October 1827, and on the pattern itself, Wainwright, “Age of Nicholas Biddle,” 280-281.

¹⁵⁰ As used in the above quotation, “family residences” suggests a house type analogous to what Elizabeth Blackmar terms the “modern dwelling” – a single- or two-family house shorn of workshops or stores; see her *Manhattan for Rent, 1785-1850* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1989), 11, 76, 81, 85-86, chap. 4 *passim*. While historians concur that large-scale residential segregation came more slowly to Philadelphia than New York, the spread of this type in the Quaker City before 1840 has yet to be systematically studied. On its relationship to Philadelphia's mid-century social geography, see Stuart Blumin, *The Emergence of the Middle Class: Social Experience in the American City, 1760-1900* (Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 153-179; Roger Miler and Joseph Siry, “The Emerging Suburb: West Philadelphia, 1850-1880,” *Pennsylvania History* 46, no. 2 (April 1980): 99-145; George E. Thomas, “Architectural Patronage and Social Stratification in Philadelphia Between 1840 and 1920,” in *The Divided Metropolis: Social and Spatial Dimensions of Philadelphia, 1800-1975*, eds. William Cutler, III, and Howard Gillette, Jr. (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1980), 86-123.

¹⁵¹ The proliferation of coal wharves is described in “Improvements upon the Schuylkill,” *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 1 October 1827. On this and other effects of the coal industry on the lower Schuylkill landscape, see Elizabeth Milroy, “Assembling Fairmount Park,” in Katherine Martinez and Page Talbot, eds., *Philadelphia's Cultural Landscape: The Sartain Family Legacy* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2000), 73-74; Ellis Paxon Oberholtzer, *Philadelphia: A History of the City and Its People* (Philadelphia: S. J. Clarke Pub. Co., 1912), 2: 61-63; Aaron V. Wunsch, “Woodlands Cemetery,” HALS No. PA-5, Historic American Landscape Survey, National Park Service, U. S. Department of the Interior, 2004, pp. 89-95; Lindstrom, 25; Wainwright, “Age of Nicholas Biddle,” 269.

of later decades, but the rural-urban distinctions within the county had been virtually destroyed.”¹⁵²

Housing construction proceeded apace. Although real estate values were rising, the city’s ground-rent system allowed artisans and mechanics to play the role of developer, helping make the construction and ownership of single-family homes exceptionally widespread.¹⁵³ At the same time, advances in transportation and manufacturing fueled the boom; (canals brining coal from the hinterland also brought mill-sawn lumber and marble). In the year 1830, some 5,000 houses and stores were built in greater Philadelphia. It was a staggering figure by earlier standards.¹⁵⁴

Another aid to development was the city’s orthogonal plan. Grid-based subdivision was an “ideal method,” according to historian Sam Bass Warner, “since it treated all land similarly, for a real estate market composed of hundreds of speculators and home builders and thousands of petty landlords and small home buyers.”¹⁵⁵ Much as the Land Ordinance of 1785 fostered independent proprietorship in the Western Territory, the same notion of uniform space divided into interchangeable parts could redound to the urban smallholder’s benefit. In Philadelphia, widespread use of ground rents further enhanced the grid’s distributive potential. There were no guarantees against monopolists and speculators; (the latter, in fact, were thriving). Nonetheless, the vision of neutral partition, combined with the absence of entail and primogeniture, suggested the market could keep land a fluid and fully alienable commodity.¹⁵⁶

That Philadelphia served as both a system and a symbol for free-market exchange owed something to its genesis. Conceived as a “seventeenth-century real estate development,” the Quaker City emerged from the complex system of inducements devised by William Penn to lure investors to his colony. So-called First Purchasers were offered ten acres in Penn’s “great Town or City” for every five hundred acres purchased in the larger settlement, and though the terms of

¹⁵² Lindstrom, 26-27. See also Jeffrey E. Roberts, “Railroads and the Downtown: Philadelphia, 1830-1900,” in Cutler and Gillett, 31-32.

¹⁵³ Donna J. Rilling, *Making Houses, Crafting Capitalism: Builders in Philadelphia, 1790–1850* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001), 45-54; Blumin, *Emergence of the Middle Class*, 147-148. Lindstrom notes that real estate valuations between 1815 and 1845 “increased almost fivefold (in 1821-25 prices) as a result of rising site values and physical improvements” (29; see also pp. 25-28).

¹⁵⁴ Rilling, 93-103, 114, 118-125; Wainwright, “Age of Nicholas Biddle,” 281. In 1810, the city proper contained 13,241 buildings of which 8,874 were “dwellings”; see these and related statistics in James Mease, *The Picture of Philadelphia, Giving an Account of Its Origin, Increase and Improvements In Arts, Sciences, Manufactures, Commerce and Revenue* (Philadelphia: B. & T. Kite, 1811), 31-33. A remarkable aspect of the subsequent building boom was the number of small houses it generated. Rough evidence of this pattern comes from Rilling’s observation that “More than 80 percent of new dwelling construction for which information was recorded in the 1840s consisted of three-story brick structures” (52).

¹⁵⁵ Warner, *Private City*, 52.

¹⁵⁶ On the massive redistribution of land into private hands in this era, see Joyce Appleby, “New Cultural Heroes in the Early National Period,” in Thomas S. Haskell and Richard F. Teichgraber III, eds., *The Culture of the Market: Historical Essays* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 167. Antebellum Americans’ faith in the grid as an emblem of equal opportunity was matched by their relative indifference toward concentrations of economic (as opposed to political) power. On the latter point, see John G. Cawelti, *Apostles of the Self-Made Man* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1965), 44-45. On the absence of British inheritance laws and the implications for Philadelphia families, see Robert J. Gough, “Close-Kin Marriage and Upper-Class Formation in Late-Eighteenth Century Philadelphia,” *Journal of Family History* 14, no. 2 (1989): 129-130.

this deal and Penn's conception of the city changed radically during implementation, Philadelphia did originate as an investor-driven subdivision to an extent no other city in colonial America could claim.¹⁵⁷

Yet to present Philadelphia's plan as a straightforward cadastral instrument is to ignore how much the form's function and meaning changed over time. As envisioned by Penn, the colonial city was anything but uniform (see Chap. 1, Fig. 1). Organized around distinctive nodes and "fronts," it was a hierarchical space in which socio-economic relationships were fixed partly by the founder himself.¹⁵⁸ In the early national period, the city's form promised something different. As architectural historian Dell Upton has observed, "For a brief period, Philadelphia's plan carried the hope of a rational reconstruction of urban life parallel to the republican reconstruction of government and to the ongoing Enlightenment reconstruction of human knowledge of which many Philadelphians were American leaders."¹⁵⁹

Signs of latter vision's ascendancy appeared as early as 1789. In that year, the redesigned seal accompanying the municipality's new charter included an allegorical figure brandishing a plan of the city in her right hand. Subsequent decades witnessed a wave of renewed interest in Philadelphia's layout.¹⁶⁰ Some of this had a nostalgic ring – Penn *must* have wanted the Delaware riverbank to remain open and pleasant where it was now most heavily developed – but even such wishful rhetoric was a call to forward-looking reform.¹⁶¹ In other cases, city leaders set out forthrightly to perfect and extrapolate the logic of the grid. A 1790 law established a system for house numbering and called for painted street signs at intersections. Wards were reorganized in a regular pattern bisected by Fourth Street (**Fig. 1**). And, most tellingly, a great program of "regulation" got under way, grading and correcting streets to ensure a closer alignment between cartographic representation and topographic reality.¹⁶²

¹⁵⁷ Hannah Benner Roach, "The Planting of Philadelphia: A Seventeenth-Century Real Estate Development," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 92, no. 1 (Jan 1968): 3-47, and no. 2 (April 1968): 143-194. See also Gary B. Nash, "City Planning and Political Tension in the Seventeenth Century: The Case of Philadelphia," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 112, no. 1 (15 February 1968): 54-73.

¹⁵⁸ Penn's role in establishing Philadelphia's social hierarchy is documented by Gary Nash, who shows how the city's 54 lots, originally distributed by lottery, were later reallocated according to the amount of land First Purchasers had acquired in the colony and their presence or intention of emigrating at the time of distribution; see his "City Planning and Political Tension," 61-63. See also Upton, *Another City*, 123-124, in which the author argues that "Penn's and Holme's Philadelphia was really several cities in one" (123).

¹⁵⁹ Upton, "Grid and the Republican Spatial Imagination," 2. The following discussion of Philadelphia's grid as reimagined in the early republic relies on Upton's work.

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 1-2. The Penn-Holme plan of 1683 was itself carefully reproduced in John C. Lowber, *Ordinances of the Corporation of the City of Philadelphia* (Philadelphia: Moses Thomas and J. Maxwell, 1812).

¹⁶¹ For wistful accounts of Penn's intentions for the bank and other spaces, see "A Brief Sketch of the Origin and Present State of the City of Philadelphia. 1804," *Evening Fireside; or Literary Miscellany* 1, no. 48 (30 November 1805): 382; *Philadelphia in 1830 – 1: or, A Brief Account of the Various Institutions and Public Objects in this Metropolis* (Philadelphia: E. L. Carey and A. Hart, 1830), 146. With help from historian John F. Watson, such accounts continued to circulate throughout the nineteenth century and went largely unchallenged until the 1960s; Nash, "City Planning and Political Tension," 64-65, supplies a correction.

¹⁶² Upton, "Grid and the Republican Spatial Imagination," 32-36; Mease, 27-29; M. Antonia Lynch, *The Old District of Southwark* (Philadelphia: City History Society of Philadelphia, 1909), 89. Analogous changes occurred in city guidebooks. Starting with Mease's 1811 publication and continuing until mid century, these works often gave the length of every block (or "square") in the city proper. Sometimes they also included an orthogonal table "Showing, at a glance, by the number being given, the situation of any house in a street East or West, North or South" (*Bywater's Philadelphia Business Directory* [1850], 171).

Although Philadelphia was a center of such activity, the impulse was widespread. Following a period of extended conflict over street openings, New York City's alderman turned for assistance to the state legislature and, in 1807, this body formed the powerful Streets Commission. Its task was clearly delineated. Proceeding in a manner that "shall seem most conducive to the public good," the commission was to determine the locations of new streets and squares in the rapidly developing area north of Chambers Street.¹⁶³ Four years later, the commissioners produced their famous plan for Manhattan. A model of rectilinear order, it ran twelve great avenues up the island and intersected these at regular intervals with cross streets of two standard widths.

Rectilinear planning in such instances was a matter of choice – of active preference, not passive acceptance. Jefferson touted the grid's health benefits when considering the extension of New Orleans, and Philadelphians expressed gratitude to Penn for an urban framework that promoted the "free circulation of air."¹⁶⁴ New York's street commissioners stressed economy and efficiency. Acknowledging the decorative value of "circles, ovals, and stars" – that is, of Baroque city planning – they nonetheless chose orthogonal streets as most likely to promote "straight-sided and right-angled houses [that] are the most cheap to build and the most convenient to live in."¹⁶⁵ Such reasoning once struck historians as drably utilitarian. More recently, an extensive body of scholarship has called out this perspective's anachronism.¹⁶⁶ To many post-Revolutionary Americans, the grid held out profound, almost mystical promise, embodying as it did a host of disparate ideals. Foremost was a heady combination of Enlightenment rationalism and republican simplicity. Jefferson touched on both when he dreamed of laying out the Western Territory in ten-square-mile townships comprising regions with vaguely classical names such as Metropotamia and Polypotamia. If Congress rejected such eccentricities, it remained no less committed to "a society based on the predictable and orderly movements of independent, equal individuals, each occupying a portion of the infinite, undifferentiated space made visible in the National Land Survey of 1785" (**Fig. 2**).¹⁶⁷

¹⁶³ "An Act Relative to Improvements Touching on the Laying Out of Streets and Roads in the City of New York," passed 3 April 1807, as quoted in Elizabeth Blackmar, *Manhattan for Rent, 1785-1850* (New York: Cornell University Press, 1989), 94. On the Commissioners' Plan of 1811, see also Blackmar, 94-100; Hendrick Hartog, *Public Property and Private Power: The Corporation of the City of New York in American Law, 1730-1870* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1983), 158-174; Edward K. Spann, "The Greatest Grid: The New York Plan of 1811," in Daniel Schaffer, ed., *Two Centuries of American Planning* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1988); Peter Marcuse, "The Grid as City Plan: New York and Laissez-Faire Planning in the Nineteenth Century," *Planning Perspectives* 2 (September 1987): 287-310.

¹⁶⁴ Upton, "Grid and the Republican Spatial Imagination," 8; *Philadelphia in 1830 – I*, 145 (quote).

¹⁶⁵ William Bridges, *Map of the City of New York and the Island of Manhattan with Commissioners Remarks* (1811), 24, as quoted in Blackmar, 96. Despite their optimistic tone, the commissioners did concede that extending New York City's grid further than they had done "might have furnished materials to the pernicious spirit of speculation"; see David Schuyler, *The New Urban Landscape: The Redefinition of City Form in Nineteenth-Century America* (Baltimore Johns Hopkins University Press, 1986), 20.

¹⁶⁶ Leading twentieth-century critics of the urban grid included Lewis Mumford, John W. Reps, and Sam Bass Warner. For more recent defenses, see Thomas R. Winpenny, "The Nefarious Philadelphia Plan and Urban America: A Reconsideration," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 101, no. 1 (January 1977): 103-113; Paul Groth, "Street Grids as Frameworks for Urban Variety," *Harvard Architectural Review* 2 (Spring 1981): 68-75; Blackmar, 94-100; Hartog, 158-175.

¹⁶⁷ John Brinckerhoff Jackson, "The Order of a Landscape: Reason and Religion in Newtonian America," in Donald W. Meinig, ed., *The Interpretation of Ordinary Landscapes* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1979), 155. See also John R. Stilgoe, *Common Landscape of America, 1580-1845* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1982), 103;

Urban uses of the grid did not always replicate the patterns and ideas associated with their rural counterparts. Jefferson, after all, was leery of cities, and the rural society he idealized was that of a dispersed yeomanry. Nonetheless, the similarities outweighed the differences in several key respects. Both systems attached republican notions of independence to private property. Both treated land as a fungible medium, almost akin to currency. And, perhaps most importantly, both *were* systems. Born of a utopian urge to quantify and numerate, they promised a neutral template for endlessly varied relationships within the natural and human worlds.¹⁶⁸

It was for these reasons that Philadelphia's plan underwent a renaissance in the early republic. Locally, efforts focused on reworking the template inherited from Penn, making it legible and numerical in ways the founder had not envisioned. A typical description of the 1820s began: "The site of Philadelphia is a perfect level, excepting a slight variation at the southern end; this, and the streets, which are wide and straight, to mathematical nicety, and the numerous squares, adorned with handsome trees, gives to Philadelphia that beauty, so much admired by travelers." At the same time, a simplified version of the Quaker City went into circulation nationally. Dozens of upstart western towns ran one set of numbered streets through another bearing names of trees. Philadelphia's design may even have influenced the layout of entire townships, though this large-scale legacy would hardly have been apparent from the ground.¹⁶⁹

The very qualities that gave the grid its appeal to Americans could as easily provoke a sense of fatigue or monotony in foreigners. Scottish engineer Donald MacDonald recorded one such experience in the mid 1820s. Passing through Philadelphia on his way to New Harmony, Indiana, he noted:

As the ground on which the city is built in nearly level, you may see the country beyond each extremity of almost every street from almost any part of it, and at the crossings of the streets you see the four cardinal points as through the end of a spy glass. This effect, though striking, is not agreeable; and as there is no variety, it becomes tiresome walking through the streets, which have neither very large nor very magnificent houses to attract & please the eye, nor a significant width to give their length & regularity a noble appearance.¹⁷⁰

Philip Fisher, *Still the New World: American Literature in a Culture of Creative Destruction* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1999), 42-51.

¹⁶⁸ Upton, "Grid and the Republican Spatial Imagination," *passim*; John E. Lesch, "Systematics and the Geometrical Spirit" in Tore Frängsmyr, J. L. Heilbrun, and Robin E. Rider, eds., *The Quantifying Spirit in the 18th Century* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), 73-111. On the analogy between republican visions of land and money, see also David Henkin, *City Reading: Written Words and Public Spaces in Antebellum New York* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998), 36; Fred Somkin, *Unquiet Eagle: Memory and Desire in the Idea of American Freedom* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1967), 104-106. On the grid's potential to accommodate diversity, see Groth, *passim*.

¹⁶⁹ Anne Royall as quoted in *A Mirror for Americans: Life and Manners in the United States 1790-1870 as Recorded by American Travelers*, ed. Warren S. Tryon (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1952), 1: 58 (quotation); Richardson, 220; Wade, 27. By design or coincidence, townships laid out under the Land Ordinance of 1785 featured four publicly owned lots in the same locations as Philadelphia's outer squares, that is: one at the center of each quadrant; see Johnson, 44-45.

¹⁷⁰ *The Diaries of Donald MacDonald, 1824-1826* (Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Society, 1942), 207-208.

Other Europeans echoed MacDonald's complaints. They likened the city's layout to a checkerboard, deemed its right angles "unfavorable to Architectural ornament," and declared its straight lines the hallmarks of a "Quaker paradise." Dickens famously quipped that he "would have given the world for a crooked street."¹⁷¹

Even when Old-World observers admired the city, their assessments still tended toward extremes. Finding Penn's town a paragon of order and beauty, they praised its geometry in terms conventionally applied to neoclassical architecture or sculpture. A revealing (and atypical) mixture of censure and admiration came from French humanitarian Jacques Pierre Brissot. Passing through the city just prior to its rational remaking, he wrote:

Philadelphia is built on a regular plan of long, broad streets which cross each other at right angles and run from north to south and from east to west. This truly ornamental regularity is at first confusing to the stranger, for it is difficult to find one's way, especially since there are no street signs and no numbers on the doors. It is inconceivable that the Quakers, who are so fond of order, have not borrowed these two practices from the English, from whom they have adopted so many other things. This lack of signs and numbers is the bane of foreigners.¹⁷²

Philadelphians suffered no such disorientation. Use habituated them to the grid and they had committed its subtleties to memory. Their opinions were largely positive. Proud of their right-angled landscape and adept at navigating it, they might nonetheless wax poetic when describing other cities' "inequalities of the ground" or the "various twinings of the streets."¹⁷³ Only around 1830 did such longings gain any real currency. Their first appearance was in polite books and periodicals, and they had a stylized ring. Local banker and antiquarian John F. Watson (1779-1860) captured the spirit when praising the oldest part of Manhattan: "It gives entertainment to the imagination, to see thus, the lively tokens of primitive Dutch taste for such streets; and the narrow lanes, aided the fancy to conceive, how, the social Knickerbockers, loved the narrow lanes for their social conveniences, when setting in their stoopes in evenings, on either side of the narrow pass."¹⁷⁴

¹⁷¹ Augustus J. Foster as quoted in Harry M. Tinkcom, ed., "Sir Augustus in Pennsylvania," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 75, no. 4 (October 1951): 391; Thomas Hamilton, *Men and Manners in North America* (1834), as quoted in Upton, "Grid and the Republican Spatial Imagination," 9; Charles Dickens, *American Notes and Pictures from Italy* (London: Macmillan and Co., 1893), 85. The latter quotation is discussed in Upton, "Grid and the Republican Spatial Imagination," 9, and Warner, *Private City*, 53. On European responses to Philadelphia's grid, see also Richardson, 220; Beth A. Twiss-Garrity, "Double Vision: The Philadelphia Cityscape and Perceptions of It," in *Shaping a National Culture: The Philadelphia Experience, 1750-1800*, Catherine E. Hutchins, ed. (Winterthur, DE: Henry Francis du Pont Winterthur Museum, 1994), 1-14. Twiss-Garrity notes European visitors' increasingly unfavorable reactions to Philadelphia's physical form after the Revolution and relates this shift to the movement of "landscape fashion... from the rational to the romantic" (1-2, 6-12 [quotation]). "Fashion" lacks explanatory weight, and critics such as MacDonald would probably have identified themselves as rationalists rather than romantics if forced to choose. Still, Twiss-Garrity's basic premise holds, and her chronology begs the question: "Why did Americans maintain their enthusiasm for Philadelphia's grid so much longer?"

¹⁷² J. P. Brissot de Warville, *New Travels in the United States of America, 1788*, ed. Durand Echeverria, trans. Mara Soceanu Vamos and Durand Echeverria (Cambridge, MA: Belknap / Harvard University Press, 1964), 255.

¹⁷³ Eliza Cope Harrison ed., *Philadelphia Merchant: The Diary of Thomas P. Cope, 1800-1851* (South Bend, Ind.: Gateway Editions, 1978), 373, as quoted in Upton, "Grid and the Republican Spatial Imagination," 10.

¹⁷⁴ John F. Watson, *Annals of Philadelphia, Being a Collection of Memoirs, Anecdotes, & Incidents of the City and Its Inhabitants from the Days of the Pilgrim Founders* (Philadelphia: Uriah Hunt, 1830), appendix p. 73, as quoted

More than previous decades, the 1830s marked a period of ambivalence, a time when elites in and beyond Philadelphia spoke longingly of irregularity and half-jokingly bemoaned the city's mechanistic qualities. Belletrist Nathaniel P. Willis summed up this viewpoint when he wrote: "The sidewalks are washed constantly; the marble steps are spotlessly clean.... Everything is well conditioned and cared for. If any fault could be found it would be that of too much regularity and too nice precision."¹⁷⁵ It was not that orthogonal urbanism had lost its practical appeal; Watson himself conceded that "straighter and wider streets" might be preferable in one's hometown. But these attributes now struck the likes of Watson as devoid of aesthetic value. Genteel norms and systematic forms no longer seemed fully compatible. Conspicuous order could look constraining and mundane – at odds with nature, history, and variety.

Dell Upton has found in such conflicting impulses "a deeper tension between visual assessment and spatial imagination, between aesthetic preferences absorbed from education and popular culture and a sense of the spatial possibilities deeply engrained in Euro-American culture."¹⁷⁶ Again, though, it is worth emphasizing both the qualitative and quantitative constraints to such a psychological tug-of-war. First, as a subjective experience, any pull between rationalistic and romantic sensibilities was felt by a segment of society that read books, kept diaries, and, when possible, traveled for pleasure. Second, the aesthetic preferences at issue were patently bookish. When Watson referred to "aiding the fancy" or "entertaining the imagination," he spoke a language rooted in British literature and philosophy.¹⁷⁷

Philadelphia in Watson's day was a leading producer of the printed word. The nation's book publishing center since the eighteenth century, it had also come to prominence in the periodical sector, supporting eleven daily newspapers in 1824. Literary journals were a particular forte. Joseph Dennie's *Port Folio* set the precedent for polite belle lettres when it commenced in 1801. In later decades, a host of less polished publications competed for a broader audience. Reprinting articles from British journals, the *Analectic Magazine* had briefly been edited by Washington Irving; in 1819, it carried one of the first American lithographs, a rustic, vaguely Gothic cottage in a bucolic waterside setting. This scene contained the kinds of imagery that antiquarians like Watson admired. (Watson, himself a book-business veteran, had become an avid collector of objects and anecdotes related to Philadelphia's "olden time"). However, the degree to which a literary and historical sensibility could be extended to the urban landscape remained unclear. A single volume might provide different answers.¹⁷⁸

in Upton, "Grid and the Republican Spatial Imagination," 11. The most extensive secondary source on Watson is Deborah Dependahl Waters, "Philadelphia's Boswell: John Fanning Watson," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 98, no. 1 (January 1974): 3-52.

¹⁷⁵ *United States Gazette*, 21 November 1831, as quoted in Wainwright, "Age of Nicholas Biddle," 281.

¹⁷⁶ Upton, "Grid and the Republican Spatial Imagination," 11.

¹⁷⁷ J. B. Jackson wryly observed: "An established literary tradition assures us that America developed a new feeling for nature in the early nineteenth century. I suspect that this was confined to a small class, and was moreover a European importation of little widespread acceptance" ("Order of a Landscape," 161-162). The book-learned appreciation of things "rural" was a paradox American writers picked out by the late eighteenth century. The protagonist in Charles Brockden Brown's *Arthur Mervyn* grows up on an ill-managed Pennsylvania farm where death, boredom, avarice, and promiscuity are commonplace; the "rural life" he reveres is remote and cosmopolitan, a print-based escape from a punishing reality (p. 44 in the 1962 Holt edition).

¹⁷⁸ Gunther Barth, *City People: The Rise of Modern City Culture in Nineteenth-Century America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980), 69-70; Allan R. Pred, *Urban Growth and the Circulation of Information: The*

Such was the case in *Philadelphia in 1824*, a guidebook published in the year of its title. An anonymous introduction declared: “The annals of Philadelphia...furnish little that will interest the lovers of the romantic and marvellous. The reader who seeks in its history for battles and sieges, for great incidents or striking exploits, will be disappointed. In the rise of an industrious, moral, peaceable, and successful people, there is nothing poetical.” How had Philadelphia become a Mecca for merchants and accountants? Perhaps Quaker roots ordained such a fate. In any case, the tale hardly seemed worth recounting. Protestant determination and self-discipline had produced prosperity and (perhaps) banality, leaving “little for the annalist to narrate.” By this account, the city as historical artifact had become almost unrepresentable. It was, in Max Weber’s terminology, a landscape of thorough disenchantment.¹⁷⁹

John F. Watson disagreed – about the past if not the present. In “Illustrations of the Antiquities of Philadelphia,” which appeared incongruously in the same publication, he insisted on casting the city’s founding as an epic struggle. After imagining what the landing of the first settlers must have been like, he has “the families part, separating to their selected shades under the then towering *grove of lofty spruce pines*, reaching their umbrageous, giant arms abroad.” Civilization begins to transform this idyll when

some leading member of the Christian community, after piously returning thanks to the Almighty for their safe landing, and asking his blessing on their future efforts, begins himself the good example of the toil before them...by striking *his* axe into the *first* tree.... No sooner has the surveyor, with much labour, by falling [sic] trees and drawing off the brushwood, made an imperfect way through which to draw his 'lengthening chain,' than he forms *the City plot*. Then off goes every man to prepare his ground for a future permanent building.¹⁸⁰

For many Americans, scenarios like this still connoted progress. Indeed, Watson’s description of an abstract, Cartesian urbanism imposed on a luxuriant wilderness closely mirrors boosterish accounts of contemporary city building on the Southern and the Western frontiers.¹⁸¹ But what distinguishes Watson’s essay from these reports and, indeed, from the rest of *Philadelphia in 1824*, is its elegiac tone. While Philadelphia’s founding is cast as heroic, its toll on the

United States System of Cities, 1790-1840 (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1973), 59; Waters, 7-9; Yvette Piggush, “Fancy History: John Fanning Watson’s Relic Box,” *Common-Place* 10, no. 1 (October 2009): [unpaginated online publication]; Ellis Paxon Oberholtzer, *The Literary History of Philadelphia* (Philadelphia: George W. Jacobs & Co., 1906), 223-225; Richardson, 247-249. Oberholtzer and Richardson cite Bass Otis’s 1819 lithograph, *House and Trees at Waterside*, as the first of its kind in America but reference books now give that distinction to Otis’s *Rev. Abner Kneeland* (1818).

¹⁷⁹ *Philadelphia in 1824; or a Brief Account of the Various Institutions and Public Objects in this Metropolis: Being a Complete Guide for Strangers, and an Useful Compendium for the Inhabitants* (Philadelphia: H. C. Carey & I. Lea, 1824), 1(quotations). The sentiments expressed here were becoming commonplace in polite prose and criticism. Nathaniel Hawthorne, for instance, complained that prosperity had retarded the growth of American literature because it had done away with “the classic materials for the writing of romances” (Somkin, 20). Weber’s concept of disenchantment and romantic-antiquarian responses to that ontological state are ably discussed in Michael Valdez Moses, “Magical Realism at World’s End,” *Literary Imagination* 3, no. 1 (Winter 2001): 106, 110-112, 120-129.

¹⁸⁰ *Philadelphia in 1824*, 12-14. The emphasis is Watson’s.

¹⁸¹ David E. Nye, *Narratives and Spaces: Technology and the Construction of American Culture* (New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 1997), 4.

environment is devastating: “We may suppose there were many *inequalities* in the *surface* then, which we do not now perceive - some *hills* to reduce, and several low or wet and miry places, to drain off or fill up. In many places, the most delightful rural beauties, formed by trees and shrubberies, were all devoted to the axe and to burning!”¹⁸² And while a righteous and resourceful community arises, perhaps justifying the waste, this society, too, vanishes as completely as the forest it eradicated. Watson continues:

How rude and rural every thing around them! What a *rus in urbe!* How homespun and plain in their apparel – how hospitable and frugal in their diet – how universally acquainted and familiar – how devoid of all rank and ostentation! What freedom and frankness of interchange of commodities – what mutual help, and reciprocity of borrowing and lending – what commutation of labour and services for corn and necessaries of life – what certain enrichment to prudent mechanics, where their labor was in constant requisition! How plain and rude, then, in their household furniture – how free to use carts or horses then, for occasions which now their descendants must accomplish in gilded equipages!¹⁸³

In five short pages, rural beauty and republican simplicity drift completely out of sight. Watson focuses on the material symptoms of degeneration, following contemporary expectations that all things “homespun” will evoke lost community and moral economy.¹⁸⁴ But, ultimately and emphatically, the loss assumes a poetic hue. Watson concludes by adapting Oliver Goldsmith’s “The Deserted Village”:

But times are altered – *Trade* has chang’d the scene.
 ————— where scatter’d hamlets rose,
 Unwieldy wealth and cumbrous pomp repose, —
*And rural mirth and manners are no more.*¹⁸⁵

¹⁸² *Philadelphia in 1824*, 15. Watson puts this scene in a declension narrative just as some contemporary writers and artists were beginning to present such moments as the first stage in a civilizing process in which nature and culture are ultimately reconciled. See John Conron, *American Picturesque* (University Park, PA: Penn State University Press, 2000), 118-126. Sentiments close to Watson’s, but with a less explicitly urban focus, had been voiced in the Philadelphia area for several decades, most notably by Nicholas Collin. See Hans Huth, *Nature and the American: Three Centuries of Changing Attitudes* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1957), 16-17.

¹⁸³ *Philadelphia in 1824*, 17-18.

¹⁸⁴ See Laurel Thatcher Ulrich, *The Age of Homespun: Objects and Stories in the Creation of an American Myth* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2001); Piggush (see n. 37, above); Jack Larkin, “From ‘Country Mediocrity’ to ‘Rural Improvement’: Transforming the Slovenly Countryside in Central Massachusetts, 1775-1840,” in *Everyday Life in the Early Republic*, ed. Catherine Hutchins (Winterthur, DE: Henry Francis du Pont Winterthur Museum, 1994), 193-194; Michael Zakim, “Sartorial Ideologies: From Homespun to Ready-Made,” *American Historical Review* 106, no. 5 (December 2001), 1553-1586. As will become clear below, Watson’s jeremiad is probably best understood as one of those “homespun admonitions toward frugality [that] now often served to freeze the social order and stem the democratic tide” (Zakim, 1572). As relevant, however, is Zakim’s analysis of an earlier eulogy to homespun issued by Benjamin Franklin: “It was a foundation myth of simpler and more frugal times designed to help establish the basis for social order in a secularizing, post-sumptuary world” (1559).

¹⁸⁵ *Philadelphia in 1824*, 18. In this much-compressed stanza, Watson adds his own italics and, perhaps significantly, re-words Goldsmith’s phrase “trade’s unfeeling train.” For insightful readings of the poem, see Raymond Williams, *The Country and the City* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1973), 74-79; Nigel Everett, *The Tory View of Landscape* (New Haven: Yale University Press for the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art, 1994). 62-65.

From the critic's or historian's perspective, this is time-worn language. "Commerce" had been the enemy of "virtue" in the Old Whig or Country ideology that flourished in eighteenth-century Britain and was itself rooted in the Florentine Renaissance. If Americans tended to see this opposition in more Christian and Lockean terms, they nonetheless made recourse to classical republican theory during the Revolution and at opportune times thereafter.¹⁸⁶ But, whatever his debt to convention, Watson wrote with particular poignancy. Cities and nations might rise and fall, and civilizations run their natural course. Material prosperity, the fruit of diligence and self-discipline, might inexorably lead to luxury and degeneration. But there was something about contemporary Philadelphia that gave these cycles special relevance and pathos. Where others saw dull complacency born of prosperity, Watson saw tragedy; in nostalgically sketching his city's past, he argued more about its present and future.¹⁸⁷

A remarkable aspect of Watson's jeremiad was the connection he drew between topography and ideology. Philadelphia's decline, he implied, corresponded to the loss of "inequalities in the surface," of "wet and miry places" and "stately oaks of sublime grandeur." These features had no place in the logic of the modern grid. If that form represented one sort of republican vision, a world where trade and virtue were compatible, Watson stood as the defender of another in which these positions seemed antithetical.¹⁸⁸ True, "the City plot" had originated in a golden age of austerity and mutuality. But that early product of the surveyor's chain had been a "rus in urbe", an urban outpost engulfed by forest. By quoting "The Deserted Village," Watson invoked an English literary and political tradition that set "country" values (and land ownership) against commerce and its consequence, corruption.¹⁸⁹

¹⁸⁶ J. G. A. Pocock, "Virtue and Commerce in the Eighteenth Century," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 3, no. 1 (Summer 1972): 119-134, and *The Machiavellian Moment: Florentine Political Thought and the Atlantic Republican Tradition* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1975). The role of these ideas in Revolutionary thought is most fully explored in Gordon Wood, *The Creation of the American Republic, 1776-1787* (Chapel Hill, N. C.: 1969). However, Jack P. Greene has argued that, prior to the 1760s, "colonial British Americans did not...expropriate much of the British country ideologists' concept of virtue and [that]...their own definition of virtue was far more noncivic, personal, Christian, and Lockean than civic and republican ("The Concept of Virtue in Late Colonial British America," in *Virtue, Corruption, and Self-Interest: Political Values in the Eighteenth Century* [Bethlehem: Lehigh University Press, 1994], 27-52 [quote p. 44]). On the post-Revolutionary career of "virtue," see Joyce Oldham Appleby, *Capitalism and a New Social Order: the Republican Vision of the 1790s* (New York: New York University Press, 1984), 9, 14-15, 96-97; Rowland Berthoff, "Independence and Attachment, Virtue and Interest: From Republican Citizen to Free Enterpriser, 1787-1837," in Richard Bushman et al., eds., *Uprooted Americans: Essays to Honor Oscar Handlin*, (Boston: Little, Brown, 1979), 97-124. This rhetoric assumed special relevance to Philadelphians in the 1790s when their city both served as the nation's capital and suffered severe bouts of yellow fever; see Eve Kornfeld, "Crisis in the Capital: the Cultural Significance of Philadelphia's Great Yellow Fever Epidemic," *Pennsylvania History* 51, no. 3 (July 1984): 189-205.

¹⁸⁷ On the meanings of this language to men of Watson's generation and social background, see Somkin, *passim*, especially chap. 1; Marvin Meyers, *The Jacksonian Persuasion: Politics and Belief* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1957), chap. 4.

¹⁸⁸ Significantly, the Daniel Drake's reflections on the opposing meanings of curved and straight lines (see epigraph) appear amid a similarly nostalgic review of Cincinnati's topographic past. Watson, a more dedicated antiquarian than Drake, was likewise more interested in the details of his city's topographic history. As his biographer notes: "He recorded facts about 'made Earth' or fill, and natural earth in Philadelphia, in an attempt to ascertain colonial leveling patterns within the city" (Waters, 18).

¹⁸⁹ Pocock, "Virtue and Commerce," 121, 128-129; Appleby, *Capitalism and a New Social Order*, 9; Williams, chap. 8; Stephen Daniels, "The Political Iconography of Woodland in Later Georgian England," in *The Iconography*

The apparent discrepancy between such anti-modern views and the business-oriented background of their spokesman may surprise those unfamiliar with antebellum culture. (Watson worked as Cashier at the Bank of Germantown and later helped to manage a railroad). In many ways, though, Watson was a representative man. The ideals he articulated were being widely revived and reworked by conservatives of his generation. Pastoral imagery might not compute in literal or biographical terms, but, as a metaphor performing what Kenneth Burke called “symbolic action,” the critique advanced in “Antiquities of Philadelphia” was important. Similar concerns would alter the ways refined Philadelphians thought about the form and social makeup of their city.¹⁹⁰

Quakers, Commerce, and Crisis

The concept of community, easy to invoke but hard to define, became increasingly problematic for urban elites in the decades leading up to the Civil War. John F. Watson spoke for many of his peers when he fretted about the prevalence of luxury and the predations of Trade. With industrialization came cheaper goods. If ordinary people could not replace their carts with “gilded equipages,” artisans and shopkeepers might now afford several articles of respectable clothing. As worrisome as this incipient threat to old visual codes of rank was the prospect of a changing public. Mobility and money lust menaced old social relationships. Black congregations were gaining strength and visibility; (Watson bemoaned their enthusiasm’s “corrupting” influence on his white Methodist church). And as more immigrants poured into the city after 1830, their foreign looks and accents seemed to fracture an earlier unity.¹⁹¹

That unity was, of course, imagined. Unlike competing seaport cities – most notably Boston, Philadelphia had always been ethnically and religiously diverse – hailed or mourned for the pluralism, materialism, and factionalism it fostered. Penn himself had made property rights and

of Landscape: Essays on the Symbolic Representation, Design and Use of Past Environments, Denis Cosgrove and Stephen Daniels, eds., (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 43-82; Everett, *passim*.

¹⁹⁰ Waters, 7, 9; Wainwright, “Age of Nicholas Biddle,” 272; Clifford Geertz, “Ideology as a Cultural System” in *The Interpretation of Cultures* (New York: Basic Books, 1973), 208-213; John F. Kasson, *Civilizing the Machine: Technology and Republican Values in America, 1776-1900* (New York: Grossman Publishers, 1976), 37-39.

Kasson comments: “Like the jeremiads of old, such lamentations offered at once confession and purgation; they allowed nineteenth-century Americans to pay homage to their fathers’ more austere standards of virtue, even as the descendants exploited the new possibilities of industrial capitalism” (39); see also Berthoff, 106; Zakim 1568-1573; Richard L. Bushman, *The Refinement of America: Persons, Houses, Cities* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1992), 197; T. J. Jackson Lears, *No Place of Grace: Antimodernism and the Transformation of American Culture, 1880-1920* (New York: Pantheon Books, 26-28, 61, 68-69, 74, 98-99).

¹⁹¹ Gary Nash, *First City: Philadelphia and the Forging of Historical Memory* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002), 9, 17, 40, 144-147; Charles Sellers, *The Market Revolution: Jacksonian America, 1815-1846* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), 162; Meyers, 74-100; Warner, *Private City*, 49-50, 61, 63-67. Zakim (1572) identifies complaints such as Watson’s as post-Revolutionary variations on an established colonial theme. Indeed, as Greene points out, the first wave of anti-luxury jeremiads corresponds to the eighteenth-century consumer revolution (41). Many consumer goods were still cheaper in the 1820s. However, the great wave of inexpensive “respectable” clothing was yet to come; see Blumin, *The Emergence of the Middle Class*, 140-146. On the broader subject of using history to define (White, Anglo-Saxon) community amid rapid urban change, see Michael Holleran, *Boston’s “Changeful Times”: Origins of Preservation and Planning in America* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998), especially chaps. 1 and 2.

decentralized government the building blocks of his colony, and the absence of an established church further discouraged the formation of *Gemeinschaft*. Nonetheless, by the third decade of the nineteenth century, immigration and urbanization inspired longings for a bygone order on which a new order might be built. Predictably if problematically, some aspirants attached their yearnings to a golden age of Quaker cultural and civic authority.¹⁹²

The Society of Friends had lost power and influence in the course of the eighteenth century. By 1770, their presence had shrunk to perhaps one-seventh of Philadelphia's population, and two decades earlier they had forsaken direct participation in colonial politics to avoid complicity in the Seven Years' War. The radical spiritual equality enshrined in the doctrine of the Inner Light made poor grounds for a resurrected civil authority. Moreover, Friends had arguably become less intent on civic engagement than on internal reform: even before the Revolution, quietism and a tightened discipline had become the hallmarks of their sect. While evangelical influences were starting to erode that position, the resulting internal conflicts hardly promised to make Friends a more potent or respected public force.¹⁹³ In certain ways, though, Philadelphia remained a Quaker city. Despite their small numbers, Friends continued to exert disproportionate influence over Philadelphia's cultural life, educational system, and institutions of reform. They were active as philanthropists and humanitarians, channeling their former zeal for politics into a sort of padded public sphere.¹⁹⁴ Innovative asylums and almshouses were among their proudest achievements. Most recently they had helped to establish the Eastern State Penitentiary, a model of penal architecture studied by visitors from around the world.

Burial grounds held a paradoxical place in this schema. A target of reform interest, they lent themselves in some respects to the kinds of institutional experimentation in which Quakers had come to specialize. As repositories of dead worthies, graveyards might also serve commemorative purposes such as those envisioned by John F. Watson. But belief and tradition stood in the way. Friends' adherence to "plainness" precluded the use of gravestones. And, unlike prisons or hospitals, Quaker burial grounds remained sectarian spaces. Rather showing

¹⁹² Frederick Tolles, *Meeting House and Counting House: The Quaker Merchants of Colonial Philadelphia 1682-1763* (1948; reprint by New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1963), 12-13; E. Digby Baltzell, *Puritan Boston and Quaker Philadelphia: Two Protestant Ethics and the Spirit of Class Authority and Leadership* (New York: Free Press, 1979); Robert J. Gough, "Close-Kin Marriage," 119-121, 134; Robert J. Gough, "The Philadelphia Economic Elite at the End of the Eighteenth Century," in *Shaping a National Culture*, 15-43. The general gist of this paragraph derives also from Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, rev. ed. (London: Verso, 1991).

¹⁹³ Tolles, *Meeting House*, 26-28, chap. 10; Baltzell, 158-160; Arthur J. Mekeel, "The Founding Years, 1681-1789," and J. William Frost, "Years of Crisis and Separation: The Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, 1790-1860," in John M. Moore, ed., *Friends in the Delaware Valley: Philadelphia Yearly Meeting 1681-1981* (Haverford, PA: Friends Historical Association, 1981), 36-42, 65-66; Jack D. Marietta, *The Reformation of American Quakerism, 1748-1783* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1984); Sydney V. James, *A People Among Peoples: Quaker Benevolence in Eighteenth-Century America* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1963).

¹⁹⁴ Tolles makes this case for "sublimation" in *Meeting House*, pp. 80, 110, 230. The implications of Friends' benevolent activism are a subject of debate, with Sydney James seeing a continued quest for civic engagement and Jack Marietta a withdrawal from public life. Summarizing these positions, Bruce Dorsey recasts them as glimpses of opposing ideological tendencies that would ultimately factor in the Hicksite schism of 1827; see his "Friends Becoming Enemies: Philadelphia Benevolence and the Neglected Era of Quaker History," *Journal of the Early Republic* 18, no. 3 (Fall 1998): 401-402. For brief discussions of the relative importance of Quaker institutions in eighteenth-century Philadelphia, see Carl and Jessica Bridenbaugh, *Rebels and Gentlemen: Philadelphia in the Age of Franklin* (New York: Reynal & Hitchcock, 1942), chap. 7; Gough, "Philadelphia Economic Elite," 23-24.

Friends' commitment to public life, they suggested a determination to remain a "peculiar people."

The ways in which this puzzle was and was not solved in the age of Jackson is a story so bound up with larger changes in urban society that it is difficult to sort out the pieces. For the Quakers, a period of sectarian turbulence helped loosen the bonds of custom. For other Philadelphians, too, the burial venues that appeared around this time served not only as graveyards but also as escapes – perhaps even places to develop new notions of community. As for other Americans, they looked on with mixed interest. Those who read and traveled knew that Philadelphia had joined what scholars now call the "rural cemetery movement." A combination of aesthetic and commemorative impulses, moral and sanitary claims, and unbridled consumer spending, it was a trend with deep implications for urban form and public life.

* * *

Nineteenth-century Quakers sometimes imagined their burial grounds as bastions. Looking back on his career as a librarian, author, and cemetery founder, John Jay Smith observed, "No sect, probably, had a greater horror of mixing with others, and especially in the grave."¹⁹⁵ That was an exaggeration. Friends had long permitted the burial of non-members so long as participants adhered to the Society's sumptuary and behavioral rules. But if Smith overstated his sect's tribalism, he also spoke from experience. A lifelong if skeptical Quaker, he had been a broker of new death-ways in a city of ingrained habits.

The Quakers were not separatists in the modern sense. Like Mennonites and other Anabaptist sects, they took the Sermon on the Mount as their guide to divine law, believing that love, pacificism, and austerity were the core tenets of Christ's teachings. The same set of convictions led Friends to regard the "world" as a scene of depravity and corruption, but here was a crucial difference. Whereas Anabaptists sought to withdraw themselves from terrestrial affairs, Quakers adhered to "the essentially Calvinistic conviction that religion must be integrated with life on the natural plane; in other words, they recognized no cleavage between the spheres of divine and natural law."¹⁹⁶ Carrying out God's will meant engaging the material world, albeit at arm's length. Even the accumulation of wealth was permissible – a sign of diligence in one's calling – provided such rewards went primarily toward "the Good of Mankind." This last dictate, together with Friends' commitment to the doctrine of stewardship, made them great underwriters of humanitarian institutions. Their almshouse was a colonial-era showpiece, and, well into the nineteenth century, guidebooks credited them with creating "A large proportion of the charities and comforts of Philadelphia."¹⁹⁷ Graveyards, however, fell only partially beneath this rubric. Ideally, if rarely in practice, burial grounds remained places to keep the "world" at bay – a function they had served since the founding of the colony.

¹⁹⁵ John Jay Smith, *Recollections of John Jay Smith*, ed. Elizabeth Pearsall Smith (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1892), 268.

¹⁹⁶ Tolles, *Meeting House*, 6, 9-10 (quote), 52-57, 82.

¹⁹⁷ *Philadelphia in 1824*, 11. On the importance of stewardship and mutual aid in Quaker philanthropy, see Tolles, *Meeting House*, 56-57, 65, 80; James, 39, 74. On the institutional beneficiaries of this largesse in the early nineteenth century, see Frost, "Years of Crisis and Separation," 61-62.

The yearning for posthumous exclusivity may have surfaced among New World Friends as early as 1688. In that year, the Philadelphia Monthly Meeting reviewed a complaint that “the burying place is made too Common.” Historian Frederick Tolles discerns here “evidence of incipient group-consciousness.” While that explanation makes sense in context, it is worth remembering that English Friends had long defended separate burial as compatible with the principles of primitive Christianity. In any case, local worries about posthumous promiscuity soon led to concrete action. In 1702, the Monthly Meeting laid plans for a sect-specific burial ground and pondered “how far friends may be concerned in the burials of such of their relations as are not friends.”¹⁹⁸

Whatever the results of this inquest, its long-term impact was limited. Quakers routinely permitted the interment of outsiders both before and after Independence, perhaps showing greater leniency to the poor.¹⁹⁹ There was, of course, a difference between acceptance and enthusiasm. A residual desire for boundaries is implicit in William Hudson’s “An Account of the Burialls of Such as are not friends within this town of Philadelphia,” kept alongside the list of Quaker interments at Arch Street between 1692 and 1732.²⁰⁰ Likewise, the nineteenth-century practice of burying “strangers” in separate rows probably had less formal colonial antecedents. Still, the language of graveyard exclusivity testifies more to a sensibility or desideratum rather than to strictly observed rules of conduct.

Quakers felt graveyards exemplified the Society’s internal standards more than their external responsibilities. As such, these places were governed less by the doctrine of stewardship than by the principle of *plainness*.²⁰¹ Gravestones and commemorative plaques were singled out as symptoms of worldliness. In 1729, Concord Monthly Meeting, near Philadelphia, decried “all superfluous practices of putting names and dates upon coffins,” and requested “that for the future

¹⁹⁸ MS Minutes of the Philadelphia Monthly Meeting, 22 February 1688, 29 May and 27 November 1702, as quoted and discussed in Tolles, *Meeting House*, 233. Early defenses of separate Quaker burial include [Morgan Watkins] and Francis Gawler, *The Children of Abraham’s Faith, Who are Blessed, Being Found in Abraham’s Practice of Burying the Dead in Their own Purchased Burying-Places, Are Not to Be Reproved...* ([London]: 1663); William Penn, “Judas and the Jews Combined Against Christ and His Followers,” *A Collection of the Works of William Penn* (London: Assigns of J. Sowle, pr., 1726), 2:212; Ezra Michener, *A Retrospect of Early Quakerism; Being Extracts from the Records of the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting and the Meetings Composing It* (Philadelphia: T. Ellwood Zell, 1860), 233, 236.

¹⁹⁹ Certain Philadelphia Friends believed charitable and lenient burial policies better demonstrated Quaker principles than did purist exclusivity. The predictable result of this ambivalence was deliberate hedging among policymakers. See, for example, MS Minutes of Phila. MM, 31 December 1802 (microfilm, Friends Historical Library, Swarthmore College, cited hereafter as FHL).

²⁰⁰ “An Account of deceased Buried in the Burying ground in Philadelphia beginning from the Eleventh Month 1688 and recorded by Robert Ewer,” FHL, as quoted in Patricia C. O’Donnell, “this side of the Grave:” Quakers and the Rituals of Death to 1830,” a paper presented at the Conference of Quaker Historians and Archivists, Guilford College, 23 June 2006, 22. I am grateful to Ms. O’Donnell for sharing her recent research on this topic with me.

²⁰¹ The ideal of plainness had deep roots in the Christian tradition of mortification. On its application to burial practice, see Gwynne Stock, “Quaker Burial: Doctrine and Practice,” in *Grave Concerns: Death and Burial in England 1700-1850*, ed. Margaret Cox (York, UK: Council for British Archaeology, 1998), 129, 132-133, 137-138; J. William Frost, “From Plainness to Simplicity: Changing Quaker Ideals for Material Culture,” in Emma Jones Lapsansky and Anne A. Verplanck, eds., *Quaker Aesthetics: Reflections on a Quaker Ethic in American Design and Consumption* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2003), 18; Bill Richardson, “Quaker Burial Grounds: Plainness Texts from Community and Family in Dutchess County, New York,” *Material Culture* 25, no. 1 (1993): 37-38.

Friends desist from all such idolatrous practices.” Thirty years later, monuments and “singular notes or marks of distinction” came in for more extended censure. Mordantly observing that “no encomium nor pompous interment can add to the worth of the deceased,” the monthly body asked overseers of subordinate meetings “to request the relatives of those concerned to remove such tombstones away, and to deal with such as refuse....”²⁰²

Again, the need to repeat such injunctions points to loose standards of enforcement. While few records survive on infractions (and rates surely varied by locale), anecdotal evidence shows “marks of distinction” cropped up fairly often in colonial Quaker graveyards. The results were heterogeneous. Basic markers bore only the deceased’s name or initials; others might take the form of marble slabs with full-blown epitaphs. Meetings generally pursued disciplinary action, but decades might elapse between purges and the deceased’s social status may have factored in outcome. Certainly, this was the case in a related sphere, namely the arrangement of graves. John Jay Smith noted that Philadelphia’s powerful Hill, Lloyd, and Norris families “seem to have been allowed to mingle their ashes together” in the city’s Arch Street burial ground. Smith considered such dynastic formations “a privilege, and a natural wish.” They were not, however, well in keeping with Quaker doctrine.²⁰³

During the second half of the eighteenth century, Friends’ burial practices came under scrutiny as part of a larger program of reform. Concord Meeting’s 1759 crackdown was symptomatic of the trend, which addressed everything from marriage to clothing.²⁰⁴ This was an inward-turning period, a time when Friends re-evaluated their relationship to the “world” and sought less direct involvement with it. The same movement may have encouraged meetings to adopt grid-style burial grounds in the early republic. Tied to the “systematic spirit” that gripped the nation as a whole, this campaign was likewise a drive for discipline in a group that feared losing its way.

That story has already surfaced as the source of Arch Street Meeting’s innovations and Deborah Logan’s dismay (see Chap. 1). What made the new arrangement so novel – and, from Logan’s point of view, so distressing – was its ruthless regularity. Paying no heed to family ties or other interpersonal connections, the “range” or “row” system called for long lines of single graves, filled sequentially as the need arose (**Fig. 3**). While previous burial reform drives had targeted

²⁰² Minutes of Concord MM as quoted in J. Thomas Scharf and Thompson Westcott, *History of Philadelphia, 1609-1884* (Philadelphia: L. H. Everts & Co., 1884), 3:2360. On the presence and censure of tombstones in Philadelphia-area Friends’ burial grounds, see also O’Donnell, 14, 22; Rowland J. Dutton, “Friends’ Burial Ground, Burlington, New Jersey” [Pt. 2], *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 24, no. 2 (1900): 149; Richardson, 39-40; *Christian Advices Issued by the Yearly Meeting of Friends Held in Philadelphia* (Philadelphia: n.p., 1879), 15-16. The latter two sources record clampdowns by the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, the dates of which (1797 and 1808) may indicate the peak of that body’s interest in the issue. Little scholarship exists on the forms or inscriptions of these transgressive stones. Many seem to have been buried rather than removed, leading curious sextons and antiquarians to unearth them in the nineteenth century. See Dutton, pp. 149-150, for a description of the results.

²⁰³ John Jay Smith, *Recollections*, 140, 268 (quote); Dutton, “Friends’ Burial Ground, Burlington, New Jersey” [Pt. 2], 149-150; O’Donnell, 14, 22. A related privilege granted to powerful families at Arch Street was the right to form separate burial grounds in or adjacent to those used by the meeting at large. The clearest example was a lot associated with the Say family, but nearby enclosures maintained by the Jones and Porteus clans may be part of the same phenomenon. See René L. C. Torres, “Cemetery Landscapes of Philadelphia,” M.S. thesis, University of Pennsylvania, 1997), 46, 97-99, 101.

²⁰⁴ Mekeel, 37-53; Tolles, *Meeting House*, 236-239; Frost, “From Plainness to Simplicity,” 28-29; Marietta, *passim*.

“distinction,” the new system took aim more specifically at what Alexis de Tocqueville would call *Individualism*:

a mature and calm feeling, which disposes each member of the community to sever himself from the mass of his fellows and to draw apart with his family and his friends, so that after he has thus formed a little circle of his own, he willingly leaves society at large to itself.²⁰⁵

Tocqueville felt individualism was on the rise in America, growing alongside democracy itself. Quakers tended to agree, albeit for different reasons. Long wary of any impulse to place self or family ahead of community, they became especially concerned with group cohesion and conformity after the crises of the 1750s. The graveyard could not escape attention. Thus, when British Friends began implementing the row system toward the end of the century, their American counterparts sometimes saw it as yet another way to strengthen group identity. Philadelphia’s John Pemberton took particular interest in the technique. His will, probated in 1795, called for implementation of that “commendable mode adopted by our brethren in divers parts of England” when the necessary land became available. But Pemberton’s local coreligionists were less patient. Beginning in 1801, they remade their old graveyard at Fourth and Arch Streets as a model of collective self-reform.²⁰⁶

Anti-social impulses were hardly Friends’ only concern. Graves were packed tightly at Arch Street, often piled two or three deep. The meeting’s members evidently reasoned that the effort entailed in re-grading combined with the high value of urban land required that the resulting space be allocated as efficiently as possible. Nonetheless, the quest for Christian-communal solidarity remained part of the equation. While the means to that end – single lots lined up in rows – might strike modern eyes as atomistic, it is worth remembering that the intention was just the opposite. Repudiating emotional bonds with family and friends in the graveyard would surely serve the greater good.

Plans to test the range system on fresh ground took longer to mature. Although the renovated Arch Street lot soon proved inadequate, custom and convenience still brought funerals there, and alternative proposals faltered. Only in the mid 1820s, with the opening of Western Burial Ground, did local Quakers gain access to a purpose-built, row-style burial ground that conformed to John Pemberton’s ideal. The property occupied a block (or “square,” as Philadelphians still called such units of urban real estate) on the south side of Race Street between Sixteenth and Seventeenth Streets. Acquired in 1818, it included an old log house that Friends remodeled for the use of a superintendent. Additional security came from a solid brick wall, standing some ten feet high and penetrated by an eastern gateway (**Fig. 4**).²⁰⁷

²⁰⁵ *Democracy in America* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1980), 2:98. I have benefited from the reading of this passage supplied in Somkin, 180. On the tension between traditional / communitarian and self-seeking impulses in this period, see also Cawelti, 46-55.

²⁰⁶ O’Donnell, 23(quote)-24; MS Minutes of Phila. MM, 27 February 1801, 28 May 1802 (microfilm, FHL); Arch Street Meeting House clippings, Campbell Coll., Historical Society of Pennsylvania, 17:158. On English Quakers’ use of row burial, which was more prevalent in urban areas, see Stock, 136.

²⁰⁷ MS Minutes of Phila. MM, 27 March 1817, 26 June and 24 July 1823 (microfilm, FHL); MS Minutes of the Joint Committee for the Care of Friends’ Properties, 28 February, 1 March and 5 April 1816, 7 November 1817

The remote location sparked dissent among potential users. Sixteenth Street was a long walk from older and poorer districts such as Southwark, and renegade members of Southern District Monthly Meeting soon purchased a burial tract of their own.²⁰⁸ The rift was small but significant. After Western Burial Ground opened, belatedly, in 1823, its operation grew more contentious. Petty squabbling played a part, but the debates also revealed deeper differences of opinion about space, social hierarchy, and the nature of Quaker community. The first dispute foreshadowed these divisions.

Western Burial Ground promised orderly reform within the framework of a rational grid. But those who created this system failed to anticipate the hostility it would arouse. For some, the landscape's symbolic egalitarianism obscured inequalities in its management. For others, the sharp break from custom seemed too sudden and, perhaps, too leveling. The sources of these objections appear obvious in historical perspective – a combination of market forces, old habits, and new desires. Yet few contemporaries could have predicted the strength of these currents, which both atomized their participants and reassembled them in new ways. What was clear was that old problems were worsening.

Quakers continued to complain about overcrowding of the dead at Arch Street. By the mid 1820s, Deborah Logan expressed relief that an acquaintance had been buried elsewhere, “for to suffer Graves now to be opened in the Old Ground is a scandal to the society of Friends; the remains of 5 Coffins were discoverable in making the Grave for old friend Parrish.”²⁰⁹ Western Burial Ground should have solved the problem. Since each lot held only one grave, such distasteful encounters were impossible. But objections to the old site ran deeper. One source of ire was the range system itself. When implemented at Arch Street, it had erased mounds and other mementos that Friends used – despite all enjoinders – to locate and commemorate their ancestors. Another blow came from the erection of Arch Street Meeting House. The committee in charge of this project believed “there [was] no necessity to remove the Remains of the Dead, for a foundation.”²¹⁰ That opinion, however, was hardly universal. Some families reinterred their dead while others watched uneasily as construction proceeded between 1803 and 1811. Whatever their official acceptability, these actions proved deeply offensive. The problem was not simply that particular graves were disturbed; it was also that, in reconfiguring the graveyard, the meeting dissolved a kind of accretion valued highly by old Quaker families. Genealogy had long preoccupied the city's Quaker elite. A ritual exercise of sorts, it preserved the memories of illustrious clans while linking them to a transatlantic social network that continued to supply much of the sect's leadership and sense of identity. It was in this sense that both the Arch Street

(microfilm, FHL); Misc. Papers of Phila. MM's Joint Committee for the Care of Friends' Properties, 1817-1823, *passim* (microfilm, FHL).

²⁰⁸ Extract from Minutes of Southern District MM, 25 November 1818, Misc. Papers of Phila. MM's Joint Committee for the Care of Friends' Properties.

²⁰⁹ Deborah Norris Logan, MS diary, 9:150 (15 May 1826), Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

²¹⁰ Joint Committee minutes, April 1796. On the discontent aroused by both the construction of the meeting house and the reconfiguration of the burial ground, see Arch Street Meeting House clippings, 17:158; letter to the *Gazette of the United States & Daily Advertiser*, signed “PIETAS,” 20 July 1801. My thanks to Patricia C. O'Donnell of the Friends Historical Library for bringing these materials to my attention.

and Western burial grounds came up wanting. Unresponsive to the needs of the “affectionate” family, they offered still less to the upper-class family extended through historical time.²¹¹

For Friends like Deborah Logan, interment on private estates remained preferable. Chance was still involved here: in an age of increasing mobility, land titles fell easily into strange hands. Nonetheless, Logan reasoned, the benefits outweighed the risks. Reading Cicero on ancient burial practice, she noted: “The Romans were so religious in this Respect, that even when they parted with their Estates, they kept the Sepulchres of their Ancestors, and a Right to a Way to come at them.” Here was ancient sanction for a modern impulse. Within a few years, Logan turned the burial ground at Stenton into a legally discrete “Inclosure,” held under separate deed.²¹²

For most urban Quakers, such arrangements were not an option. Few owned the necessary land, and, even as Logan found new ways to protect ancestral remains, her co-religionists descended into a conflict that made the graveyard seem newly perilous. The crisis known as the Hicksite Separation shook Friends’ customs and beliefs. Long treated by historians as an almost hermetic affair, the rift looks increasingly related to social and religious changes that accompanied the Second Great Awakening. On one side stood Orthodox Friends, defenders of mainstream Protestant doctrines. Influenced by the era’s rising tide of evangelicalism, they stressed the authority of the Scriptures, the divinity of Jesus, and the need for doctrinal conformity. Their opponents, who rallied around Elias Hicks (1748-1830), placed more emphasis on the Inner Light. Wary of adopting a “creed,” they gave greater sway to rationalism and egalitarianism, and suspected the Orthodox of betraying these strains of the faith.²¹³

Tensions came to a head in the spring of 1827. By then, leading Hicksites had already considered temporary withdrawal, and a skirmish over the Yearly Meeting’s clerkship completed

²¹¹ John Jay Smith, *Recollections*, 267; Logan diary, 8:74 (21 July 1825), 9:162 (1 June 1826), 14:138-139 (14 November 1832), 15:210 (5 July 1835); O’Donnell, 23; Baltzell, 25-26, 47; Karin Wulf, “‘Of the Old Stock’: Quakerism and Transatlantic Genealogies in Colonial British America,” in Elizabeth Mancke and Carole Shammas, eds., *The Creation of the British Atlantic World* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2005), 304-320. On the advanced development of affectionate bonds within Delaware Valley Quaker families, see Barry Levy, *Quakers and the American Family: British Settlement in the Delaware Valley* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), 15, chap. 4; Robert J. Gough, “Close-Kin Marriage,” 121, 127-128, 133. On the broader significance of elite clans’ attempts to “master time,” see Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgment of Taste*, trans. Richard Nice (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1984), 70-73.

²¹² Logan diary, 8:79 (28 July 1825), 11:270 (21 March 1828); Susan M. Stabile, *Memory’s Daughters: The Material Culture of Remembrance in Eighteenth-Century America* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2004), 222. Family burial grounds were common in rural areas prior to the twentieth century and were favored by many of greater Philadelphia’s elite clans; see “Walls of Old Rose Graveyard Are Down,” clipping dated March 1901, Campbell Coll. v. 19, p. 168, Historical Society of Pennsylvania). What is significant in this instance are Logan’s emphasis on legal protections and the historical modes of thought used to justify them. These impulses would soon find focus in the rural cemetery movement.

²¹³ The best brief examinations of the split are Dorsey, “Friends Becoming Enemies,” *passim*, and Frost, “Years of Crisis and Separation,” 63-79. Major studies include H. Larry Ingle, *Quakers in Conflict: The Hicksite Reformation* (Knoxville, TN: University of Tennessee Press, 1986); Robert W. Doherty, *The Hicksite Separation: A Sociological Analysis of Religious Schism in Early Nineteenth-Century America* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1967). A nuanced overview of the two groups’ divergent values appears in Patricia D’Antonio, *Founding Friends: Families, Staff, and Patients at the Friends Asylum in Early Nineteenth-Century Philadelphia* (Bethlehem: Lehigh University Press, 2006), 42-52.

the divide. Dramatically if predictably, the conflict soon extended to the graveyard. Western Burial Ground had always been joint property. Controlled ultimately by fifteen trustees, it was shared by the city's five monthly meetings and administered by committees to which they appointed representatives. Green Street Meeting now struggled to retain its privileges. "Laid down" by Orthodox leaders because of its Hicksite sympathies, the group could only make use of the graveyard by obtaining a permit from another monthly meeting. This indignity could not stand. When the teenaged Ann Shotwell died in August, her parents ignored the new protocol. A fellow Friend sought admission to the grounds on the Shotwell's behalf; failing to obtain it, he pried the lock off the gate with an axe.²¹⁴

Such incidents continued for months. Designed to deter body snatchers, the site's high wall became a symbol of sectarian strife and Hicksite funerals were delayed because attendants "found it necessary to enter the enclosure by means of ladders, and force the fastenings from the gate." Tiring of this routine, Green Street Friends resolved to build their own entrance. Backers of the plan secretly secured the approval of five trustees and, on May 31st, 1828, arrived at the site with workmen. In physical terms, their endeavor succeeded. The neat opening the group broke in the western wall mimicked its eastern counterpart and would have served Green Street's needs had it been allowed to remain in place. But the political toll was high. During demolition, one of the project's ringleaders had menaced an Orthodox Friend who dared to confront him. Four days later, at Orthodox request, Mayor Joseph Watson had the participants arrested and charged with forcible entry and rioting.²¹⁵

The saga helped confirm each faction's prejudices. Hicksites saw in their opponents' behavior the arbitrary exercise of power that had long fostered discontent with local Quaker leadership. The Orthodox, whose politics leaned toward conservatism, believed a Democratic judge had rejected charges against the Hicksites for purely partisan reasons. Superficially, then, little had changed. The wall was rebuilt, leaving a single main entrance. Green Street Friends maintained their unceremonious modes of access. Ultimately, they and other Hicksites received their own separate rows in the grid (**Fig 5**). In the meantime, Orthodox critics deployed Penn's biblical arguments for graveyard exclusivity against their erstwhile co-religionists.²¹⁶

All of this was deeply damaging to Friends' image. Newspapers covered the proceedings as sectarian journals traded barbs. Privately, Deborah Logan opined that forced entry for funerals was "a most revolting and uneasy procedure!" Inclined to side with the Orthodox in most matters, she recoiled at their treatment of "dissentients" in the graveyard, especially when it touched her own peers. Behind personal discomfort lay group humiliation. Reflecting on yet another standoff over burial rights in November of 1830, Logan added: "and surely the society must suffer degradation in the eyes of all their fellow Citizens by such conduct in their leaders...."²¹⁷

²¹⁴ Ingle, 219; "From the United States Gazette," *Friend* 1, no. 37 (28 June 1828): 293; "Friends' Western Burial Ground," *Public Ledger*, 22 September 1886 (my thanks to Sandra Markham for bringing this last source to my attention).

²¹⁵ Ingle, 219-220; "From the United States Gazette," 293; "Friends' Western Burial Ground."

²¹⁶ Ingle, 220; "Coincidences Between the Early Schismatics in the Society of Friends and the Followers of Elias Hicks," *Friend*, 2, no. 23 (21 March 1829): 181.

²¹⁷ Logan diary, unpagged addenda to vols. 11 (6 June 1828) and 12 (25 February 1830), 13:127-128 (27 November 1830).

If each graveyard spectacle gave fresh cause for embarrassment, together they made room for innovation. Western Burial Ground had been a backward-looking experiment. Radical in its rectilinearity and restraints on “distinction,” the institution was conservative in emphasizing discipline and group cohesion. The Hicksite schism left that project in shambles. Breaking with routine and custom, it increased Friends’ willingness to trade exclusivity for accessibility, sectarian allegiance for neutral oversight. Quakers had founded many of the nation’s first benevolent societies, often outside the purview of their meetings.²¹⁸ Now some members of the sect looked more favorably on corporate forms that lacked all religious ties whatsoever.

Naturally, this outward turn brought the “world” one step closer. The infighting that accompanied the split tore families and communities apart. It shook Friends’ confidence in their “peculiar” ways and in the wisdom of remaining aloof. The impulses Western Burial Ground was designed to check now seemed less threatening than dogma and factionalism. William Adams, a Quaker schoolteacher, made precisely this point in his memoir. Recalling the Cherry Street lockouts, he added:

This to me was very unpleasant, and I was desirous of securing a burying place for myself and my family, outside of the strife of tongues. I was glad to obtain a burial lot where I could have a warranted deed in fee simple for myself and my heirs forever. What if there were marble monuments erected all around me? What was that to me? need my lot be thus ornamented? not at all! I was willing others should enjoy their opinion, as well as I mine.²¹⁹

The site where Adams staked his claim was the newly opened Union Burial Ground (**Fig. 6**). Founded in 1827, it followed the Mutual Family Burial Ground in bringing low-cost, grid burial under the control of a local voluntary association. Adams called this arrangement the “social system,” and he endorsed it with the zeal of a convert. Upon joining the Union Burial Ground Society, he became the group’s secretary and recorded almost three thousand interments during his seven-year tenure. Nor did his enthusiasm end there. In the 1830s, Adams took part in founding several similar institutions. He served as President of Machpelah Cemetery, Secretary of Philanthropic, and became a well-versed broker of the type.

It was significant that Adams sided with Elias Hicks in the course of the fateful split. Hicksites were fiercely opposed to the conservative benevolent societies that proliferated in the 1820s but they were still part of the “commercialized democracy” in which these groups thrived. Historian Bruce Dorsey has emphasized that context. Reminding students of the schism that “an expanding marketplace of religious ideas and groups corresponded with a market revolution that

²¹⁸ Dorsey, “Friends Becoming Enemies,” 399-401; Frost, “Years of Crisis and Separation,” 62; Edwin D. Bronner, “Distributing the Printed Word: The Tract Association of Friends, 1816-1966,” *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 91, no. 3 (July 1967): 342-345. On voluntary associations as trans-denominational or non-denominational responses to changing social conditions in the 1820s, see also Paul Boyer, *Urban Masses and Moral Order in America, 1820-1920* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1978), 1-64; Sellers, *Market Revolution*, 216.

²¹⁹ “Reminiscences, No. 34 [Extracts from the manuscript Biography and Diary of William Adams, from 1779 to 1858, continued],” *The Journal* 2, no. 16 (20 May 1874): 126. (I am grateful to Christopher Densmore of the Friends Historical Library for pointing me to this key source.)

transformed social and economic relationships at the beginning of the nineteenth century,” he has characterized both the Hicksite and Orthodox campaigns as “revitalization movements” in sync with these tendencies.²²⁰ Nonetheless, each side gave a distinctive stamp to its endeavors. Tinged by populism, the Hicksite position balanced faith in market democracy against fears of commercial acquisitiveness.

William Adams personified these values. Dismayed by Orthodox control of the graveyard, he turned gladly to an alternative that offered “a warranted deed in fee simple.” In declaring himself unfazed by the displays of fellow lot-holders, he stressed the compatibility of consumer choice with personal retention of Quaker distinctiveness. But “speculation” still seemed taboo. Social cemeteries, Adams insisted, were “purely philanthropic.” Based on exchange but run as a service, they promised to safeguard religious liberty and republican citizenship in an era of social upheaval.²²¹ Ironically, this stance represented a step toward the Orthodox position. Orthodox Friends looked favorably on evangelical endeavors because they had fewer reservations about the authority of the Bible and “could see no harm in associating with the successful enterprises of their evangelical neighbors.” Critics like Adams recoiled at these doings, fearing their homogenizing and commercializing influence on the Society. However, it was not the voluntary format that Hicksites eschewed so much as the evangelical uses of it. Adams embraced the social system because it allowed him to preserve his personal (and still religious) code. If this was a libertarian impulse, he channeled it toward collaborative action. And if Orthodox Friends’ evangelical involvements constituted “a new definition of spiritual community in an industrializing society,” Adams’s non-sectarian voluntary associations had hit upon something similar.²²²

To make a “social burying ground,” Adams advised,

Take any convenient sized lot of ground, let it be as level as possible, either a square or an oblong. Let this be plowed, harrowed, and made perfectly level. Lay out a walk, say ten feet wide, through the middle, from north to south, gravel it and border it with turf, and another of like dimensions across the centre, at right angles, from east to west, and the outline is completed.²²³

These instructions stretched on for paragraphs, displaying the expertise of a veteran organizer. Lots were to measure eight by ten feet and be arranged in rows of two, separated by graveled walks. Each should be priced at ten dollars (payable in “four equal installments”) and convey the benefits of fee-simple tenure. As Adams explained, “lots may be decorated at the pleasure of

²²⁰ Dorsey, “Friends Becoming Enemies,” 399, 403. See also Sellers, *Market Revolution*, 30-31, 157-161, chap. 7. Sellers’ opposition between “arminian” and “antinomian” elements in this era tends to muddy rather than clarify the tensions at work in the Hicksite-Orthodox split. For instance, while the Orthodox espoused “arminian” ideas regarding the relationship between wealth and self-discipline, they were also suspicious of rationalism and sympathetic to evangelicalism. Hicksites, meanwhile, leaned toward egalitarianism *and* rationalism. So while Sellers follows many historians in pairing New Light evangelicalism with republican egalitarianism, this endeavor falls flat with the Quakers.

²²¹ “Reminiscences No. 34,” 126. On speculation as a putative antebellum taboo, see Cawelti, 49-51.

²²² Dorsey, “Friends Becoming Enemies,” 404 (quote), 406 (quote), 407, 410-414; Bronner, 347-348.

²²³ “Reminiscences, No. 35 [Extracts from the manuscript Biography and Diary of William Adams, from 1779 to 1858, continued],” *The Journal* 2, no. 17 (27 May 1874): 134.

the owner...the deed making no restrictions provided it is used for a place of burial. These lots are lettered and numbered, which [coordinates] are put into a wheel and drawn out as purchased by the owners.”

In setting forth a generic recipe for the mutual or “social” type, William Adams drew intuitively on republican spatial precepts. The social system was a mental image as much as a physical reality, and Adams carried it with him from site to site. Flatness, equivalence, and rectilinearity – these were the defining features. Topography “made perfectly level” suited land claims apportioned by lottery. Members would elect their board of directors annually, and that body would meet quarterly; their operations would be as transparent in principle as the layout of the landscape itself.

Parts of this package would have struck fellow Quakers as familiar. The systematic grid, the perimeter enclosure, and the superintendent’s house – all were visible at Western Burial Ground. Perhaps the clearest overlap came in the social grounds’ section for strangers: containing neat rows of single graves, this area looked like the Friends’ graveyard in microcosm. But here the similarities ended. Banned from Western Burial Ground, the family lot and private property were the basis of the institutions over which Adams presided. Whereas Friends had sought renewed conformity, Adams’s system fostered heterogeneity. Indeed, the whole spirit of the enterprise was different. Quakers arrived at decisions by gaining the unanimous “sense of the meeting.” Social cemeteries’ members were autonomous, self-acting voters.

Voluntary action arguably accomplished what Quakers had long resisted: the extension of stewardship to the dead. Even as Friends collectively continued to insist on spiritual insignificance of the corpse, individuals like Adams joined groups asserting the corpse’s need for protection. From a broader perspective, though, the Society had laid the groundwork for such measures. They had tested voluntary forms, outside of direct church oversight, long before most Americans. They had been leaders in developing institutions based on sympathy for the disadvantaged and oppressed. They had quietly admitted many outsiders into their graveyards. Most recently, they had even taken steps (caretakers’ houses, “range” burial) to secure and isolate dead bodies, suggesting the latter were in some sense sacrosanct.²²⁴ From the Quaker viewpoint, then, the biggest shift represented by social cemeteries was the decision to admit the market. Participants were now property owners, free to adorn and demarcate their lots.

Profusion and eclecticism were the result. Whatever his personal sumptuary code, Adams proudly described Philanthropic Burial Ground as a lavish collective achievement at: “Many members improved their lots by erecting marble monuments, enclosing them with chains, and planting roses and other beautiful flowers, so that our cemetery soon became ‘a wilderness of sweets,’ and was visited by thousands.”²²⁵ Philanthropic’s managers planted linden trees along the walks. If this gesture still inclined toward formality, the site achieved a softer aspect when Adams portrayed it through poetry: “See truth, love, and mercy in triumph descending / And

²²⁴ Arch Street Meeting apparently began housing a caretaker at the burial ground in 1804 (Arch Street Meeting House clippings, 17:158); this is the earliest use of such a building I have so far encountered.

²²⁵ “Reminiscences No. 34,” 126.

nature all glowing in Eden's first bloom / On the cold cheek of death, smiles and roses are blending / And beauty immortal awakes from the tomb!"²²⁶

Sociologist Colin Campbell has provocatively tied such imagery to the rise of the modern consumer ethos. The poem from which Adams quoted, James Beattie's *The Hermit* (1766), combines pleasurable melancholy with Christian hope. It is a testament to loss and the possibility of redemption, achieved through communion with a Nature that stands as the ultimate source of truth and humility. Calvinism, from which Quakers derived their stance toward the material world, would at first seem antithetical to such sentiments. And yet, Campbell argues, changes within Calvinist theology, especially those wrought by the Cambridge Platonists, supplied the crucial channels out of which Sentimentalism – and consumerist desire – emerged in the course of the eighteenth century.²²⁷ Quakers stood apart from these developments but were never wholly immune to them. In particular, Friends' emphasis on immediate revelation, the "cult of benevolence," and what might be termed sympathetic ecology predisposed them to habits of mind that drew imaginative pleasure-seeking out of asceticism and self-discipline.²²⁸

Friends' Western Burial ground offered little to the romantic consumer. Stark and orderly, it was a rational system designed to check the outward expression of self and family at a time when those urges were waxing. But if reason and order were ingrained in the Quaker personality, the

²²⁶ Ibid., 126. Adams quotes *The Hermit* by James Beattie (1735-1803). A poet studied by later Romantics, Beattie was a leading popularizer of Scottish Common Sense philosophy. While that school often exerted a conservative influence on American thought, its liberal and democratic elements may help explain its appeal to a Hicksite Quaker. A critic of Adams's day observed: "Beattie is among the philosophers what the Quaker is among religious sectaries. ...[C]ommon sense, is the spirit whose illapses he sits down and waits for, and by whose whispers alone he expects to be made wise" (Henry Francis Cary, *Lives of the English Poets, from Johnson to Kirke White, Designed as a Continuation of Johnson's Lives* [London: Henry G. Bohn, 1846], 310). As telling is Roy Harvey Pearce's later claim that Common Sense thought rendered "'rationalism, freedom, and individualism safe, even conservative'" (quoted in Terrence Martin, *The Instructed Vision: Scottish Common Sense Philosophy and the Origins of American Fiction* [Bloomington, IN: University of Bloomington Press, 1961], 4). See also Steven Mintz, *Moralists and Modernizers: America's Pre-Civil War Reformers* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1995), 19-20.

²²⁷ Campbell, 11-13, 72-76, chap. 6. Campbell is primarily concerned with how changes that occurred within English Puritanism between 1660 and 1760 gave rise to Sentimentalism in later decades. No one has conducted an analogous study of American Quakerism. The closest approximation is Tolles's *Meeting House and Counting House*, which focuses on the "complementary" Protestant Ethic of self-discipline and asceticism. Clearly, then, there are risks involved in drafting Campbell for my purposes. For instance, while deism plays an important part in Campbell's argument, colonial Quakers were much more inclined toward quietism. Nonetheless, both English and American Quakers were attuned to many of the shifts Campbell outlines, and their emphasis on the Inner Light may have made them especially susceptible to the sentimental turn Campbell outlines (see Campbell, 136).

²²⁸ Campbell, 135 (quote); Tolles, *Meeting House*, 211; Hugh Barbour and J. William Frost, *The Quakers* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1988), 19-20, 97-101; David Brooks Kelley, "The Evolution of Quaker Theology and the Unfolding of a Distinctive Quaker Ecological Perspective in Eighteenth-Century America," *Pennsylvania History* 52, no. 4 (October 1985): 242-253; David Brooks Kelley, "Friends and Nature in America: Toward an Eighteenth-Century Quaker Ecology," *Pennsylvania History* 53, no. 4 (October 1986): 257-272. For an early and telling example of Quaker interest in "Grave Yard meditations," see Frederick B. Tolles, "A Literary Quaker: John Smith of Burlington and Philadelphia," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 65, no. 3 (July 1941): 315. On the broader relevance of Campbell's argument to graveyard development in the Atlantic world, see Sarah Tarlow, "Romancing the Stones: the Graveyard Boom of the Later 18th Century," in *Grave Concerns*, 38-41.

1827 schism revealed their limitations.²²⁹ Chaos had reigned in the graveyard. A mechanism for enforcing unity had become a symbol of dissent, and the implications were strangely ambiguous. Hicksite or Orthodox, observers deplored the want of harmony. At the same time, departure from uniformity now seemed justifiable, perhaps even praiseworthy. Aesthetic variety and sensory pleasure might be admitted to the place of burial. William Adams, for one, described Union Burial Ground's "wilderness of sweets" in terms that suggested liberation.

For all its physical and linguistic adornments, Philanthropic Burial Ground still gave limited leeway to distinctions of wealth and class status. Founded in 1834, the institution resembled other social cemeteries, and its name implied that the ordeals of the potter's field and the high-priced churchyard lay, at best, in the recent past. Such places suited people of William Adams's outlook and means. Their prices were modest, their ideals were liberal, and their design suggested a kind of equivalence corresponding to the presumed neutrality of the market. More affluent consumers – or those less perturbed by commerce – might turn to Philadelphia Cemetery. A social cemetery in plan, James Ronaldson's institution charged over twice as much for lots, offered greater posthumous protections, and encouraged vault-style tombs. Another indication of this elevated status was the involvement of Roberts Vaux. Vaux was an Orthodox Quaker whose means had allowed him to make philanthropy a full-time pursuit.²³⁰ Best known for his role in promoting Philadelphia's public schools, he believed in helping the "deserving poor" but held them increasingly responsible for their own uplift. Philadelphia Cemetery, of which Vaux was a trustee, occupied the upper end of this reward system. Ostensibly designed to aid refugees from the potter's field, it aimed also lured wealthier customers. By the 1830s, established Pennsylvania clans such as the Irvines had built vaults there.²³¹

These financial and conceptual underpinnings made Philadelphia Cemetery a sort of hybrid. Like recent social cemeteries, it used the grid as means to reform, but mission and layout were slightly out of sync. Spatial neutrality was not the goal. Rather, as we have seen, Ronaldson and his collaborators used differential pricing and primitive zoning to make some "ranges" more equal than others.²³² In a sense, then, Ronaldson's was the first of the new cemeteries to manipulate the grid. While burial lots remained uniform in shape and size, the logic of interchangeability was compromised.

Other challenges came from the realm of feeling. Orthogonal subdivision fostered flux and exchange, converting land into an abstraction. Throughout the 1820s, this process retained both

²²⁹ On the Quaker "spirit of order" and its role in promoting "success in a 'rationalized' capitalist economy," see Tolles, *Meeting House*, 61. On Quaker rationalism more generally, see idem., 171-174, 210-212, and Barbour and Frost, 97-101.

²³⁰ Bruce Dorsey, *Reforming Men and Women: Gender in the Antebellum City* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2002), 68-71; Dorsey, "Friends Becoming Enemies," 421 (quote); *Philadelphia Cemetery. Copy of the Deeds of Trust, Charter, By-Laws, and List of Lot-Holders; with an Account of the Cemetery* [Philadelphia: Mifflin & Parry, pr., 1845], 5-7, 12, 14-16, 20-21. On Vaux, see also Barbour and Frost, 373-374; Roderick N. Ryon, "Moral Reform and Democratic Politics: The Dilemma of Roberts Vaux," *Quaker History* 59 (Spring 1970): 3-14.

²³¹ "Philadelphia Cemetery," *Ariel* 1, no. 2 (19 May 1827): 14; Nicholas B. Wainwright, *The Irvine Story* (Philadelphia: Historical Society of Pennsylvania, 1964), 23; John F. Watson and Willis P. Hazard, *Annals of Philadelphia, and Pennsylvania, In the Olden Time; Being a Collection of Memoirs, Anecdotes, and Incidents of the City and Its Inhabitants, and of the Earliest Settlements of the Inland Parts of Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia: Edwin S. Stewart, 1891), 3: 137.

²³² See chap. 1.

its instrumental and idealistic appeal, guiding the creation of row house lots as much as the layout of reformist cemeteries. Yet the same sensibilities that obscured the city plan's idealistic content came to bear with special force on the graveyard. The romantic celebration of rusticity and idiosyncrasy was also a yearning for fixity and rootedness; much as the middle-class house became a home – a “haven in a heartless world” – the tomb became a bastion against the banality and anomie with which the grid was increasingly associated.²³³ Market forces need not be the target of this critique. Deborah Logan effectively decried her sect's anti-commercial reforms when describing “that ugly Cemetery that Friends have out of town, where they bury in Rows, and you lie by Strangers.”²³⁴ Nonetheless, as the Age of Jackson commenced, the straight lines William Adams extolled began to suggest speculation to people of feeling.

The First True Homeland: Urban Chaos and the Rise of Laurel Hill Cemetery

When antebellum Americans worried about rapid change and the moral implications of prosperity, their anxieties gathered around recurring themes and images. Corporations, specifically those tied to finance and transportation, held particular metaphorical significance. President Jackson's war against the Bank of the United States and Nathaniel Hawthorne's “The Celestial Railroad” (1843) were only conspicuous examples of cultural trends that stretched back through the 1820s and crossed party lines as often as they reinforced them.²³⁵ Locally, these fixations animated specific rifts and struggles. They figured, somewhat bizarrely, in the rhetorical jousting that accompanied the Hicksite schism, even as members of both factions tested new corporate forms. They attached, of course, to the bank controversy, in which Philadelphians had a front-row seat. And they permeated the diary of Deborah Norris Logan, who vacillated between dismay and outrage as the Philadelphia, Germantown, and Norristown Railroad cut through her own and neighboring estates.²³⁶

²³³ Somkin, 92, 98-109; Blackmar, 106-113, 140; Appleby, “New Cultural Heroes,” 169, 182; Neil Harris, *The Artist in American Society: The Formative Years, 1790-1860* (New York: George Braziller, Inc., 1966), 205-206; Gary Laderman, *The Sacred Remains: American Attitudes Toward Death, 1799-1883* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996), 74; Michael Sappol, *A Traffic of Dead Bodies: Anatomy and Embodied Social Identity in Nineteenth-Century America* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002), 178-182; James J. Farrell *Inventing the American Way of Death, 1830-1920* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1980), 106-107.

²³⁴ Logan diary, 15:210 (5 July 1835). Logan does not specify the target of her criticism but it is almost certainly Friends' Western Burial Ground.

²³⁵ Meyers, 10-14, 24-28, 261-265; Kasson, 49-50; Somkin, 101, 199-200; Sellers, *Market Revolution*, 162-171. Sellers ties the rise of anti-bank sentiment and Jacksonian-democratic thought to the Panic of 1819. It is worth reiterating, however, that American attitudes towards business corporations were hardly limited to fears of concentrated economic power. Henry Clay went so far as to depict the joint-stock corporation as voluntarism's most egalitarian achievement: “Nothing could be more essentially democratic or better devised to counterpoise the influence of individual wealth” (quoted in Cawelti, 43). Clay, of course, was a Whig, and Whigs became the party of optimism where corporations were concerned; see Daniel Walker Howe, *The Political Culture of the American Whigs* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1979), 98-105.

²³⁶ Orthodox Friends claimed Hicksites had denigrated Bible societies by grouping them with “agricultural societies, horse racing, and canalling” (Dorsey, “Friends Becoming Enemies,” 419). In January of 1830, Logan wrote: “from Canals, railroads, roads-in-continuation and incorporated Companies of all kinds I pray to be delivered.” Such meditations are a staple of her diary from this point until mid 1832. On Logan's distaste for railroads, see also John Jay Smith, *Recollections*, 42; on the railroad itself, see Wainwright, “Age of Nicholas Biddle,” 272.

A related, though less-studied, motif is the opposition between bones and business. Visiting Rhode Island in 1837, English novelist Frederick Marryat came upon a burial ground through which a railroad had recently been run. This vision – “the sleepers of the railway laid over the sleepers in death” – became the basis of a powerful indictment. From it, Marryat extrapolated that Americans “grind down the bones of their ancestors for the sake of gain, and the consecrated earth is desecrated by the iron wheels, loaded with Mammon-seeking mortals.” James Fenimore Cooper concurred. Staging a dialogue between an English gentleman and his American host in *Home as Found* (1838), Cooper has the latter character ask his guest whether “in England, there are difficulties in running highways and streets through homesteads and dwellings; and...even a railroad or a canal is obliged to make a curve to avoid a churchyard or a tombstone?”²³⁷

Before this trope entered the realm of literature, it had surfaced repeatedly in newsprint. In growing cities like Philadelphia, the press routinely reported the disturbance of old graveyards, often in high-flown and moralistic tones. The *Public Ledger* prefaced one such story with the following editorial comments: “The *father*, whom we loved and revered – the *mother* whom we idolized, and whose fondest and purest emotions were lavished on our childhood, go down to the cold and silent grave – and there, after life’s fitful fever is over, *they should rest in peace*. Can we reconcile it to ourselves that their ashes should be polluted by the ruffian touch of the speculator, the sordid wretch, who...violates the sanctuary of the dead, impelled alone to the unnatural act by mercenary considerations[?]”²³⁸

Similar sentiments accompanied the creation of new burial places in old sections of the city. Here, the issue was not simply avarice but also what contemporaries perceived as contempt for public health. As *The Mechanic’s Free Press*, a newly formed organ of working-class thought, explained to concerned readers:

When the present cemeteries were laid out, no habitation was near, but now they are generally surrounded by a dense population, admonished to provide for the growing evil. Instead, however, of doing so, such is the nature of man, that ten vaults have just been built in Fourth Street, each to contain 25 bodies, some of whom must *decay adjoining a kitchen from which they are divided by only a wall!!!* This in the very centre of the city, in the year 1830!²³⁹

The shock and disgust that accompanied such exposés tended to exaggerate the novelty of the problem. After all, respectable Philadelphians had found the presence of dead paupers distasteful since the yellow fever epidemics of the 1790s and had begun concerted efforts to segregate land uses at that time. What reformers captured accurately was the accelerating pace of development

²³⁷ Marryat, *Diary in America* (1837-1838), and Cooper, *Home as Found* (1838), as discussed in Somkin, 101-102. See also Edward North, “The Proper Expression of a Rural Cemetery,” *Horticulturist* n.s. 7, no. 6 (June 1857): 253-254; Thomas Bender, “The ‘Rural’ Cemetery Movement: Urban Travail and the Appeal of Nature,” *New England Quarterly* 47 (June 1974): 198, 201-202; Boyer, 73.

²³⁸ “Violation of the Dead,” *Public Ledger*, 2 April 1836. Such diatribes would continue for decades. For a later example, see “Sanctity of the Grave,” Philadelphia *Sunday Dispatch*, 23 November 1851; (my thanks to Andrew Heath for supplying me with this source).

²³⁹ “Burials in the City,” *Mechanic’s Free Press*, 13 February 1830 (italics as in the original text). My thanks to Matthew Osborn for bringing this article to my attention. On the *Mechanic’s Free Press* and its audience, see Blumin, *Emergence of the Middle Class*, 122-123.

and the friction it caused between two increasingly domesticated realms of urban life. On one side stood the nuclear family, conceived as an embattled unit. On the other lay this family's dead counterpart, tied to the living through bonds of sympathy but menacing them with disease. Historians have tended to emphasize the latter half of this equation, locating "hygienic danger" at the intersection of medical science and emergent bourgeois sensibilities. The focus is understandable. Nationally, Americans were as perturbed as ever by miasma, and, locally, an 1832 cholera epidemic raised a new round of sanitary concerns. (By October of that year, some 2,314 Philadelphians had contracted the disease).²⁴⁰ These fears, however, were inseparable from, and often secondary to, diffuse anxieties about loss and displacement. It was that broader malaise – what we might term a sense of homelessness – that most clearly tied death and domesticity to new patterns of urban development.

The massive growth spurt that commenced in Philadelphia around 1830 engulfed older portions of the city. Eighteenth-century land-use patterns were often obliterated by the tide, and those that remained could seem puzzlingly out of place. Graveyards were probably the most obvious case in point. The earliest still clustered between Second and Fifth Streets, marking shifts in the colonial periphery, but Sixth Street now stood at the center of town. Reformed-minded pamphleteers who decried this situation nonetheless felt obliged to explain its historical origins in order to "redeem the character of the early settlers from an imputation of thoughtlessness."²⁴¹

As urban property values rose, the dead were either displaced or packed more closely around the living. The resulting "contest over space" created conflicting emotional responses. On one hand, the evicted body became an object of sympathy, especially among surviving friends and family. (Most famously articulated by Adam Smith, the notion of a sympathetic bond between the dead and the living remained popular in the 1830s, albeit sometimes in forms Smith himself would hardly have recognized). On the other, the newly proximate corpse generated fears of disease. Such opposing attitudes cast human remains as simultaneously threatened and threatening, the victims of mercenary motives and agents of the same.²⁴² While inclining toward the latter position, *The Mechanic's Free Press* informant captured some of this ambivalence as he continued:

²⁴⁰ Blanche Linden-Ward, *Silent City on a Hill: Landscapes of Memory and Boston's Mount Auburn Cemetery* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1989), 8, 31, 146, 149-153; David Charles Sloane, *The Last Great Necessity: Cemeteries in American History* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1991), 28-29, 34-39; Laderman, 9 (quote), 69-70; Wainwright, "Age of Nicholas Biddle," 299; Scharf and Westcott, 1:630-631. For a health-centered analysis of Philadelphia's early rural cemetery movement, see Augustine Nigro, "The Origins of Laurel Hill Cemetery," *Proteus* 19, no. 1 (January 2002): 51-54.

²⁴¹ Atticus [Isaac Collins?], *Hints on the Subject of Interments within the City of Philadelphia: Addressed to the Serious Consideration of the Members of Councils, Commissioners of the Districts, and Citizens Generally* (Philadelphia: William Brown, pr., 1838), 6. The authorship of this oft-quoted pamphlet is discussed, somewhat ambiguously, by Smith in his "Memoranda" on the founding of Laurel Hill Cemetery, 20 April 1838. On early graveyards and later city growth, see also Torres, 49-51; Wainwright, "Age of Nicholas Biddle," 281; Warner, *Private City*, chap. 3.

²⁴² Laderman, 44 (quotation); Sappol, 15, 17-18, 27-28, 79, 87; Esther Schor, *Bearing the Dead: The British Culture of Mourning from the Enlightenment to Victoria* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1994), 5-6, 20; Robert S. Cox, *Body and Soul: A Sympathetic History of American Spiritualism* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2003), 27-31, 97-98. The apparent contest between the living and the dead was, of course, a rivalry between land uses. As such, it may be understood as a facet of what Dell Upton calls the "competitive landscape" ("Another City," 64, 95-104).

But it seems the dead demand still greater accommodation, offers being made for lots in Spruce street between Fourth and Fifth, and between Sixth and Seventh streets, for small lots for cemeteries; whether on speculation or for the better accommodation of those who admire “the pomp of woe”...I am not informed; but all must agree that it is become necessary to prevent opening new burial grounds in the city.

Journalistic crusades alone were unlikely to change the situation. Burial outside the city’s confines was still associated with poverty, and though local publications sometimes sang the praises of Père Lachaise, the famous garden cemetery outside Paris, neither civic leaders nor private entrepreneurs seemed strongly inclined to proceed along those lines.²⁴³ Mutual or social cemeteries were Philadelphia’s answer to the travails of urban burial. Some newspapers even suggested the social system had replicated the chief benefits of Père Lachaise.²⁴⁴ By the mid 1830s, there were four such institutions – five if one counted Ronaldson’s. None stood much beyond the reach of development. Most, in fact, were being engulfed by it, just as their colonial predecessors had been. Despite this predictable pattern, the push for an alternative was slow-building.

Eventually, though, two trends did lead Philadelphians to pursue extra-urban alternatives. One commenced abruptly with the founding of Boston’s Mount Auburn Cemetery. Opened in 1831, Mount Auburn sprang from scientific interest in sanitation and horticulture, as well as from the elegiac view of death that had come to dominate so much of Euro-American culture. Commemorative elements of the English garden were recast with an eye to French precedent, specifically to Père Lachaise. Some ten miles from Boston, a “garden of graves” took root on a wooded piece of farmland, launching a far-reaching experiment in landscape design, collective memory, and burial reform that scholars have since dubbed the “rural” cemetery movement.²⁴⁵

The second trend grew out of the older local project of removing the dead from good neighborhoods. Philadelphians had long sent deceased “strangers” to remote locations.

²⁴³ A crucial exception appears to have been Benjamin W. Richards. Having served as Mayor of Philadelphia for a brief period in 1829 and for full terms in 1830 and 1831, Richards traveled to Europe in hopes of improving his health. There he encountered Père Lachaise, and, according to several sources, was inspired to promote a similar institution for Philadelphia on his return. In November of 1835, Richards discussed plans for an extramural cemetery with John Jay Smith, his fellow board member at the Girard Life and Trust Company. This conversation led ultimately to the founding of Laurel Hill Cemetery. See Henry Simpson, *Lives of Eminent Philadelphians, Now Deceased* (Philadelphia: William Brotherhead, 1859), s.v. “Benjamin W. Richards”; Louis Richards, “A Sketch of Some of the Descendants of Owen Richards, Who Emigrated to Pennsylvania Previous to 1718,” *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 6, no. 1 (1882): 84; John Jay Smith, “Memoranda,” [after 14] November, 1835.

²⁴⁴ “Paris, from Pere la Chaise,” *Atlantic Souvenir* (1826): 55-63; “Cemetery of Pere la Chaise,” *Philadelphia Monthly Magazine* 1, no. 2 (November 1827): 96-97; untitled article, *Saturday Evening Post*, 19 August 1826; “Moyamensing,” *Atkinson’s Saturday Evening Post*, 14 September 1833. The latter article called Ronaldson’s Cemetery “a second Pere la Chaise; each individual being at liberty to consult his taste in the embellishments of his own narrow plot, produces, by continual contrast, a scene at once pleasing to the uninterested, and doubly grateful to the heart of one whose friend reposes in its bosom.”

²⁴⁵ While the literature on Mount Auburn is substantial, Linden-Ward’s monograph remains the only in-depth treatment. Sloane offers useful insights (chap. 3), as does Schuyler, *New Urban Landscape*, chap. 3, and Tamara Plakins Thornton, *Cultivating Gentlemen: The Meaning of County Life among the Boston Elite 1785—1860* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989), 166-168.

Washington Square stood capped-off and re-landscaped – made safe for surrounding development. More recently, Northeast (renamed Franklin) Square had undergone a similar treatment. A tall fence had risen, trees had been planted, and a monument to Washington was planned. The potter's field, then, had left the old city, replaced by commemorative gestures and greenery.²⁴⁶ But if dead paupers were banished from core, it was respectable bodies – both dead and living – that would soon travel farthest from town.

Fears of displacement were on the rise. Newspaper reports of graveyard “violations” continued, and one incident in particular brought the chorus to a crescendo. In March of 1836, the city's German Reformed Church embarked on an ambitious redevelopment project. Long accustomed to burying members in Northeast Square (see Chap. 1), the congregation had obtained a second parcel at Sixteenth and Arch Streets in 1801 and had watched its value rise. State lawmakers had granted the land as a graveyard but now church trustees saw an opportunity. With the Legislature's consent, they moved to sell off a strip fronting Arch Street as building lots and began exhuming the dead accordingly. Reaction was swift and decisive. A crowd of angry friends and relatives of the deceased gathered at the site. They broke tools, obstructed work, and staged a “riot” which the new penny press, delighted by the scandal, considered “greatly palliated by the circumstances.”²⁴⁷

The spectacle was all too familiar. Quaker struggles at Western Burial Ground lay in recent memory and, by coincidence, had occurred across the street. Now, though, it was “sordid cupidity,” not sectarian strife, that commanded public attention. Newspapers suggested that local businessman George Lloyd had arranged to buy the contested property on behalf of English investors. This detail was bound to fire readers' imaginations, for it put faceless corporate interests behind the assault on a sacred “last resting place.” Could “the moral sense of the

²⁴⁶ In several key respects, the re-making of Philadelphia's public squares anticipated the city's rural cemetery movement. The first was a turn towards patriotic commemoration manifested in the 1825 renaming of all four outer squares after heroes of the republic: George Washington, Benjamin Franklin, James Logan, and David Rittenhouse. (Local heroes of national stature were naturally preferred, as they would be in schemes for a commemorative pyramid at Laurel Hill Cemetery. But Washington's memory transcended such parochial impulses: Laurel Hill founder Benjamin W. Richards had led the crusade for a Washington Monument at Franklin Square in the early 1830s). In the case of Washington Square, the presence of Revolutionary War dead made this shift seem especially poignant. The other crucial similarities involved enclosure and landscaping. In 1818, “Washington Public Square,” as it was called in this transitional period, was entirely redesigned (see Chap. 1). Gradually, a similar scheme materialized at Franklin Square, where the trees were lauded for “present[ing] a wilder and more picturesque appearance” than those in the other three quadrants (*A Guide to the Lions of Philadelphia; Comprising a Description of the Places of Amusement, Exhibitions, Public Buildings, Public Squares, &c. in the City; and of the Places of Public Resort and Objects of Interest and Curiosity in the Environs* [Philadelphia: Thomas A. Ash and Co., 1837], 34). See also *A Digest of the Ordinances of the Corporation of the City of Philadelphia, and of the Acts of Assembly Relating Thereto* (Philadelphia: S. C. Atkinson, pr., 1834), 201-204; Thomas Porter, *Picture of Philadelphia, from 1811 to 1831. Giving an Account of the Improvements of the City During that Period* (Philadelphia: Robert Desilver, 1831), 2:53-54; “Washington Monument,” *Hazard's Register of Pennsylvania*, 30 June 1832; *Proposals for Erecting a Monument, by Subscription, in the Laurel Hill Cemetery, Commemorative of Native Genius and Worth, as Exemplified in the Life and Writings of the Late David Rittenhouse, Thomas Godfrey, Alexander Wilson, and Thomas Say, Citizens of Philadelphia*, (Philadelphia: [n. p.], 1836); Edward P. Allinson and Boies Penrose, *Philadelphia, 1681-1887: A History of Municipal Development* (Baltimore: Publication Agency of the Johns Hopkins University, 1887), 79-82.

²⁴⁷ “Violation of the Dead,” *Public Ledger*, 2 April 1836 (quote); Torres, 153; John Jay Smith, “Memoranda,” 15 June 1836.

community” allow the dead “to give room to the foreign speculator to erect his mansion, or his bank, or what not”? Equally unsettling was the fate of the disinterred. Some had been cared for by friends. “[F]or the rest a trench was dug, and in it were thrown in one disgusting mass, their skeletons.” And there was more. The *Public Ledger* reported that empty coffins had surfaced during the excavations, implicating the church sexton in bodysnatching. A story of routine development became a parable about the commodification of land and bodies.²⁴⁸

By the time the church-lot scandal hit, plans were under way for a sanctum from such travails. This was Laurel Hill Cemetery, located some three miles northwest of the city on the eastern bank of the Schuylkill (**Fig. 7**). Laurel Hill was the second major “rural” cemetery in the United States. Inspired, in part, by Mount Auburn, it offered bucolic views and tree-lined walks that suggested escape and asylum. Symbolic distance from the city contributed to this effect. While visitors could glimpse the world of commerce from afar, their more proximate views were of the river – an element associated since antiquity with passage to a promised land.²⁴⁹

Even before Laurel Hill opened, its proposed (and imagined) infrastructure fell subject to public scrutiny. Newspaper readers knew they could expect “all the appropriate ornaments and guards.”²⁵⁰ Some worried, however, about intrusion. As threatening as bodysnatching was the prospect open competition. Might not a landscape dedicated to quiet veneration become a venue for luxurious display? Tellingly, these fears focused on talk of a carriage drive. Carriage access seemed bound to make the place “a public promenade,” conducive to “misplaced and unmeaning ostentation.” Rather than courting such impulses, one reader suggested, cemetery founders should apply their start-up capital to high walls and “natural beauties.”²⁵¹

²⁴⁸ “Violation of the Dead,” *Public Ledger*, 2 April 1836; “Disturbing the Dead! – Awful Disclosures!!” *Public Ledger*, 4 April 1836.

²⁴⁹ To date, there are no in-depth published studies of Laurel Hill Cemetery. The site’s architecture and landscape are discussed in Constance M. Greiff, *John Notman, Architect* (Philadelphia: Athenaeum of Philadelphia, 1979), 18-19, 53-60, and Keith N. Morgan, “The Emergence of the American Landscape Professional: John Notman and the Design of Rural Cemeteries,” *Journal of Garden History* 4, no. 3 (1984): 269-281; (the latter is an early and important study but is marred by factual errors). On Laurel Hill’s meanings to antebellum America’s mainstream Protestant culture, see Colleen McDannell, “The Religious Symbolism of Laurel Hill Cemetery,” *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 111, no. 3 (July 1987): 275-303. The most recent overview of the cemetery’s design and reception is Aaron V. Wunsch, “Addendum to Laurel Hill Cemetery,” HABS No. PA-1811, Historic American Buildings Survey, National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior, 1999. On the vexed relationship between rural cemeteries and cities, see the contrasting interpretations presented in Bender, 196-211, and Upton, *Another City*, 231-232. Bender correctly highlights the anti-mercenary rhetoric surrounding rural cemeteries but verges on confusing this posture with anti-urbanism. Upton challenges Bender’s assumptions, pointing to the grid’s persistence in the rural cemetery and claiming the latter “was a fully urban place” (232).

²⁵⁰ “Laurel Hill Cemetery,” *United States Gazette*, 2 March 1836.

²⁵¹ Unsigned letter to the Editor, *National Gazette*, 11 March 1836 (quote); “The Laurel Hill Cemetery,” *United States Gazette*, 12 March 1836. See also “Laurel Hill,” *Godey’s Lady’s Book* 28, no. 10 (March 1844): 107, where Laurel Hill is conclusively deemed free of “pomp and noise, [and] the glitter of metropolitan processions.” The perceived need to present the rural cemetery as the antithesis of the promenade ran deep in this period. Both landscapes represented a kind of public space based on exclusivity and mutual recognition among the urban bourgeoisie but, far more than the promenade, the cemetery was meant to bolster the sense of “moral collectivity” on which bourgeois identity was based. More than the promenade, then, the rural cemetery needed to be coded as private, even as the rhetoric of unity and harmony reached new heights. On these tensions, see David Scobey, “Anatomy of the Promenade: the Politics of Bourgeois Sociability in Nineteenth-Century New York,” *Social History* 17, no. 2 (May 1992): 205-206, 211-214, 219; Karen Halttunen, *Confidence Men and Painted Women: A Study of Middle-Class Culture in America, 1830-1870* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1982), especially chap.

Laurel Hill's promoters understood these misgivings. While they finessed the question of carriage access – “drives” had been used “in the technical sense employed in gardening, where it means *wide walks*” — they dwelt upon long-term stability.²⁵² Company-sponsored improvements would be “of a solid and *permanent* character.” They would, of course, include a wall. While removing old Lombardy poplars (now deemed “so happily out of fashion”), managers planned to add sturdy and therapeutic species like those surrounding the Pennsylvania Hospital.²⁵³ Burial lots would be sold in fee-simple, enhancing owners' control of their property. Referring to Laurel Hill's trustees, one early lot-holder observed: “From these gentlemen will emanate the deeds which convey lots in perpetuity, the same as in the deed of a house or a farm.”²⁵⁴ A “permanent fund,” created by a surcharge on lot sales, would support future maintenance of the grounds. Finally, when the state legislature approved the venture, lawmakers addressed a perennial public concern. According to the cemetery's 1837 charter, “no streets or roads shall hereafter be opened through the lands of the said corporation” except with managerial consent.²⁵⁵

The physical character of the site bespoke permanence, too. It did so, however, through the venerable appearance of buildings and plantings rather than through their specific history. Laurel Hill, from which the cemetery took its name, had been the country seat of merchant Joseph Sims. Built partly on land speculation, Sims' fortune dissolved in the crisis of 1823 and the resulting bankruptcy had forced him to dispose of his estate through sheriff's sale. Despite this traumatic transition, Sims' villa, outbuildings, and horticultural embellishments remained on the property. They supplied an atmospheric sense of the past to which company literature added few details.²⁵⁶

At last, a new homeland was emerging. Its essence was not anti-urban but extra-urban, its ethos not anti-business but anti-materialist. A columnist for the Saturday *Chronicle* speculated that

5. Closely bound up with the cemetery's privatism was its symbolic distance from fashion and commerce. Funerals were seen as particularly vulnerable. One writer urged: “Let [the funeral] not become a sort of temporary bazar [sic], where undertakers, and tailors, and mantua-makers, and milliners, *et id genus omne*, do congregate, to consult upon the last fashion that the ‘mockery of woe’ has assumed” ([J. Brazer], “Rural Cemeteries,” *North American Review* 53, no. 113 [October 1841]: 400.)

²⁵² Letter to the Editor signed PUBLIC GOOD, *National Gazette*, 14 March 1836. The letter's frankly promotional tone points to John Jay Smith as the author. Further evidence for this theory comes from Smith's assertion that he had free access to the *Gazette*'s editorial rooms in this period (*Recollections*, 190).

²⁵³ *Poulson's Daily Advertiser*, 30 June 1836; letter to *National Gazette*, 14 March 1836.

²⁵⁴ “The Laurel Hill Cemetery,” *United States Gazette*, 12 March 1836. The protection that stemmed from fee-simple ownership was further enhanced by managers' refusal to allow resale of lots without their consent. Another columnist observed: “This part of the provision effectively preserves the property from the desecrating grasp of creditors, who have been hard-hearted enough, even in this city of brotherly love, to sell the lots of their creditors in other grounds at auction, in which the remains of a parent had been deposited” (“Laurel Hill Cemetery,” *Public Ledger*, 12 June 1844).

²⁵⁵ *Laws of the General Assembly of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, Passed at the Session of 1836-1837* (Harrisburg: Theo. Fenn, 1837), 16.

²⁵⁶ On Sims' rise and fall, see Tinkcom (Foster), 393; John Jay Smith, [Recollections], MS copy at the Library Company of Philadelphia, 1:379; Abraham Ritter, *Philadelphia and Her Merchants, as Constituted Fifty @ Seventy Years Ago* (Philadelphia: published by the author, 1860), 53-54. On Sims' legacy at Laurel Hill, see [John Jay Smith], *Guide to Laurel Hill Cemetery, Near Philadelphia* (Philadelphia: C. Sherman, 1844), 12; Wunsch, “Laurel Hill Cemetery,” 12-13.

every citizen of Philadelphia, “in a reflecting spirit, must have thought, sometimes, as he was jostled by the busy crowds that swarm its streets, ‘where are all these people to find burial places?’” The answer, naturally, was Laurel Hill. There, property would shield self and family from the harshest aspects of urbanization. All too familiar with “recent instances of cupidity in making the dead give way to the living, by selling the graves and removing the bones of the deceased, the threatening to run streets through other grounds, the contests for legal rights between congregations and the corporation of the city,” readers must agree that “the ownership of a family receptacle is a consoling idea when we contemplate our descent to the tomb.” That opportunity was at hand. The sense of kinship spawned by unity of purpose – “we feel that we are one of a great family, all traveling to the same goal” – might now reach its full expression in a refuge “where the rude and desecrating plough of the street maker, guided by the hand of the god of money-getting, may not come.”²⁵⁷

Both founders and early lot-buyers envisioned Laurel Hill as an orderly institution. The basis of that order – individually owned lots and non-sectarian oversight – had been anticipated by social cemeteries. While this was not a precedent managers wished to advertise, they did acknowledge that James Ronaldson had “prepared the public mind for the innovation on established usages.”²⁵⁸ In fact, many tendencies first apparent at Philadelphia Cemetery were more fully articulated in its suburban successor. John Jay Smith, Laurel Hill’s principal projector, came to the venture from a background in editing and librarianship. Like Ronaldson, Smith assembled reform-minded members of the city’s business elite (two already sat with him on the board of the Girard Trust Company), and together they set up a partnership that sought middling-to-affluent customers.²⁵⁹ Specific features owed something to Ronaldson, too. Scottish architect John Notman gave Laurel Hill a prominent gatehouse: a great arch flanked by two heated lodges (**Fig. 8**). While Notman favored Roman Revivalism over Ronaldson’s spare neoclassicism, the underlying concept was similar.

Other elements, however, made Laurel Hill radically new. The most obvious were size and location. Situated far out on Ridge Road, one of the city’s first turnpikes, the venture was “removed beyond the probable approach of active business or private dwellings.” A recent omnibus line from the city made such remoteness feasible, though still fairly inconvenient. Here, too, there was more open land. Of the thirty-two acres purchased, twenty were deemed suitable for cemetery use. This was small compared to Mount Auburn and tracts claimed by later rural cemeteries, but it still dwarfed Ronaldson’s city block.²⁶⁰ Topography set Laurel Hill

²⁵⁷ “A Rural Cemetery for Philadelphia,” *Saturday Chronicle*, as reprinted by John Jay Smith in *Waldie’s Port Folio and Companion to the Select Circulating Library*, 1836 pt. 1, no. 12 (4 June 1836): 191.

²⁵⁸ Upton, “Gridding the Graveyard,” 39, 43; [John Jay Smith], *Guide to Laurel Hill* (1844 ed.), 11 (quote). Laurel Hill’s founders drew on Ronaldson’s land tenure arrangements as well: Philadelphia Cemetery’s deed of trust inspired early drafts of the same instrument at Laurel Hill. See various documents in folder 4, Dunn – Osborn – Battey Family Papers, Ms. Coll. 1163, Haverford College Special Collections

²⁵⁹ John Jay Smith, “Memoranda,” [after 14] November 1835, John Jay Smith, *Recollections*, 102, 296; *Girard Trust Company: A Century of Financial Activity* (Philadelphia: Edward Stern & Co., pr., 1936), 3-7. Managers of Girard Trust (then the “Girard Beneficial Association”) who migrated to Laurel Hill included Smith, druggist Frederick Brown, and former Philadelphia Mayor Benjamin W. Richards. Smith’s partner in literary publishing, Adam Waldie, was also on Girard’s board.

²⁶⁰ [John Jay Smith], *Guide to Laurel Hill* (1844 ed.), 11 (quote); *United States Gazette*, 12 March 1836; Wunsch, “Laurel Hill Cemetery,” 12, 20. On the history and reach of Ridge Road, see also Edwin Iwanicki, “The Village of the Falls of Schuylkill,” *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 91, no. 3 (July 1967): 326-328, 338.

further apart. Social cemeteries had valued flatness and equivalence. While James Ronaldson had compromised that ideal, Smith and his collaborators self-consciously inverted it. Rejecting another property as “too near the city” and “too level for picturesque effect,” they settled on the Sims estate because of its mature trees, rolling lawns, and rocky descent to the Schuylkill.²⁶¹ The site posed an obvious challenge. Straight lines were the surveyor’s stock and trade. Here, the terrain made that work difficult, and the managers had chosen a plan that further accentuated irregularity. What emerged was a careful compromise (**Fig. 9**). A large carriage road made a circuit through the grounds, forming a sort of contorted oval. Major footpaths were more assertively serpentine, but lesser ones curved gently. At the smallest scale, the layout burial lots took shape as a bending grid.²⁶²

The project was capital-intensive. Reassured by the choice of location, China merchant Nathan Dunn agreed to finance the \$15,200 land purchase in early 1836. A year later, his down payment, mortgage installments, and expenditures for improvements totaled \$32, 618.79.²⁶³ Dunn was willing to shoulder these costs and future ones, too, provided he be reimbursed, with interest, from the profits arising from lot sales. That process, however, advanced gradually. While social cemeteries sold an eight-foot-by-ten-foot lot for around ten dollars, Laurel Hill’s plan precluded uniform pricing. A convoluted template devised by Notman and surveyor Philip Price, it took painstaking work with a transit. (In the first fiscal year, Price and his partner, Joseph Fox, received \$907.26 compared to Notman’s \$168.12).²⁶⁴

But if saleable land emerged slowly, the incentives were commensurately high. Ordinary burial lots encompassed about 120 square feet. At fifty cents per square foot, plus a surcharge for maintenance, the cost of an entry-level family lot came to seventy dollars. In some zones, prices edged higher. The principal example was a geometrically divided area known as The Shrubbery. Located at the cemetery’s center and planted with various evergreens, it followed landscape gardener Humphry Repton’s French-inspired designs for flower gardens on English estates. Here, land ran to seventy-five cents per square foot and lots were sold in clusters; (these cost either \$272.50 or \$535.00 depending on their size and position). Another high-premium location was Section G. This area stretched out toward the Schuylkill from the Sims mansion’s piazza. Combining domestic grandeur with spectacular vistas, its lots could command a dollar per foot despite their rigidly grid-bound arrangement.²⁶⁵

²⁶¹ John Jay Smith, “Memoranda,” [after 14] November 1835.

²⁶² Upton, “Gridding the Graveyard,” 40-42; Wunsch, “Laurel Hill Cemetery,” 17.

²⁶³ MS Minutes of the Laurel Hill Cemetery Company, 1 March 1836 (Laurel Hill Cemetery Co. Archives, LHC hereafter), John Jay Smith, “Memoranda,” 1 March 1836; “Statement of the cost of Real Estate and improvements at Laurel Hill Cemetery from Feb. 26. 1836 to Feb. 26. 1837...,” MS account sheet (LHC).

²⁶⁴ On contractor and architect fees, see “Statement of the cost of Real Estate and improvements...” Laurel Hill’s ground plan came into being through a complex and synthetic process, making it difficult to isolate individual contributions; (see Wunsch, “Laurel Hill Cemetery,” 17-19). Following the lead of Keith N. Morgan (1973), architectural historians have identified Henry Edward Kendall’s designs for London’s Kensal Green Cemetery as the basis for Laurel Hill’s ground plan and buildings. There are indeed formal resemblances but none strong enough to make the claim irrefutable. It seems as likely that Notman and Price simply drew upon current English fashions in architecture and landscape, notably the “Gardenesque” mode indebted to Humphry Repton and promoted by John Claudius Loudon.

²⁶⁵ On lot prices, see Laurel Hill’s Sales Book No. 1 and Cash Book No. 1 (LHC); on Repton’s use of circular planting beds, see Mark Laird, “*Corbeille, Parterre and Treillage: the Case of Humphry Repton’s Penchant for the French Style of Planting*,” *Journal of Garden History* 16, no. 3 (Autumn 1996): 155 – 159. The Shrubbery was both

It was significant that Laurel Hill, unlike Mount Auburn, was still substantially a grid. Despite views and descriptions that emphasized picturesque appearances, the near-rectilinear partition of land revealed the essential homology with reform cemeteries in general and Philadelphia's in particular.²⁶⁶ Yet the capital and labor invested in contorting that orthogonal framework were important, too. James Ronaldson had used a kind of primitive zoning to challenge the grid's spatial logic. His suburban successors now carried that project from rules into plans – that is, into the contours of the landscape.

Curving forms, treated in the abstract, had a long pedigree in British aesthetic theory. William Hogarth had extolled the S-curve in his *Analysis of Beauty* (1753) as a kind of timeless pose that sculptors and painters might apply to their subjects, lifting the resulting work of art beyond the vagaries of fashion. Related celebrations of smoothness and undulation appeared in Edmund Burke's *Philosophical Inquiry into the Origin of Our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful* (1757) and in the projects of Lancelot "Capability" Brown, mid-eighteenth-century England's foremost landscape designer. Laurel Hill's creators were probably familiar with these authors, if not directly then through the many nineteenth-century publications that drew on them. John Jay Smith's Library Company owned works by Humphry Repton and J. C. Loudon, and there is good reason to believe the librarian availed himself of them at the time of Laurel Hill's conception.²⁶⁷

But, whatever the weight of such precedents, their specific meanings were nudged aside by a generalized, genteel notion of rusticity that pervaded discussions of the site. There was something anti-mercenary about the curve. Laurel Hill's gently undulating landforms were alleged to cultivate "the most refined and devout feelings of the heart, separating them awhile from the world, and elevating them to those spiritual associations which should ever be connected

a locus of expensive lots and a point from which value radiated. Adjacent lots in other sections (originally conceived as parts of The Shrubbery?) could command the same prices, especially when grouped together in "leaves" (e.g., that sold to William D. Lewis, 14 December 1836).

²⁶⁶ Upton, "Gridding the Graveyard," 39-47. The dissimilarity to Mount Auburn is made clear in Linden-Ward, *Silent City*, 199 and endpapers; Jacob Bigelow, *A History of the Cemetery of Mount Auburn* (Boston: James Munroe and Co., 1860), 118. Looking back on Mount Auburn's original design with some regret, Bigelow noted: "The lots, also, were placed... frequently where the purchasers chose to have them, without regard to the economy of the land, or to the size and shape of the intermediate spaces. The experience of late years has induced the Trustees to make both the paths and the lots more parallel to each other, and with as little space between them as is consistent with their good appearance."

²⁶⁷ Margaretta M. Lovell, *Art in a Season of Revolution: Painters, Artisans, and Patrons in Early America* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2005), 130-131; Judith K. Major, *To Live in the New World: A. J. Downing and American Landscape Gardening* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1997), 47-49, 82-83; 95-96; Bushman, *Refinement of America*, 72, 97-98; George B. Tatum, "The Emergence of an American School of Landscape Design," *Historic Preservation* 25, no. 2 (April-June 1973): 36; Greiff, 19; Wunsch, "Laurel Hill Cemetery," 17. At the time of Laurel Hill's founding, the Library Company of Philadelphia, where John Jay Smith presided as Librarian, owned copies of Humphry Repton's *Observations on the Theory and Practice of Landscape Gardening* (London: J. Taylor, 1803) and John Claudius Loudon's *Encyclopedia of Cottage, Farm, and Villa Architecture and Furniture* (London: Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown, Green and Longman, 1833). Repton's illustration of the entrance to Harewood (p. 144) foreshadows Laurel Hill's gatehouse in its tripartite entrances, balustrade and fluted columns. The resemblance is enhanced by a window and niche penciled into the Library Company copy (by Smith?). Loudon's design for a "double Roman lodge" (Fig. 1785) is still closer to Notman's. Suggestively, the page on which this building appears (999) is missing from the Library Company's copy.

with death.” The contrast with conventional urban burial was clear. Rather than risk disinterment, the nuclear family’s dead members could here “repose side by side, undisturbed by the changing interests of man.”²⁶⁸ Twelve years earlier, John F. Watson had alleged that Trade had “chang’d the scene” in his city. Now, that city’s “rural” counterpart held out those “inequalities of surface” and concomitant sense of kinship the loss of which Watson had so openly bemoaned.

In a sense, Laurel Hill’s high prices and remote location underwrote this emergent sense of community. Never before in Philadelphia’s history had the city’s upper strata purchased so many valuable lots lying so close together and so far out of town. Yet it was privacy and domesticity, rather than naked exclusivity, that gave the cemetery its principal appeal. Modest lots in less desirable sections were within reach of the city’s emergent middle class. There was even a small area set aside for single interments. As for visitor access, early rules sounded almost like sumptuary laws. Only lot-holders’ carriages were allowed on the grounds, and *all* carriages were banned on Sundays. Early fears of ostentatious promenading received at least partial indulgence.²⁶⁹

The more effective means of social sorting were also more informal. Walking trips to the cemetery were arduous; riding horseback or, eventually, traveling by steamboat, proved more popular. Trips by omnibus were getting cheaper but still required planning. Citing an institutional analogy that must have unsettled some readers, a local reporter explained: “these vehicles, which are now to be hired at so reasonable a rate and which twice a week carry hundreds of medical students to the new Alms House, can be procured to attend funerals by those to whom expense is a consideration, and the most desirable part of the project is that it will gradually tend to break up the system of indiscriminate attendance at interments, a subject of which I say but little, but which has pained many reflecting minds.”²⁷⁰

Themes of refinement and reflection, high-mindedness and humility pervaded rural cemetery literature. That these genteel ideals and the sense of “moral collectivity” that accompanied them had found a new sort of homeland became increasingly clear as the 1830s progressed. Even the high prices commanded by Laurel Hill’s lots found a place in this sentimental economy, for that premium might be described as the cash value of symbolic anti-materialism.²⁷¹

²⁶⁸ [John Jay Smith], *Guide to Laurel Hill* (1844 ed.), 13, 16. The anti-materialistic associations of naturalistic topography are also made explicit in “A Rural Cemetery for Philadelphia,” 191.

²⁶⁹ *Regulations of the Laurel Hill Cemetery, on the River Schuylkill, near Philadelphia* ([Philadelphia]: Adam Waldie, pr., 1837), 3-4. Interestingly, Sunday in this era served a function in time analogous to that of the rural cemetery in space. As a “standard rebuke to greed and materialism,” the Sabbath was also a period of renewed contact with “the lost Paradise of early America,” an age of primitive simplicity like that envisioned by Watson. See Somkin, 51-53.

²⁷⁰ *United States Gazette*, 12 March 1836. John Jay Smith made much the same point when noting that, by dint of its location, Laurel Hill was “never liable to be overrun by pedestrians from [Philadelphia’s] streets” (*Guide to Laurel Hill* [1844 ed.], 14).

²⁷¹ On anti-materialism as a pervasive trope in this era, see Somkin, 191-202, and Sellers, *Market Revolution*, 158-159, 206, 214, 227, 236, chap. 8. Sellers draws a connection between evangelicalism and professions of altruism that casts a useful if indirect light on Laurel Hill’s roots in Orthodox Quakerism. Equally relevant is Sellers’ emphasis on the ways this evangelical-antimaterialist strain became associated with femininity. I will address the implications of this cultural tendency in subsequent chapters. On “moral collectivity,” see Scobey as cited in n. 110, above. On rural cemeteries and refinement, see Farrell, 110-111.

* * *

Measured by the square foot, the most costly burial real estate at Laurel Hill tended to cluster near the aging Sims house. The building held an uncertain place in the cemetery's functional program (after doing brief duty as a chapel, it stood vacant and was eventually demolished) but its early ability to confer prestige on surrounding lots made it a sort of secular surrogate for the church in an old-fashioned churchyard. Nostalgia and domesticity created this aura. Verses sent to *The New York Evangelist* alerted would-be visitors: "an ancient mansion stands that was once the abode of domestic enjoyment;" Laurel Hill's managers reprinted the poem in their guidebook.²⁷²

The notion of the villa as a place to escape worldly concerns was rooted firmly in Western thought. Horace and other Roman poets had extolled the virtues of *otium* – loosely translated as "seclusion, serenity, or relaxation" – as the objective of country life. The ideal stood in contrast to *negotium* (business, affairs, preoccupations), and it had been embraced by a growing segment of the Anglo-American gentry from the late seventeenth century on. Certain tensions, or contradictions, had plagued this vision from the beginning. Like their Roman predecessors, English and American villa-dwellers sought to distance themselves from commerce, but the pursuit of rural pleasures in this sense required surplus income and independence from agricultural toil.²⁷³

The dilemma had presented a particular challenge to Philadelphia's colonial Quakers. Some, such as merchant Isaac Norris (I), had been inclined to follow William Penn and Roman agronomists such as Cato in equating rural hedonism with decadence: only through active farming could "rural retirement" be made virtuous. Others, such as Norris's son, were less perturbed by these misgivings. Like many second- or third-generation Philadelphia elites, their "aversion to trade" was cause enough to retreat to the countryside, living off inherited wealth or indirect mercantile profits.²⁷⁴

In the course of the eighteenth century, country-house ideology lent support to disparate causes and impulses. Long discernable as an element in England's Country Party politics, the rhetoric of rural disinterest figured centrally in classical-republican arguments for American

²⁷² [John Jay Smith], *Guide to Laurel Hill* (1844 ed.), 144-146. The "ancient mansion" in question was, at this point, approximately forty years old. Nearby lots such as those in Section G could sell for the unusually high price of one dollar per square foot (see, for example, lots 104 and 105, sold 4 May 1838 [Sales Book No. 1, North Laurel Hill, LHC]). In this case, views of the river likely added to the land's value, but peripheral lots in Shrubbery Section, on the other side of the mansion, commanded comparable prices.

²⁷³ James S. Ackerman, *The Villa: Form and Ideology in Country Houses* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1990), 35-42.

²⁷⁴ Mark Reinberger and Elizabeth Mclean, "Isaac Norris's Fairhill: Architecture, Landscape, and Quaker Ideals in a Philadelphia Colonial Country Seat," *Winterthur Portfolio*, 32, no. 4 (Winter, 1997): 243-245, 266-74; Tolles, *Meeting House*, 132-134. Elite Philadelphians' growing "aversion to trade" is discussed in Thomas M. Doerflinger, *A Vigorous Spirit of Enterprise: Merchants and Economic Development in Revolutionary Philadelphia* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1986), 42-45, and forms a pervasive leitmotif in Sidney George Fisher, *A Philadelphia Perspective: The Diary of Sidney George Fisher Covering the Years 1834 – 1871*, ed. Nicholas B. Wainwright (Philadelphia: Historical Society of Pennsylvania, 1967). See also Baltzell, 44-46, and, on Boston parallels, Thornton, 32-43.

Independence.²⁷⁵ This line of thought foregrounded the landholder-as-citizen; ownership of property ensured freedom from entangling “interests,” be they pecuniary or political. A nation of yeoman – and larger landowners – would be prepared for self-government because its leaders possessed the capacity for autonomous action, the touchstone of civic virtue. At the same time, a related constellation of ideas tended to legitimize the more private deeds and desires associated with the “consumer revolution.” Country life, in the dominant Anglo-Roman tradition, entailed removal, renewal, and reflection. As such, it dovetailed comfortably with “refinement,” the process historian Richard Bushman has traced across the landscape of early America. The quest for genteel selfhood ushered in new modes of dress and comportment, along with waves of expensive goods. But refinement aimed at *moral* elevation. “Brandishing possessions in the faces of the poor to demonstrate pecuniary superiority only signified a difference in wealth – a matter of simple, crass financial muscle. Creating parlors as a site for refined life implied spiritual superiority” – the central gist of Bushman’s work.²⁷⁶

It was in this sense that the lure of the country house converged with the fears of homelessness underlying the rural cemetery movement. At just the moment when urban Americans worried most about displacement of familial dead, *The Delaware Register and Farmers’ Magazine* reprinted an article on rural ways that repeated a now-common refrain. Gratified by the scene of a family-bound father “occupying the patrimonial estate inherited from his ancestors,” the author nonetheless mused that such arrangements were on the wane. “Most of the old and time honored families, who once adorned our society by their primitive manners and friendly hospitality, have been broken up and scattered abroad. And their possessions have fallen into the hands of a few land jobbers; and they are let out to a migratory race, who changing their residence with every revolution of the seasons, form no attachment to their places of abode.”²⁷⁷

John Jay Smith (1798-1881), Laurel Hill Cemetery’s founder, was particularly prone to such sentiments. A native of Burlington County, New Jersey, he had grown up on a prosperous farm, visiting relatives whose estates also dotted the area. The Smiths had formed the backbone of Burlington’s colonial gentry but in the nineteenth century their local attachments had loosened. As Smith observed in mid life:

Where once my family were so numerous, and where every door was open, I now meet only strangers. Where every face greeted me, now almost no one recognizes my presence, my name, or my family. I look down upon the graves of a race of ancestors without memorials to recite their deeds, or even to identify their exact

²⁷⁵ On the adaptation of England’s Country Party rhetoric and the related tradition of “Opposition retirement” to the needs of America’s mercantile elites, see Thornton, 49-51. Thornton successfully demonstrates that the divide between Federalists and Republicans cannot be reduced to “Court-Country replay” (Pocock’s phrase) because, pace Hamilton, Federalists were every bit as seduced by Country ideals as were their Republican rivals. Put another way, Thornton’s is an argument for the power of gentility over the power of party politics. Compare Pocock, “Virtue and Commerce,” 130-133.

²⁷⁶ Bushman, *Refinement of America*, 182. See also Nash, *First City*, 66-68, where this quotation is applied to a Philadelphia-specific context.

²⁷⁷ The 1838 article is quoted in Bushman, *Refinement of America*, 209.

resting places, and in the retrospect can find but one consolation, – that each in his day and generation was distinguished for integrity and purity of character....²⁷⁸

Smith himself had been quick to escape the rigors of farm life. “[P]rofoundly disgusted with its laborious duties,” he took up pharmacy and, with his mother’s blessing, moved to Philadelphia for apprenticeship and continuing education.²⁷⁹ Still, he could not shake the feeling that his community, and especially his co-religionists, had failed him. Even as time, migration, and ambition undeniably pulled people and places apart, Quakers doomed themselves to topographic anonymity by refusing to accept gravestones. Of course, Smith’s complaints also amounted to a broader indictment of contemporary society. Again with Burlington in mind, he wrote:

In looking back...upon this united little circle, living, as it were, in a happy valley not yet invaded by locomotives or steamboats, I cannot divest myself of the idea that it was a real Arcadia. Human passions, likes and dislikes, doubtless dwelt within its quite precincts, but to me they were entirely invisible. I cannot recollect any instance when *money* formed the topic of conversation, or when mere worldly ambition, beyond the present, seemed to find expression.²⁸⁰

Selfishness, materialism, and vulgarity – all seemed to be pressing in. Technology and commerce symbolized the shift but perhaps the true agent – the one Smith implied but avoided invoking directly – was democracy. Leveling and atomizing, it fostered social amnesia. As Alexis de Tocqueville wrote around the time of Laurel Hill’s founding: “not only does democracy make every man forget his ancestors, but it hides his descendents and separates his contemporaries from him; it throws him back forever upon himself alone and threatens in the end to confine him in the solitude of his own heart.”²⁸¹ Cemeteries could not solve these problems but perhaps they could blunt their effects. If Laurel Hill was not a world apart, its monuments and family lots might at least help preserve the values Smith believed had pervaded the world of his childhood.

²⁷⁸ John Jay Smith, *Recollections*, 45-46. In a similar vein, Smith noted that few descendents of his colonial clan lived “near the graves of their numerous ancestors, [making them] like the remnants of the Indians in my father’s woods, soon to disappear.” Reflecting on this pattern’s meaning, Smith wondered: “Does this case, and many kindred ones in the city of Philadelphia, assist in the confirmation of the theory lately broached, that man in America is destined to degenerate and become extinct whenever the stream of immigration from foreign shores shall cease to replenish the veins of our people?” (35). The analogy captured contemporary elite interest in the cyclical fate of families, races, and nations. Elsewhere, Smith added: “Such are the mutations of society, and such the fate of families, – the places that knew them so well know them no more” (40). Similar sentiments were voiced by contemporary moral reformers – often men who shared Smith’s rural origins, urban social position, and nostalgic worries about the loss of community; see Boyer, 15-17, 32-37, 55, 73, 77, 88, 104-105; Holleran, *passim*.

²⁷⁹ John Jay Smith, *Recollections*, 13 (quote), 83-84. On Smith’s portrayal of his personal development, with its emphasis on paternal frailty, maternal influence, the risks of dissolution, and the benefits of education, see Appleby, “New Cultural Heroes,” 176-182. While Appleby rightly locates the American heyday of these themes in the post-Revolutionary period, their deeper roots in Quaker culture deserve mention in this context. See Levy, *passim*.

²⁸⁰ John Jay Smith, *Recollections*, 18-19. The sources of social decline Smith identifies were important themes in the work of his friend and distant relative, James Fenimore Cooper. See Meyers, chap. 4; and, on Smith’s ties to Cooper, *Recollections*, 40, 211.

²⁸¹ *Democracy in America* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1980), 2:99.

Early nineteenth-century Burlington was a prosperous and conservative enclave. Settled by English Quakers before the founding of Philadelphia, it had grown through trade with Penn's town across the Delaware and also with more-distant New York City. Friends' influence in the area remained strong. In the early years of the Republic, Burlington County had emerged as "New Jersey's seat of humanitarian movements," especially debtor-relief, penal reform, and abolition. At the same time, the structure of the region's economy tended to circumscribe the spread of democracy. As scholars have aptly explained, "The economic assets of the area were knowledgably developed by Burlington citizens, and the leading entrepreneurs amassed personal and family fortunes in their various pursuits, notably farming, shipbuilding, and the bog-iron industry. Most of these men, subscribing to the tenet that government should be for the people but not by the people, were Federalists...; they believed, not uncommonly for that era, that men of education, experience, and wealth were best equipped to govern."²⁸²

These qualities gave Smith's point of origin much in common with Essex County, Massachusetts, another Federalist stronghold about which far more has been written. However, unlike the late-Puritan merchants who comprised the "Essex Junto," most of Burlington's pious oligarchs were evangelical Quakers. In the years leading up to the Great Schism, Elias Hicks' leveling message typically found its most receptive audiences in rural areas. Not so in Burlington Quarter. If anything, the makeup of Burlington Friends gave them more in common with their Philadelphia Orthodox counterparts: "a socially cohesive, business oriented, small community."²⁸³

John Jay Smith was a product of this world. His name combined Quaker patronymic convention with a nod to the Federalists' favorite Chief Justice, and his family received regular visits from the traveling ministers who knit Anglo-American Quakerdom together. Through blood or marriage, he was also related to such "weighty" evangelical Friends as John Cox, sometime Clerk of the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, and Stephen Grellet, the emigrant son of French nobles, who, after touring briefly with Hicks, became an outspoken apostle of Orthodoxy. It is hard to know how such company, with whom the young Smith "had more or less daily association," influenced his outlook and spiritual values. (Though the cemetery founder would ultimately quibble with his sect's eccentricities, he took lifelong pride in this rarefied milieu). What is clear is that he sided

²⁸² Rudolph J. Pasler and Margaret C. Pasler, "Federalist Tenacity in Burlington County, 1810-1824," *New Jersey History* 87, no. 4 (Winter 1969): 197, 198. Area histories include William E. Schermerhorn, *The History of Burlington, New Jersey* (Burlington: Enterprise Pub. Co., 1927); E.M. Woodward and W.F. Hageman, *History of Burlington and Mercer Counties, N.J.* (Philadelphia: Everts and Peck, 1883). For a concise description of the Burlington of Smith's childhood, see George Adams Boyd, *Elias Boudinot: Patriot and Statesman, 1740-1821* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1952), 272-273. A disproportionate number of Philadelphia Quaker institution founders came from Burlington in this period, and their biographies have much in common. That of Daniel B. Smith (1792-1883), discussed in Bronner, 345, reads like a composite of those discussed here.

²⁸³ Frost, "Years of Crisis and Separation," 67, summarizing Robert Doherty's social profile of Philadelphia's Orthodox Quakers in *The Hicksite Separation*. See also D'Antonio, 43-51. On Burlington County as a Federalist, Orthodox bulwark, and on its similarities to Essex County, Mass., see Frost, "Years of Crisis and Separation," 75, 78; Baltzell, 197-202, 369-370, 441-442, 501; Thornton, 43-52. Thornton's exploration of the affinity between the "Boston Federalist agricultural junto" and "the British literary tradition of rural retirement" holds suggestive implications for Burlington County as well.

decisively with Philadelphia's Orthodox leaders at the time of the split, and that his ties to West Jersey's elite helped cement later business connections.²⁸⁴

Other Laurel Hill founders came from similar backgrounds. Nathan Dunn (1782-1844), who underwrote the venture, was born of Quaker parents in nearby Salem County. After years abroad in the China trade, he settled in Mount Holly (Burlington County), where his elaborate, Chinese-style "cottage" gave his retirement an exotic flair. Such a display suggested abandonment of Friends' ways, and, in a technical sense, Dunn had indeed left the sect: following a dispute with creditors, he had been disowned in 1816. But technicalities told only half the story. Even in later life, Dunn maintained Quaker forms of address and a steadfast opposition to the opium trade, to which his line of work often exposed him. When Haverford College opened as the home of Orthodox higher education in the 1830s, he became its first major benefactor.²⁸⁵

Quaker roots clung less tightly to Frederick Brown (1796-1864). A well-to-do druggist, Brown was a Philadelphia native who forsook his parents' faith for Episcopalianism; (for much of his adulthood, he was an attendant at Philadelphia's St. Andrew's Church). The drug business may have supplied an introduction to Smith, who had practiced for several years in that field. In any case, work and leisure connected Brown to the culture of his cohort. "His summer residence was located in Burlington, New Jersey, where he had ample opportunity to gratify his taste for horticulture."²⁸⁶

The case of Benjamin W. Richards (1797-1852) would seem to fall furthest outside the pale. Born at Burlington County's Batsto Iron Works, where his father owned the main industry, Richards trained for the ministry at Princeton and remained a life-long Presbyterian. Health problems contributed to a change of career path. After "restorative" tours of the States, he tried his hand as a merchant, helped manage an auction house, then opted to run for office. Despite the odds, Richards was a Democrat. He served twice in the Pennsylvania legislature, three times as Mayor of Philadelphia, and sat on various powerful boards.²⁸⁷

Rather than politics or religion, it was corporate innovation that tied Richards to his fellow cemetery backers. Shortly before joining Laurel Hill, the former Mayor led Smith, Brown, and other genteel businessmen in establishing the Girard Beneficial Association. This early savings bank was not the first of its kind in Philadelphia. Its most experimental feature emerged in early 1836, when, reborn as The Girard Life Insurance, Annuity and Trust Company, the firm became one of the nation's earliest chartered bodies to execute and administer trusts. More than

²⁸⁴ John Jay Smith, *Recollections*, 13, 17, 20, 51(quote)-52, 90, 141-144, 185, 252 (on Smith's evangelical convictions), 266-267 (on his close encounters with Elias Hicks at Green Street Meeting and decision to stand against him); R. Morris Smith, *The Burlington Smiths: A Family History* (Philadelphia: E. Stanley Hart, pr., 1877). On Cox and Grellet, see also Ingle, 71-74, 106, 122, 126-127, 186, 215.

²⁸⁵ Arthur W. Hummel, "Nathan Dunn," *Quaker History* 59, no. 1 (Spring 1970): 34-39; Jean Gordon Lee, "Introduction: Philadelphians and the China Trade," in Jean Gordon Lee and Philip Chadwick Foster Smith, *Philadelphians and the China Trade, 1784-1844* (Philadelphia: Philadelphia Museum of Art, 1984), 11-18; John Jay Smith, *Recollections*, 97.

²⁸⁶ *Biographical Encyclopædia of Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia: Galaxy Publishing Co., 1874), s.v. "Frederick Brown" (quote); John Jay Smith, *Recollections*, 60-61, 64, 84, 90.

²⁸⁷ Simpson, s.v. "Benjamin W. Richards"; Richards, 69-85; *Biographies of Successful Philadelphia Merchants* (Philadelphia: James K. Simon, 1865), s.v. "Benjamin W. Richards."

personnel and chronology linked financial and funereal institutions. Life insurance and trust holding were at this point thoroughly interwoven. Much as Laurel Hill held family remains in perpetuity, Girard's combined functions promised the same for family assets. (Uncoincidentally, the cemetery's "permanent fund" was invested there.)²⁸⁸

Two other figures bring the Burlington story full circle. In the spring of 1838, a pamphlet began to circulate on the streets of Philadelphia, decrying the evils of urban burial. Signed "Atticus," it was inspired and, perhaps, composed by Isaac Collins (1787-1863), a friend of Smith and Dunn who busied himself in nearly every reform movement of his day. Collins was a printer and bookseller by trade. His evangelical Quakerism led him to join Bible and tract societies, and, in 1810, he cemented one of many ties to the Burlington Smiths by marrying John Jay's first cousin. It was this combination of shared blood and convictions that brought Collins to Laurel Hill. Never formally involved with the enterprise, he supported its goals and those of kindred institutions; (his passion for horticulture and for the "Gurneyite" strain of Orthodoxy led him also to Haverford College, where he helped to design the grounds).²⁸⁹

If Collins stood for the world of Smith's upbringing, it was John Fanning Watson who, by the 1830s, shared most of his adult interests. Watson was in something of a renegade. Born in Burlington County at the height of the Revolution, he exhibited, by turns, his mother's devout Methodism and his privateer father's penchant for military adventures. Fired by his first employer for involving himself in a militia, Watson worked briefly as a clerk in the U. S. War Department, as a merchant's agent in New Orleans, as a bookseller in Philadelphia and, starting in 1814, as Cashier for the Bank of Germantown. That job gave him time to pursue his true vocation: researching the urban past. Although he held his bank job until mid century, he is remembered as "Philadelphia's Boswell," an annalist, oral historian, and relic collector who personified his adopted city's emergent antiquarian spirit.²⁹⁰

The affinity between Watson and Smith lay in their shared fascination with the "olden time." As America neared the semicentennial of the Declaration of Independence, many citizens of the New Republic reflected upon their society's relationship to that bequeathed by the Founding Fathers. What had become of that experiment? Had the current generation managed to sustain its forebears' ideals amid the massive changes wrought by urbanization, industrialization, and (recent) immigration? These questions Smith and Watson pondered. Meeting first the early

²⁸⁸ A brief history of Girard Trust explains the context of the company's genesis this way: "Speculation was also in the air...and there was not only an increasing accumulation of wealth, but an increase also in the number of persons able to amass a considerable fortune. Until estates had been accumulated there had been little basis for the service of trust companies....The time seemed now appropriate for the application of the corporate principle to trusteeship. *Nowhere could the idea of perpetual existence have a more desirable application...*(*Girard Trust Company*, 14-15, my emphasis). On Girard's stewardship of the "permanent fund," see John Jay Smith, *Recollections*, 296. On the relationship between life insurance and social change in this era, see Sharon Ann Murphy, "Security in an Uncertain World: Life Insurance and the Emergence of Modern America," Ph. D. thesis, University of Virginia (2005). As Murphy notes in her abstract, "Insurance promoters recognized that the main appeal of their product was in compensating for the breakdown of traditional community safety nets that occurred as a byproduct of urbanization."

²⁸⁹ *Memoir of the Late Isaac Collins, of Philadelphia / by One of the Family* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1893); John Jay Smith, *Recollections*, 138-140, 144-145; Atticus [Isaac Collins?], *Hints on the Subject of Interments* (on "Atticus," see n. 100, above). On Gurneyite Quakers and the "Quaker Renaissance" of which Laurel Hill was a part, see Baltzell, 441-451; Frost, "Years of Crisis and Separation," 81-83.

²⁹⁰ Waters, 3-9.

1820s, they set out to dust off and commemorate the achievements of men whose examples might now prove instructive.²⁹¹

Inclination and birth brought Smith to the task. A great-grandson of James Logan, William Penn's colonial secretary, he had grown up aware of his lineage and perturbed by his possible shortcomings. After struggling in the drug and newspaper businesses, he turned to Philadelphia's Library Company where, in 1829, he secured the quasi-hereditary post of Librarian. Watson's roots were less established, but his zeal made up the difference. His research was all-consuming; his contacts with Smith, frequent. Together with Smith's relative, the diarist Deborah Norris Logan, the two men embarked on an endeavor that Gary Nash has dubbed "The History Project."²⁹²

The retrospective spirit so prevalent in the 1820s took firm hold in Philadelphia. Even before the Marquis de Lafayette's symbolically charged visits in the middle of that decade, members of the American Philosophical Society, the Library Company, and the Philadelphia Athenaeum had begun collecting mementos and documents that bore on the area's past. On November 4th, 1824, a group of the city's most history-minded citizens dined together in a house they believed William Penn had occupied. The gathering, out of which the Historical Society of Pennsylvania ultimately grew, was intended to commemorate the 142nd anniversary of Penn's landing, and its spirit was captured in a subsequent newspaper review. Reflecting on the honoree's merits, the writer opined:

He was, indeed, a great man – the purest and noblest law giver that the annals of history can produce. His administration was the only golden age which did not belong to fable. In his government there was no fraud or crime. He met the aborigines, and taught them practically to change their instruments of war for the arts of peace....Such a man deserves to have an altar erected to his memory, and we rejoice that the first sacrifice has been offered by a priest worthy of the office.²⁹³

²⁹¹ Among the many sources on this cultural moment, see Somkin (an old but insightful general study); Nash, *First City*, introduction, chap. 1, 205-222; Charlene Mires, *Independence Hall in American Memory* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002); Susan Stitt, "Pennsylvania," in H. G. Jones, ed., *Historical Consciousness in the Early Republic: The Origins of State Historical Societies, Museums, and Collections, 1791-1861* (North Caroliniana Society, Inc., 1995), 59-78; Gary B. Nash, "Behind the Velvet Curtain: Academic History, Historical Societies and the Presentation of the Past," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 114, no. 1 (January 1990): 3-36; Barbara Clark Smith, "The Authority of History: The Changing Public Face of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 114, no. 1 (January 1990): 37-66. For a Boston-centered discussion that focuses on the rural cemetery movement, see Blanche Linden-Ward, "Putting the Past Under Grass: History as Death and Cemetery Commemoration," *Prospects* 10 (1985): 279-314.

²⁹² John Jay Smith, *Recollections*, 90-91; Nash, *First City*, 16-19, 205-216; Waters, 36-38. Technically, Smith was Librarian of both the Philadelphia and Loganian Libraries and it was the latter institution, created by his illustrious ancestor and since attached to the Library Company, to which he had hereditary claims. Library Company membership was central to the city's elite Quaker social network, making Smith's appointment especially advantageous (Gough, "Philadelphia Economic Elite," 24). He and Deborah Logan refer to each other as "cousin" in their writings but the relationship was more complicated. Smith was Logan's *husband's* cousin – a distinction they, and many contemporary Quakers, would not have recognized. Smith and Logan were also related through the Morris clan, but the connection was more remote and I have yet to determine it with precision.

²⁹³ *Poulson's American Daily Advertiser*, 10 December 1824, quoted in Hampton L. Carson, *A History of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia: Historical Society of Pennsylvania, 1940), 1:46-47.

This beatific view of Penn corresponded with a broader veneration of public ancestors along the Eastern Seaboard. As in Boston and New York, members of Philadelphia's upper class had begun searching for a useable narrative – one giving national significance to regional history and countering the amnesia from which an increasingly heterogeneous citizenry was thought to suffer. It was an outlook that appealed to Watson, who labored tirelessly at his pastime. Pioneering the oral-history interview, he gathered scraps for a magnum opus, tracked down the houses of colonial worthies, and pored over early maps. Smith, too, was an eager participant. As Watson's "true *Disciple*," he circulated questionnaires, mined public archives, and gathered artifacts with significant provenances.²⁹⁴

Pennsylvania's colonial elite, or, more specifically, what Smith called its Quaker Governing Class, was a source of shared admiration. Like the Historical Society's founders, he and Watson looked back on this group as a model of disinterested leadership, and their meetings with the aged Deborah Logan tended to support that impression. William Penn, James Logan, their peers and their descendents were central topics of discussion. Papers and artifacts associated with these worthies were stashed at Stenton; making them available to Watson, along with memories and editorial advice, Deborah Logan contributed heavily to his much-read *Annals of Philadelphia* (1830).²⁹⁵

Although Watson did not aid in Laurel Hill's establishment, his "reverence for the graves of great and good men" helped shape the institution's landscape. For years, he and Smith had discussed Charles Thomson (1729-1824), Secretary of the Continental Congress. Thomson was not a Quaker, but Smith considered him part of their circle "by social status as well as marriage connection." Watson, too, held Thomson in high regard. Working with Smith (but shocking Logan), Watson managed to get Thomson's remains exhumed from his familial estate and re-interred Laurel Hill, where they were placed beneath a large obelisk in 1838. Next came the body of Thomas Godfrey (1704-1749), James Logan's protégée and inventor of the "mariner's quadrant." Like Thomson, Godfrey had been buried on his family farm, but the compact of stewardship had been broken. As Smith explained to the public, "In the course of time the new occupants ceased to reverence the graves of the family, and a cart-lane was opened over the spot." Lamenting these circumstances, Watson orchestrated the transfer of the entire Godfrey family's remains to the cemetery. He also transplanted Thomas Godfrey's gravestone and transcribed its epitaphs. Smith underscored: "It is to a desecrating cart-wheel's knocks that we owe the defacement of the memorial."²⁹⁶

²⁹⁴ Nash, *First City*, 17-21, 205-209; see also Nash, "Behind the Velvet Curtain," Barbara Clark Smith, and Waters, *passim*. Watson uses the phrase "true *Disciple*" in a letter to Smith of 11 May 1827, quoted in Waters, 37-38.

²⁹⁵ Waters, 12, 19, 32-38; Nash, *First City*, 209; John Jay Smith, *Recollections*, 104-111. Roberts Vaux, whose connection to Ronaldson's Cemetery has already been mentioned, was also heavily involved in Philadelphia's 1820s resurrection of Quaker ancestors to serve contemporary needs. See Ryon, 7.

²⁹⁶ The quotations come, respectively, from *Biographical Encyclopædia of Pennsylvania*, s.v. "John Fanning Watson;" John Jay Smith, *Recollections*, 106; [John Jay Smith], *Guide to Laurel Hill* (1844 ed.), 22. On Watson's endeavors at Laurel Hill, see also his, *Annals of Philadelphia, and Pennsylvania, in the Olden Time* (Philadelphia: John Penington and Uriah Hunt, 1844), 529-30; Logan diary, 16:329-349 (late August 1838); Wunsch, "Laurel Hill Cemetery," 33-34.

Here again was the trope of removal from the heartless hurly-burly and re-installment in a safe enclosure. Commemoration of worthies and protection of (deceased) families were potentially compatible endeavors, and both might serve a public purpose. On at least one occasion, Watson stood accused by contemporaries of gratuitously fetishizing the past, but his efforts on behalf of Thomson and Godfrey were not narrowly self-indulgent. Years earlier, when an Egyptian mummy had been exhibited in Philadelphia, Watson had considered the event “an apt occasion to *justify* the preservation of some *Relics*,” and the rationale he supplied then might apply equally well to his work at Laurel Hill: “An *unfeeling* & unreflecting man, might exclaim, what is the occasion for visiting an old, shrivelled, & leathern coated mummy!...Such a mind, does not perceive that the secret of the *Interest* we feel in the subject is the fund of *moral reflections*, & *associations of ideas*, to which the contemplation of the body *leads* us.”²⁹⁷

Associationism, a staple of eighteenth-century aesthetic theory, animated many of Watson’s endeavors. Buildings, furniture, pieces of cloth or fragments of wood – all might be used to summon a long train of ideas and emotions and thus “rescue from oblivion” a rapidly receding past. Philadelphia’s oldest trees possessed particular totemic power. Watson crafted boxes from their remnants when they fell, but preservation in situ was preferable. Referring to a stand of aged gums on Vine Street, he hoped they would be left in place to show “the *strange* progress of our City from the *Sylvan* state.”²⁹⁸ Logan was similarly inclined. When Watson showed her a piece of woodwork from Pennsbury, William Penn’s country house, she enthused: “such is the association produced in my mind by these things that they serve as a kind of talisman to introduce it into the ideal world where I love to go, and which really is the great charm that lightens the pressure of present uncomfortable things.”²⁹⁹

The idea that Philadelphia’s colonial period represented a kind of golden age haunted Watson, Smith, and Logan, and it served as their principal bond. All yearned for the era, though in somewhat different ways. Logan dwelt on domestic self-reliance and casual sociability, imagined in classical terms. Remembering a scene from Homer’s *Odyssey*, she simultaneously recalled a time “when many of the more thriving Inhabitants of Philad^a had their little Cottages and villas out of town, denominated in the language of that day 'Plantations' and 'Pastures' where the young women of the family in the agreeable months of the year, used to 'go out to help do up the Wash' and [']clear starch' – and often had an acquaintance or two, and perhaps a Beau, to come and drink tea, and get fruit, and enjoy a little rural walk in the evening.” Smith was more concerned with the rise of vulgarity. Comparing the polite world of post-Revolutionary Quaker squirearchy to his antebellum milieu, he observed: “The people who met at the two mansions of Somerville and Stenton, and kindred houses, were not of the common sort. They talked no scandal, and they spoke not habitually of money. With their departure, stately respect for others has given way to more familiarity of address, which I cannot think has improved the tone of social life, nor do I think the sordid present, with its coal and railroad interests, much improvement on the preceding *régime*.”³⁰⁰

²⁹⁷ Watson, MS “Annals...1829,” quoted in Waters, 42-43 (emphasis in original); on critiques of Watson’s nostalgic antiquarianism, see Waters, 24.

²⁹⁸ Watson to Roberts Vaux, 3 July 1826, as quoted in Waters, 46 (Watson’s emphasis). The phrase “rescue from oblivion” was one of Watson’s favorites; for examples, see Waters, 15-16.

²⁹⁹ Logan diary, 10:129 (16 December 1826).

³⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 9:102 (8 March 1826) (quote), 11:55-56 (3 May 1827), 11:128 (29 August 1827), 14:264-265 (25 April 1833); John Jay Smith, *Recollections*, 107.

Whether it was communitarian simplicity or bygone aristocracy that motivated these musings, they stemmed from shared convictions. The contemporary world had grown complex and crassly commercial; country pleasures and higher values – both symbolized by villas – were no more. Under such circumstances, the didactic value of old buildings assumed greater importance, especially in a rural context. Sometimes, even the most urban of relics could be imaginatively rusticated. W. L. Breton, an English watercolorist who prepared the first edition of Watson's *Annals*, showed the putative house of Penn's daughter "in the country surroundings of its original setting," a choice Watson must have approved. This visual trick found its verbal analog in Watson's style of storytelling. After a visit from her fellow antiquarian, Logan noted: "I have often been amused to see how he would from the casual mention of the divisions of property in an old Will, return a built section of the City or Liberties, into orchard fields, and meadows, and streets into lanes and roads...."³⁰¹

Fast slipping away, Philadelphia's idealized past seemed remote but still tangible. Watson said as much during his decades-long crusade to save the "Letitia Penn" house. Logan agreed, at least partly. She cherished Stenton for both the private memories and public meanings it held, but she recalled at least as fondly her childhood home. For over sixty years, the Norris House had stood amid gardens at Fourth and Chestnut Streets and "never was occupied by any other family." Only recently had the Second Bank of the United States, "that Great Temple of Mammon," obliterated the scene of Logan's fond memories. Recreating that irretrievable place through memory and writing, she built a bastion of familial belonging atop a modern "habitation of strangers." In this and other ways, she anticipated Laurel Hill's founding.³⁰²

Deborah Logan was not among the cemetery's first admirers. Initially, in fact, she was inclined to group the institution with other corporate intruders upon tradition and the family. The first mention of the place in her diary comes in the context of Charles Thomson's disinterment – "an outrage committed in the Grave Yard at Harrington" (i.e. Harrington, the Thomson estate). The cemetery's owners, she felt, "should be careful not to encourage such violations of the Rights of others." Days later, the incident still rankled. Logan wrote: "The honoured Dead, resting in the Ground that was their own Property in life, have been disinterred from their quiet Graves, and carried over to the new, and now fashionable, and well-resorted to, Cemetery at Laurel Hill." In time, though, Watson's satisfactory epitaph for Thomson and Logan's own visit to the site

³⁰¹ Waters, 21; Logan diary, 11:55-56 (3 May 1827).

³⁰² Logan diary, 3:156, 6:110, 12: 269, as quoted in Stabile, 1. Stabile believes Logan's "genealogical approach to memory-making" stands "At odds with nationalistic narratives that emphasize shared origins, unbroken continuity, or universal memory" (5). If this dichotomy helps counter the shortcomings of consensus history, it also risks dressing nineteenth-century gender stereotypes in twenty-first-century clothes. Deborah Logan hardly eschewed "nationalistic narratives;" indeed, she saw her ancestors as central figures in them. To excise the patriotism and public aims from Logan's approach to memory-making, or "the local, the particular, [and] the domestic" (5) from Smith's and Watson's is to ignore much historical evidence and (unintentionally) to resurrect the Victorian doctrine of the separate spheres.

However, as Stabile correctly points out (222), Logan's treatment of Stenton's "Inclosure" foreshadows major aspects of the rural cemetery movement. In a revealing passage, written after a visit to the site, Logan reflects on her hopes for salvation, her mental image of the Biblical patriarchs' world, and the "Golden Age which our ancestors experienced in the first settlement of this state." She has been cultivating the Inclosure as a garden and, in true Romantic mode, considers it "a sacred spot...where some of my most sweet hours of meditation are passed" (Logan diary, 11:126-128 [29 August 1827]).

afforded her some solace. She noted: “We had a pleasant ride, on a most pleasant autumnial [sic] afternoon and after a little time spent in this Interesting Spot, we went to Somerville to Tea....”³⁰³

Logan’s change of mind was in some ways emblematic of her city’s. Many Philadelphians had once harbored reservations about private, non-sectarian burial and, no doubt, many still did. Yet Philadelphia offered especially fertile ground for that phenomenon. The city’s religious pluralism and political factionalism helped fuel the rise of social cemeteries, as did the Quaker tradition of voluntarism. If the Hicksite Separation had damaged the Quaker establishment and warmed Smith’s memories of the Quaker Governing Class, it had also been a productive experience, an inducement to creative reform. Laurel Hill Cemetery was one response to that stimulus. Addressing the need for neutral terrain, it had gone further, promising genteel retreat and even a sense of belonging. The Sims villa was not quite the symbol of *otium* eradicated by the Second Bank, and few Philadelphians had Smith’s or Logan’s direct ties to the colonial elite. Nevertheless, many middle- and upper-class citizens shared her desire for permanence and interest in associative landscapes. For such would-be consumers, Laurel Hill was the first in what became a host of options.

That turn was pronounced, but not always celebrated. Towards the end of his life, retired schoolteacher and social-cemetery founder, William Adams, reflected on the nature of the burial reforms he had worked so hard enact. “Our aim was purely philanthropic,” he opined, “[since we were] desirous of accommodating as many of our fellow-citizens as we could, either in lots or [in] a place to bury in the ‘strangers’ part, at as cheap a rate as possible.” But all had not worked out as planned. Adams continued:

Very soon after we commenced operations, and the system was shown to be practicable, a class of people rose up who were not content with our plain, frugal way, but sought for expensive grounds, costly monuments, &c., and there were several cemeteries formed, with very expensive appendages. The ‘Laurel Hill,’ for instance, had a costly front at the entrance gate, and the lots were put at prices in proportion. No poor person could inter in this ground, hence it was occupied by the nobility.³⁰⁴

The tone of righteous indignation, the hint of conspiracy and cooption, the view of simplicity lost to nascent aristocracy – all had a nostalgic ring. It was almost as though Adams, writing in the 1850s, had stepped back into the 1820s, channeling that decade’s hopes and fears, its egalitarian impulses, its belief in free-market democracy and distaste for displays of luxury. Adams’s language may also have carried a more specific and local valence. Caught up in the Schism of 1827, he had seen his subsequent cemetery ventures as an extension of his Hicksite convictions. By the same token, he almost certainly knew of the strong Orthodox aura that surrounded Laurel Hill’s founding. The men of wealth and privilege involved in that enterprise were not all Quakers: like William Adams, John Jay Smith had associated with outsiders in order to advance his cause. Nonetheless, Adams reasoned, the general pattern was clear. Rural cemeteries were a new road to hierarchy. Built on a republican experiment, they perverted its original purpose.

³⁰³ Logan diary, 16:330, 337-338, 349, 364 (15, 25, 28 August and 20 September 1838).

³⁰⁴ “Reminiscences No. 34,” 126.

What Adams missed were the commonalities connecting his and Smith's endeavors. Both men had witnessed the Separation and the radical disruption it unleashed. Both had grown disillusioned with traditional Quaker burial, and both had embraced new corporate forms in order to produce non-sectarian alternatives. That Smith chose a business partnership over Adams's voluntary associations remained an important distinction. Nonetheless, the two men's faith in private property, and even in the grid form, to resolve contemporary crises, gave each more in common with the other than either would have cared to admit.³⁰⁵

When Adams called for isotropic space and Smith sought picturesque unevenness, each revealed visions that were as much social as aesthetic, as much utopian as pragmatic. Smith's impulses were conservative. Like John F. Watson, he mourned the loss of "rural mirth and manners," even as he launched the kinds of urban enterprises that flourished in the Age of Jackson; his was the language of the Country Party, adapted to the needs of New-World Whigs. Adams, too, sensed something had been lost – or, worse still, co-opted by pretenders. Suspicious of aristocracy, he drew more on the tradition of Tom Paine and Thomas Jefferson than on any ideal of Old England. The significance of these coded languages lay not in their originality but in the contexts in which played out. Smith and Adams faced social and economic changes unknown to previous generations. Their breathless responses – hypertrophied republicanisms competing in the marketplace – were heart-felt variations on hallowed and comfortable themes.³⁰⁶

The two sides in this discursive struggle were ill-matched by the 1830s. Arguments for linearity and spatial neutrality had begun to sound dated. A product of Enlightenment rationalism, they were weakened by the emotionalism of the Second Great Awakening and the romanticism that had come to dominate polite arts and letters. Attacks on speculation, corporations, and nobility continued – indeed, grew louder. However, while the structural legacy of social cemeteries persisted, their spirit and outward appeal had moved distinctly down-market. Ruralizing rhetoric was more fashionable, even as it claimed to transcend fashion. Fully detached from agrarian landholding, the Watson-Smith philosophy functioned as an elite critique of materialism and ambition in a rapidly urbanizing world. Large numbers of Americans could agree on the pernicious effects of these vices, especially in general terms. Fewer, perhaps, shared a longing for bygone gentility or the supposed simplicity of rural life. Even so, these themes had begun to resonate more broadly. They lay near the heart of the romantic-consumer urge to which the following chapter will turn.

³⁰⁵ Following her tour of the United States in the same period, Harriet Martineau concluded that Americans held up "the possession of land" as "the cure for all social evils." "If a man is disappointed in politics or love, he goes and buys land" (*Society in America* [2nd ed.; London, 1839] 2:30-31, quoted in Somkin, 117).

³⁰⁶ Relevant here is Richard Bushman's observation: "The vision of a nation of independent farmers living in homely simplicity did not guide actual purchases, nor did the indictment of luxury inhibit the flowering of genteel culture...Partly, the exaggerated condemnation of luxury helped resolve the contradiction. Extreme criticism protected the growth of gentility while seemingly attacking it" (*Refinement of America*, 196-197). See also Kasson, 39; Berthoff, 106; Zakim, 152; Somkin, chap. 1, 191-202.

Chapter 3: Dream Houses of the Dead and the Living

There is something in the atmosphere of the place which comes over the spirit like echoed music or remembered affection, soothing even the most worldly minded into religious awe and the desire of a happy immortality.

– “Laurel Hill,” *Godey’s Lady’s Book*, 1844

John Sherwood also engages not to sell Wines, Spirituous Liquors, Ice Cream, or refreshments of any kind, and not to keep any animals, statues, paintings or other things as shows for money.

– Agreement between florist John Sherwood and Laurel Hill manager Nathan Dunn, 1836

Rural cemeteries were hives of cultural activity in the antebellum decades, places where new kinds of market behavior confronted older ideas about death and the limits of luxury. The men who ran these establishments promoted growth in a literal, horticultural sense: presenting their landscapes as garden-like pleasure grounds, they might operate greenhouses and nurseries where ornamental plants were for sale. Even when cemetery managers shunned direct involvement in such ventures, the mere presence of extra-urban graveyards encouraged their development. Florists’ shops, marble works, and iron foundries sprang up along cemetery access routes, their proprietors tapping increased demand for the trappings of mourning and memory.

The new cemeteries were assertively curvaceous, their studied departure from the urban grid promising respite from restless commercialism. But therein lay the rub. Even as the curve gathered anti-materialistic associations, it became increasingly intertwined in the workings of a budding economy. The process underlying this paradox was the rise of romantic consumerism. Mixing the sacred and the profane in previously unknown ways, the emergent consumer ethic both facilitated the sale of land and goods and stood rhetorically outside the marketplace. Vestiges of the phenomenon line the shelves of modern-day antique shops. Gilt gift books, illustrated Bibles, bowls and plates with medieval scenes – all testify to the premium Jacksonian-era America placed on sentiment, print culture, and literary imagination. Less familiar are the ways in which romantic consumerism reworked the metropolitan landscape. Turning toward that subject, we may begin to understand the proto-suburban nature of rural cemeteries: the ways their powerful emphasis on family, community, and reform paralleled and in some ways prefigured the rise picturesque suburbs in America.

Romantic consumerism in the graveyard was inherently – and alluringly – contradictory. According to guidebooks and corporate charters, rural cemeteries were havens from the street. Literary journals played up this notion, and cemetery designers attempted to substantiate it. High perimeter walls, curving walks, family lots, and plantings scattered in picturesque profusion all

pointed to a place of removal. Yet cemeteries' success as tourist attractions and as expressions of lot-holder taste threatened to undermine their official *raison d'être*. Purported to counteract acquisitiveness and excessive ambition, they looked increasingly like promenades and bazaars.

These tensions were not unique to Philadelphia but were felt there with special intensity. The city prided itself on possessing an abundance of medical expertise, philanthropic institutions, and benevolent associations. The Pennsylvania Hospital, the Friends Asylum, and, most notably, Eastern State Penitentiary had all been touted as national models – places for curing psychosocial ills through a mixture of discipline and sympathy. Rural cemeteries drew on similar ideals. Their sites were elevated and remote. Their trees were thought to dissipate miasma, exert a restorative influence on the living, and suggest eternal life for the dead. Tombs were central to this analogy. As Philadelphia began declaring itself a “city of homes,” references to proprietorship and domesticity pervaded descriptions of cemetery landscapes: where asylums contained peaceful rooms, cemeteries offered “homes” or “abodes.” However, rural cemeteries were not quite like other institutions after all. Their basis in private property, their heady (if vague) religiosity, and their resonance with genteel literature all tended to set them apart. And there was another distinction, too. While most rural cemeteries turned no profit, Philadelphia's were run as businesses.

Who could buy into these landscapes? What practices and purchases would be condoned there and, as critically, who would decide? If rural cemeteries promised new, consumeristic freedoms, they also imposed new forms of control. Cemetery managers imposed rules and regulations but the demand for such measures was broad-based. Cultural critics, casual visitors, and presumably even lot holders themselves all wanted tighter modes of governance. Like the founders of earlier asylums, the creators of rural cemeteries believed they were building ideal communities. Now, however, the republican-utopian impulse that had driven Philadelphia's institution-builders lost much of its prior coherence. Cross-cut by consumerism and romanticism, it foreshadowed the modern home-owners' association as much as it recalled older ideals.

Rural cemeteries were not therapeutic institutions after all – at least not in a straightforward sense. They hosted scenes of fashion and flirtation, of individualistic and worldly display sanctioned by altruistic and other-worldly sentiments. Yet few contemporaries perceived a discrepancy. Some recorded a simple sense of wonder, others hinted at spiritual awakening. Still others, following (and reworking) guidebooks, prided themselves on catching literary and historical allusions in the landscape; budding cognoscenti, they savored a common experience made possible by the medium of print. As such, rural cemeteries came to approximate what philosopher Walter Benjamin called “dream houses of the collective.”³⁰⁷ Sites of movement, consumption, and spectacle, they fostered a sense of belonging among those strolling and reading within.

This chapter analyzes Philadelphia's rural cemeteries as locales of romantic consumerism. The focus is on Laurel Hill, Monument, and Woodlands cemeteries because they were the most

³⁰⁷ Walter Benjamin, *The Arcades Project*, trans. Howard Eiland and Kevin McLaughlin (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1999), 405. Among such “dream houses,” Benjamin counted “arcades, winter gardens, panoramas, factories, wax museums, casinos, [and] railroad stations.” Rural cemeteries belong on the list, for reasons I hope to make clear.

popular local examples of their type and because each exemplified a particular kind of market appeal. Laurel Hill was a literary landscape. Greeting visitors with statues of “familiar” quasi-fictional characters, it featured Oriental and medievalizing architecture meant to fire the book-read mind. Monument Cemetery played up medical authority. Lot-buying could be rational and civic-minded – a contribution to public health. More overtly than either of these sites, Woodlands presented itself an investment. Even here, though, associations with reform and romanticism figured strongly. Were these values integral to market culture or outside it? Debates over picturesque aesthetics brought those questions directly to the fore.

Institutions and the Villa Ideal

By design rather than happenstance, Laurel Hill, Woodlands, and Monument Cemeteries all grew out of country estates. Laurel Hill, also known as The Laurels, had been the retreat of merchant Joseph Sims. Retiring “at will from the busy hum of city life,” Sims would travel from his townhouse at Ninth and Chestnut Streets to his elegant villa on the Schuylkill.³⁰⁸ There, atop steep bluffs, he could gaze out across the river from a six-columned porch or “piazza.” Similar views, and a gentler descent, graced the days of William Hamilton. His estate, The Woodlands, lay on the opposite bank of the river, some three miles to the south (**Fig. 1**). Hamilton was older than Sims and more solidly aristocratic. Scion of a prominent Philadelphia family, he had studied law at an early age but then devoted himself to botany. The Woodlands, where he lived full-time, featured a famous collection of plants. The greenhouse was Hamilton’s showpiece, but his wealth and cosmopolitan tastes were likewise on display in his mansion and garden.³⁰⁹ Monument Cemetery’s site was more patently urban. Standing just off North Broad Street, roughly a mile and a half mile from town, it had gone by the name of Sydney Place. Here, too, the views were spectacular. “[O]verlooking the whole city, with a gradual *slope* in every direction, it [was] always dry, picturesque, and inviting.”³¹⁰

Many of the characteristics that villas bequeathed to rural cemeteries were shared by other institutions. In 1837, when Eli K. Price spoke at the cornerstone-laying of the Preston Retreat, he commended managers of the new lying-in hospital for their choice of a salubrious site: “Upon dry gravel soil – elevated into a pure atmosphere – enjoying an expansive and cheering

³⁰⁸ Abraham Ritter, *Philadelphia and Her Merchants, as Constituted Fifty @ Seventy Years Ago* (Philadelphia: pub. by Ritter, 1860), 53-54. Sims’ changing addresses neatly demarcate the movement of fashionable neighborhoods in Early Republican Philadelphia. He lived first at “the paternal mansion” adjoining his counting house at Pine and Water Streets. By 1796, he had moved away from his business but close to St. Peter’s, at Third and Pine. A few years later, he had moved again, now to a house at Ninth and Chestnut Streets that was “at that time the pride of that street.” A villa on the Schuylkill was a natural corollary of such a lifestyle. Apparently, so was bankruptcy, which Sims suffered in 1823. On Laurel Hill in the Sims era, see also Aaron V. Wunsch, “Addendum to Laurel Hill Cemetery,” HABS No. PA-1811, Historic American Buildings Survey, National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior, 1999, p. 12.

³⁰⁹ On Hamilton and The Woodlands, see Timothy Preston Long, “The Woodlands: A ‘Matchless Place’,” (M.S. thesis, University of Pennsylvania, 1991); James A. Jacobs, “William Hamilton and The Woodlands: A Construction of Refinement in Philadelphia,” *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 130, no. 2 (April 2006): 181-209; Aaron V. Wunsch, “Woodlands Cemetery,” HALS No. PA-5, Historic American Landscape Survey, National Park Service, U. S. Department of the Interior, 2004, pp. 7-12, 23-37, 82-89.

³¹⁰ John A. Elkinton, *The Monument Cemetery of Philadelphia. (Late Pere La Chaise.) Containing Several Scientific Essays on the Subject of Rural Cemeteries* (Philadelphia: Rackliff & King, prs., 1837), 9.

prospect – with an open area, forever secured, of about eight acres – no contaminating influence from surrounding impurity or diseases can here reach your patients.” He added: “the structure of the building will be such, as to promote free circulation of air in all the apartments, and preserve the utmost purity.”³¹¹ These were among the qualities Price would extol at Woodlands Cemetery, where he would preside in the coming decade. As a reform-minded real estate lawyer with an eye for topographic detail, Price could make such claims with conviction.

That key aspects of the villa ideal had been grafted onto therapeutic institutions seems natural enough in retrospect. Jacksonian-era almshouses and asylums evolved from colonial operations that were run out of private homes. The managers of cemeteries, penitentiaries, and asylums were often one and the same, and their typically genteel backgrounds conditioned them to see country life as a model for self re-creation. More mundane forms of continuity stemmed from the dictates of site selection. Large, open parcels near the city were growing scarce. When a tract was chosen for its dry soil, fine views, and fresh breezes, chances were, a villa already stood there.

Important as these considerations were, they do not fully explain the appeal of “rural” life to antebellum institution-builders or do justice to the boldness of their project. In crucial ways, the walled compounds and controlled greenery that swept the outskirts of American cities after 1820 were new. Their founders, it is true, were often perturbed by recent developments, especially by the physical and psychological maladjustments they attributed to urbanization. But, at least in the early years, reformers’ optimism exceeded their fears. The nation’s most pernicious forms of deviance might be cured, not through corporal punishment or public humiliation but through rational and humane measures meted out (with key differences) to all classes.

In his classic study, *The Discovery of the Asylum*, David Rothman underscores the utopian impulses that brought such “caretaker institutions” into being. The early decades of the nineteenth century witnessed increasing social fluidity and geographic mobility corresponding to the shrinkage of family farms, the improvement of roads, and the early stages of industrialization. As towns and cities grew, their leaders began casting about for ways to reinforce communal solidarity. Their response looked both forward and backward. Longing to bolster a social order they believed had begun to recede, city fathers – and, as crucially, their wives – could no longer count on the strictures of Calvinism or the structures of the patriarchal household to maintain such an order in the present. At the same time, Enlightenment-bred humanitarianism, the softening trend in Protestantism, and a waxing faith in human perfectibility common to both impulses led away from mere punishment and neglect. Poverty, insanity, and criminality were not sins so much as *social* failings. Treated separately and systematically, with

³¹¹ Eli K. Price, *The Address Delivered at the Laying of the Cornerstone of the Preston Retreat, July 17, 1837* (Philadelphia: John Richards, pr., 1837), 5. Dr. Jonas Preston bequeathed some \$200,000 to the hospital in his will and made Price one of his executors. On the building, see Richard Webster, *Philadelphia Preserved: Catalog of the Historic American Buildings Survey*, 2d ed. (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1981), 285-286, 298-299; Jeffrey A. Cohen, “Design for Preston Retreat, Philadelphia,” in *Drawing Toward Building: Philadelphia Architectural Graphics, 1732-1986*, James F. O’Gorman et al., eds. (Philadelphia: Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, 1986), 83-84.

a mix of compassion and discipline, they might yet lose their hold on individuals and also, it was hoped, on the commonweal.³¹²

Pennsylvania took up the new gospel. The state's population tripled between 1790 and 1830, with much of that growth occurring in urban areas. While such an influx inevitably strained civic institutions, Philadelphia was prepared for it in ways many municipalities were not. Quaker roots and a longstanding interest in humane causes made the city fertile ground for experimentation. Already, in the eighteenth century, the Managers of the Alms House had conceived an elaborate Bettering House where the poor might be improved by producing useful goods. The Alms House and Pennsylvania Hospital divvied up lunatics from an early date while, as previously discussed, the Walnut Street Prison tested new techniques for separating and classifying inmates.³¹³

In the next century, these drives took new form. Their development owed much to the growing weight of two convictions: that the root causes of deviance lay in the physical and social structures of the city, and that those same problems might be ameliorated through the construction of new environments. Assisted by architects and, increasingly, by public funding, charitable associations worked these ideas into novel and elaborate designs. The vast, spoked plan of Eastern State Penitentiary lured visitors from around the world, curious to see the "solitary system" in effect. Of comparable local interest were vast, porticoed structures like the U.S. Naval Asylum and the Blockley Alms House (**Fig. 2**). Built, respectively, of marble and granite, and surrounded by picturesque grounds, they looked out across the Schuylkill River in good country-house fashion. Villa-builders themselves were moving further a field. In their wake came coal wharves and classical compounds, monuments to commerce and reform.³¹⁴

The designs of therapeutic institutions evinced their basis in overlapping sets of ideals. If vice, illness, and insanity were instilled by an individual's surroundings, then, reformers reasoned, settings that inverted those conditions might well hold the key to a cure. Since both people and places spread contagion, countermeasures had to function on both levels. Isolation was the

³¹² David J. Rothman, *The Discovery of the Asylum: Social Order and Disorder in the New Republic* (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1971), xviii-xix, 69-71, 82, 89, 108, 118-119, 125, 127, 129, 133, 154; Paul Boyer, *Urban Masses and Moral Order in America, 1820-1920* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1978), 1-21, 46, 51.

Although Rothman focuses on the actions of city fathers, subsequent studies have revealed the centrality of women in this increasingly feminized wave of institution-building. See, for instance, Mary Ryan, *Cradle of the Middle Class: The Family in Oneida County, New York, 1790 – 1865* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1981); Bruce Dorsey, *Reforming Men and Women: Gender in the Antebellum City* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2002).

³¹³ *Ibid.*, 57; Susan E. Klepp, *Philadelphia in Transition: A Demographic History of the City and Its Occupational Groups, 1720-1830* (New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1989), 336-338; Carl and Jessica Bridenbaugh, *Rebels and Gentlemen: Philadelphia in the Age of Franklin* (New York: Reynal & Hitchcock, 1942), chap. 7.

³¹⁴ Often dubbed the "lions" of Philadelphia, these buildings were staples of the Jacksonian tourist circuit. Primary-source overviews include *A Guide to the Lions of Philadelphia: Comprising a Description of the Places of Amusement, Exhibitions, Public Buildings, Public Squares, &c. in the City* (Philadelphia: Thomas T. Ash and Co., 1837), 71-78 [&?]; *Panorama and Views of Philadelphia and Its Vicinity. Embracing a Collection of Twenty Views, from Paintings by J. C. Wild* (Philadelphia: J. T. Bowen, 1838), figs. 6-8 and accompanying descriptions. The secondary-source literature is large. Overviews include Webster, 159-160, 196-197, 284-285; Philip Stevick, *Imagining Philadelphia: Travelers' Views of the City from 1800 to the Present* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1996), chaps. 4 and 7; W. Barksdale Maynard, *Architecture in the United States, 1800-1850* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002), 213-214, 223. The contrast between these institutions and their surroundings is emphasized in "Improvements upon the Schuylkill," *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 1 October 1827.

clearest imperative. High enclosures and remote locations drew a boundary between restorative environments and the world beyond. The same logic mandated limited interaction among inmates. Eastern State was an extreme example, but separate rooms and temporary isolation chambers in asylums and hospitals testified to a widespread conviction. The other peril, of course, was miasma. Where urban neighborhoods were dense, busy, and putrid, packed with living and dying organic matter, the new complexes were spread out, well lit, and well ventilated. Most also made use of trees, thought to purify and aerate the soil.³¹⁵

Fresh air and isolation were starting points but even here there was flexibility. The design of therapeutic environments operated on a kind of sliding scale, with work and leisure, confinement and views, separation and sociability meted out according to affliction. At one end of the scale stood the penitentiary. When built upon the “Pennsylvania plan,” the penitentiary became a mechanism for breaking down pathologies that seemed to stem from association. Maximum isolation was the goal. Roberts Vaux, a leading prison reformer, argued that, no matter what sympathy might dictate, “It is nevertheless an unshaken truth, that a community of prisoners is to the last degree to be deplored. No matter how well the theory of Gaol discipline may be devised, nor how rigidly it may be administered, human contrivance must fail with *associated guilt*, to reform criminals, and to prevent crime by the fear of such impotent chastisement.”³¹⁶

Moving away from this orthodox position, other institutions sometimes showed greater leniency. Hospitals might allow limited visitation by friends and relatives, often assuming some correspondence between inmates’ social status and the desirability of exposure to peers. If the criminal or indigent “stranger” stood at one end of the reform spectrum, the genteel family occupied the other. The stranger was a kind of raw material; the respectable family represented the goal to which he might aspire, a model of civility and decency. That outcome, however, was not assured. Few things jeopardized it more than mixing with old associates, so such interactions were carefully monitored.

The dichotomy between strangers and families recalls the social cemeteries discussed in previous chapters. Deceased members of both groups gained entrance to these institutions but on separate and distinctive terms. Strangers received narrow lots, grouped together at the cemetery’s edge. Their presence was accepted, not announced, since the family was the space’s *raison d’être*. Rural cemeteries maintained and elaborated this system. Both Laurel Hill and Woodlands cemeteries included single graves for strangers, but in marginal, low-lying areas.³¹⁷

³¹⁵ Robert Waln, Jr., “An Account of the Asylum for the Insane, Established by the Society of Friends, near Frankford, in the Vicinity of Philadelphia,” *Philadelphia Journal of the Medical and Physical Sciences*, n.s., 1, no. 2 (August 1825): 226-227, 238-243, 251; Rothman, 71-96; Dell Upton, “Another City: The Urban Cultural Landscape in the Early Republic,” in Catherine E. Hutchins, ed., *Everyday Life in the Early Republic* (Winterthur, DE: Henry Francis du Pont Winterthur Museum, 1994), 78-79, 85-92, 105-107; John Sears, *Sacred Places: American Tourist Attractions of the Nineteenth Century* (New York, Oxford University Press, 1989), chap. 5; Blanche Linden-Ward, *Silent City on a Hill: Landscapes of Memory and Boston’s Mount Auburn Cemetery* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1989), 8, 31, 33, 78-79, 146, 149-153; Thomas Bahde, “The Common Dust of Potter’s Field,” *Common-Place* 6, no. 4 (July 2006): 7, at www.common-place.org; Boyer, 93.

³¹⁶ “Separate Confinement,” *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 2 October 1827. Other testimonials to the power of association came from Sunday school advocates; in their case, however, association seemed highly desirable (Boyer, 49-50).

³¹⁷ Wunsch, “Laurel Hill Cemetery,” pp. 46, 52, 73; Wunsch, “Woodlands Cemetery,” pp. 56, 139, 142; David C. Sloane, *The Last Great Necessity: Cemeteries in American History* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press), 83-85.

That the deceased should be targets of reform seemed eminently logical to contemporaries. Fears that loved ones' graves might be desecrated by development were matched by urbanites' worries of "living surrounded by the dead."³¹⁸ Like criminals and paupers, the dead were deemed dangerous but worthy of sympathy. In a society where miasma seemed to produce "high nervous disorder" and where contagion and human deviance were conceived in sensory terms, the chaos of the potter's field and the jostling of the urban street presented parallel challenges. Little surprise, then, that the solutions shared formal elements. The same eight-by-ten unit that fostered contemplative solitude at Eastern State preserved familial bonds at Mutual and Ronaldson's cemeteries. Crenellated corner towers lent gravitas to both the state and county prisons; at Laurel Hill, they served symbolically to ward off grave robbers.³¹⁹

Inside, however, matters were different. Inverting the atomized utopia envisioned by Vaux, Laurel Hill presented itself as "the common ground upon which all parties can meet in forgiveness and harmony[.]. . . the lap of the common mother which receives at last, in no unkind embrace, all her children, however widely sundered in their lives by the jarring controversies of their day."³²⁰ Isolation was still important, especially when it came burials. Gravesites were recorded and kept separate, a clear contrast to the potter's field. But the living enjoyed greater leeway. Unlike the forced introspection of the cellblock, cemetery solitude was gentle and supernally sociable – a chance to commune with nature, deceased relatives, and God. The atmosphere of maternal inclusiveness, of differences overcome by love, relied largely on pastoral luxuriance. Where inmates of Eastern State experienced a sensory-deprived version of the outdoors in their high-wall exercise yards, Laurel Hill's visitors and lot owners were exposed to an environment saturated in color, sweet smells, and sentiment.

Of all the therapeutic institutions to which rural cemeteries were related, the asylum was the closest of kin. There, emphasis on domesticity had been paramount from the beginning. When the Asylum for the Relief of Persons Deprived of Their Reason opened outside Philadelphia in May of 1817, its founders referred to patients and their stewards as "the family" and to the institution itself as "the house." These physical and bureaucratic structures were the hallmarks of "moral treatment," a technique pioneered by English Quaker William Tuke and brought to America by his fellow Friend Thomas Scattergood. Like the principal founders of Laurel Hill, Scattergood hailed from Burlington, New Jersey. Like them, too, Scattergood and his followers aimed their efforts at Philadelphia and built their institution on its outskirts. The Friends' Asylum, as it came to be known, shared the domestic appearance of its English prototype. The

³¹⁸ Atticus [Isaac Collins and John Jay Smith], *Hints on the Subject of Interments within the City of Philadelphia: Addressed to the Serious Consideration of the Members of Councils, Commissioners of the Districts, and Citizens Generally* (Philadelphia: William Brown, pr., 1838), 6-7.

³¹⁹ "Rural Cemeteries," *Dunglison's Medical Library and Intelligencer* (September 1837) as quoted in Elkinton, *Monument Cemetery*, 31 (quotation); Gary Laderman, *The Sacred Remains: American Attitudes Toward Death, 1799-1883* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996), 9, 44, 69-70; Dell Upton, "The Urban Cemetery and the Urban Community: The Origin of the New Orleans Cemetery," in Annmarie Adams and Sally McMurry, eds., *Exploring Everyday Landscapes: Perspectives in Vernacular Architecture, VII* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1997), 133-134, 141; Joan Burbick, "'Intervals of Tranquility': The Language of Health in Antebellum America," *Prospects* 12 (1987): 175-199; Bahde, *passim*; Webster, 284; Wunsch, "Laurel Hill Cemetery," 22.

³²⁰ [John Jay Smith], *Guide to Laurel Hill Cemetery, Near Philadelphia* (Philadelphia: C. Sherman, 1844), 18.

site lay in Oxford Township near Frankford, a rural area where many Philadelphia Quakers (including John Jay Smith's forebears) had built villas in the previous century.³²¹

The connections between the villa landscape and its reform-driven successor were picked out by the asylum's planners (**Fig. 3**). Passing through a modest portico and vestibule, visitors emerged in a flower garden flanked men's and women's "airing grounds."³²² Beyond this tightly controlled zone lay a kitchen garden, an orchard, and cultivated fields; farther still from the building stretched woodlands. Gardening and other mild forms of agricultural labor were deemed crucial to the therapeutic experience. Less vulnerable to "melancholy musings," visitors and select patients were free to dwell upon scenic qualities. As Robert Waln enthused in 1825:

A shaded, serpentine walk, now skirting the edge of the wood, now plunging into its dark and dependent foliage, and embracing, in its windings, more than a mile, leads over a neat and lightly constructed bridge, to a pleasure-house, which might justly be termed the Temple of Solitude... The straight and towering tulip-tree, the sturdy oak, the chestnut, and the beech, cast their cool shadows around this wood-embosomed abode of contemplation. A rapid stream ripples over the rocks, at a few yards distance, producing the melancholy, but pleasing sounds of a distant waterfall.³²³

Such features became staples of asylum planning over the course of the next two decades. When the Pennsylvania Hospital shifted its insane patients to separate quarters in the early 1840s, the West Philadelphia site included elaborate pleasure grounds, flower gardens for both sexes, and a centrally located deer park. The Preston Retreat, too, strove for therapeutic-picturesque variety, albeit on a smaller scale (**Fig. 4**). There, joined by their spouses, "indigent married women, of good character" might stroll the circuit, passing through wooded and floral zones. Quaker institution builders were gratified; they had become expert at this sort of project.³²⁴

Deep-seated ideas about urban and mercantile life connected the rural cemetery to the asylum. Both institutions aimed to maximize *otium* – that combination of retreat, relaxation, and regeneration that defined the villa experience. In the age of Horace and the Plinys, *otium* had represented the antithesis of business-related concerns (see Chap. 2). That ideal, revived in the Renaissance, had gained currency among British aristocrats and, later, among American merchants

³²¹ Carl Benenson Perloff, *The Asylum: The History of Friends Hospital and the Quaker Contribution to Psychiatry* (Philadelphia: Friends Hospital, 1994), 9-10, 12-14, 20-23; Nancy Gerlach-Spriggs, Richard Enoch Kaufman, and Sam Bass Warner, Jr., *Restorative Gardens: The Healing Landscape* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998), 101-102, 109-111; Carla Yanni, *The Architecture of Madness: Insane Asylums in the United States* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2007), 27-29, 33-34; Patricia D'Antonio, *Founding Friends: Families, Staff, and Patients at the Friends Asylum in Early Nineteenth-Century Philadelphia* (Bethlehem: Lehigh University Press, 2006), 18-19, chap. 2; Burbick, 177-178, 188-195. Another parallel to Laurel Hill was the central role of Orthodox Quakers in the asylum's founding (D'Antonio 43-50). However, more important than any sectarian affinities were shared roots in the ideology of Quaker domesticity, a subject explored Barry Levy's *Quakers and the American Family: British Settlement in the Delaware Valley* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988). On the cemetery-asylum connection more generally, see James J. Farrell *Inventing the American Way of Death, 1830-1920* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1980), 109.

³²² Waln, 231-232. See also Perloff, 14-15, 24-27, 47, 50.

³²³ Waln, 232-233. One-quarter of the asylums patients had free range of the grounds (Waln, 247-248).

³²⁴ Webster, 197; Yanni, 38-40, 71-73; "Preston Retreat," *United States Gazette*, 10 May 1836 (quotation).

and gentry who looked to Britain for cultural cues. Philadelphia's environs were dotted with villas. Anglo-classical habits of retreat, when leavened with useful horticulture, had proven especially seductive to elite Quakers, and it was this class more than any other that led the way toward therapeutic reform.³²⁵

Closely related to country life's *otium*-imbuing function was its traditional place in the gentry lifecycle. The move to a villa or ornamental farm often followed years of immersion in business. Along this well-worn trajectory, rural retreat corresponded to the retirement phase of an active and profitable life. No less seasoned a showman than Charles Willson Peale used conventional language when he told his son: "I wish to be out of sight, by retiring to the Country, to muse away the remainder of my life." (Peale then moved to Germantown, where his Belfield estate buzzed with agricultural experiments and building activities; far from breaking with his Museum, Peale's patrio-didactic landscape extended it).³²⁶

However, by the early decades of the nineteenth century, growing urbanity and mobility made *otium* appear less a personal luxury than a social necessity. Hierarchies that had ordered colonial life seemed to be crumbling and with them the ancestral landscapes for which men like John Jay Smith repined. If rural cemeteries were new kinds of homelands, so too were private asylums. Both were built in the image of the country house and both sought to rework that image for institutional use. Whiggish reformers counted masculine money lust among the great ills of burgeoning cities. Restless self-making and incessant striving had, they believed, produced many of the social disorders that asylums were meant to cure. Similar hopes attached to the cemetery. Again and again, cemetery promoters stressed these landscapes' ability to soothe visitors' ambitions. Much as "the ruthless hand of speculation" threatened familial remains, the fractious and speculative spirit of the Jacksonian age threatened the moorings of the modern (male) self. Curving paths, sweeping vistas, and verdant solitude seemed to offer a way out.³²⁷

³²⁵ James S. Ackerman, *The Villa: Form and Ideology in Country Houses* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990), 37-39, 135-158; Fredrick B. Tolles, *Meeting House and Counting House: The Quaker Merchants of Colonial Philadelphia* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1948; repr., New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1963), 135; Bridenbaugh and Bridenbaugh, 215-220; Gerlach-Spriggs et al., 109-111; Mark Reinberger and Elizabeth Mclean, "Isaac Norris's Fairhill: Architecture, Landscape, and Quaker Ideals in a Philadelphia Colonial Country Seat," *Winterthur Portfolio*, 32, no. 4 (Winter, 1997): 243-244, 260-274; Rothman, 92; Perloff, 46-52.

³²⁶ Charles Willson Peale to Thomas Jefferson, 9 September 1811, in *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson: Retirement Series Volume 4, 18 June 1811 to 30 April 1812* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007), 138 (quotation); Reinberger and Mclean, 266-267, 269-274; Tamara Plakins Thornton, *Cultivating Gentlemen: The Meaning of County Life among the Boston Elite 1785-1860* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989), 45-51; E. Digby Baltzell, *Puritan Boston and Quaker Philadelphia: Two Protestant Ethics and the Spirit of Class Authority and Leadership* (New York: Free Press, 1979), 44-46. On Belfield, see Emily T. Cooperman, "Belfield, Springland and [the] Early American Picturesque: the Artist's Garden in the American Early Republic," *Studies in the History of Gardens and Designed Landscapes* 26, no. 2 (April-June 2006): 118-131; Therese O'Malley, "Charles Willson Peale's Belfield: Its Place in Garden History," in *New Perspectives on Charles Willson Peale: A 250th Anniversary Celebration*, Lillian B. Miller and David C. Ward, eds. (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburg Press, 1991), 267-282.

³²⁷ Rothman, 115-119; Dorsey, *Reforming Men and Women*, 103-106; Burbick, 175-177, 180, 182, 186-192; Thornton, 164; Atticus, 7 (quotation); Linden-Ward, *Silent City on a Hill*, 8-12, chap. 4; Thomas Bender, "The 'Rural' Cemetery Movement: Urban Travail and the Appeal of Nature," *New England Quarterly* 47 (June 1974): 198-202; Fred Somkin, *Unquiet Eagle: Memory and Desire in the Idea of American Freedom* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1967), 191-192.

Those paths, however, soon diverged. From the beginning, Laurel Hill and its local competitors matched the therapeutic value of nature with the promise of profitability. The business-like orientation of Philadelphia's rural cemeteries set them apart, both from asylums and from other cities' graveyards. While for-profit cemeteries proliferated in parts of Britain, most American cemetery founders hewed toward eleemosynary corporate structures and met stiff opposition when they didn't. But Philadelphia broke ranks. The city's cemetery backers understood public opinion and tried to manage it as carefully as possible. (In a journal-cum-scrapbook that he conceived as a historical document, John Jay Smith crossed out lines in newspaper clippings that alluded to remuneration). Nonetheless, profitability among such ventures was an open secret. Handled delicately, it was apparent to all who paid attention.³²⁸

Philadelphians were receptive to such operations partly because they knew them in other guises. Ronaldson's Cemetery had, after all, "prepared the public mind" for respectable nonsectarian burial, as Laurel Hill's founders grudgingly allowed (see Chap. 2). Likewise, if less obviously, the social cemeteries of Southwark and Moyamensing had helped ease the transition. Part churchyard and part secular voluntary association, they supplied a much-wanted service without appearing too brazen or radical.

Equally significant in their own way were new venues for encounters with plants. In the early nineteenth century, Philadelphians had access to a growing number of nurseries and botanic gardens. These were quasi-public environments, some drawing attention to exotic species or particular styles of gardening, others offering refreshments, theater, and fireworks. Similar institutions were on the rise in London, and their example was important. But Philadelphia's commercial gardens had local origins, too. Many were heirs to the private collections maintained by men like William Hamilton. Much as The Woodlands had been open to "every genteel stranger," so venues like Bernard M'Mahon's botanic garden lured curious visitors to Germantown, while John McArran, who had been a gardener at both The Woodlands and Henry Pratt's Lemon Hill, ran a similar operation at Seventeenth and Filbert Streets. A portion of Hamilton's collection wound up at Sans Souci Garden, southwest of Logan Square. And there were other such establishments, too. Alexander Parker's Moyamensing Gardens lay at Tenth and Prime Streets, in the heart of the social-cemetery district. Several blocks to the northwest, the great florist shops-cum-nurseries of Thomas Hibbert and Robert Buist – another Lemon Hill veteran – supplied equally lavish if more straightforwardly mercantile displays (**Fig. 5**).³²⁹

³²⁸ John Jay Smith, "Laurel Hill Cemetery: Memoranda Kept by Jno. J Smith Jr.," p. 44 (photocopied fragment in Constance Greiff Coll., Philadelphia Athenaeum); Sloane, 59, 128-134; Julie Rugg, "The Origins and Progress of Cemetery Establishment in Britain," in Peter C. Jupp and Glennys Howarth, eds., *The Changing Face of Death: Historical Accounts of Death and Disposal* (London: Macmillan, 1997), 106; Julie Rugg, "A New Burial Form and Its Meanings: Cemetery Establishment in the First Half of the 19th Century," in *Grave Concerns: Death and Burial in England 1700-1850*, ed. Margaret Cox (York, UK: Council for British Archaeology, 1998), 48-50; Julie Rugg, "Researching Early-Nineteenth-Century Cemeteries: Sources and Methods," *The Local Historian (Journal of the British Association for Local History)* 28, no. 3 (August 1998): 133, 137. As Rugg notes in the latter essay, "joint-stock companies need not necessarily be equated with the desire to make a profit." Their use for this purpose was confined largely to 1830s London, Manchester, Edinburgh, and Glasgow.

³²⁹ James Mease, *The Picture of Philadelphia, Giving an Account of Its Origin, Increase and Improvements In Arts, Sciences, Manufactures, Commerce and Revenue* (Philadelphia: B. & T. Kite, 1811), 348 (quotation), 351; *Report of the Committee Appointed by the Horticultural Society, of Pennsylvania, for Visiting the Nurseries and Gardens in the Vicinity of Philadelphia* (Philadelphia: Wm. F. Geddes, pr., 1831), 5-8, 10; *Guide to the Lions of Philadelphia*, 35-36; John Jay Smith, biographical note in Bernard M'Mahon, *American Gardener's Calendar; Adapted to the*

Such gardens were important in several respects. They fostered a new kind of sociability, a chance for people to study plants and sometimes landscape gardening in each other's company. That food, theater, and more raucous entertainments might also be available surely increased these institutions' popularity. By the 1820s, however, botanical gardens' functions and audiences were becoming more specialized. The Lebanon Garden, for instance, earned renown as a Democratic gathering place, famed for bear roasts and sometimes-fatal cannon fire. And several contemporary nurseries seem to have become less park-like. Moving further from town, they broadened their stocks, narrowed their mission, and took aim at suburban gardeners.

The turn toward ornamental horticulture contrasted with the more avowedly agrarian and republican view of the land espoused by a previous generation. It was also more nativistic. In 1831, members of a garden-visitation committee of the Horticultural Society of Pennsylvania reflected: "We are glad to see those born among us, begin to relish the minute and orderly labor of the garden and pleasure grounds. Heretofore the plough with them has been preferred to the spade, and emigrants alone have adopted amongst us the slow and patient toil of horticulture."³³⁰ (In reality, Scotsmen and Irishmen continued to dominate the upper ranks of Philadelphia's gardeners – at least those who derived their livelihoods from such work.)

Of the local rural cemeteries, Laurel Hill shared most in this spirit. John Jay Smith prided himself on his native roots. He also fondly recalled youthful visits to the principal landscape gardens of Federal Philadelphia:

Henry Pratt... was a gentleman of the old school, with wig and powder. To get into his premises it was necessary to secure a ticket at his counting-house. These tickets were a precious boon to my boyhood. Furnished with one, each holiday

Climate and Seasons of the United States, 11th ed. (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co., 1857), 11-13; J. Thomas Scharf and Thompson Westcott, *History of Philadelphia, 1609-1884* (Philadelphia: L. H. Everts & Co., 1884), 2: 942-945; John W. Harshberger, *The Botanists of Philadelphia and Their Work* (Philadelphia: T. C. Davis & Sons, pr., 1899), 91, 117-119, 193-195; James Boyd, *A History of the Pennsylvania Horticultural Society, 1827-1927* (Philadelphia: printed for the Society, 1929), 27-70; Hans Huth, *Nature and the American: Three Centuries of Changing Attitudes* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1957), 60; John T. Faris, *Old Gardens in and about Philadelphia and Those Who Made Them* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Co., 1932), chap. 6; Townsend Ward, "A Walk to Darby," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 3, no. 2 (1879): 165; Joseph Ewan, "Frederick Pursh, 1774-1820, and His Botanical Associates," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 96, no. 5 (October 1952): 603-605; Joseph and Nesta Ewan, "John Lyon, Nurseryman and Plant Hunter, and His Journal, 1799 – 1814," *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* 53, no. 2 (1963): 6-9; Joseph Ewan, "Philadelphia Heritage: Plants and People," in *America's Garden Legacy: a Taste for Pleasure* (Philadelphia: Pennsylvania Horticultural Society, 1978), 10-11; *From Seed to Flower: Philadelphia 1681-1876, A Horticultural Point of View* (Philadelphia: Pennsylvania Horticultural Society, 1976), 23, 55, 71, 73, 79, 95; Edgar P. Richardson, "The Athens of America," in *Philadelphia: A 300-Year History*, Russell F. Weigley, Nicholas B. Wainwright, and Edwin Wolf 2nd, eds., (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 1982), 291; Harry C. Silcox, *Philadelphia Politics from the Bottom Up: the Life of Irishman William McMullen, 1824-1901* (Philadelphia: Balch Institute Press, 1989), 25; Harold Donaldson Eberlein and Cortland Van Dyke Hubbard, "American 'Vauxhall' of the Federal Era," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 68, no. 2 (April 1944): 150-157, 161-169.

³³⁰ *Report of the Committee Appointed by the Horticultural Society*, 12. On the horticultural turn of this period and its wider implications, see Harshberger, 194; Thornton, 147-171, 181-183. Even at this time, Philadelphia's leading horticulturists were typically Scottish or Irish. Several were also women who succeeded their husbands in the family businesses: Mary Hibbert, Ann M'Mahon, and Ann Bartram Carr.

was devoted to a rambling tour of Landreth's Garden, Grey's Ferry and its neighbor, the Woodlands, and Hamilton's fine greenhouse, and thence up the west bank of the Schuylkill to Pratt's Garden. There I must have imbibed that love of trees and lowers which has afforded me so much pleasure.³³¹

In keeping with Henry Pratt's precedent, Laurel Hill adopted admission tickets. (Now, though, the aim was to limit Sunday access; most funerals occurred on Sundays, as did most working-class opportunities for leisure).³³² And, like William Hamilton's Woodlands, Laurel Hill nodded to Enlightenment science. The company's 1844 guidebook supplied a seven-page list of cemetery plantings, arranged by their proper Linnaean names. Nor did the company's botanical ambitions end there. If all went according to plan, the managers averred, "one specimen at least of every valuable tree and shrub which will bear the climate of this latitude, shall be found in these grounds, forming a species of Arboretum."³³³

As historians have long observed, such displays helped make the cemetery a cultural institution. A walk through the grounds could be calming and instructive, refreshing the mind while reducing worldly cares. Cool bowers, nameable flowers, circuit walks punctuated by obelisks – all seemed to underscore the continuity with asylums and country estates. Steadily and imperceptibly, *otium's* older, villa-based value as a means to personal tranquility joined forces with its growing appeal as a wellspring of social utility. The cemetery could be a learning experience, a locus of collective uplift. Less challenging than the lyceum, it nonetheless offered a place where plants might be studied, public taste improved, and past lives pondered for valuable lessons.³³⁴

Here again the cemetery both mirrored and inverted the penitentiary. Crucial to penal reform was analysis of inmates' biographies. These were sifted and published on the assumption that they revealed "facts which must be interesting, as well to the legislator as to the philanthropist and the Christian."³³⁵ Cemetery guidebooks offered similar content. But where narratives of

³³¹ *Recollections of John Jay Smith*, ed. Elizabeth Pearsall Smith (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1892), 274.

³³² [John Jay Smith], *Regulations of the Laurel Hill Cemetery Company, on the River Schuylkill, near Philadelphia* (Philadelphia: A. Waldie, 1837), 3, 4; Colleen McDannell, "The Religious Symbolism of Laurel Hill Cemetery," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 111, no. 3 (July 1987): 283; Blanche Linden-Ward, "Strange but Genteel Pleasure Grounds: Tourist and Leisure Uses of Nineteenth-Century Rural Cemeteries," in *Cemeteries and Grave Markers: Voices in American Culture*, ed. Richard E. Meyer (Logan [UT]: Utah State University Press, 1992), 318; Sloane, 85.

³³³ [John Jay Smith], *Guide to Laurel Hill* (1844 ed.), 53. Five decades earlier, sugar planter Samuel Vaughan expressed similar if more nationalistic ambitions for the garden he was designing for the Pennsylvania State House Square (Vaughan to Humphry Marshall, 28 May 1785, as transcribed in William Darlington, *Memorials of John Bartram and Humphry Marshall*, facs. of 1849 ed. [New York: Hafner Publishing Co., 1967], 557). I am grateful to Emily Cooperman for bringing this quotation to my attention in her paper, "The First Federal Park: The State House Square: Its Creation and Reception in the Early Republic," presented at the University of Virginia's Designing the Parks conference, 20 May 2008.

³³⁴ Stanley French, "The Cemetery as Cultural Institution: The Establishment of Mount Auburn and the 'Rural Cemetery' Movement," *American Quarterly* 26, no. 1 (March 1974): 37-59; Blanche Linden-Ward, "Putting the Past Under Grass: History as Death and Commemoration," *Prospects* 10 (1985): 17-32; Linden-Ward, *Silent City on a Hill*, chap. 4, 182-183, 185, 194, 228, 298-301.

³³⁵ Quoted in Rothman, 64. On the inverse didactic value of rural-cemetery dead, see Bahde, 8, 10-11; and, on the humanitarian impulse that connects such accounts, Thomas W. Laqueur, "Bodies, Details, and the Humanitarian

prisoners' lives taught by negative example, deceased worthies deserved emulation. Epitaphs chiseled on monuments and expanded in print gave the dead their moral value to the living.

Yet instruction was only half the idea. When it came to exhibiting rare plants, rural cemeteries were like gardens and nurseries. Variety and luxuriance – indeed sheer abundance – were crucial. So, too, were engaging distractions. Much as John McArran's Botanic Garden and Nursery featured well-tended walks, a large greenhouse, and a museum "rich in the three kingdoms," managers at Laurel Hill and Woodlands pointed proudly to the plethora of trees, shrubs, and flowers set forth for mere visual pleasure.³³⁶ And if cemeteries resembled botanical gardens in the realm of natural history, their Valhalla-like approach to the past hewed more closely to popular museums. The most famous local example was, of course, Charles Willson Peale's. There, for the past few decades, portraits and busts of American notables had overlooked cabinets of natural wonders. By the late 1820s, Peale's museum had moved from Independence Hall to the newly erected Philadelphia Arcade. When that space, too, proved inadequate, Laurel Hill financier Nathan Dunn agreed to underwrite its successor.³³⁷

Dunn and other Laurel Hill founders strove to maintain institutional boundaries. They recognized how easily the cemetery might reveal its kinship with places of "rational amusement" and how damaging direct linkage might be. Commercialism and signs of frivolity belonged symbolically outside the walls. While Laurel Hill's managers ran a greenhouse on the grounds (probably inherited from the Sims estate), they were eager to shift the bulk of that trade to the other side of the street. Florist John Sherwood accepted the contract. His lease obliged him to build "an ornamental Cottage or house...for the accommodation of his family and Labourers; and a hot or green house for the protection and cultivation of Flowers and plants."³³⁸ Along with these conditions came strictures against the very activities then making inroads at museums, Vauxhalls, and nurseries. As Sherwood's lease continued: "[he] also engages not to sell Wines, Spiritous Liquors, Ice Cream, or refreshments of any kind, and not to keep any animals, statues, paintings, or other things as shows for money."

If such gestures created artificial distance from the world of popular entertainment, others nudged the cemetery closer to the realm of genteel therapeutics. It helped, for instance, that Philadelphia's principal rural cemeteries retained, if sometimes only briefly, an actual villa in their midst. These buildings served as ad hoc chapels for funerals, their stately domesticity nodding to the tradition of in-house wakes while partially anticipating the modern funeral home. But Laurel Hill and its competitors offered more than end-of-life grandeur. Their much-praised

Narrative," in *The New Cultural History*, Lynn Hunt, ed. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989), 177-182, 188-189.

³³⁶ *Report of the Committee Appointed by the Horticultural Society*, 8 (quote); [John Jay Smith], *Guide to Laurel Hill* (1844 ed.), 12-13; *The Charter, By-Laws and Regulations of the Woodlands Cemetery Company* (Philadelphia: T. & G. Town, pr., 1845), 10.

³³⁷ Charles Coleman Sellers, *Mr. Peale's Museum: Charles Willson Peale and the First Popular Museum of Natural Science and Art* (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 1980), 251, 257-258, 270-275; Sidney Hart and David C. Ward, "The Waning of an Enlightenment Ideal: Charles Willson Peale's Philadelphia Museum, 1790-1820," in *New Perspectives on Charles Willson Peale*, 219-235.

³³⁸ Lease, Nathan Dunn to John Sherwood, 3 September 1836, (Laurel Hill Cemetery Co. archives). NB: all "LHC" citations hereafter refer to items in the company's records, all of which are kept on the premises.

contribution to sanitation and thus to public health made them seem philanthropic. Patronage might be construed as noblesse oblige.

Tellingly, the same aura of reform clung to other re-used villas on the Schuylkill. Among these was Lemon Hill, the former retreat of shipping merchant Henry Pratt. Around the time of Laurel Hill Cemetery's founding, Lemon Hill, too, was purchased by a group of investors. Their leader, Isaac Lloyd, soon revealed plans to turn the property's waterfront into coal wharves but since the house and gardens held no immediate place in his scheme, he agreed to loan them to the city's Infant School Society as an aid to fundraising. Pratt's garden and chalybeate springs became publicly accessible again. Now, though, visitation appeared charitable. As one local paper observed:

They, who wish to spend an afternoon, retired from the hum and noise of our crowded city – and whose minds and feelings lead them to view with admiration and reverence, the handy-works of an all wise and ever governing Providence – may find in *this* retreat, ample food for contemplation...[;] those who are inclined to use *temperately*, the blessings of a kind Providence – will find that, not the least part of their enjoyments will consist in the *luxury* of the exercise of true benevolence.³³⁹

Such use of Lemon Hill was short-lived. The arrangement had always been temporary, and the Panic of 1837 helped bring it to an end. Yet, fleeting as it was, the Infant Schools' tenure was significant. Like the rural cemeteries that followed, the experiment captured the ways in which commerce, philanthropy, and spiritualized nature might converge at a former county house. Equally noteworthy were the site's new uses. Women and families were encouraged to visit. Pratt's mansion became an elegant concession stand, a place to buy ice cream and lemonade (**Fig. 6**). Tickets were issued once again: admission at the gate cost twelve and a half cents; season tickets for families brought five dollars and, suggestively, were sold at bookstores.³⁴⁰ Literature would play a key part in the spreading landscape of popular retreat. At several points along Schuylkill, villas that survived the coal rush supported the merger of didactic entertainment with less demanding forms of mental activity. Laurel Hill epitomized the confluence.

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³³⁹ "Lemon Hill," *United States Gazette*, 14 July 1836. See also "Lemon Hill," *United States Gazette*, 28 April 1836; "Pratt's Garden," *American Daily Advertiser*, 21 May 1836; "Report of the Infant School Society of Philadelphia," *United States Gazette*, 30 May 1836; Elizabeth Milroy, "Assembling Fairmount Park," in Katherine Martinez and Page Talbot, eds., *Philadelphia's Cultural Landscape: The Sartain Family Legacy* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2000), 73-75.

³⁴⁰ "Lemon Hill Chalybeate Springs," *United States Gazette*, 30 April 1836.

Laurel Hill: the Landscape of Genteel Literature

From the late 1830s onward, visitors arriving at Laurel Hill by land confronted two memorable eye-catchers. The main entrance consisted of wide neoclassical gatehouse (**Fig. 7**). Roman in style, it stretched an octastyle loggia across a pair of lodges and a driveway, creating a funeral-triumphal arch. Passing through the vaulted portal or one of two flanking walkways, visitors entered a small courtyard. Before them stood the next attraction, a sort of mission statement in brownstone. This was a group of statues known as “Old Mortality and His Pony” (**Figs. 8-9**). The work of self-taught Scottish sculptor James Thom (1802-1850), it featured quaint renderings of three figures: the craggy Old Mortality (a.k.a. Robert Paterson), known to readers of Sir Walter Scott for restoring the gravestones of Presbyterian martyrs; the stonecutter’s patient pony; and, lastly, Sir Walter himself, gazing down on his and Thom’s handiwork with an air of benevolent authority. Historians have long taken note of the gate and the sculpture group but neglected their collective significance.³⁴¹ Together, the two monuments announced Laurel Hill’s purpose as a kind of sentimental-literary theme park, a place of collective imagining based on textual and sensual experience.

The entrance itself had reading-room origins. The first major work of carpenter-architect John Notman, it owed as much to John Jay Smith’s Library Company and the books over which he presided. Notman was open to direction in the spring of 1836. Little known in his adopted city, he had recently submitted a design for the new quarters of the Philadelphia Museum. While that proposal hung in limbo and was ultimately rejected, it likely introduced Notman to Nathan Dunn, the principal underwriter of both the museum and Laurel Hill. Hoping to please Dunn and his colleagues, Notman worked patiently with their ideas. Smith was probably his most avid advisor. The Library Company owned Humphry Repton’s *Observations on the Theory and Practice of Landscape Gardening* (1803), and it is in their copy that the gatehouse design seems to have gestated. A pencil-marked plate shows the entrance to Harewood, a great estate in Yorkshire, England (**Fig??**). Few Americans could afford to produce such a structure, either financially or politically. But institutions were another matter. Substituting wood and stuccoed rubble for cut stone and a memorial lamp for a family crest, Notman synthesized Repton’s scheme with other sources to produce the final result.³⁴²

³⁴¹ George Thomas, “The Statue in the Garden,” in *Sculpture of a City: Philadelphia's Treasures in Bronze and Stone* (New York: Walker Publishing Co., 1974), 37-38; Constance M. Greiff, *John Notman, Architect* (Philadelphia: Athenaeum of Philadelphia, 1979), 19, 53-58; Lawrence Taylor, “Symbolic Death: an Anthropological View of Mourning Ritual in the Nineteenth Century,” in *A Time to Mourn: Expressions of Grief in Nineteenth Century America*, eds. Martha V. Pike and Janice Gray Armstrong (Stony Brook, NY: The Museums at Stony Brook, 1980), 43; McDannell, 289-292. On Thom, see Martin Greenwood’s entry in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2004); Richard J. Koke, “James Thom and the Washington Monument: A Scotsman on the Nyack Turnpike in the 1840s,” *South of the Mountains: [Journal of] The Historical Society of Rockland County* 42, nos. 1 and 2 (January-June 1998): 3-22; “Thom, The Sculptor,” *Literary World* 6 (4 May 1850): 170; “Death of Thom,” *Graham’s American Monthly Magazine of Literature, Art, and Fashion* 36, no. 6 (June 1850): 412. My thanks to T. Scott Kreilick for pointing me to Koke’s article and discussing *Old Mortality* with me in the late 1990s.

³⁴² At the time of Laurel Hill’s founding, the Library Company owned Humphry Repton’s *Observations on the Theory and Practice of Landscape Gardening* (London: J. Taylor, 1803), as indicated in *Catalogue of the Books Belonging to the Library Company of Philadelphia; To Which is Prefixed, a Short Account of the Institution, with the Charter, Laws, and Regulations* (Philadelphia: C. Sherman & Co., prs., 1835), 391. Repton’s scheme (p. 144) foreshadows Laurel Hill’s gatehouse in its tripartite entrances, balustrade, and fluted columns. The resemblance is further enhanced by a window and niche penciled into the Library Company copy. While it is clear that Thomas U.

There was little precedent for such a structure in the New World. Similar in plan, Ronaldson's entrance was austere by comparison, while Mount Auburn's was Egyptian Revival. Laurel Hill's environs encouraged the departure. The Sims estate not only exemplified Philadelphia's villa-dwelling tradition, it also stood in an neighborhood known for grander variations on that theme. Foreign visitors who passed through the city in the late eighteenth century often traveled north to see the Falls of Schuylkill. There they encountered a quaint mill village ringed by "very pleasant country seats." Things had changed by the 1830s. The falls had been submerged by downriver damming, the local economy was struggling, and Sims' villa had ceased to serve as a private residence. (Before being purchased by the cemetery, it had housed a Catholic boys school and, before that, a reputable inn.) Still, visitors were drawn there. They came on daytrips, ordered catfish and coffee, and savored the picturesque scenery.³⁴³ And yet, despite the area's pedigree, Notman's triumphal arch stood out (**Fig. 10**). Its grandeur was demonstrably English, alluding to fortunes of titled nobility.³⁴⁴ Here was country-house symbolism writ large

Walter put finishing touches on the gatehouse design, the cemetery's oft-asserted debt to a proposal by English architect Henry Edward Kendall remains plausible but unsubstantiated. See Keith Morgan, "The Landscape Gardening of John Notman, 1810-1865" (M.A. thesis, University of Delaware, 1973), 23-26; Keith N. Morgan, "The Emergence of the American Landscape Professional: John Notman and the Design of Rural Cemeteries," *Journal of Garden History* 4, no. 3 (1984): 276, 278; David Schuyler, "The Evolution of the Anglo-American Rural Cemetery: Landscape Architecture as Social and Cultural History," *Journal of Garden History* 4, no. 3 (July-September 1984): 300; Greiff, 19, 55-56. On Notman's ultimately unsuccessful bid to design the new home of the Philadelphia Museum, see Sellers, *Mr. Peale's Museum*, 274-275.

³⁴³ In the eighteenth century, the Falls gained prestige through the presence the clubhouse of the Fort St. David's Fishing Company and the country houses of General Thomas Mifflin and Dr. William Smith, provost of the College of Philadelphia (University of Pennsylvania). The area lost some favor among villa builders after 1821, when construction of the Fairmount Dam submerged the eponymous falls. Nonetheless, ostler J. Renshaw was able to sell delicacies from the Sims mansion at the decade's end and was succeeded by several other tavern keepers. In 1834, the Rev. Jeremiah Keily established the short-lived Laurel Hill College on the site. After Laurel Hill Cemetery opened, its picturesque delights were rivaled by those of the nearby Mifflin estate, which served as the Fountain Park Hotel by the 1840s. See J. P. Brissot de Warville, *New Travels in the United States of America, 1788*, ed. Durand Echeverria, trans. Mara Soceanu Vamos and Duran Echeverria (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press, 1964), 203-204; Henry Wansey, *An Excursion to the United States of America, in the Summer of 1794*, 2nd ed. (Salisbury, UK: J. Eaton, pr., 1798), 143(quote)-144; untitled articles, *United States Gazette*, 31 July 1829, *Poulson's Daily Advertiser*, 11 September 1831, and *National Gazette*, 8, 11 November 1834; Frances Anne Butler [Kemble], *Journal* (Philadelphia: Carey, Lea & Blanchard, 1835), 2: 22-23, 34-41, 65-66; Sidney George Fisher, *A Philadelphia Perspective: The Diary of Sidney George Fisher Covering the Years 1834 – 1871*, ed. Nicholas B. Wainwright (Philadelphia: Historical Society of Pennsylvania, 1967), 64; "Fountain Park, Falls of Schuylkill, Philada." [1845], clipping in Castner Collection Scrapbook, 31: 21, Free Library of Philadelphia (my thanks to Jeffrey Cohen for supplying this source). Secondary sources on the area's pre-Civil War history include Edwin Iwanicki, "The Village of the Falls of Schuylkill," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 91, no. 3 (July 1967): 326-341; Charles V. Hagner, *Early History of the Falls of Schuylkill, Manayunk, Schuylkill and Lehigh Navigation Companies, Fairmount Waterworks, etc.* (Philadelphia: Claxton, Remsen, and Haffelfinger, 1869), 9-11, 34, 51, 72-74; Ellis Paxson Oberholtzer, *Philadelphia: A History of the City and Its People, a Record of 225 Years* (Philadelphia: S. J. Clarke Pub. Co., 1912), 2: 61-63; *Latrobe's View of America, 1795-1820: Selections from the Watercolors and Sketches*, eds. Edward C. Carter II, John C. Van Horne, and Charles E. Brownell (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1985), 232-233; Karol Ann Peard Lawson, "Charles Willson Peale's 'John Dickinson': An American Landscape as Political Allegory," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 136, no. 4 (December 1992): 476-478; Webster, 286; Huth, 55.

³⁴⁴ The drawing from which Notman apparently derived his design had been prepared by Humphry Repton for Lord Harewood, whose family, the Lascelles, had made their fortunes in West Indian sugar, slave trading, and money changing. See Stephen Daniels, *Humphry Repton: Landscape Gardening and the Geography of Georgian England*

– a new kind of roadside attraction. The entrance demanded by-passers’ attention. Its exedra gathered traffic from the street. Its portal marked a point of transition. And its courtyard bathed initiates in light while presenting them with *Old Mortality*.

An account of the latter’s creation was supplied to the public in a pamphlet. Thom had carved the itinerant and his pony in Scotland, supplementing them with a plaster cast of Sir Walter Scott. After exhibiting these works to “admiring crowds in Edinburgh, London and elsewhere,” their maker had traveled with them to New York, where they received their American debut. Plans to continue the tour ended abruptly when the pony was shattered in transit. However, after coming to Philadelphia and visiting Laurel Hill, Thom saw a second future for *Old Mortality* as a permanent fixture of the cemetery. His suggestion was well timed. Laurel Hill’s managers acceded to his wishes on the condition that he re-cut the horse from New Jersey brownstone and add a full-length statue of the author.³⁴⁵

This summary omitted some details. (It was important, for instance, that Thom arrived in Philadelphia with a letter of introduction from Notman). On the whole, though, the pamphlet was accurate – indeed, verisimilitude was its theme. In order that visitors might judge “How faithfully the sculptor has embodied the description of the author,” the managers included excerpts from Scott’s novel. Rearranged somewhat confusingly, these passages nonetheless reminded readers of *Old Mortality* – his motives, his tribulations, and, most crucially, his physical appearance – allowing for “on the spot” comparisons. Nor did rearrangement detract from realism, either in text or in sculpture. After assuring visitors that “The figure of Sir Walter is...pronounced by competent judges an excellent likeness,” the primer’s author(s) elaborated: “the head is after the bust by Chantrey, and the remainder of the figure is taken partly from the best prints, and partly from Mr. Thom’s own personal recollections.”³⁴⁶

The complexity of this composite hints at the multiple meanings that attended the tableau. At the most obvious level, the labors of *Old Mortality* were meant to symbolize institutional commitment. The managers explained: “as *Old Mortality* loved to repair defaced tombstones, so the originators of the plan of the Cemetery hope it may be the study of their successors to keep the place in perpetual repair, and to transmit it undefaced to a distant date.”³⁴⁷ But generic perpetuation of memory was, perhaps, only half the idea. For one thing, the stories of Thom and his subject were curiously apposite: two Scottish stonecutters, both of humble origins, now cast upon the mercies of the world. It was almost as though Thom had portrayed himself.

If this coincidence heightened the sculpture’s poignancy, Scott’s tale hit closer to home. The backdrop of *Old Mortality*’s campaign is the suffering of a Protestant minority. During the mid-to-late seventeenth century, a group of devout Presbyterians had been persecuted by Stuart loyalists determined to enforce the Episcopacy. The fate of these Covenanters would have resonated among Quakers. Both Dissenter sects had felt the wrath of the Restoration, and Scott’s

(New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999), 150, 152. On rural cemetery gates’ symbolic connection to English estates, see Farrell, 105.

³⁴⁵ *Statues of Old Mortality and His Pony, and of Sir Walter Scott* (Philadelphia: A. Waldie, 1838), 5 [CK].

³⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 5. See also John Jay Smith, *Recollections*, 254-256; Sidney George Fisher, *Philadelphia Perspective*, 59-60.

³⁴⁷ *Statues of Old Mortality and His Pony*, 5 [CK]. See also McDannell, 291.

observation that Old Mortality's remnant sub-sect, the Cameronians, had been "much noted for austerity and devotion" underscored the connection. Orthodox Friends like Smith would presumably have found such parallels seductive. Still smarting from the Separation of 1827, they published statements in their journal, *The Friend*, (of which Smith was a regular reader), that echoed Old Mortality's exultant declaration: "we are the only true Whigs."³⁴⁸

But it was *Old Moratlity's* ability to encompass of all these meanings generally and none of them specifically in which the work's true power inhered. More than anything, Scott's story and Thom's sculpture touched on the sentimental-historical ethos that held sway over Protestant America. This was the world of the historical romance and of its target, the early mass audience. The enormous popularity of Scott's writings on both sides of the Atlantic is well documented. Members of the middling and upper classes – Laurel Hill's principal patrons – were especially voracious readers of *Waverly*, *The Bride of Lammermoor*, *Redgauntlet*, and, of course, *Old Mortality*. And while reception is notoriously difficult to evaluate, one lifelong student of these works has held Scott "largely responsible for great shifts of consciousness, changes of attitude to past and present, [and] a new sense of human community."³⁴⁹

Scott's *Old Mortality* (1816) unfolds parenthetically, almost telescopically. It is framed through multiple narratives, each moving closer to the principal story amid contrasting antiquarian digressions. The most immediate authorial voice is not Scott's or Old Mortality's – and there are other candidates, too – but that of schoolteacher Peter Pattieson. Pattieson, we learn, was inspired to embark on this project in "a spot which possesses all the solemnity of feeling attached to a burial-ground, without exciting those of a more displeasing description." Here, in what turns out to be a graveyard by a stream, Pattieson retreats for meditative strolls. All appears thoroughly settled. Anticipating reams of rural cemetery literature to come, Pattieson observes: "Death has indeed been here, and its traces are before us; but they are softened and deprived of their horror by our distance from the period when they have been first impressed."³⁵⁰

It is on this time-mellowed knoll, where signs of death and change itself fade from view, that Pattieson first encounters Old Mortality. The pilgrim is solemn and determined, driven equally by religious devotion and the will to exalt his ancestors. Though poor, he is not destitute or covetous: he "never seemed to need, or was known to accept, pecuniary assistance." Pattieson provides a patient audience. He hears Old Mortality out, prompts him to further reflection, and

³⁴⁸ *Statues of Old Mortality and His Pony*, 12, 17 [CK]. In a similar manner, political conservatives in the Age of Jackson tended to identify with colonial Quakers persecuted by New England Puritans. See Philip Gould, *Covenant and Republic: Historical Romance and the Politics of Puritanism* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 175, 263n.

³⁴⁹ D. W. Jefferson, *Walter Scott: An Introductory Essay* (Edinburgh: Dunedin Academic Press, 2002), x. On the American reception of Scott, see Emily B. Todd, "Walter Scott and the Nineteenth-Century American Literary Marketplace: Antebellum Richmond Readers and the Collected Editions of the Waverly Novels," *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America* 93, no. 4 (1999): 495-517; Andrew Burstein, *Sentimental Democracy: The Evolution of America's Romantic Self-Image* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1999), 312-313; Cathy N. Davidson, *Revolution and the Word: The Rise of the Novel in America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), 54; Alice P. Kenney and Leslie J. Workman, "Ruins, Romance, and Reality: Medievalism in Anglo-American Imagination and Taste, 1750-1840," *Winterthur Portfolio* 10 (1975): 145; Leslie A. Fiedler, *Love and Death in the American Novel*, rev. ed. (New York: Stein and Day, 1966), 28, ch 7. My thanks to James Green of the Library Company of Philadelphia for pointing me toward Todd's scholarship.

³⁵⁰ *Statues of Old Mortality and His Pony*, 8 [CK].

later, with acknowledged artistic license, combines the itinerant's anecdotes "into one compressed narrative."³⁵¹

The hoped-for resemblance between Pattieson's haunts and Laurel Hill would have been hard to miss. Perhaps attentive readers even made the link between the stone carver's disinterested motives and those ascribed to the cemetery's stewards. Least obvious, but, in some ways, most important, was the synergy with John Jay Smith's other endeavors. For Smith, like Pattieson / Scott, was both an antiquarian-complier and an author, inclined to mix and match tales and histories. And if Scott's work wrought a new kind of consciousness, Smith aspired, and laid claim, to something similar.

John Jay Smith is hardly a fixture of modern historiography. If he surfaces at all, it is in connection with two institutions – Laurel Hill and the Library Company – or as a collaborator with better-known antiquarian John Fanning Watson.³⁵² Smith himself put the emphasis elsewhere. He was proud of his institutional achievements and had little to say about Watson, but, examining his career in old age, he was struck by "how much time I have devoted to the press. Of all my employments I think it was in this I took the most pleasure." Pleasure, and profit, too. During his long hours at the Library Company, Smith availed himself of its resources. Recent books surrounded him, many newly arrived from Europe. These he culled for all manner of materials that might garner a wide readership. In so doing, he became an important intermediary:

Known to all the booksellers and bookmakers in Philadelphia, and not unknown elsewhere... I had many applications for help of various kinds in brining out works of current interest, in compiling, prefacing, and sometimes in abridging foreign works. There were few persons of sufficient leisure or research, at that time, among us, whose services could be obtained for such work; and I may say, that in addition to some original matter, I had something to do with a vast amount of reprinting.³⁵³

Smith's earliest literary ventures predated his term at the Library. They came at a time when his prior career as a druggist looked unpromising and a life in letters seemed to beckon. The switch elicited misgivings among Smith's peers. Both Deborah Logan and John F. Watson hoped he was "better advised than to leave his present business to which he has been bred... and embark in the precarious and untried walks of literature."³⁵⁴ He was not. His first publication was a small

³⁵¹ *Statues of Old Mortality and His Pony*, 11 [CK]. The second quotation is not included in the Laurel Hill pamphlet but appears in the original. I have used Sir Walter Scott, *The Black Dwarf and Old Mortality* (New York: John B. Alden, [1883]), sec. 1, p. 165.

³⁵² References to Smith in modern historiography include Deborah Dependahl Waters, "Philadelphia's Boswell: John Fanning Watson," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 98, no. 1 (January 1974): 11, 17, 20-21, 26, 30, 32, 36-41, 45-46, 49; Gary Nash, *First City: Philadelphia and the Forging of Historical Memory* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002), 17, 19, 40, 83, 207, 209, 216, 277, 300; Edwin Wolf 2nd et al., *At the Instance of Benjamin Franklin: A Brief History of the Library Company of Philadelphia*, rev. ed. (Philadelphia: Library Company of Philadelphia, 1995), 51-53; Greiff, 18, 19, 55, 64, 79, 234, 235; McDannell, 275-276, 279-280, 283-286, 296, 298, 302.

³⁵³ John Jay Smith, *Recollections*, 223.

³⁵⁴ Deborah Norris Logan, MS diary, 11:78-80 [CK] (11 June 1827), Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

volume entitled *Laconics; Or Instructive Miscellanies, Selected from the Best Authors, Ancient and Modern* (1827). The work supplied doses of Cowper, Penn, and the Bible; themes such as retirement, country life, and the risks of vice were salient. So, too, was an emphasis on reading as self-making. Smith omitted his name from the title page, identifying himself only as “A General Reader.” Above these words appeared the epigraph: “A maxim is sometimes like the seed of a plant which the soil it is thrown into must expand into leaves and flowers, and fruit; so that a great part must be *written* as it were by the *reader*.”³⁵⁵

The tasks of reading, editing, and compiling became central to Smith’s long-term livelihood. His career coincided with the “publishing revolution” of the antebellum decades and touched on almost every aspect of it. Books were only a starting point. After turning out *Laconics*, Smith joined doctor Samuel George Morton in producing an abridged (and unauthorized) edition of Scott’s *Life of Napoleon* (1827). Thereafter, he focused on eclectic periodicals, most of which had a literary bent. Even the short-lived *Pennsylvania Gazette* (1827-1828) mixed merchant news and mining reports with sentimental poetry and Quaker antiquariana. The *Saturday Bulletin* (1830-1832) was more thoroughly belletristic, while the *Daily Express* (1832) supplied statistics and anecdotes relating to that year’s the cholera epidemic. Smith’s largest literary undertaking was *Waldie’s Select Circulating Library* (1832-1849), (**Fig. 11**). Published by the printer Adam Waldie, it appeared weekly, cost five dollars per year, and was meant to be bound semi-annually.³⁵⁶

Waldie’s content was assertively eclectic. Each issue featured “the Best Popular Literature, Including Memoirs, Biography, Novels, Tales, Travels, Voyages, &c.,” sometimes as complete essays but more often as fragments or installments. Much about the work looked British. (Its style and much of its content came from *Chambers’ Edinburgh Journal* and a handful of London competitors.) But *Waldie’s* thrived in American conditions. After likening the press to “a baker’s oven” in an early issue, Smith continued, “The allusion is more particularly applicable to the periodical press in this country, where in truth ‘the chief part of all it does is consumed in the

³⁵⁵ [John Jay Smith], *Laconics; or Instructive Miscellanies, Selected from the Best Authors, Ancient and Modern* (Philadelphia: William Brown, 1827). Smith takes credit for the work in *Recollections*, 222. Similar collections of aphorisms, admonitions, and *bon mots*, had appeared for over a century. This one was notable for its brevity and lack of structure. Beginning with *Laconics*, Smith’s literary works evince his interest in, and debt to, the eighteenth-century custom of commonplacing. A mnemonic system and means of self-culture, the practice was a favorite pastime of Smith’s paternal grandfather, whose commonplace books supplied the younger Smith with source material for a series of articles in the *National Gazette* (*Recollections*, 37-38). Such borrowing underscores the connections between mass-genteel literature of the Jacksonian era and earlier modes of literary self-improvement. The same holds true for *Laconics*, at once a ready-made commonplace book and a latter-day advice manual. On commonplace books, see Susan M. Stabile, *Memory’s Daughters: The Material Culture of Remembrance in Eighteenth-Century America* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2004), 8-16.

³⁵⁶ Smith lists his publications in *Recollections*, 221-222.; see also Dumas Malone, ed. *Dictionary of American Biography* (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1935), s. v. “Smith, John Jay,” by Joseph Jackson. Historian Frank Luther Mott argued that American periodicals fomented a “Great Revolution in Publishing” during the early-to-mid 1840s. My thinking about this concept and its more problematic counterpart, a “reading revolution,” relies on Isabelle Lehuu, *Carnival on the Page: Popular Print Media in Antebellum America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2000), chap. 1. Also useful are: Ronald J. Zboray, *A Fictive People: Antebellum Economic Development and the American Reading Public* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), *passim*; David Paul Nord, “Evangelical Origins of Mass Media in America, 1815-1835,” *Journalism Monographs* 88 (May 1984): 1-31; Frank Luther Mott, *A History of American Magazines, 1741-1850* (New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1930), 339-342, 354-358, 397-400. My thanks to James Green for recommending sources on antebellum American publishing.

day, and it may be that very little is to be stored up.” Metaphors of literature as “mental food” abounded in the New World, where stereotyping and steam presses facilitated mass production and consumption of printed matter. Smith himself stressed demand over means. Observing, “our mighty rivers... may almost be said to have determined both the time and the place of the invention of the steamboat,” he characterized his own “invention” as comparably epochal and responsive.³⁵⁷

In the course of the 1830s, Philadelphia took the lead in producing works like *Waldie's*. Steamboats carried polite periodicals from the Quaker City up and down the East Coast and deep into the interior. Three other factors helped ensure the project's success. Smith's post as Librarian was critical. With it came access to new literary materials and a distinguished institutional imprimatur. Since its founding by Benjamin Franklin, the Library Company had offered open, subscription-based membership and fee-based access to the public. This approach gave the establishment a relatively democratic focus, differentiating it from local peers and reducing potential friction with Smith's venture. (Plays upon the meaning of “the Library” were a fixture of the publication).³⁵⁸ A close second was Smith's distribution system. Taking advantage of growing transportation networks, *Waldie's* delivered whole books, in segments, by mail. (Again, the pun on *circulating* library was explicit). Finally, there was the absence of international copyright. Published in London, a book by Marryat, Hemans, or Edgeworth might cost three dollars. Transposed into tiny type and serialized, without any surcharge for royalties, it cost *Waldie's* subscribers about fifty cents.³⁵⁹

Publishers and editors of the period competed in their boosterish claims. The rhetoric of abundance, of democratizing knowledge through technology and commerce, was omnipresent and deserves to be taken with a large grain of salt. By the same token, however, it would be facile to dismiss this discourse as entirely rote and self-serving. The complex, even contradictory, combination of entrepreneurial pragmatism and republican idealism that accompanied these projects exemplifies what literary historian Meredith McGill has termed the American “culture of reprinting.” At the heart of this ethos lay the principle, supported in law and practice, that the circulation of information should remain as unconstrained as possible. That outlook, with its emphasis on boundlessness and market neutrality, treated intellectual property much the way the urban grid treated real estate (see Chap. 2). Both arrangements promised

³⁵⁷ [John Jay Smith], “To the Reader,” *Waldie's Select Circulating Library* 1833 pt. 1, no. 16 (29 January 1833): 249. The phrase “mental food” appears in [John Jay Smith], “The New Volume,” *Waldie's Select Circulating Library* 1835 pt. 1, no. 1 (1 January 1835): 1, but was a commonplace of the period. On such metaphors for printed matter, see Lehuu, 136-137. On printing technology, see Zboray, 9-11.

³⁵⁸ On Philadelphia's role as the antebellum capital of genteel periodicals, see Meredith McGill, *American Literature and the Culture of Reprinting, 1834-1853* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2003), 152. On the Library Company's mission, see James Green, “Subscription Libraries and Commercial Circulating Libraries in Colonial Philadelphia and New York,” in *Institutions of Reading: The Social Life of Libraries in the United States*, eds. Thomas August and Kenneth Carpenter (Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press, 2007), 54, 56, 58; Wolf 2nd et al., “At the Instance of Benjamin Franklin,” 5, 7, 9-23; Nash, *First City*, 15-17. Smith conveys some sense of the Library's importance to his venture in his comment: “We imported for a time very largely from London, but found the Philadelphia Library the best and much the cheapest source,” (*Recollections*, 99; see also pp. 91-95, 98-102).

³⁵⁹ [John Jay Smith], “To the Reader,” 249. As this article makes clear, freedom from international copyright not only made *Waldie's* profitable but also allowed Smith and Waldie to reprint entire books from the same plates (see also Smith's *Recollections*, 99).

freedom from established hierarchies, the products of birth and inheritance. In this new and literate republic, the hoarding knowledge and land would find minimal official encouragement.³⁶⁰

Smith wrote:

This is emphatically and happily the age of reading. In other times, this was the privilege of the few; in ours it is the possession of the many. In former centuries, learning scarcely reached at all, in its joys or sorrows, in its instructions or its fantasies, the house of the peasant and the artisan. It now radiates in all directions, exerting its influence on every hand: the principal cause of this change is to be found in the freedom of the press, or rather in this, co-operating with the cheapness of the press.³⁶¹

If the Library aimed “To pour the stream of knowledge into the little channels which lead to every fireside” (a sentimental play on the institution’s motto) were *Waldie’s* and its supplements and spin-offs more than extensions of that ideal? Smith downplayed his stake in the business and skirted the specifics of his readership. (Whether “the many” included modern-day artisans and peasants was unclear). His main focus was on polite women, a group whose liberation he claimed to have aided:

It was the fashion of other times to treat the literary acquirements of the sex as starched pedantry, or vain pretensions; to stigmatise them as inconsistent with those domestic affections and virtues, which constitute the charms of society: but it is no longer denied to mothers, the power of instructing their children; to wives, the privilege of sharing the intellectual pursuits of their husbands; to sisters and daughters, the delight of ministering knowledge in the fireside circle....³⁶²

Much as *Old Mortality* spoke in multiple registers, *Waldie’s* mixed a Quaker-sounding take on domesticity with its mainstream, mass-culture counterpart. If women were (still? now? hereafter?) bound to the home, they had gained access to the world of ideas and its attendant “ministering” powers.³⁶³

³⁶⁰ McGill, *passim*, but especially pp. 3-5, 14, 42, 47-49, 60, 80-87, 93-102, 108-111. See also Lehuu, 7-8, 11-12, 34-35, 126, 137, 159; Zboray, 3-21, 31, 127-128; Michael Warner, *The Letters of the Republic: Publication and the Public Sphere in Eighteenth-Century America* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1990), *passim*.

³⁶¹ [John Jay Smith], “The Editor to the Reader,” *Waldie’s Select Circulating Library* 1836 pt. 1, no. 1 (5 January 1836): 1.

³⁶² *Ibid.*, 1. The phrase “to pour the stream of knowledge” comes from an address delivered by Library Company President John Sergeant in November, 1832, which Smith quotes in “To the Reader.” It refers to the Library Company’s motto: *Communiter Bona profundere Deum est* (“To pour forth benefits for the common good is divine”). In fact, by focusing on fiction and courting women readers, Smith placed his publication more in line with the previous century’s commercial circulating libraries. See Green, 53, 63-65. My thanks to Cornelia King of the Library Company for noting the source of Sergeant’s allusion.

³⁶³ On the intersection of Quaker and popular domesticity in the nineteenth century, see Levy, 17-21. On the relationship, both complementary and competitive, of ministerial powers to domestic literature, see Ann Douglas, *The Feminization of American Culture* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1977; repr., New York: Anchor Books, 1988), *passim*, but especially pp. 7-10, 41-45.

And yet, even as Smith announced the dawning of a boundless millennium, he underscored the need for new boundaries. Popular literature was indeed like the Mississippi River. Its currents were thrilling and endless but they were risky and perhaps overwhelming. A deft captain or gatekeeper was needed, someone to channel or navigate the flow. Time was scarce in the industrial age – too short for “*experiments* in literature.” Even housewives might lack the leisure to sift through mounds of magazines and books, some of little or dubious merit. Smith would serve as their proxy, and he promised to run a tight ship: “While the interior of the floating bark is prepared for all hands, the *deck*, in fine weather, shall be swept, that we may catch glimpses of other vessels whose passengers are not sufficiently agreeable to be received on board.”³⁶⁴

The idea that genteel (if miscellaneous) literature could perform a social-sorting function was well established by the 1830s. When periodicals courted the “few” and the “many,” they referred not to the elite and the rabble but to middling and upper-class readerships. Scott’s novels had targeted both groups, as did *Blackwood’s Edinburgh Magazine*. Smith and other Philadelphia litterateurs harbored similar ambitions. And while British social categories did not transpose neatly to America, a “quality-popular audience” was taking root there, too – especially in Northeastern cities. As that middle stratum became more self-aware, gaining “class feeling” if not class consciousness, its members – clerks, shopkeepers, and their wives – increasingly aligned themselves with their social superiors.³⁶⁵

The literary scholar Michael Allen once observed: “at the deepest level, the success of a magazine results from the creation of an ethos which represents something of the inner desires of an audience and their idea of themselves, an idea which draws them together into an imagined intimacy with the writers of the magazine, assimilating writers and readers to a common image

³⁶⁴ Similarly, Smith alleged that *Waldie’s* would meaningfully entertain thousands who must otherwise “have been left with minds unoccupied, or thrown into unprofitable or uncongenial society” (“The New Volume,” 1). Quotations in this paragraph are from “The New Volume” and “The Editor to the Reader.” Smith’s self-assigned duties as editor / gatekeeper made his occupation indistinct from those of the critic and the “magazinish.” On the role of such cultural authorities in an over-abundant literary marketplace, see Lehuu, 71-72; James V. Werner, *American Flaneur: The Cosmic Physiognomy of Edgar Allan Poe* (New York: Routledge, 2004), 30-36. Contemporary moral philosophers positioned themselves in a similar relationship to their society. See D. H. Meyer, *The Instructed Conscience: the Shaping of a National Ethic* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1972), 4-5.

³⁶⁵ Michael Allen, *Poe and the British Magazine Tradition* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1969), 20-25 (see p. 21 on “quality-popular audience”); William Charvat, *The Origins of American Critical Thought, 1810-1835* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1936), 52-58, 167-173; Richard L. Bushman, *The Refinement of America: Persons, Houses, Cities* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1992), 289-292; Adam W. Sweeting, *Reading Houses and Building Books: Andrew Jackson Downing and the Architecture of Popular Antebellum Literature, 1835-1855* (Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 1996), 96-99; Zboray, 11-16, 60, 69, 84, 140, 160, 164; Lehuu, 10-11, 17-18, 24, 26-31, 48-49, 51, 58. Stuart M. Blumin, discusses the concept of “class feeling” in *The Emergence of the Middle Class: Social Experience in the American City, 1760-1900* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 251. On cultural definitions of class, see Blumin, *Emergence of the Middle Class*, 5-11, chap. 7; Sean Wilentz, *Chants Democratic: New York City and the Rise of the American Working Class, 1788-1850* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1984), 10; Michael Sappol, *A Traffic of Dead Bodies: Anatomy and Embodied Social Identity in Nineteenth-Century America* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2002), 9-11, 166-167; Jennifer L. Goloboy, “The Early American Middle Class,” *Journal of the Early Republic* 25, no. 4 (Winter 2005): 537-545. On class self-definition and mourning in antebellum American culture, see Karen Halttunen, *Confidence Men and Painted Women: A Study of Middle-Class Culture in America, 1830-1870* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1982), chap. 5; Mary Louise Kete, *Sentimental Collaborations: Mourning and Middle-Class Identity in Nineteenth-Century America* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2000), *passim*.

and setting them apart from the uninitiated.”³⁶⁶ We do not have *Waldie’s* subscriber lists, so it is difficult to analyze Smith’s paying audience; (since readership also included second-hand purchasers, friends, and family members, such an approach has limitations anyway). We do know, however, that the journal’s five-dollar subscription fee placed it out of reach to working-class readers. We know, too, that, despite such hurdles, *Waldie’s* flourished. Smith claimed to have sold “more than twenty thousand of our volumes” during the publication’s first two years.³⁶⁷

What common element bound these readers together? Not shared geography or personal ties. Beyond the ability to afford a subscription as well as the time and eyeglasses to read it, the answer came down to sensibility. Some diversity of content was necessary. Smith demurred: “so much depends on individual temperament in the appreciation of literature addressed to the taste and sympathies of beings so variously organized as ‘Readers’ that any attempt at universal adaptation might be deemed chimerical.” And yet the selection of materials in *Waldie’s* and its kin was far from random. Accounts of distant times and faraway places predominated. A six-month run might contain “The Hill and the Valley” by Harriet Martineau, Count Pecchio’s “Semi-serious Observations of an Italian Exile,” the anonymous “Journal of a Nobleman,” and Wordsworth’s “Sonnet on Sir Walter Scott’s Leaving Abbotsford for Naples.” Tales, “sketches,” and “landscapes,” appeared regularly, as did brief, ennobling biographies. While there was no single, overarching theme, the characterization of one article could stand in for much of the whole: “a very pleasing work, in which the outline of history is filled up with the coloring of romance.”³⁶⁸

It was in seeking this sort of atmosphere that Smith’s literary and funerary projects converged. Laurel Hill strove to invest itself with historical romance. After plans for a pyramid commemorating Philadelphia men of science fell through, Smith joined John F. Watson in securing the remains of local worthies. (While these efforts are discussed in chapter 2, it is important to mention here how closely Watson’s antiquarian adventures followed Scott’s, including those imagined through *Old Mortality*).³⁶⁹ Again, the content was miscellaneous.

³⁶⁶ Allen, 22.

³⁶⁷ [John Jay Smith], “The New Volume,” 1. Since *Waldie’s* was bound semi-annually, twenty thousand “volumes” could represent a total of five thousand subscriptions over two years. Pointing toward the latter figure is Smith’s claim that *Waldie* was printing 6,000 copies of the journal by early 1833 (*Recollections*, 98). On prices and other factors keeping such publications out of working-class hands, see Zboray, 11-16.

³⁶⁸ “The New Volume,” 1 (first quotation); [John Jay Smith’s] introduction to Thomas Roscoe, “The Fall of Granada,” *Waldie’s Select Circulating Library* 1835 pt. 1, no. 1 (1 January 1835): 1 (second quotation). Articles mentioned are from *Waldie’s* 1833 pt. 1.

³⁶⁹ Compare Hugh Trevor-Roper’s description of Scott’s reenactment rituals for the Celtic Society of Edinburgh (“The Invention of Tradition: the Highland Tradition of Scotland,” in *The Invention of Tradition*, Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, eds. [Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1983], 29) with the activities of the William Penn Society of which Watson was acting secretary (Waters, 10-11). Watson’s efforts as an oral historian and epitaph transcriber may also have been inspired by Scott’s *Old Mortality*. See Waters, 11-13; [John Jay Smith], *Guide to Laurel Hill* (1844 ed.), 22; Wunsch, “Laurel Hill Cemetery,” 34. The notion of Watson as Philadelphia’s *Old Mortality* penetrated popular culture. After mentioning Thomas Godfrey, whose bones Watson salvaged for Laurel Hill, one writer concluded: “to look back over a series of years, and call up images to the mind which have long since passed away, strikes so forcibly the conviction of man’s identity with the infinite works of God, that he trembles while he meditates, and feels his own insignificance while mourning o’er ‘visions fled.’ They are brought to view by the ‘Old Mortalities’ of every generation...” (James Rees, *Footprints of a Letter Carrier; or a History of the World’s Correspondence* [Philadelphia: Lippincott & Co., 1866], 126). Similarly, George Lippard deploys

Inventors, statesmen, and military heroes gained equal pride of place. Relics were prized, but there was latitude here, too. On rare occasions, an especially elevated honoree's body might be absent. After completing *Old Mortality*, James Thom produced a "colossal figure of General Washington" that stood near the cemetery's entrance for weeks.³⁷⁰

Old Mortality, of course, remained the keynote. Enclosed in a Gothic canopy, the stonecutter, his pony, and their bard amounted to a three-dimensional vignette. Further afield stood related structures (**Figs. 12-14**). Visitors who arrived by private conveyance proceeded to a carriage house that had been upgraded with Gothic trim. Nearby, Notman's crenellated chapel echoed *Old Mortality*'s baldachin, while, to the right, a large *cottage ornée* for a superintendent wore Chinoiserie recalling recent English villas.³⁷¹

These buildings were Laurel Hill's showpieces, the equivalent of lithographed plates. Each contributed to the landscape's piquant quality, its ability to stimulate the imagination with hints of temporal or geographic distance. The Middle Ages and the Orient, the Gothic and the exotic – all been explored in English gardens but were known to Americans primarily through print. At the cemetery, these association-rich structures served as cues to a literate public, keys to a realm of ideas and emotions developed in parlors and libraries. They were also wellsprings of *otherness*. While asylums promised group improvement through personal introspection, Laurel Hill offered romantic belonging through bookish escape. The ideal of improvement did not vanish; (self-culture was, after all, implicit). But it was antiquity and alterity, languid leisure and available aristocracy, that gave the place its "real" sense of enchantment.³⁷²

human and architectural remains of Philadelphia's republican golden age in a Watsonesque jeremiad in *The Quaker City; or, the Monks of Monk Hall* (Philadelphia: T. B. Peterson and Bros., 1845; reprint, Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1995), 372-393. The surreal scene concludes with an Antiquary bearing a faded "relic of the olden time" – an early version of the American flag (388). References to Old Mortality in connection to Philadelphia need not be construed as allusions to Watson, however. The passage from Rees is ambiguous, as is a quotation in the Stein scrapbook (see n. 93, below). Often, Old Mortality simply served Americans as a generic symbol of regional-national historical consciousness, as in a quotation from Rufus Choate supplied in Somkin, 186.³⁷⁰ John Jay Smith, *Recollections*, 255 (quotation); "Statue of General Washington," *Journal of Belles Lettres*, 7 August 1838; Koke, 3, 6, 9.

³⁷¹ Greiff, 19-21, 53-60; Phoebe Stanton, *The Gothic Revival and American Church Architecture* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1968), 46-47; Franklin Fire Insurance Policy No. 1967, Historical Society of Pennsylvania – **HSP** hereafter (the document contains plans and a description of Laurel Hill's buildings as of 20 December 1839). On the analogy between literary and visual sketches of this period, see Douglas, *The Feminization of American Culture*, 237-238; Sweeting, 12.

³⁷² On the consumer-cultural implications of Romantic aesthetics, especially those referring to the Middle Ages and the Orient, see Michael Valdez Moses, "Magical Realism at World's End," *Literary Imagination: The Review of the Association of Literary Scholars and Critics* 3, no. 1 (2001): 105-133; Colin Campbell, *The Romantic Ethic and the Spirit of Modern Consumerism* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1987), chap. 9; Kete, xiv, 3, 26-27, 134-143; Jackson Lears, *No Place of Grace: Anti-Modernism and the Transformation of American Culture, 1880-1920* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1981), xiii-xiv, 48, 58, 124, 142-143, 161, 175, 184, 186, 192-203; Robin Fleming, "Picturesque History and the Medieval in Nineteenth-Century America," *American Historical Review* 100, no. 4 (October 1995): 1061-1084. Relevant sources that make less of consumerism include: Kenney and Workman, *passim*; Sweeting, 4, 12, 29, 50-55, 63-64, 70-71, 79-91, 134-135, 157, 176, 183; W. Barksdale Maynard, "'Best, Lowest Style!': The Early-Nineteenth-Century Rediscovery of American Colonial Architecture," *JSAH: The Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 59, no. 3 (September 2000): 338-357; Kerry Dean Carso, "Diagnosing the 'Sir Walter Disease': American Architecture in the Age of Romantic Literature," *Mosaic* 35, no. 4 (December 2002): 121-142.

Features that set Laurel Hill off from everyday life were central to the cemetery's marketing. They were also, paradoxically, key sources of a new kind of sacredness. This came in several varieties. Notman's gate announced a triumphal hereafter – a realm of hope, preserved memory, and socio-spiritual arrival. The shift to Gothic motifs within the walls gave that message a more Christian twist, albeit a persistently vague one. Like the founders of “social” burying grounds, Smith and his fellow projectors sought to tie their operation to the churchyard. They expected clerical opposition, and received some, but buildings like Notman's chapel helped deflect such criticism. Other developments served similar ends. In June of 1837, the Reverend Albert Barnes became the first of several clergymen to buy a lot in the cemetery; (a prominent Presbyterian minister, Barnes helped lead the crusade against money lust and other vices plaguing young urban men). Laurel Hill's managers quickly cited this pattern as both advertisement and vindication. Three years later, they began selling lots wholesale to congregations.³⁷³

Studying Laurel Hill's iconography, Colleen McDannell has emphasized the institution's role as “a repository for middle-class religious sentiments and values.”³⁷⁴ The interpretation has clear advantages. It supplies a useful corrective to years of scholarship discerning “secularization” and comports with public statements of the day. And yet what Laurel Hill's material culture proclaimed most clearly was not religion per se but a religious spirit that made room for Christian, civic, naturalistic, and exotic impulses. Private monuments spelled out this theme. While many featured crosses and Bibles, at least as many were frank essays in historicism. The same pattern typified the cemetery's buildings and most celebrated relics – what might be termed the official collection. Alongside presumptively Christian Gothic structures appeared gleeful excursions to the East and sober references ancient Rome. Interspersed with – indeed outnumbering – churchmen, there were heroes of the Revolution, pioneers of invention, litterateurs, and men of science. The language of mainstream Christianity blended with secular vocabularies. It was a diffuse and eclectic consecration.

Beneath this visual smorgasbord lay a deeper kind of order. As with Smith's literary productions (though admittedly with less centralized control), Laurel Hill displayed a bounded eclecticism. The sacred did not vie with the profane. Rather, the terms of sacredness were redefined to encompass historicism, associationism, patriotism, and nature worship. Broadly romantic rather than narrowly religious, it was this heady atmosphere that gave the cemetery its principal appeal. Piety and Christianity contributed to the effect. More crucial, however, were qualities that infused and subsumed these, making Laurel Hill domestic, novelistic, and proprietary.³⁷⁵

³⁷³ Sales book no. 1 for North LHC, 24 June 1837; LHC minutes, 6 August 1840; deed, LHC to St. John's Lutheran Evangelical Church, 24 October 1840. On clerical resistance, see David Schuyler, “Evolution of the Anglo-American Rural Cemetery,” 292. On Barnes, see Dorsey, *Reforming Men and Women*, 103, 106, 122, 132. The practice of selling groups of lots to congregations may have originated at Brooklyn's Green-Wood Cemetery. See *Exposition of the Plan and Objects of the Green-Wood Cemetery, an Incorporated Trust Chartered by the State of New York* (New York: Narine & Co., pr., 1839), 14.

³⁷⁴ McDannell, 278.

³⁷⁵ On the heterodox and consumer-friendly sacredness of the antebellum picturesque landscape, see Sears, 6, 9-10, 12-13, 18, 22-30, 38-39, 44, 104-115; Sweeting, 51-52, 56, 75, 85-95, 100-101; David Schuyler, “The Sanctified Landscape: The Hudson River Valley, 1820 to 1850,” in George F. Thompson, ed., *Landscape in America* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1995), 93-109. My notion of bounded eclecticism derives from Lehuu, 7, 62, 68-69, 126-127, 135-137, 159; Zboray, 154, 156-157.

The ideal of ownership was central, and, again, there were literary parallels. Contrasting the benefits of library membership with those of a subscription to *Waldie's*, Smith stressed that the latter provided “a duodecimo book *every* week to a man and his family, *with this additional feature*, that, though he may not have access to the same variety, yet when he and his children have read it, IT IS HIS OWN, and may be sent to another family, or sold at the completion of each volume, for what it cost; even probably for more.” Laurel Hill’s lots were harder to exchange. Wishing to deter speculation, managers barred transfer without their approval. But the basic idea carried over: something of permanent value was conveyed; its sensibility was reformist-romantic, its use was uplifting, and its *raison d’être* was ostensibly the family.³⁷⁶

Domesticity dovetailed tightly with proprietorship. As historians have noted, the rural cemetery plot served as an extension of the genteel home. Cast-iron fences, ornamental plantings, stylish monuments, and outdoor furniture suggested a merger of garden and parlor – recalling the inside-out phenomenon Walter Benjamin designated “phantasmagorias of the interior.”³⁷⁷ Such accoutrements echoed the home-as-heaven fiction of the period but at Laurel Hill the connection went deeper. Joseph Sims’ villa proclaimed as much. Located near the cemetery’s center, it served briefly as an ecumenical chapel until Notman’s Gothic structure was complete. Such reuse did not startle contemporaries. (Most wakes still happened at home, and a chapel had been built in the mansion during its stint as a Catholic boys’ school.)³⁷⁸ Stranger, perhaps, was the house’s *de facto* function as a cenotaph – a kind of tomb of the unknown family. After visiting the cemetery, one observer told the *New York Evangelist*: “on these grounds, now devoted to the departed, an ancient mansion stands that was once the abode of domestic enjoyment.” Even Laurel Hill’s policing wore a homey aspect. Upon restricting carriage access to lot holders, the

³⁷⁶ [John Jay Smith], “To the Reader,” 249 (quotation); [John Jay Smith], *Regulations of the Laurel Hill Cemetery Company* (1837 ed.), 8. On the cultural implications of this logic, see Fiedler, 43; Laqueur, 179-182; Gillian Brown, *Domestic Individualism: Imagining the Self in Nineteenth-Century America* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), 1-7, 39-45; Lori Merish, *Sentimental Materialism: Gender, Commodity Culture, and Nineteenth-Century American Literature* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2000), *passim*.

³⁷⁷ “Paris, Capital of the Nineteenth Century,” in Walter Benjamin, *Reflections: Essays, Aphorisms, Autobiographical Writings*, trans. Edmund Jephcott, ed. Peter Demetz (New York: Schocken Books, 1986), 154. On Benjamin’s concept of phantasmagoria and its relationship to commodity culture, see Derek Gregory, *Geographical Imaginations* (Cambridge, MA: Blackwell, 1994), 231, 233-235. Many therapeutic institutions, of course, presented themselves as “homes”; (see the discussion of Friends Asylum, above, and Boyer, 39-40). What set rural cemeteries apart was that their “homes” were for sale. On the home-tomb connection, see Sears, 104-109; Farrell, 106-107; Sweeting, 33, 151; Ann Douglas, “Heaven Our Home: Consolation Literature in the Northern United States, 1830-1880,” in *Death in America*, ed. David E. Stannard, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1975), 60-66; Ellen Marie Snyder, “At Rest: Victorian Death Furniture,” in *Perspectives on American Furniture*, ed. Gerald W. R. Ward (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1988), 241-272; Ruth L. Bohan, “A Home Away from Home: Bellefontaine Cemetery, St. Louis, and the Rural Cemetery Movement,” *Prospects* 13 (1988): 135-179.

³⁷⁸ Laderman, 31; Greiff, 58; A. C. Chadwick, Jr., to Stuart Hunt, 17 June 1931, ALS, LHC. Neither the Catholic associations of the mansion nor those of the Gothic style seem to have perturbed Laurel Hill’s founders or patrons. The explanation probably lies in the contemporary trend toward “Protestant Popery” as well as the increasingly ecclesiastical rhetoric and appearance of American domestic architecture. See Sweeting, 50-52, 56, 95, 100-101; Lehuu, 85, 117; Clifford E. Clark, Jr., “Domestic Architecture as an Index to Social History: The Romantic Revival and the Cult of Domesticity in America, 1840-1870,” in Robert Blair St. George, ed., *Material Life in America, 1600-1860* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1988), 535-549; Ryan K. Smith, “Protestant Popery: Catholic Art in America’s Protestant Churches, 1830-1890” (Ph.D. diss., University of Delaware, 2002), 1-23. My thanks to Louis Nelson of the University of Virginia for pointing me towards Smith’s thesis.

company notified its patrons: “A respectable female will attend the opening of the gate for the admission of your carriage, on presenting the accompanying ticket.”³⁷⁹

In the end, it was literary atmospherics that permeated the place most thoroughly. Analyzing the cultural logic of the historical novel, Ian Duncan has written:

Antiquarian scholars and poets redefined the romance as the scattered relics of an ancestral culture that was disintegrating under the pressures of modernization. Its strangeness – its difference from the modern experience – was the effect of this loss: and thus the aura of its authenticity. Romance was the *genius loci* of the last age, to be preserved in the print-medium of the nation-state as its native essence... The romance revival meant the recovery of an archaic native culture, popular as well as literary, felt to be vanishing into the past... The spells and lays of the defunct old world are recovered by the sentimental journey for aesthetic and elegiac contemplation on one’s private estate – even when that estate is confined to the hire of a book and the leisure of a few hours in which to read it.³⁸⁰

The literary labors of Smith and Watson, their relic hunting, and the symbolic centrality of Scott begin to cohere in this light. Duncan’s reference to a “sentimental journey” is especially useful because it touches on the way Laurel Hill was meant to be absorbed. To appreciate the sacral ambiance, movement and novelty were necessary. Smith boasted: “the most admired monuments... will be found successively embellishing the ever-changing landscape, which varies with almost every step.”³⁸¹ Such unfolding scenes epitomized the picturesque aesthetic as it had evolved in recent decades. Much as Humphry Repton “wished to give the eye ‘the supposed liberty of making its own choice,’ composing and re-composing landscapes as it moved along,” Laurel Hill’s manager-recommended tour route aimed to maximize visual variety.³⁸² Arrows on

³⁷⁹ [John Jay Smith], *Guide to Laurel Hill* (1844 ed.), 144 (first quotation); Nathan Dunn to Rev. H. J. Morton, 25 April 1838, form letter, HSP (second quotation). The notion of houses as cenotaph-like monuments was pervasive in this period and related to rising interest in historic preservation. See discussion of John F. Watson in chap. 2; Lydia H. Sigourney, “On the Removal of an Ancient House,” *Godey’s Lady’s Book* 24, no. 25 (June 1842): 332; Gillian Brown, *Domestic Individualism: Imagining the Self in Nineteenth-Century America* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1990), 70-73.

³⁸⁰ Ian Duncan, *Modern Romance and Transformations of the Novel* (Cambridge, Engl.: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 4, 17. The quotation as it appears here derives from Moses, 123.

³⁸¹ [John Jay Smith], *Guide to Laurel Hill* (1844 ed.), 8. In a similar vein, *Waldie’s* promised to remedy “the absence, in our periodical literature, of a publication which, while it delighted in its perpetually recurring novelty and topic of conversation, would also be worth preserving for the bookshelf” (1836 pt. 1, no. 1 [5 January 1836]: 1). On the role of novelty in romantic-literary consumer culture, see Campbell, 22, 89, 93-94, 158-159, 175-176, 183, 201; Zboray, 154, 156; Edgar Allan Poe, “Anastatic Printing,” *Broadway Journal*, 12 April 1845; Klaus Benesch, *Romantic Cyborgs: Authorship and Technology in the American Renaissance* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2002), 104-105. On variety and novelty in American literary-picturesque aesthetics, see Douglas, *The Feminization of American Culture*, 238; Sweeting, 23, 29, 31, 54-55, 69, 73-74, 80-81, 84-85, 88-89, 157. For a relevant discussion of tourism, albeit with a later focus, see essays in *The Business of Tourism: Place, Faith, and History*, eds. Philip Scranton and Janet F. Davidson (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007).

³⁸² Daniels, *Humphry Repton*, 48 (quotation), 58. Significantly, by the time American ideal of reading as self-culture reached its heyday in the 1830s and 1840s, the English notion that the landscape garden should be learned and legible had long since disappeared. The shift from “emblematic” to “expressive” gardening, during which subjectivity, sentiment, and movement grew in importance, is discussed in John Dixon Hunt, *Gardens and the*

Notman's ground plan indicate a unidirectional path (**Fig.?? [Notman Plan]**). If followed, it afforded oblique views of his buildings and breathtaking vistas on the Schuylkill.

More than visual surprise was on offer. Space and boundedness, nature and artifice, temporal stasis conveyed through bodily movement – all contributed to the overall impression. Laurel Hill's physical remove – its distance from the city, its high fences and filtered admission – was complemented by a kind of mental (though not cerebral) transport that demanded active involvement. Relics and historicist architecture served to spur the imagination. Their very materiality was meant to conjure up associations, creating what John F. Watson called an "ideal presence."³⁸³ But reading was just as important. Visitors' literacy was assumed, as was some knowledge of authors like Scott. Only with a feel for polite letters could the polite landscape come fully alive.³⁸⁴

Students of imagined communities identify the novel and the newspaper as related genres. Both rely on modern conceptions of time as something measurable, "homogenous," and "empty" – a matrix for up or down movement. Historians of print and cities sometimes make related claims. Newspaper reading, they argue, came to approximate the metropolitan experience in America. Walking a street or browsing a column were acts of navigation, encounters with disparate contents brought to order by the rational grid.³⁸⁵ What then are we to make of a place like Laurel Hill? There, the hustle-bustle of the thoroughfare was proscribed. One-way movement was encouraged, the grid was obfuscated, and text appeared not on signs but on tombstones. If cities were like newspapers, rural cemeteries were like literary magazines. Their contents were selective, their snippets sentimental, and their view of history decidedly biographical.

Picturesque: Studies in the History of Landscape Architecture (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1992), chs. 3-5, esp. pp. 75-102, 105, 122, 128, 130, 141, 144, 146, 159, 161, 163.

³⁸³ John F. Watson to Dr. J. W. Francis, October 1828, ALS, collection of the author. On this phrase, borrowed from Henry Home, see Everett Zimmerman, "Fragments of History and the Man of Feeling: From Richard Bentley to Walter Scott," *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 23, no. 3 (Spring 1990): 287-288. On the aesthetic implications of association psychology, see John Archer, "The Beginnings of Association in British Architectural Aesthetics," in *The Past as Prologue: Essays to Celebrate the 25th Anniversary of ASCECS*, eds. Carla H. Hay and Sydney M. Conger (New York: AMS Press, 1995): 115-134; Edward S. Harwood, "Humphry Repton and the Idea of Association," *Journal of Garden History* 16, no. 3 (Autumn 1996): 192-214; William Palmer Hudson, "Archibald Alison and William Cullen Bryant," *American Literature* 12, no. 1 (March 1940): 59-68; Robert E. Streeter, "Association psychology and Literary Nationalism in the *North American Review*, 1815-1825," *American Literature* 17, no. 3 (November 1945): 243-254. On Watson's investment in these ideas, see Waters, 38-47; Maynard, 338, 342, 345-346, 351.

³⁸⁴ Although Laurel Hill had an especially deep investment in "quality-popular" literature, literary sensibilities were crucial to the rural cemetery movement as a whole. See Linden-Ward, *Silent City on a Hill*, 171, 303-307; Sweeting, 21-22; William W. Stowe, "Writing Mount Auburn: Language, Landscape, and Place," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 150, no. 2 (June 2006): 296-317; Thomas G. Connors, "The Romantic Landscape: Washington Irving, Sleepy Hollow, and the Rural Cemetery Movement," in *Mortal Remains: Death in Early America*, eds. Nancy Isenberg and Andrew Burstein (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2003), chap. 12.

³⁸⁵ Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, rev. ed. (London: Verso, 1991), 24-26, 33-37; David Henkin, *City Reading: Written Words and Public Spaces in Antebellum New York* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998), 14-17, 28-30, 40-41, 44-46, 50-54, chap. 5; Werner, 31-32; Lehuu, 50-52; Zboray, xx, 13-16, 21, 31, 77-82, 115-119, 127-128, 179, 189, 191; McGill, 2, 119.

The analogy applies to ladies' "books" and "annuals" – both prized for their much-thumbed lithographs: as Laurel Hill provided ever-changing views, so *Godey's* supplied plates of new fashions. It would be misleading, however, to suggest the newspaper's structure vanished either from rural cemeteries or polite magazines. Much as Laurel Hill buried but depended on the grid, so periodicals like *Godey's* retained the late-1830s newspaper's variety and literary focus. (This was especially true of works like *Waldie's* which, in their minute type, *lack* of illustrations, and reliance on British material, resembled condensed versions of the era's "mammoth weeklies.")³⁸⁶

If too- neat distinctions pose one risk, sprawling analogies constitute another. Rural cemeteries shared traits with periodicals but their feel was, on average, more melancholy. Combining somber reflections with cheering prospects, their mourning scenes fell most squarely in the province of gift books. It was here, "at a pivot point between economic and affective systems of exchange," that rural cemeteries found their closest equivalent. Gift books, including illustrated Bibles, were understood as both refined and refining. Their conflation of morality and taste made them edifying; their fine plates and tooled bindings raised their value while the act of giving confirmed their sacral significance.³⁸⁷ This kind of conscientious consumption, done in the name of dead or living loved ones, came closest to the cemetery's essence. Indeed, Laurel Hill's 1844 guidebook should be counted in the gift-book genre. A lavishly illustrated quarto, it included two hand-colored plates and another reproduced from *Godey's*. Works like *Waldie's* hovered nearby, too. The cemetery guidebook concluded, appropriately, with "miscellaneous articles, selected from various publications, respecting Laurel Hill; interment in cities, etc.; [an] extract from Wordsworth's essay on epitaphs; poetry, etc."³⁸⁸

Given Smith's wide-ranging literary exploits, we might expect to encounter such overlap. Other examples surely existed but Smith's hand can be hard to detect. Certain anonymous works were probably attributed to him by contemporaries. This was the case with the cemetery's guidebook, which through eight editions. More often, Smith's intervention as author / compiler was obscure. Readers had scant reason to believe anyone but Adam Waldie had chosen to reprint a warm account of Laurel Hill in *The Port Folio*, a spin-off of the *Circulating Library*. Similar blurring characterized *Hints on the Subject of Interment within the City of Philadelphia* (1838). Published under the name "Atticus," the pamphlet was "father[ed]" by Smith's friend, Isaac Collins, and "prepared" by Smith himself; (its author's claim to have "no interest whatever in any grave yard, cemetery, or church ground" hung on a thin strand of truth).³⁸⁹

³⁸⁶ Lehuu, chs. 3-5, especially pp. 59-60, 65, 76-86, 103-105.

³⁸⁷ McGill, 34 (quotation); Lehuu, 78-86, 97-99, 104, 115-119, 123; Kete, 19-21, 32, 37-40, 47, 52-57, 60-67, 105, 135, 147, 182.

³⁸⁸ [John Jay Smith], *Guide to Laurel Hill* (1844 ed.), iv.

³⁸⁹ "A Rural Cemetery for Philadelphia," *Waldie's Port Folio and Companion to the Select Circulating Library*, 1836 pt. 1, no. 12 (4 June 1836): 191; Atticus, *Hints on the Subject of Interments within the City of Philadelphia: Addressed to the Serious Consideration of the Members of Councils, Commissioners of the Districts, and Citizens Generally* (Philadelphia: William Brown, pr., 1838), 3 (quotation). Smith discusses this pamphlet in the 20 April 1838 entry of his "Memoranda." The manuscript is now lost but photocopied extracts are among the notes of Constance Greiff at the Athenaeum of Philadelphia. Perhaps intentionally, the passage dealing with *Hints on the Subject of Interments* leaves the pamphlet's authorship ambiguous. Smith implies that Collins was the instigator but, suggestively, the penname "Atticus" had been used by Smith's revered grandfather; see Frederick B. Tolles, "A Literary Quaker: John Smith of Burlington and Philadelphia," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 65, no. 3 (July 1941): 305-310.

The career of Smith's "Memoranda" exemplified a subtler recasting of authorship. The work comprised a journal and scrapbook on the cemetery's early years. A self-consciously historical document, written for posterity [insert quotation?], it began with the librarian's failure to locate his daughter's grave in Friends' Western Burial Ground and consequent decision to found Laurel Hill. Eight years after these events transpired, they were publicly recounted in the pages of *Godey's*. Now, however, the story became more sensational – a parable of family travail. After burying "a lovely daughter in the city," Smith had been "much distressed to find the coffin deposited in the clay soil, the grave partially filled with water." Revulsion and bodily empathy mixed in a Poe-esque call for reform. "It is a fact," the article continued, "that most of the graveyards of Philadelphia, if, indeed, *all* are not so, are found to consist of clay...; when a grave is dug, the hollow becomes *a cup*..." Paradoxically, the *Godey's* account derived authenticity from the writer's stated access to Smith's "Memoranda." No stranger to the power of sentiment, Smith had turned his private journal into advertising.³⁹⁰

Even without such ventriloquism, Laurel Hill would have captivated *Godey's* audience. The first detailed description of the cemetery appeared in the like-minded *Ladies' Garland* (Fig.??). Woodcuts showed the entrance and ground plan; text quoted poetry and paraphrased Scott. *Godey's* itself was not far behind (Fig. 15). Illustrated features on Laurel Hill appeared in the early-to-mid 1840s. After that came the occasional poem or tomb description, along with suggestions for tourists.³⁹¹

Common to the longer treatments was the notion that the cemetery was inherently feminine. D. E. Wilson's poetic portrait of "the beautiful home of the dead" proclaimed: "The graceful hill curves with a bountiful swell / Like a mother's bosom of love; / And on it earth's children are nestled, to dwell / Till called to bright mansions above." Curves seemed indisputably uplifting. Their form removed them from the gridded world of commerce and competition, refining educable visitors the way polite literature elevated readers. (Much as the realm of "home and mother" stood rhetorically outside the marketplace, so, too, did the landscape of the dead.) Moreover, such writers suggested, the realm of maternal-supernal influence was inclusive: all classes were said to have found a place there. When the tombs of the rich received mention, their owners were presented as philanthropists who had striven lifelong for social harmony.³⁹²

So far, our analysis has focused on buildings, books, and magazines. While these media do not present a monolithic view of Laurel Hill, their recourse to recurring tropes and images far outweighs their perspectival differences. Practice – broadly construed – is another matter. The ways antebellum Americans made use and sense of rural cemeteries are so diverse as to defy easy categorization. As an actual and imagined place, Laurel Hill was susceptible to constructions its official creators blessed and condemned, misunderstood or failed to notice. A

³⁹⁰ The founding of Laurel Hill is recounted in a (retrospective?) "Memoranda" entry dated November, 1835, and reworked in "Laurel Hill," *Godey's Lady's Book* 28, no. 10 (March 1844): 107(quotations)-108.

³⁹¹ The first detailed treatment of Laurel Hill in a literary magazine is "Entrance to Laurel Hill Cemetery," *The Ladies' Garland* 1, no. 12 (January 1838): 196-199. Its woodcuts of the cemetery's entrance and ground plan reappeared in the cemetery's 1838 pamphlet, *Old Mortality and His Pony*. The first article on Laurel Hill in *Godey's* is "Old Mortality," *Godey's Lady's Book* 24, no. 16 (April 1842): 233-235.

³⁹² D. E. Wilson, "Laurel Hill," *Godey's Lady's Book* 32 (March 1846): 108. On femininity in the language and landscape of antebellum reform, see also Dorsey, *Reforming Men and Women*, 38-39, 52, 83-85, 104, 109, 131; Burbick, 178-179; Farrell, 106-108.

review of those practices, while necessarily incomplete, may nonetheless suggest some of the published image's limitations.

One counterweight to printed descriptions comes in the form of manuscript account books. While women were undoubtedly the main purchasers of *Godey's* and *Miss Leslie's*, the cliché of woman-as-romantic-consumer meshes less well with cemetery sales data. Some women, to be sure, did buy in. Of Laurel Hill's first 150 customers, five women acquired lots in their names.³⁹³ However, even allowing for likely incidences of men acting as agents for sisters, wives, or daughters, these figures are remarkably low. A fuller picture of women's involvement with the cemetery could be derived from visitor logs, diaries, and the financial records of florists' shops, foundries, and marble yards. Until that research is conducted, historians have reason to be skeptical: a thoroughly feminized environment need not have been commensurately female.

The mantra of social inclusiveness deserves scrutiny. Most cemetery lot-buyers ranged from the comfortable to the very wealthy. One quarter identified themselves as merchants. There were also significant numbers of "gentlemen" (and one "gentlewoman"), attorneys, and shopkeepers – each category counting for about six percent of the whole. The grandest purchases were made by bankers, who constituted a tiny minority (4 out of 150). William D. Lewis, for instance, paid \$1,301.41 for a "leaf" extending from The Shrubbery. At the other end of the spectrum, at least nominally, were artisans. Together, they made up ten percent of early customers, but their job titles often mislead. "Stone cutter" John Struthers was in fact the master of a sizeable workshop. His \$535.00 purchase was indicative of his economic standing.³⁹⁴

As far as ownership was concerned, then, the depiction of Laurel Hill as a microcosm of its patron city appears less factual than ideological. Here, as in so many other arenas of antebellum culture, nods to domesticity, reform, and social cohesion served as saleable signs of class standing. Commitment to a "moral collectivity" helped to bind "the many" to "the few." Since that alchemy also pervaded polite letters, we should not be surprised to find Louis Godey himself joining John Jay Smith and Adam Waldie in the ranks of Laurel Hill's early lot buyers. Newspapermen had a stake there, too. Whig reformer and *United States Gazette* editor, Joseph R. Chandler, received a family lot, gratis, from the managers.³⁹⁵

But lot ownership was not a precondition for visiting Laurel Hill nor the sole way of finding a foothold there. Even at their most prescriptive, the cemetery's norms and forms were subject to use and interpretation. Here, quantification is impossible. Board minutes mention infractions,

³⁹³ Sales book no. 1 for North LHC, 8 December 1836 through 26 July 1837.

³⁹⁴ Ibid. Lewis made his purchase on 14 December 1836, Struthers on 10 June 1837. Occupations are as listed in *Desilver's Philadelphia Directory and Stranger's Guide* (Philadelphia: Robert Desilver, 1837). On the Struthers firm, see Jeffrey A. Cohen, "William Struthers, 1812-1876," in James F. O'Gorman and others, *Drawing Toward Building: Philadelphia Architectural Graphics, 1732-1986* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1986), 88; Nicholas B. Wainwright, "The Age of Nicholas Biddle, 1825 – 1841," in *Philadelphia: A 300-Year History*, Weigley, Wainwright, and Wolf, eds., 288.

³⁹⁵ On material culture and middle-class refinement, see Bushman, xvii, 208-209, 216, 237; Blumin, chap. 5. The useful phrase "moral collectivity" appears in David Scobey, "Anatomy of the Promenade: the Politics of Bourgeois Sociability in Nineteenth-Century New York," *Social History* 17, no. 2 (May 1992): 212. On lots acquired by men in the publishing business, see Sales book no. 1 for North LHC, 22 December 1836 (Chandler and Smith), 27 February 1837 (Waldie), and 13 November 1837 (Godey).

some of which prompted changes in company rules. But while such events could be summarized or tabulated, they were also, by definition, extraordinary. To get closer to visitors' everyday experiences, we must rely on more subjective forms of evidence.³⁹⁶

Laurel Hill's founders and enthusiasts recorded their faith in the cemetery's didactic capacity – its ability to shape tastes and values. New monuments and plantings were monitored to ensure propriety, while the cemetery's own creations amounted to a sampler of recommended styles.³⁹⁷ This strategy depended on emulation: handsome works would serve as models, guiding viewers' aesthetic choices when they commissioned their own tombs or homes. And in one high-profile instance – amusing because self-administered – the technique worked precisely as planned.

Nathan Dunn admired the Laurel Hill's cottage. Turning again to John Notman, Dunn proceeded to erect a grand summer house in Mount Holly, New Jersey, that reproduced key features of the building (**Fig. 16**). Out of an essentially Georgian plan rose an ornate central block flanked by oriel-windowed pavilions. Where the superintendent's house had been broadly Oriental, however, Dunn – a major collector of Chinese objects – combined a wide array of stylistic references to create a miniaturized Grand Tour. The house's exterior was Indian-cum-Gothic. Inside, rooms offered visual voyages to Ancient Greece and the Middle Ages. Dunn was delighted with the villa, or at least with his mental – and actual – pictures of it. Business kept him away for long stretches, leaving the house in the care of relatives. A letter sent to Dunn's niece in the summer of 1842 captures his sense of longing, at once personal and oddly architectural: “While I am writing this at my rooms in William Street, Lowndes Square, [London] ,...the drawing of the Cottage by Mr. Notman hangs before me. I can see through the Gothic arch way the sorrels being put to the carriage to take a ride, and me thinks I can see you just arriving and landing on the stone near the front door....”³⁹⁸

A very different response to Laurel Hill came from two teenage brothers. Aaron and Nathan Stein were Pennsylvania natives, likely hailing from the state's German-settled interior. Traveling to Philadelphia in 1853, they decided to present their mother with a detailed record of their trip. This document took the form of a travelogue-scrapbook. Written in a lively but stylized manner, it mimicked the tone of antebellum guidebooks while recombining snatches of their contents. The Steins began, “On the Map of Philadelphia and its Environs in the Frontispiece all the places of interest which we visited may be traced out. We have had recourse to a box of Osborn's Water Colours (a relic of Sch[ool?] days) to render the most important somewhat conspicuous.” At first glance, the brothers' narrative seems orthodox. Describing Philadelphia's grid, they observe: “you will be reminded with pleasure of the precision with which [the streets] follow out a straight line.” Likewise with their statement of purpose: “We

³⁹⁶ The following discussion draws on the ideas set forth in Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984).

³⁹⁷ John Jay Smith called Charles Thomson's company-sponsored obelisk “an ornament & an example for imitation” (“Memoranda,” 1 August 1838). It was illustrated in the company's guidebooks along with other designs favored by the managers.

³⁹⁸ Nathan Dunn to Hannah C. Dixey, 29 August 1842, ALS, Dunn-Osborn-Battey Family Papers, MS Coll. 1163, Haverford College Special Collections. On Dunn's house, see Greiff, 20, 61-62.

fancy the Journal will Old Mortality like sink inscriptions anew again upon the tablet of memory thus robbing Old Father Time of many a coveted Prize!!”³⁹⁹

On closer scrutiny, however, the Stein scrapbook turns out to be unruly. Amid stock sentiments come flashes of humor. Pasted alongside tickets to Laurel Hill and Eastern State are a cod liver oil logo, a biographical sketch of the painter David Wilkie, and a pitch to potential advertisers in the *Public Ledger*, touting the paper’s eight-cylinder printing presses (**Fig. 17**). The brothers are determined to explore the city, and they consider its “rural” oases to be part of it. The bucolic beauties of the Pennsylvania Hospital for the Insane are enumerated, the striking realism of Laurel Hill’s *Old Mortality* duly noted, but there are also excited references to marble yards and a print of modish mourners perusing one.⁴⁰⁰ The contrast to Laurel Hill’s official presentation is startling. Both the brothers’ and the company’s productions reveal their roots in the culture of reprinting. But the Steins’ reconstituted guidebook is riotous. As eclectic – and selective – as John Jay Smith’s, it dissipates the rarified atmosphere.

A young Quaker named Eliza John visited Laurel Hill nine years earlier than the Steins. Like them, she was born in Pennsylvania but her background was somewhat more rustic. John hailed from Catawissa, a mountain-flanked village on the Susquehanna River. Coming east to attend Yearly Meeting, she accompanied several city-dwelling relatives on their visit to the cemetery. Her response combined awe and fascination:

It is splendid. Indeed, the most beautiful and lovely place I ever saw. Everything to draw attention and please the eye. There is a sweet odor there of lovely flowers – roses, shrubbery, and curious trees. Each person who wished to bury there gets a plot of ground and had it fenced in by iron railing, scalloped and ornamented. They are chiefly black; some is yellow brass color. In some is stately marbel [sic] monuments of different forms, and the names of the dead and their ages and so forth....I saw two vaults there and [there] was a building in [the] form of a meetinghouse, though but few seats. It is only occupied in times of storms at funerals. One large window in one end of curious shape, and the glass is of different colors, like the rainbow. The walk is in circles. The grass sod is cut out of the walk, and to walk on the bare ground about two feet wide. I think one building of marble [sic] has Old Mortality in it as it is called; it is the likeness of a man who used to go about fixing up graves, riding on a horse, with his tools, and met Walter Scott, and was setting on a box talking to Walter and seemed to be standing or leaning against something bareheaded, and the old man’s horse standing by, with a rope bridle and bag of tools hanging to the saddle. All was cut of stone. All their features and shape, shirt collar, jacket buttons, pants, dirty at the bottoms, as if he had been plowing, and old dirty shoes and old hat. I was told

³⁹⁹ Aaron and Nathan Stein Scrapbook, Athenaeum of Philadelphia, pp. 3-4. My thanks to the Athenaeum’s Michael Seneca for pointing me to this document and discussing the backgrounds of its authors.

⁴⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 44, 50-53, 75-77, 99.

they had been brought over from Europe. The rich and grand people bury there.⁴⁰¹

John struggled to describe buildings like the chapel, which lay beyond her country meeting's ken. "Stained glass" was not part of her vocabulary, and her labored summary of *Old Mortality* suggests she learned the tale while viewing the statues. Significantly, however, her ability to appreciate Thom's creation outside of its literary framework allowed her to see it in ways others could not. Instead of reflexively asserting the group's fidelity to reality, John studied it closely and saw familiar signs of rural poverty.

Abreast of recent historiographic trends, often tinged by French social theory, American scholars have grown increasingly determined to identify cases of "resistance" or "agency" in the historical record. Sadly, for their purposes, the evidence is often thin or equivocal. Instead of behavior that looks assuredly transgressive, researchers are more likely to discover quotidian acts and encounters that seem, at best, tone-deaf or awkward. Certainly, that is how John Jay Smith recorded the doings of William H. Moore (1804-1887). Moore was Philadelphia's leading undertaker throughout much of the nineteenth century. Among the first in his trade to sell readymade coffins, he was, like Smith, an innovator who made a living at the edge of death-related social conventions. Like Smith, too, Moore involved himself in cemetery real estate. His overtures were rebuffed at Laurel Hill, where the managers "thought it necessary to exclude all of his class." Undeterred, he purchased large stakes in Ronaldson's and Woodlands cemeteries, and even helped found a graveyard of his own.⁴⁰²

It was Moore's manners, as much as his business tactics, that Smith found clownish and bizarre. "A wife, in her great agony, might attempt the wildest hysterics, and her friends would perhaps incline to carry her away from the grave by force. But Moore would kindly interfere and say, in his exaggerated tone, 'Let grief have its way!' Again, 'My aged friend, will you ride?'" Such performances amounted, in Smith's mind, to "a caricature of what grief should assume." As further evidence of Moore's gaucherie, Smith related: "In the course of time he had a daughter married, and of course there was a breakfast in the highest style of wedding feasts, our hero distributing expensive champagne, and taking toll of every cork. When he came to start the

⁴⁰¹ Eliza John diary, 1844, Special Collections, Northumberland County Historical Society, Catawissa, PA, as quoted in Bill Richardson, "Quaker Burial Grounds: Plainness Texts from Community and Family in Dutchess County, New York," *Material Culture* 25, no. 1 (1993): 40-41.

⁴⁰² John Jay Smith, *Recollections*, 283-284 (quotation). Moore is a promising subject for further study because of his outsize personality, long lifespan, and amazingly widespread involvement in the commercialization of death. Overviews of his career include "An Undertaker's Story: Fifty Thousand Burials in Fifty Years," *New York Times*, 28 August 1881 (repr. from *Philadelphia Times*); *Biographical Encyclopædia of Pennsylvania of the Nineteenth Century* (Philadelphia: Galaxy Pub. Co., 1874), s.v. "Moore, William Hill." Moore's connection to Philadelphia-area cemetery enterprises may be traced in *Preamble to, and Constitution of the Mutual Family Burial Ground Association, of the City and County of Philadelphia* (Philadelphia: Joseph Rakestraw, pr., 1827), 15; *Franklin Cemetery* ([Philadelphia]: n. p., [1839]), 11; *Act of Incorporation, By-Laws, Rules and Regulations of the Monument Cemetery of Philadelphia. Together with the Names of the Officers and Members, For 1840-41, and the Third Annual Report* (Philadelphia: Charles A. Elliott, pr., [1841]), 21; *Philadelphia Cemetery. Copy of the Deeds of Trust, Charter, By-Laws, and List of Lot-Holders; with an Account of the Cemetery* (Philadelphia: Mifflin & Parry, pr., 1845), 36; *The Charter, By-Laws and Regulations of the Woodlands Cemetery Company* (Philadelphia: T. & G. Town, prs., 1845), 2; *The Charter, By-Laws and Regulations of the Woodlands Cemetery Company. With a List of Lotholders, to May 20th, 1853* (Philadelphia: Kite & Walton, prs., 1853), 28.

procession of carriages containing the happy pair and their attendants, for the usual tour, he exclaimed to the driver, ‘Laurel Hill, boys,’ the uppermost thought no doubt being that he was doing the respectable thing.”⁴⁰³

What did Moore actually think he was doing? Certainly, the notion of rural cemeteries as polite pleasure grounds was established by this time. (Smith’s publications had effectively promoted it.) Perhaps the wedding party’s trip was indeed an act of emulation, a bid for respectability innocent of the “real” rules of gentility. However, the question of intention may be secondary. Tendentious and ambiguous – like most first-hand accounts – Smith’s discussion of Moore’s conduct draws attention instead toward practice. While proof of Moore’s convictions may never surface, his actions suggest the middle-class cults of sincerity and domesticity were not, in fact, all-pervasive after all. Was Moore a cunning tradesman or a naïve nouveau riche? There is no way to know for certain. Whatever the answer, the theatrical undertaker thrived in a market where selling (while inverting?) bourgeois values could form the basis of a life-long career.

Monument Cemetery: The Rational City

“Men of science, more especially they whose aim for practical benevolence characterized all their public as well as private acts, have recommended rural Cemeteries for interment.” So said Dr. John Abraham Elkinton, himself a man of science and also a venture capitalist. “Of these [commendations],” Elkinton continued, “I may merely refer to the article No. 24, from the Philadelphia Gazette, in the succeeding extracts, which quotes the authority of Franklin and Rush – than whom no higher could be named in any country.”⁴⁰⁴ The views of the Benjamins – Franklin and Rush – did indeed carry weight in Philadelphia. Both men were local heroes of the Enlightenment and Rush had staked his reputation on the miasmatic theory of disease. That theory still held sway in America, particularly in the Quaker City. Its prevalence helped Monument Cemetery’s founder sidestep a glaring anachronism: neither Rush nor Franklin had lived long enough to encounter a rural cemetery, much less to speak on behalf of one.

Invoking the names of such forebears made sense. An enterprise like Elkinton’s needed to look backward and forward, honoring the past while combating “superstition.” Rural cemeteries were still very new. The elements of their novelty – commercialism, physical distance, and separation from church auspices – might more easily be counted as assets if skeptics looked provincial or hidebound. Elkinton did not invent this approach. Mount Auburn Cemetery benefited from its association with Jacob Bigelow, a botanist and professor of medicine. The campaign to endow Laurel Hill with a monument to local scientists had been led, at least nominally, by the noted obstetrician Charles D. Meigs. But Monument Cemetery was different. While medical training enhanced Elkinton’s credibility, his management style was autocratic, his entrepreneurial ambitions unvarnished, and the original name of his project – Père la Chaise – had been condemned as unpatriotic. Avatars of reason and progress, Franklin and Rush made for logical

⁴⁰³ John Jay Smith, “Recollections,” unedited MS version, 1: 396-397, Library Company of Philadelphia.

⁴⁰⁴ Elkinton, 8. Two versions of this booklet were published. One runs to 38 pp. and includes a lithographic plan of the cemetery’s grounds while the other lacks the plan but includes a 6-page appendix.

allies. Perhaps one of them could lend his name to the cemetery. Elkinton's *Gazette* writer suggested as much, and underscored the need for swift action.⁴⁰⁵

In the end, cemetery managers retained the institution's second title but implemented several key changes. A monument to Washington and Lafayette replaced a large fountain as the site's proposed central feature. Republican camaraderie thus conquered "servile" Francophilia, but funding shortfalls postponed construction. Framing Monument Square were four broad avenues (**Fig. 18**). Their names – Franklin, Rush, Lafayette, and Washington – suggested a compromise like that achieved in the monument: the eponymous worthies were mostly American, but "avenue" had a Continental ring, reinforced by the use of allées. Here, then, was a urbane grid. Francophile overtones reinforced the cosmopolitan character of a geometrical, neoclassical design. At a time when most New World innovations in medicine could be traced to French thought and training, such fraternité looked professional and modern.⁴⁰⁶

Rectilinearity and scientism set Monument Cemetery apart. Was it a *rural* cemetery? Most observers thought so, at least when they spoke on the record. But, despite one reporter's claim that Monument's plan was "closely copied from Pere la Chaise, of Paris," the formal resemblances were few.⁴⁰⁷ It was other aspects of Elkinton's enterprise that met contemporary criteria for rural-ness. One was reliance on private property. (Several years earlier, a local journalist had called Ronaldson's Cemetery "a second Pere la Chaise" because it left "each individual...at liberty to consult his taste in the embellishments of his own narrow plot.")⁴⁰⁸ The other was the sense of progressivism that tinged investment in public health. Elkinton promised not only permanence for familial remains but participation in a sanitary crusade.

Monument Cemetery's supporters were effusive in their praise of the grounds. According to them, the former Sydney Place estate possessed "more natural advantages than any other for a Cemetery." While Laurel Hill's topographic variety and riverside perch were absent, Monument's dry hillock and ease of access might compensate; (playing to Philadelphian practicality, Elkinton claimed his choice of site was "more a question of *expediency and utility* than of romantic speculation"). The lack of moisture seemed especially advantageous. Since even "the most skeptical" had to concede that dampness produced "effluvia and poisonous miasmata," red gravel terrain and rising 100 feet above sea level represented the ideal antidote: "Through such a soil, the water percolates almost as rapidly as through a sieve...." Plantings

⁴⁰⁵ Ibid., 38. The importance of Franklin's memory to local cemetery planning is underscored by the formation of Franklin Cemetery in 1840; see Scharf and Westcott, 3: 2359-2360. On the larger context, see Eve Kornfeld, "Crisis in the Capital: the Cultural Significance of Philadelphia's Great Yellow Fever Epidemic," *Pennsylvania History* 51, no. 3 (July 1984): 189-191, 196, 198-201; Linden-Ward, *Silent City on a Hill*, 168-170; *Proposals for Erecting a Monument, by Subscription, in the Laurel Hill Cemetery, Commemorative of Native Genius and Worth, as Exemplified in the Life and Writings of the Late David Rittenhouse, Thomas Godfrey, Alexander Wilson, and Thomas Say, Citizens of Philadelphia*, (Philadelphia: [n. p.], 1836), 8. The two published histories of Monument Cemetery are: Robert W. Torchia, "No Strangers to the Ravages of Death: John Neagle's Portrait of Dr. John Abraham Elkinton," *Nineteenth Century* 18, no. 2 (Fall 1998): 12-19; and John Sartain, *The History of the Monument Cemetery of Philadelphia, from 1837 to 1889* (Philadelphia: John Spence, pr., 1889).

⁴⁰⁶ Richard H. Shryock, "A Century of Medical Progress in Philadelphia: 1750-1850," *Pennsylvania History* 8, no. 1 (January 1941): 12, 23-24.

⁴⁰⁷ "A New Cemetery. Le Pere La Chaise De L'Amérique, Philadelphia Saturday *Chronicle*, July 1837, as quoted in Elkinton, 15.

⁴⁰⁸ "Moyamensing," *Atkinson's Saturday Evening Post*, 14 September 1833.

would enhance these properties. Rows of cypress trees, used for commemorative purposes since antiquity, were meant to form a screen on Broad Street. Inside Monument's enclosure, "walks and alleys intersect[ed] each other at right angles, and the design [was] to line them with trees, shrubbery, and flowers."⁴⁰⁹

The terms used to sing Monument's praises betrayed its kinship with therapeutic institutions. More striking, perhaps, was the degree to which the cemetery's layout revealed the grid's persistent associations with health and reason. Despite Philadelphia's encounters with yellow fever, many locals, and indeed many Americans, retained their faith in orthogonal planning: Thomas Jefferson's conviction that "chequer board" urbanism offered the best template for salubrious growth lived on. In this way, too, then Monument Cemetery paid homage to the early republic. While Jefferson was not among the honorees, a scheme dedicated to the memory of his peers was also a tribute to their shared ideals and to republican spatial precepts more generally.⁴¹⁰

In essence, Elkinton's scheme amounted to an explicitly urban reworking of Laurel Hill. Sydney Place lay between Broad Street and Turner's Lane, less than two miles from Philadelphia's core. These coordinates put the site closer to town than the Sims estate, and, rather than downplaying the circumstance, Elkinton embraced it. While Monument Cemetery's charter echoed Laurel Hill's in ensuring that Washington Avenue could not become a public street, Monument's plan employed – indeed, embraced – the pattern of blocks and thoroughfares that city officials had projected on paper through the parcel. Laurel Hill surveyor Philip M. Price apparently oversaw the work. Still accustomed primarily to straight lines – he had laid out blocks in nearby Spring Garden – he nonetheless endowed Monument Square's *rond-point* with a floral emblem like that used in Laurel Hill's Shrubbery. Other continuities appeared, too. The "large yellow Mansion House" would serve as a chapel. The gatehouse, designed by John D. Jones, would be Greek instead of Roman but otherwise gestured toward Notman (**Fig. 19**). (By 1840, however, this scheme had given way to a Gothic one by engraver John Sartain).⁴¹¹

Monument Cemetery's frank urbanism extended to its management and marketing. After purchasing the necessary real estate, Elkinton raised capital for improvements through stock. Subscribers paid seventy dollars per share. In return they received four burial lots: one in Monument Square and the remainder in surrounding blocks. This system of incentives

⁴⁰⁹ Elkinton, 9, 13-15, 26, 34-35.

⁴¹⁰ Jefferson extolled the grid as an urban planning tool when built-up blocks could be made to alternate regularly with open ones. See John W. Reps, *The Making of Urban America: A History of City Planning in the United States* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1965), 317-321; Dell Upton, *Another City: Urban Life and Urban Spaces in the New Republic* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008), 119.

⁴¹¹ Elkinton, 15; *Act of Incorporation, By-Laws, Rules and Regulations of the Monument Cemetery of Philadelphia. Together with the Names of the Officers and members, and the Second Annual Report* (Philadelphia: J. Van Court, pr., 1839), 2, 6; Torchia, 15; Upton, *Another City*, 237-239. In 1843, Philip Price told Woodlands Cemetery's managers of "the practical experience [he] had obtained in designing and laying out the Laurel Hill and Monument Cemeteries" (*Reports Relative to the Woodlands Cemetery* [Philadelphia: C. Alexander, pr., 1843], 13). This claim is superficially at odds with data on the ground plan accompanying Elkinton's *Monument Cemetery*, which gives Joseph Fox as the plan's surveyor and R. M. Sexton as the draftsman. However, Price was Fox's junior partner and may well have handled a project for which the senior surveyor received credit. On Price's early career, see Wunsch, "Woodlands Cemetery," 12-13, 176-177. The Sydney Place mansion burned in 1840, and efforts to prevent city streets from running through Monument Cemetery ultimately proved futile (Sartain, 6, 9).

resembled that used by William Penn to lure investors to his colony. By analogy, Monument Square bore the same relationship to adjacent sections as Philadelphia did to its hinterland: a node where ground came at a premium, resale was expected, and speculation entirely inevitable. Elkinton did not discourage this conclusion. Reminding the public of his “extensive transactions in real estate,” he further stressed that Monument Cemetery occupied a prime location on “the very summit of [a] fashionable and spacious street.”⁴¹²

Yet matters were not so simple. The essence of cemetery rhetoric was the claim to therapeutic distance. Elkinton himself decried desecrations wrought by “the ruthless hand of man” whereby established graveyards vanished beneath “the very bricks which modern improvements have ordered for our footpaths.” Newspapers played along, despite Elkinton’s prominent role in developing the nearby Northern Liberties District. The *Public Ledger* condoned cemeteries like Elkinton’s because “experience shows that in cities, nothing, however useful or ornamental, or however connected with hallowed recollections, is safe, where its destruction can be subservient to the ‘almighty dollar.’” Were private property and land speculation the ailments, the cures, or both? There was no straightforward answer. A writer for the *Pennsylvania Sentinel* raised the specter of speculation only to chide Monument’s managers for closing their subscription books *too soon*. If the cemetery was to be a republican social space, as its form and adornment implied, then equality of opportunity must reign there.⁴¹³

Even as Elkinton’s enterprise remained officially rural, the idea that it might in fact represent a new kind of urbanism crept inexorably into print. Proximity to the city’s core encouraged the semantic drift. As critics liked to observe, Monument Cemetery lay “within a few squares of the populous part of Philadelphia” – in fact, within walking distance. The ambiguous word “suburb” still retained older, negative connotations. A journalist for the city’s *Saturday Chronicle* seemed to touch on them when he noted: “in conveying the dead to their place of destination, you go completely beyond the *prospective* suburbs of the town, but not so far as to make the mourners feel they are performing a lengthened journey.” And yet, as one legal expert opined, “a circular line, with a radius of *one-and-three-fourth mile, and having* [the formerly named] *Pere la Chaise Cemetery for the centre*, will intersect ‘the most densely settled portions’ of Kensington and the Northern Liberties.” In light of this helpful verdict and the prevalence of healthful terrain, another writer predicted, the cemetery was bound to become “the nucleus around which a new city must spring up.”⁴¹⁴

Scholars of various stripes have tended to overstate both the anti-urban and anti-commercial aspects of rural cemeteries. As Monument Cemetery’s viability suggests, Jacksonian Americans – or at least Philadelphians – strayed far from these rhetorical absolutes, confounding later interpretive efforts by remaining pragmatic and flexible.⁴¹⁵ In some respects, though, Elkinton’s

⁴¹² Elkinton, 9 (quotations); *Articles of Association of the Monument Cemetery of Philadelphia* (Philadelphia: J. Thompson, pr., 1837), 3-4. Penn allotted ten acres in his “great Town or City” for every 500 acres purchased in the larger settlement; see Hannah Benner Roach, “The Planting of Philadelphia: A Seventeenth-Century Real Estate Development,” *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 92, no. 1 (Jan 1968): 10-12. While Penn envisioned three classes of investors (Roach, 7-8), Elkinton envisioned two: shareholders and lot holders. On their rights, see *Articles of Association*, 6.

⁴¹³ Elkinton, 5, 17-18, 23; “New Buildings,” *United States Gazette*, 11 July 1836.

⁴¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 17, 20, 34.

⁴¹⁵ Upton, “Gridding the Graveyard,” 40-41, 45.

scheme was atypical. A commercial, non-sectarian grid, it conformed to local notions of what a reform cemetery should look like but might not have passed muster as “rural” in cities like New York or Boston.

Indeed, even in Philadelphia, Monument Cemetery occupied a niche. By the late 1830s, orthogonally arranged “social” burial grounds still flourished, but, thanks partly to Laurel Hill’s example, they were respectable rather than genteel. Elkinton aimed to split the difference. Hoping to capture some of Laurel Hill’s cachet, he followed James Ronaldson and John Jay Smith in finding ways to add value to the grid. Where Laurel Hill was rural and romantic, Monument was urbane and rational. Where Laurel Hill gained politesse through bookishness, Monument did so through medical authority.⁴¹⁶

Medicine in Jacksonian America was a field of growing prestige. Long associated with Enlightenment values, the work of doctors now figured increasingly in definitions of self and class. The human body lay at the center of this process, caught up in a long tug-of-war (see Chap. 1). To one side stood elite professionals – initiates to the cult of dissection. Reworking the Puritan emphasis on the corpse as a spiritless cast-off, members of this group saw themselves as explorers, shedding light on internal mysteries. Against the doctor’s disembodied reason stood corporeal notions of the poor. Their ranks furnished most of the raw “materials” on which anatomical instruction was based. They were accordingly branded superstitious – a group whose lingering attachment to witchcraft was of a piece with their excessive sensuality.⁴¹⁷

John Elkinton located his project squarely within this discourse. One of his early pamphlets declared:

In former times... , human ingenuity and skill were engaged exclusively in providing means against the decomposition and decay which speedily dissolves all inanimate organic matter. But as the minds of men became enlightened, and the dark cloud of ignorance and superstition fled away, these antiquated notions of giving perpetuity to the dead remains of mortality, gradually yielded to the more rational dictates of a sounder philosophy. Now, no longer does human ingenuity tax itself to perpetuate the lifeless corpse; no longer do dead nations slumber in awful silence wrapped in the tissues and embalmed in the gums of human devices; no longer is the lifeless body preserved from destruction when the vital spark has deserted its mansion.⁴¹⁸

Fellow investors shared Elkinton’s vision. Indeed, efforts to dedicate Monument Cemetery to genteel-medical values were led as much by powerful stockholders as by the activist founder himself. These men rallied to erect a memorial to the late John D. Godman (1794-1830). A Maryland native and self-made man, Godman had earned a place among “the most distinguished

⁴¹⁶ On the relationship between medical expertise and the expansion of gentility in this period, see Sappol, 25-27, 29, 64-65; Thomas A. Horrocks, “Promoting Good Health in the Age of Reform: The Medical Publications of Henry H. Porter of Philadelphia, 1829-32,” *Canadian Bulletin of Medical History* 12 (1995): 260-266, 270.

⁴¹⁷ These positions are the focus of Sappol’s book; see especially pp. 2-3, 14, 19, 22-25, 77, 119, 129, 137, 169. Related perspectives appear in Laderman, 52; Upton, “Gridding the Graveyard,” 10, 31-34.

⁴¹⁸ Elkinton, 6. This emphasis on “natural decay,” with its scientific and religious overtones, was common to the rural cemetery movement as a whole; see Linden-Ward, *Silent City on a Hill*, 171; Laderman, 63-65.

American anatomists...and won acceptance in some high social and intellectual circles.” His commitment to human progress was unshakeable. In one didactic publication he announced, “The triumph of modern medicine begins [when] the voiceless dead are interrogated.” Such opinions could veer towards atheism but Dr. Godman escaped that fate. Visiting a student’s deathbed in 1827, he found the man’s faith so compelling that he himself underwent a conversion.⁴¹⁹

If rationalism supplied a kind of enchantment analogous to Laurel Hill’s religious milieu, the period that produced Monument Cemetery hardly corresponded to reason’s highpoint. America in the 1830s was in the throes of a land rush. In the words of historian Marvin Meyers, “fantastic private speculation in the lots of cities, old, new, prospective, and purely imaginary, prevailed from the Atlantic seaboard to the Western limits of settlement.” Rural cemeteries were part of that phenomenon, albeit in complex ways. Their rapid rise, ad hoc constitutions, and tendency to blur public and private made them Eastern counterparts of the “claim clubs” that settled states like Iowa, Minnesota, and Nebraska. Sections were laid out and subdivided, land titles recorded and re-written. As in the West, however, the micro-governments that ran these operations were only as strong as their managers. Despite the presence of checks and balances (and Laurel Hill, notably, had neither), a headstrong leader could bring down the enterprise.⁴²⁰

Monument Cemetery teetered in that direction. Bitter quarrels broke out between Elkinton and fellow board members, tending at times toward all-out war. The conflict involved discrepancies between rules and conduct, democratic forms and autocratic behavior. Elkinton was the corporation’s largest shareholder. He had earned this status by default, stepping in to purchase surplus shares when subscribers had failed to do so. This risk-taking, however, did not exempt him from the company’s bylaws, as he sometimes appeared to believe. He sold lots for which the cemetery had not issued deeds, refused to pay assessments levied for general improvements, and showed contempt for procedural structures he himself had helped to establish.⁴²¹

Turmoil gripped the company for years. It doomed the Greek Revival shrine planned for Monument Square (a simple obelisk eventually succeeded it) and silenced talk of the Godman memorial. Another casualty of the conflict was the calming suggestion of reform. In May of 1853, the board’s president reported wearily, “The history of the Cemetery for the past year, as heretofore, has been marked by the publication of a series of articles in the newspapers, *many* of them over the name of John A. Elkinton, and *all* of them through his agency, tending to affect very injuriously, the interests of the corporation. The statements made in those articles *generally*, have their only basis in an imagination wrought upon by an inordinate ambition, excessive vanity, and a malignant spirit, heightened by an impatient desire to gratify those

⁴¹⁹ Sappol, 64 (first quotation); John D. Godman, *Introductory Lecture to the Course of Anatomy and Physiology...* (1826), as quoted in Sappol, 77 (second quotation); Henry Simpson, *Lives of Eminent Philadelphians, Now Deceased* (Philadelphia: William Brotherhead, 1859), s.v. “John D. Godman.”

⁴²⁰ Gregory, 233; Daniel Boorstin, *The Americans: The National Experience* (New York: Vintage Books, 1965), 72-78; Marvin Meyers, *The Jacksonian Persuasion: Politics and Belief* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1957), 111 (quotation)-112.

⁴²¹ Sartain, 8; Torchia, 16.

feelings, by means which cannot be regarded as honorable and manly....”⁴²² Elkinton had failed the test of chastened masculinity that cemeteries tried to support. He died later on that year.

Despite such formidable obstacles, Monument Cemetery survived and prospered. Cheaper than Laurel Hill but still quite respectable, it had hosted almost 1,700 interments by the year 1845. Demographics were on the company’s side. Like other large cities, Philadelphia was growing. Its population in 1840 approached 232,000 when surrounding districts were counted. But more than blunt necessity was at work. As the Quaker City’s graveyards continued to fill up, so did subscriber lists for ventures like Elkinton’s. Demand sprang from multiple sources. It drew on both needs and desires.⁴²³

Communities, Commodities, and the Picturesque: the Case of Woodlands Cemetery⁴²⁴

As early as 1840, all of America’s major cities had rural cemeteries. Philadelphia, of course, had two, while smaller cities like Bangor, Maine, Worcester, Massachusetts, and Rochester, New York, were proud to have a single stake in the movement. Contrary to some later accounts, the diffusion of the type was rarely rote or imitative. Establishing a new cemetery was major undertaking, requiring supporters to make locally acceptable choices between commercial or eleemosynary operation, religious or secular affiliation, and naturalism versus geometrical artifice in landscape design. Many would-be cemetery managers set up committees to explore their options. Traveling by steamboat or rail, they toured Boston, New York, and Philadelphia, sought advice from more experienced counterparts, and drew up detailed reports of their findings.⁴²⁵

The design choices that followed such studies generally produced one of two kinds of landscapes. Mount Auburn’s romantic woods held a near-monopoly in the Northeast. There, the more rugged approach to the picturesque sanctioned, albeit remotely, by English theorists Uvedale Price and Richard Payne Knight found favor. The reasons ranged from proximity (Mount Auburn was easily visited) to ecology (hardy evergreens grew well) and culture (Unitarian and proto-Transcendentalist views of nature were of greater importance). South of New York, however, Mount Auburn’s hegemony was less absolute. Born partly of Quaker-genteel habits, Laurel Hill’s villa-garden model constituted a viable alternative in and beyond the Delaware Valley. This approach emphasized delicacy, domesticity, and botanical variety – hallmarks of the so-called “Gardenesque” style. Promoted by John Claudius Loudon in the Old World and adapted by lesser-known practitioners in the New, it cropped up at Baltimore’s Green Mount (1838), the southernmost of the early rural cemeteries.⁴²⁶

⁴²² *Sixteenth Annual Report of the Board of Managers of the Monument Cemetery of Philadelphia...* (Philadelphia: G. T. Stockdale, pr., [1853]), 4 (quotation); Sartain, 7-9.

⁴²³ Torchia, 16; Sam Bass Warner, Jr., *The Private City: Philadelphia in Three Periods of Its Growth* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1968), 51.

⁴²⁴ Portions of this essay are adapted from my HABS report on Woodlands Cemetery, pp. 107-125.

⁴²⁵ A useful state-of-the-art summation is [J. Brazer], “Rural Cemeteries,” *North American Review* 53, no. 113 (October 1841): 385-412. Some sense of the geographic distribution of early rural cemeteries may be gleaned from Sloane, 56, 93, although his Northern focus causes him to omit Southern examples.

⁴²⁶ On New England’s cultural preferences for the wilder aesthetic represented by Mount Auburn, see Linden-Ward, *Silent City on a Hill*, 144-145, 171-172, 175-178. Americans rarely differentiated their rural cemeteries according to

Cemetery founders charged with site selection and landscape design operated within common constraints. Distance from the city was a given. The most desirable locations lay two to four miles from the business district along existing or projected omnibus lines. Dry soil was important but ponds and streams lent visual variety and were sometimes preserved – or created – for that reason. Road and path design could be contentious. Surveying and grading were expensive, and if an architect’s or board member’s scheme looked capricious, those responsible for implementing it might insist upon radical changes. Complicating such discussions was the ambiguous role of the curve. Despite the localized success of ventures like Elkinton’s, most cemetery founders with “rural” ambitions considered serpentine roads indispensable. But rural curves, like urban grids, bore no necessary relationship to topography. As far back as the 1790s, landscape gardener Humphry Repton had written: “nothing is more beautiful than the distant glimpse of a road winding up a hill, and nothing more disgusting than the same degree of curvature undulating without reason across a plain.”⁴²⁷ While New World cemetery designers habitually declared their sensitivity to their sites’ unique characteristics – the so-called “genius of the place” – the conflicting nature of their proposals suggests the concept’s open-ended nature.

The profession of landscape gardening, or what Americans would eventually call landscape architecture, remained unformed in the antebellum decades. Surveyors, architects, and horticulturists all tried their hands at the work, and all vied for cultural authority in a field that hardly had a name.⁴²⁸ The case of Philadelphia’s Woodlands Cemetery helps elucidate what was stake. There, one set of commitments pushed the managers toward serpentine lines while another strongly favored straight ones. Each side laid claim to sound business sense. However, the language of practicality tended to confuse a discussion in which idealism, entrepreneurship, and, indeed, different visions of community all entered in. How did a rural cemetery’s sentimental collectivism relate to its proprietary individualism? Was the process of cemetery land division a craft or an art, and was its product an investment or a “home”?

European aesthetic categories. When the existence of distinctive types was acknowledged, it usually involved a contrast between “wooded” and “garden” varieties, as in John Jay Smith, “Rural Cemeteries,” *Horticulturist*, n.s., 6, (August 1856): 346. Andrew Jackson Downing felt the “broad and simple style” of New York’s Greenwood Cemetery represented a third way (“Public Cemeteries and Public Gardens,” *Horticulturist* 4, no. 1 [July 1849]: 10), while modern scholars’ recourse to Downing’s residential landscape categories has further confused the issue (Philip Pregill and John Volkman, *Landscapes in History: Design and Planning in the Eastern and Western Traditions*, 2nd ed. [New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1999], 458-459). Another caveat: while American rural cemetery designers sometimes referred Loudon’s publications, they studiously – and significantly – ignored the bulk of his advice on cemetery design (Schuyler, “Evolution of the Anglo-American Rural Cemetery,” 300-301; [Andrew Jackson Downing], “Designs for Monuments and Rural [sic] Tablets,” *Horticulturist* 1, no. 7 [January 1847]: 329; Wunsch, “Woodlands Cemetery,” 52, 132). Ironically, the least picturesque of Philadelphia’s rural cemeteries, Monument, came closest to Loudon’s cemetery ideal.

⁴²⁷ Humphry Repton, Red Book for Tatton Park (1792), as quoted in Daniels, *Humphry Repton*, 48. Following his work at Laurel Hill, John Notman found himself accused of the very sin to which Repton alluded. See Blanche Linden-Ward and David C. Sloane, “Spring Grove: The Founding of Cincinnati’s Rural Cemetery, 1845-1855,” *Queen City Heritage* 43, no. 1 (Spring 1985): 23, 25. I am grateful to Blanche Linden for discussing the details of this contretemps with me.

⁴²⁸ Overviews of this proto-professional period in the history of American landscape architecture include Judith K. Major, “Surveying Professional Domains,” *Landscape Architecture* 75, no. 1 (January / February 1985): 66-71; Carla Corbin, “No ‘Gross Offences against Good Taste in Landscape Art’: the Pre-Professional Era in *Garden and Forest*,” *Landscape Journal* 25 (February 2006): 158-168.

The Woodlands estate had a convoluted history. Following years of celebrity as William Hamilton's botanical showcase, it had fallen to a group of heirs who lacked the originator's wealth and skilled labor force. Title expert Thomas Mitchell (1780-1849) took ownership in 1831. "[O]ne of the first persons to make conveyancing and real estate business a specialty in Philadelphia," Mitchell hoped to develop the tract's waterfront as a cluster of canal-linked coal wharves. Competing schemes and the Panic of 1837 eventually put an end to that plan. Angry and determined to make good, Mitchell decided he might yet see returns by subdividing the upland side of his property.⁴²⁹

On October 21, 1838, Philadelphia patrician Sidney George Fisher recorded:

At 10, took my favorite ride, out old Balt[imore] turnpike to a lane in the woods & home by West-Chester road... Stopped at the Woodlands & went in. Never was there before. It is one of the finest old places in the country. A very large & handsome house is seated near the river, in the midst of what may well be called a park, even now. The ground is very undulating, & covered with groups of noble forest trees. The view is extensive and beautiful... It is now owned by Mitchel [sic], the conveyancer, who bought it on speculation, & it will probably before long be dismantled, disforested & cut up into town lots.⁴³⁰

That Mitchell avoided this course of action and settled instead on a gentler one was due in part to the influence of Eli Kirk Price (1797-1884). A successful real estate lawyer, Price possessed skills similar to Mitchell's but in a form that held greater prestige. (While conveyancers' comprehension of property law increasingly set them above scribes, the legal profession's more established standing gave it greater long-term advantages.) Price's upbringing in one of Chester County's most devout and respected Quaker families did much to shape his social outlook. As he made the archetypal transition from country to city, first as a merchant in training and then as a student of law, that same background helped launch his career. The schism between Hicksite and Orthodox Friends produced long-running contests over meeting property. Price found these disputes painful but his fairness in arbitrating them became well known. He also tried his hand in real estate – a cautious investment shared by many of his peers. But while this work began to prove lucrative, it was legal knowledge and progressive beliefs on which Price built his reputation.⁴³¹

⁴²⁹ Long, 171-176, 196-197; Wunsch, "Woodlands Cemetery," 4-5, 38-39, 89-95; *The National Cyclopaedia of American Biography* (New York: James T. White, 1893), s. v. "Mitchell, John Nicholas" (quotation).

⁴³⁰ Sidney George Fisher, *Philadelphia Perspective*, 60-61.

⁴³¹ The best brief biographies are William E. DuBois and J. Sergeant Price, "Eli K. Price," in *History of Chester County, Pennsylvania, with Genealogical and Biographical Sketches*, eds. J. Smith Futhey and Gilbert Cope (Philadelphia: Louis H. Everts, 1881), 696-699; *Dictionary of American Biography*, Dumas Malone, ed., (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1935), s. v. "Price, Eli Kirk." Important details are added by [Eli K. Price], *Centennial Meeting of the Descendants of Philip and Rachel Price* (Philadelphia: Caxton Press of C. Sherman, Son & Co., 1864), 39-40; Joseph T. Rothrock, "Biographical Memoir of the Late Honorable Eli K. Price, LL.D.," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 23, no. 124 (December 1886): 572-580; Benjamin H. Brewster, *Address on the Late Eli K. Price Delivered...before the Law Association of Philadelphia on November 15, 1886* (Philadelphia: Edward Stern & Co., pr., [1886]), 5-11; obituaries and miscellaneous newspaper clippings filed under Price's name, Chester County Historical Society, West Chester, PA; Douglas R. Harper, *West Chester to 1865: That Elegant and Notorious Place* (West Chester, Pa.: Chester County Historical Society, 1999), 300-301. On conveyancers, see Donna J. Rilling, *Making Houses, Crafting Capitalism: Builders in Philadelphia, 1790-1850*

Mitchell stayed largely out of public view in the late 1830s. Price, however, was tapped for various honorific duties. Addressing attendees of the Preston Retreat's corner-stone laying ceremony, he opined: "It is an evidence of the growth and predominance of more gentle and nobler sentiments in man, when he consents to forgo the vulgar tyranny of superior physical power, and makes it a point of principle and honor to protect and shield from exposure the sex who abundantly repays him by an increase of happiness, for all that he contributes to her comfort and elevation of character." That vision of raw power tamed, of reformed and enlightened self-interest, was emblematic of Price's style. It paralleled and, in important ways, complemented the Whig emphasis on "investment" over "speculation," and it would come out in force at The Woodlands where genteel diplomacy would prove indispensable.⁴³²

Like John Elkinton before him, Thomas Mitchell was reluctant to divide interest in his enterprise but had to do so in order to raise capital. He began collaborating with Price and conveyancer Andrew D. Cash in late 1839, and by the following spring they had joined some dozen other men in chartering the Woodlands Cemetery Company. Most of these original "corporators" had backgrounds in law or real estate; (undertaker William Moore arguably possessed the latter). Following a business model like that of Monument Cemetery, they placed their heavily-mortgaged property in the hands of trustees and, in time, issued formal shares of stock. These arrangements confirmed the project's capitalist credentials. Individual shareholders received 1,000 square feet of ground and could supposedly anticipate \$3,020 in long-term profits from the sale of the jointly-held remainder. Churches also had cause to buy in. A *de facto* prospectus promised "Speedy profit on ten shares, or the sale of 10,000 square feet – \$2,000."⁴³³

For all of this speculative spirit, however, Woodlands Cemetery had a communitarian undertow. It came partly through Eli Price, who believed firmly in the society-improving potential of corporations. And it derived, too, from Eli's brother, Philip (1802-1870), who, before involving himself in the cemetery, had been a leader of Robert Owen's utopian community at New Harmony, Indiana. Philip's formal training was in medicine. Younger and less convention-bound than Eli, he had studied at the University of Pennsylvania and later come to admire the Rousseau-inspired theories of Swiss educational reformer Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi (1746-1827). Involvement with Philadelphia's Pestalozzian school brought Price together with men like William Maclure (1763-1840), a noted geologist, philanthropist, and financial backer of Owen. In September of 1825, Price set off for New Harmony. He was joined there the following January by his eldest brother, William, as well as by Maclure, Owen, and the English architect Stedman Whitwell. All traveled on the keelboat, *Philanthropist*, helping make it the "Boatload of Knowledge" to which historians now commonly refer.⁴³⁴

(Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001), 58-59, and, on real estate as an investment strategy among Philadelphia's old-money elite, pp. 42-43.

⁴³² Price, *Address*, 8 (quotation); Daniel Walker Howe, *The Political Culture of the American Whigs* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1979), 105-106.

⁴³³ "The Cemeteries of Philadelphia. – Woodlands Cemetery," *Philadelphia Public Ledger*, 26 July 1871; *Reports Relative to the Woodlands Cemetery*, 9-10 (quotations). The structural tensions between a cemetery's original proprietor and subsequent shareholders are suggestive of the contemporary corporation's transition from a family run enterprise to a publicly traded one; see Howe, 98-99, 102-105.

⁴³⁴ There are no published biographies of Philip M. Price. This sketch is based on: two obituaries, lacking original citations, in the clipping files of the Chester County Historical Society, West Chester, PA; "Philip M. Price," an

The experiment did not go well. Philip taught in the settlement's school, delivered a ringing defense of dissection ("What is the lifeless corpse more than a piece of beautifully organized clay...?"), and got married in a double wedding ceremony, but he also became disillusioned. Owen's enterprise came to seem mismanaged, even misguided, much as Philip's parents, who disliked Owen's atheism, had warned. Along with the visionary Whitwell, the Price brothers and their families decamped in mid 1826. Before parting ways, however, the group spent time at the English Prairie, a smaller and more conservative commune – private property and Christianity were accepted – in Wanborough, Illinois.⁴³⁵ That interlude helped offset the disappointment of New Harmony. As an aesthetic encounter, it may also have helped prime Philip Price for his next career. Shortly after his departure, he wrote: "Here we bade adieu, probably forever, to the beautiful and fertile State of Illinois, and at the same time to the splendid dreams of terrestrial happiness and human perfection which had been almost as the light of my soul, as the pole star of my existence, for so many months previous." He added:

[The English Prairie] presented a surface undulating in the most graceful manner, with scarcely an acre of level ground, and clustered over with groups of trees, affording the most graceful relief to the eye. The whole space appeared to be covered with flowers, of forms and tints the most beautiful, and varied and disposed in a random and disordered manner that rendered this solitary display of the richness of Nature infinitely more attractive than the most studied parterre.⁴³⁶

anonymous typescript in the archives of the Clinton County Historical Society, Lock Haven, Pennsylvania; *Partnership for Posterity: The Correspondence of William Maclure and Marie Duclos Fretageot, 1820-1833*, Josephine Mirabella Elliott, ed. (Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Society, 1994), 141-145, 282-285, 1067-1078. On the circle of Philadelphians aboard "the Boatload of Knowledge," see also Patricia Tyson Stroud, *Thomas Say: New World Naturalist* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1992), chap. 10. Hereafter, Eli K. Price will be cited as **EKP** and Philip M. Price as **PMP**.

⁴³⁵ *Partnership for Posterity*, 394-395, 1068-1069; *American National Biography Online* (www.anb.org), s.v. "Birkbeck, Morris;" [James M. Price, transcriber], "Extracts from Family Letters, Having Reference to New Harmony and the Connection of My Uncles with the Community Established by Robert Owen There," TMs, MSS 037, Friends Historical Library, Swarthmore College; [James M. Price, transcriber], "Extract from a Lecture on the Circulation of the Blood, Delivered at New Harmony, by Dr. Philip M. Price, on Wednesday, January 11, 1826" (original article appeared in *New Harmony Gazette*, 1 February 1826), TMs, MSS 037, Friends Historical Library, Swarthmore College (quotation).

The contrasts between New Harmony and the English Prairie were stark. In January of 1845, Price presided over a constitutional convention at New Harmony that aimed to establish "a community of equality, based on the principle of common property" (Robert Dale Owen as quoted in George B. Lockwood, *The New Harmony Movement* [New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1905], 104; see also William E. Wilson, *The Angel and the Serpent: The Story of New Harmony* [Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1964], 148). The English Prairie arguably represented the other end of the social-experimental spectrum, amounting to what one scholar has dubbed a "squirearchy" (Charles R. Ritcheson, "The British Role in American Life, 1800-1850," *History Teacher* 7, no. 4 [August 1974]: 587). That the latter arrangement proved more acceptable to the Price brothers and their families may also have been the result of Quaker overtones: the community's founder, Morris Birkbeck was a Quaker by birth and marriage.

⁴³⁶ [James M. Price, transcriber], "Separate Appendix by My Uncle, Philip M. Price, Sunday, Aug. 1826," addendum to "Account in the Hand of My uncle Philip M. Price of the Early Life of His Dear Wife and My Beloved Aunt, Matilda E. Price..." TMs, PG 7 file, Friends Historical Library, Swarthmore College. This passage represents the earliest surviving expression of Philip Price's ideas on landscape design and it raises the question of what influence, if any, Stedman Whitwell had on Price's aesthetic thought. The two men evidently conversed frequently and Price held the "eminent Architect" in high esteem.

In a very general sense, Philip Price's goal at Woodlands Cemetery was to recreate this effect. Reworking the ground plan of Laurel Hill, where he continued to survey as late as 1840, he perpetuated Repton-Loudon principles in a thoroughly Gardenesque design (**Fig. 20**). Again, twisting roads and paths found focus in a circular node. A second geometrical zone, consisting of connected carriage circles, took shape around the Hamilton mansion, while, far more than at Laurel Hill, attention went to the site's prior history. Here, Eli Price entered in. An amateur but attentive horticulturist, he appreciated William Hamilton's legacy and did his utmost to save what remained of it. Together, the Price brothers adjusted the cemetery's plan to preserve mature trees and shrubs. Where money and space allowed, they made room for large beds of flowers.⁴³⁷

The brothers prided themselves on besting their predecessors. As a board-appointed reconnaissance committee, they set forth to examine other cemeteries in the summer of 1840. (Mitchell, who was supposed to join them, mysteriously failed to do so). By this time, surveying was already well under way at The Woodlands, so the committee's report was partly self-justifying. Still, the document is worth quoting because of its pointed (if exaggerated) contrast with New England conventions:

We think that while every part of the woodlands is brought within convenient access from the avenues, they are not so multiplied as to become involved in a labyrinth, and lead with an easy declivity to every point of the varied scenery of that matchless place. In these particulars, and in its greater simplicity of plan, we think it presents advantages over the cemeteries visited by us at the east, while in openness of prospect, and ever changing views, and beautiful groves, it finds no parallel in the far-famed Mount Auburn. Much of the latter is shut in and obstructed by undergrowths of trees and bushes; the hills, and hollows are often abrupt, and the whole is a loose sand formation not so well adapted for interments as the gravel soil and more gentle slopes of the woodlands.⁴³⁸

Such formal declarations sound like excerpts from a corporate mission statement. At the time, however, no such consensus existed. The Prices' report was an assertion of *their* values, the voice of temperance and Whig restraint. The board's president, Edward Coles, probably stood on their side. A former governor of Illinois and a once-outspoken abolitionist, he knew the world in which the Prices traveled may well have met Philip at Wanborough.⁴³⁹ Thomas Mitchell leaned in the other direction. For him, the cemetery was a business proposition in which aesthetics and history mattered little. If the enterprise succeeded, it would make up for the canal scheme's collapse; if it failed, it would stand as a high-minded diversion from more lucrative forms of subdivision. The resulting antagonism was neither absolute nor immediate. Mitchell, after all, had tapped the Prices as his partners, and the trio's overlapping expertise

⁴³⁷ PMP to John Jay Smith, 12 October 1840, John Jay Smith Papers, Library Company of Philadelphia; Long, 198, 200-216, 230-259; Wunsch, "Woodlands Cemetery," 12-15, 38-55, 95-125.

⁴³⁸ *Reports Relative to the Woodlands Cemetery*, 14. The Prices' assignment was to visit Mount Auburn Cemetery but, while in Massachusetts, they also ventured to Worcester Rural and Salem's Harmony Grove. Later, they traveled to Baltimore to investigate Greenmount Cemetery.

⁴³⁹ *Dictionary of American Biography*, Dumas Malone, ed., (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1935), s. v. "Coles, Edward;" *American National Biography Online* (www.anb.org), s.v. "Coles, Edward."

supplied a measure of common ground. Rather than clashing directly, their varied and sometimes contradictory commitments made for long-term strains within the company.⁴⁴⁰

As at Laurel Hill, lot owners might sell their property, but only with company consent. Maintaining lot values was desirable, so the minimum resale price was set at twenty-five cents per square foot. Such dictates suggested that ground was the commodity in question. However, another rule stated otherwise. Acknowledging that real property could be seized to settle an owner's debts, the board insisted that their deeds conveyed "only the right of interment."⁴⁴¹ This provision made cemetery land a special kind of real estate. Burial lots were partially cloistered from the open market – a protection which, in turn, contributed to their market value.

Most lots were rectangular, or nearly so. This was standard rural cemetery practice, and in Philadelphia, where riverfront land was expensive, the contortion of squarish lots to fit a parcel's curving road system had become its own sphere of expertise. Serpentine roads were like pastoral rhetoric: they differentiated cemetery lots from building lots even as cultural and economic forces drew those two types together.

Nowhere was this task more important than at The Woodlands. Real estate men knew the grid, but this subset understood the value of the curve. Or did they? Philip Price was not sure. In late 1843, cemetery managers undertook an internal audit. As part of their review, they asked Price to explain the terms of his employment, the basis of his charges, and the nature of his services.⁴⁴² The request ran counter to the informal payment system that had previously obtained. Price responded: "There was not at any time any special contract or agreement as to the charge for the service, nor could there have been any from the nature of the duties, it being impossible to ascertain in advance the time and attention it would require....Your grounds occupy a space of nearly eighty acres - and probably one third of the labor of laying out and plotting the whole, has already been performed - including the calculations of the areas of all the separate small lots, - which from the lines being curved must necessarily be very tedious."⁴⁴³ Price offered to take his payment in shares, but his answer proved unsatisfactory. The board wanted a diagram of his surveys and a concrete estimate for the remaining work.

By the following spring the managers were pressing Price again and now seeking bids from competitors.⁴⁴⁴ Price, however, stood his ground, insisting:

Very much depends upon the manner in which the lots shall be subdivided - whether the dividing lines shall be straight, or curved in accordance with the

⁴⁴⁰ While Eli Price became an outspoken Whig, few indications of Mitchell's political sympathies survive. More important, perhaps, are the dynamics of this particular situation. The Price brothers clearly saw themselves in a power struggle with "mere men of business" such as Mitchell, and their reports to the cemetery's board include telling pleas against "Any encroachment upon this plot for the purpose of creating building lots..." (*Reports Relative to the Woodlands Cemetery*, 13[quotation]-15).

⁴⁴¹ *Reports Relative to the Woodlands Cemetery*, 11. On Laurel Hill's review of lot sales, see Chap. 2.

⁴⁴² Woodlands Cemetery Company Managers Minutes, 2 December 1843, HSP. Hereafter, the Woodlands Cemetery Company will cited as **WCC** and documents in HSP's Woodlands Cemetery Company Collection as **WCCC**.

⁴⁴³ PMP to WCC, 30 December 1843, WCCC.

⁴⁴⁴ WCC Managers Minutes, 13 February, 2 March 1844.

general plan of the grounds, and whether the subdivisions shall be into larger or smaller lots. In all similar undertakings in which I have been heretofore engaged, my services have been requested I presume from an impression of my competency to perform them to the advantage of the employers - and with an implied reliance that I would not make an exorbitant charge when the business was completed, and I do not know of any other footing upon which such an undertaking could well be placed. And as so much of the beauty of the grounds depends on a judicious and tasteful plan of laying them out, and so much future difficulty is absorbed by having the survey made with great care and accuracy, I cannot, with a proper self respect, think of being brought into competition for the lowest bid, without regard to other qualifications.⁴⁴⁵

Unlike landscape architecture, surveying was an established occupation in America. Price knew he practiced a novel and difficult branch of the field – one that, in his mind at least, required flexibility. But his self-defense is as interesting for what it lacked. In contrast to aspiring architects of the day, he did not dwell on unique expertise.⁴⁴⁶ He was not, in other words, attempting to define a new profession. Although he refers to taste and judgment, his emphasis is labor and craftsmanship. Indeed, he all but refuses to expatiate or theorize upon the nature of his work. Nonetheless, his inability to furnish hard criteria for his charges along with his evasions about future costs exasperated the board. With a competing bid in hand, they followed up a suggestion that came from Price himself. Three surveyors would examine his accounts, one named by him, one by the board, and one chosen by the other two. That third arbiter’s judgment would then settle the dispute conclusively.⁴⁴⁷

It was at this point that Price’s ordeal intersected with the company’s larger business strategy. Religious institutions figured centrally in the managers’ plans. Those plans advanced when Thomas Mitchell’s son, Benjamin, like his father a member of St. Paul’s Episcopal Church, subscribed for stock on that body’s behalf. Another Episcopal congregation followed suit, and by June of 1844 the fiery evangelical minister Stephen H. Tyng had signed on for his Church of the Epiphany. As stockholders made these nominal commitments, managers pressed Price to survey the “church allotments.” His payment would be “Seventy five dollars...in full of all services as surveyor and draughtsman,” and the result would be a grid with curvilinear borders, soon designated Section C (**Fig. 21**). The church section was Price’s last project for the company. He must have made his intentions clear before any peer review could occur, because in mid summer managers asked him to record all his Woodlands surveys on a map legible to successors.⁴⁴⁸

⁴⁴⁵ PMP to WCC, 8 March 1844, WCCC.

⁴⁴⁶ Dell Upton, “Pattern Books and Professionalism: Aspects of the Transformation of Domestic Architecture in America, 1800-1860,” *Winterthur Portfolio* 19, nos. 2-3 (Summer-Autumn 1984): 107-150.

⁴⁴⁷ WCC Managers Minutes, 9, 23 March 1844.

⁴⁴⁸ WCC Managers Minutes, 7 October, 2 December 1843, 23 March, 13 April (quotation), 22 June, 9 July 1844. Tyng played a central though obscure role in the cemetery company’s early business strategy. Once the minister of St. Paul’s, to which the Mitchell clan belonged, he was also (apparently) Thomas Mitchell’s son-in-law and a well-connected member of the evangelical Episcopal network cemetery managers hoped to tap. See *American National Biography Online* (www.anb.org), s.v. “Tyng, Stephen Higginson.”

Although the surveyor controversy died down, surveying itself remained symbolically charged, and it was with churchmen that the next rift opened. Section C was large enough to encompass the St. Paul's and Epiphany allotments. That left St. Andrew's to find room in an adjacent area. John Pechin was the congregation's representative. A former vestryman of St. Paul's, he would have known Tyng and the Mitchells personally, and his support increased Woodlands' chances of tapping the city's largest Episcopal congregations.⁴⁴⁹ The hitch lay in the details. Church allotments were strange hybrids, spaces one institution staked out in another, and while cemetery managers claimed churches were free to design their own parcels, the question of compatibility stood open. St. Andrew's presented its plan in mid 1844 and received preliminary approval. By October, however, the board had rethought this decision in light of a proposal from manager Garrick Mallery. While the congregation wanted a winding path on its eastern boarder, Mallery wanted a straight one, believing it better suited to "the adjoining lots and the descent of the ground."⁴⁵⁰ Pechin responded:

It appears to me that there could have been more variety as well as beauty in laying out the entire plan. With the exception of the carriage-ways and a few circles, very judiciously made to save some valuable trees, the walks as yet laid out present an uniform sameness of straight lines, crossing each other nearly at right angles; and consequently affording less variety than is to be found in several of the most admired Cemeteries of our Country. In laying out other allotments in your grounds, they must necessarily be made in keeping with those already made in order to exhibit a proper symmetry in the whole plan. As it regards the serpentine walk in question, although it does not appear to be in exact keeping with those immediately around it, it does however form a variety, not unusual in some other cemeteries, presenting a number of prominent parts of circles which suit the fancy of many individuals. It has been found that such locations have a very decided preference over those which are not so strikingly prominent....⁴⁵¹

An invidious comparison with competitors left the managers unfazed. They voted in favor of Mallery but, in a token concession, agreed to place Pechin's letter in the minutes. Little surprise that St. Andrew's abandoned their allotment several years later.⁴⁵²

Landscape was only one sphere in which managers considered the relationship between institutional form and public perception. The nature of their project forced them repeatedly to confront analogous problems as new sets of interests emerged. More than surveying, it was the company's financial structure that consistently generated friction. In conventional business practice, a stockholder's voting power was tied to his investment: the more shares he owned, the

⁴⁴⁹ *Memoirs and Auto-Biography of Some of the Wealthy Citizens of Philadelphia: with a Fair Estimate of Their Estates – Founded upon a Knowledge of the Facts* (Philadelphia: n.p., 1846), 49. The addition of Grace Church to Woodlands Cemetery's list of likely subscribers in 1845 cemented the company's ties to all of Philadelphia's largest Episcopal congregations, though, crucially, not to its most exclusive or high-church ones; see Deborah Mathias Gough, *Christ Church, Philadelphia: The Nation's Church in a Changing City* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1995), 228.

⁴⁵⁰ WCC Managers Minutes, 12 October 1844; see also 2 December 1843, 10 August 1844.

⁴⁵¹ John C. Pechin to WCC Managers, 17 October 1844, WCCC.

⁴⁵² WCC Managers Minutes, 26 October 1844; Vestrymen of St. Andrew's Church to WCC Managers, 2 March 1852, WCCC.

more votes he could cast. This was the case at Monument Cemetery. But when a corporator suggested adopting it at Woodlands, the proposal caused a stir. Speaking for the opposition, Eli Price opined: “This is not like a monied institution where mere ownership of shares constitutes a membership of the Corporation nor is it a necessary qualification to becoming a member... Our Corporation seems to have in view ostensibly an object of humanity and certainly may as well be classed as charitable, as the Philadelphia Savings Institution was by our Supreme Court, from its purpose of receiving the deposits of the poor.”⁴⁵³

The board accepted this argument, but Price’s technical cautions against violating the charter may have carried more weight than his moralizing. Nor was this the end of such controversies. No sooner had the voting rights quandary subsided than a segment of stockholders began pushing to dissolve their one tangible asset – their lots – into the general pool of property from which company profits would arise. Instead of land and dividends, they would receive dividends alone, increasing these by returning their ground claims to the company for retail sale. This proposal promised to create a class of short-term profiteers. More vehemently now, Eli Price stressed family and community:

The true interest of the whole concern requires exactly what was contemplated at the time of adopting the report [or prospectus], that there should be sales of shares and sales of lots; ...and the activity of all, – those stimulated by an exclusive interest as well as those governed by the general interest, would equally promote the establishment of the Cemetery, and in the results, the interest of the whole would be advanced. In the burial of the dead – such is the force of relationship and other attractions, that one can hardly be buried without drawing a family, nor a family without attracting other families. So that no one can operate for himself without promoting the general good.⁴⁵⁴

But those hoping to claim their ground as money were not looking for an Adam Smith-inspired sermon on social sympathy. They were businessmen first and foremost, and no matter how deftly Price combined the languages of sentiment and liberalism, they were not about to change their minds. After an eight-month standoff, Thomas Mitchell proposed a solution: those stockholders still hoping to claim ground might do so whenever they wanted. However, they would not receive dividends from the company’s retail sales until other shareholders had taken the equivalent amount *in either ground or dividends*. Could such a plan move forward under the cemetery’s charter? Eminent jurist Joseph Ingersoll opined that it could, and Eli Price was gently overruled.⁴⁵⁵

With each such confrontation, the line separating Woodlands Cemetery from other kinds of businesses came back into question. What made rural cemeteries distinctive if not the collective spirit and family orientation to which Price alluded? Perhaps it was landscape, despite Pechin’s objections. Or maybe it was remoteness, saving urbanites from miasmas and the scourge of tainted water. From the cemetery movement’s inception, public health had been a driving motive. By the 1840s, however, that concern had tipped toward hysteria after several English

⁴⁵³ WCC Corporators Minutes, 24 October 1843.

⁴⁵⁴ “Proceedings of Stockholders – November 1843,” leaf removed from WCC Managers Minutes, WCCC.

⁴⁵⁵ WCC Managers Minutes, 9 July, 16 August 1844.

sanitary reformers published shocking exposés. One of these was Edwin Chadwick's *Supplementary Report...on the Results of a Special Enquiry into the Practice of Interment in Towns*. Appearing in 1843, it boosted already high anxieties and was soon circulating on both sides of the Atlantic.⁴⁵⁶ But anxiety could also be useful. When, at long last, Woodlands Cemetery prepared to open for public business, managers agreed that circulating extracts from Chadwick's report would assist their project. Eli Price performed the necessary editing, and by late January of 1845, the pamphlet was ready for distribution. Shortly thereafter, every member of the state legislature received a copy, along with a bill proposing to ban burials in Philadelphia and certain adjoining districts after January 1, 1860.⁴⁵⁷

The pamphlet drive was part of a broader public relations campaign that took shape in the same period. Determined to persuade the legislature, the cemetery hired a reporter to attend a lecture at Jefferson Medical College on the evils of intramural burial. When the resulting article appeared, 150 copies were again sent to Harrisburg.⁴⁵⁸ Cemetery managers wished to prove that urban burial was both unsanitary and mercenary. Their executive committee's memorial to the legislature thus proclaimed: "The experience of older cities... abundantly proves how offensive and poisonous are the exhalations of the putrefying dead in the midst of a dense living population, and how insecure are the interred remains of the deceased from the cupidity of those who profit by the frequent repetition of burials within the limited spaces allotted for them.... Warned by the lessons of history, it is the part of a wise foresight and true philanthropy to avert the evil by preventive remedy, rather than to leave it 'till grown inveterate by time and habit for other generations to eradicate."⁴⁵⁹

The flaw or maybe the genius of this argument stemmed from a kind of triangulation. If greed was what kept urban graveyards in operation, there must be something inherently philanthropic about rural cemeteries. Whether the latter would also make money was not at issue. Instead, the choice pitted two kinds of profiteers – the urban landowner and the house builder – against anonymous defenders of nature, history, and public health. As the memorial's authors made clear, those who signed their petition envisioned a place "where the repose of the dead shall be undisturbed, and they may peaceably molder into kindred dust, – accessible and venerated relics, amid nature's beautiful and impressive groves, initiating the visitation of surviving friends and teaching salutary lessons to the human heart."

Here was a utopia of sorts. The stress laid on sanitation, community, and the didactic value of relics was common to the rural cemetery movement as a whole. At Woodlands, however, this language assumed special meaning. Eli Price had stayed clear of New Harmony, but he wrote with unusual conviction about new environments' potential to strengthen social bonds. These bonds joined the dead to living. They did not threaten private property or conventional social arrangements, for their origins were domestic and their future lay in the family lot. Rather, the world Price constructed in his prose combined the landscape of an English Prairie with the

⁴⁵⁶ Rugg, "Cemetery Establishment in Britain," 113-115; Rugg, "Researching Early-Nineteenth-Century Cemeteries," 133, 136-37; Rugg, "A New Burial Form," 52-53; Schuyler, "Evolution of the Anglo-American Rural Cemetery," 292-293; Long, 219-222; Torchia, 13.

⁴⁵⁷ Benjamin Wilcocks, WCC Report for 1844, WCCC; WCC Managers Minutes, 15 January 1845; WCC Executive Committee Minutes, 23, 25 January, 6 February 1845, WCCC.

⁴⁵⁸ WCC Executive Committee Minutes, 29 January 1845; Long, 219-220.

⁴⁵⁹ Undated memorial pasted in WCC Executive Committee Mins. following entry of 20 September 1845.

reforms of a Preston Retreat. Revisiting this idyll was necessary because those tensions present at the company's founding had not abated. For a time they actually intensified, and it was during this period that Price's rhetorical powers reached their peak.

Price addressed two distinct audiences. Stockholders were one, and in their case it was crucial that picturesque burial real estate appear as a promising long-term investment. During the late 1840s, the Hamilton mansion was repaired, trees planted and roads paved. Equally encouraging was the arrival of hallowed relics. But by 1849, there was fresh cause for concern. A wave of competition had swept through the city, leaving Woodlands to contend with such new rivals as South Laurel Hill, Glenwood, and American Mechanics' cemeteries, "besides some attached to Churches."⁴⁶⁰ What would set Woodlands apart? Price pointed to the very assets he had defended all along. Nothing in Philadelphia compared with the Hamilton estate: "Within its precincts are the lights and shadows of hills and vales, woods, park and lawn in ample space... And though hushed is the "garden of graves," beneath its headlands floats a busy Commerce, its wings widely spread upon unseen hulls and moving as by the power of magic through green fields and sylvan scenes."⁴⁶¹

This last image captured the essence of Price's argument. Beauty and business were not only compatible, they were inseparable. He explained:

To mere men of business these may seem to be fanciful attractions; yet are they truths and facts that will ever influence the hearts of those who are making a choice of a last resting place for the dead. The entire movement now so prevalent to seek a rural grave, – the funeral observances, – and future visitations to the tomb, are all but matters of feeling and fancy; and all idle and useless, as they think in some European cities, where all the dead are thrown in a common charnel house, and their identity and position instantly obliterated by quick lime and commixture of bones. It is then on the poetry and religious instincts of the human heart that we have made our investment, and it is in the superior attractiveness in the respects of taste and feeling that the Woodlands Cemetery is, and will more and more ever become, superior to all others....

Material, ontological, and psychosocial pleas mixed together. They coalesced as Price continued: "These pleasing external objects are realities, useful and practical realities, – and so are the feelings and sentiments they enkindle realities, leading to results morally and religiously useful to the Community, and moreover profitable to the owners."

Shareholders were a select group. Price's other audience was broader, including government officials and the public at large. Since tax exemption was his goal here, he emphasized the cemetery's civic value rather than its promise as an investment. Managers had long hoped to gain tax-exempt status from the legislature.⁴⁶² Now that urban burial's perils had caught public attention, the time seemed right to proceed. Again, the board sent out extracts from Chadwick's report, this time attaching legal citations. One showed the state had exempted "all burial grounds

⁴⁶⁰ EKP, Report for 1849, WCCC. On the new competitors, see also Scharf and Westcott, 2: 693, 3: 2360.

⁴⁶¹ EKP, Report for 1849, WCCC.

⁴⁶² See "Proceedings of Stockholders – November 1843," WCC Managers Minutes, 24 January 1844.

of religious congregations” as long as they did not exceed five acres. Although the legislature denied the company’s request, the stage was set for a long confrontation.⁴⁶³

In early 1851, a memorial to the legislature from Philadelphia’s County Commissioners served as the catalyst. The commissioners proposed repealing recent laws sheltering institutional property from taxation. Eli Price responded with a critical pamphlet and when the County Solicitor fired back, a surprisingly philosophical debate unfolded about the public role of institutions. Certain aspects of the exchange aligned with familiar political positions. Price argued, for instance, that “Schools and Churches, and Charitable Institutions...prevent crime and pauperism.” When he proceeded to justify tax relief on the premise that “the cheapest mode of prevention of evil is that which encourages private effort and enterprise,” he was expressing a core tenet of contemporary Whig thought.⁴⁶⁴ But where did “charity” stop and “enterprise” begin? Here the debate grew confused. Local rural cemeteries proved a vexing subject because, in discussing them, both men found themselves struggling to define a new kind of corporation’s place in their society. Since that corporation was officially secular yet vaguely religious, conceived as a business yet discussed as a charity, effectively urban yet rhetorically rural, and aimed at the dead while tied to the living, the battle to define it became a battle by analogy.

In Price’s view, rural cemeteries were like churches and schools: engines of social betterment, they deserved public support because they were promoting the commonweal. Cemeteries’ quasi-religious function and promise of permanence formed the basis of this claim. While the county commissioners pledged their plan “would not for a moment stay the gospel chariot,” Price asserted that it would “destroy all those delicate and sacred trusts by which the gospel and the blessed charities it promotes are dependant for encouragement and support.”⁴⁶⁵

Eminent domain was the threat here. If cemeteries were taxable, Price reasoned, their lots could be seized for back taxes. It was precisely to prevent this scenario that Woodlands dealt exclusively in burial *rights*. Now, Price claimed, the commissioners’ plan amounted to a “proceeding against the *thing*, and gives a clean title to the *thing*....” Under this precedent, someone buying “a church or a college [seized] for taxes, [might] turn it into a factory or stable; if he buys a grave yard, he may dig it out for cellars, and cast out the dead, and build houses on it.”⁴⁶⁶ The familiar opposition of sacred remains and profane development was crucial, for it captured the forces Price saw at play. Graves might be property but they were a special kind. By taxing cemeteries, the commissioners denied that special status and threatened to turn the grave into a commodity: “Strangers may buy it, and commingle with them their dust, or if so minded utterly cast out the remains of the dead.” Again, the evanescent ideal of community

⁴⁶³ The quotation is from EKP, John C. Mitchell and Charles E. Lex to members of the General Assembly, 18 March 1846, a letter transcribed in WCC Executive Committee Minutes of same date.

⁴⁶⁴ EKP, *Taxation of Learning, Charity, and Religion* (Philadelphia: United States Steam Power Book and Job Printing Office, pr., 1851), 4; Howe, 98-99.

⁴⁶⁵ EKP, *Taxation of Learning, Charity, and Religion*, 5.

⁴⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 7. In this passionate passage, Price comes close to opposing the commodification of the grave lot and of burial reform more generally. Although his reassurances to stockholders rested on the opposite case, here he almost echoes Ralph Waldo Emerson’s complaint that every cause of the day “becomes speedily a little shop, where the article, let it have been at first never so subtle and ethereal, is now made up into portable and convenient cakes, and retailed in small quantities to suit purchasers” (quoted in Michael T. Gilmore, *American Romanticism and the Marketplace* [Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1985], 20).

appeared. When Price invoked it, he meant the bourgeois community of living and dead families, but he conflated this group's interests with those of society at large. By preserving individual and family identity, the rural cemetery preserved civilization itself.⁴⁶⁷

County Solicitor Elihu D. Tarr disagreed. For him, society was more atomized, its basic unit the citizen-taxpayer. Institutions exerted a benevolent influence but might also turn a profit. Since the same could be said of individuals, why should *associated* individuals receive special treatment? Calling Price's pamphlet "an appeal to the prejudices and sympathies of the Christian and the Philanthropist," he noted that every tax exemption in a given district amounted to a burden for the other inhabitants.⁴⁶⁸

When it came to analogies, Tarr made a two-part distinction. On one hand, he found Price's public-private dichotomy misleading: even if churches and schools possessed greater social value than prisons and poorhouses, the latter were still necessary (and still dependant on taxes). On the other hand, he gladly grouped churches with cemeteries: both provided a laudable service to *their members* and both were poised to generate revenue. And here Tarr played his trump card. Turning to Christ Church and Woodlands, he showed that the former owned real estate throughout the city while the latter had promised "speedy profits" to investors. In this light, pew rents looked like ground rents and cemeteries looked like other "large Stock Companies." Worse yet, these capital streams might converge. Quoting from Woodlands' promotional literature, he showed that churches were intended collaborators in a sort of pyramid scheme.⁴⁶⁹

In rebuttal, Price cast Tarr's argument as an ad hominem affront, unworthy of discussion before a polite audience. Nevertheless, certain points could not be allowed to stand. The need for almshouses and prisons had never been in question, only their relative usefulness. Since schools and churches were more effective in preventing social ills than public institutions were in reversing them, tax relief made fiscal sense: "the non-worshipper saves pecuniarily." Nor was such relief a radical innovation. Tarr's suggestions to the contrary, most church property produced no revenue, and both churches and graveyards had been tax exempt since the colony's founding. Finally, Woodlands Cemetery's financial predictions were not the "happy hit" Tarr believed. The venture depended on a level of church and stockholder involvement that had never materialized. Now the owners stood over \$4,000 in debt.⁴⁷⁰

The whole exchange raised more questions than it answered. Writing prior to the emergence of the non-profit sector, both Tarr and Price elided differences between the corporate models they discussed. Were rural cemeteries really like churches? Both men seemed to think so, though they found different meanings in the analogy. Should colonial policy on graveyards shape modern policy on cemeteries? No one claimed otherwise. The legislature ultimately sided with

⁴⁶⁷ EKP, *Taxation of Learning, Charity, and Religion*, 7 (both quotations). On the opposition between sacred remains and "cities of strangers," see Bender, 201-202, 205; Halttunen, chap. 5.

⁴⁶⁸ Elihu D. Tarr, *Taxation vs. Exemption. An Answer to Eli K. Price* (Philadelphia: J. H. Jones, pr., 1851), 3(quotations)-6.

⁴⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 5-14 (quotation). Suggestively, Andrew Jackson Downing had used the pew-rent analogy several years earlier to promote the cause of public parks. See "A Talk About Public Parks and Gardens," *Horticulturist* 3, no. 4 (October 1848): 158.

⁴⁷⁰ EKP, *Reply to An Answer to "Taxation of Learning, Charity, and Religion"* (Philadelphia: United States Steam Power Book and Job Printing Office, pr., 1851), *passim* (quotations 4, 6).

Price, leaving the exemptions in place. Ironically, the state's decision came just as company profits began to rise, and, together with Tarr's untimely death, these developments relieved Eli Price of having to make further arguments about Woodlands Cemetery's social value.⁴⁷¹

From his earliest debates with dissenters, Eli Price maintained his faith in a bourgeois communitarianism that could withstand the rigors of the marketplace. Such values were not confined to Woodlands Cemetery but their existence was especially fraught there. Stockholders pulled in one direction and tax collectors in another. Caught in between, Price rose above the fray. He used paternalistic rhetoric to bridge the individual and the collective, the social and the commercial, the aesthetic and the practical. Success in politics and business did not settle the issue so much as diminish its relevance. Until then, Price's metaphors served as a balm.

Philip Price's complex surveying complemented his brother's ornate language. Aware of burial real estate's peculiar requirements, he sufficiently inflected the grid to qualify as "rural" under emergent middle-class rules. Some managers suggested he was willful and questioned his artistic license. While their inquiries made sense in accounting terms, they ignored the more abstract criteria set forth by members of St. Andrew's. There was something special about "parts of circles." Mysteriously but predictably, they attracted customers while gesturing to ideals that lay outside the marketplace. Eli Price understood. Concluding his sermon on the value of sentiment, he added: "It is in no irreverent feeling that allusion has thus been made to solemn things, or from any thought of making such conduce to profit. It is rather with the design to impress the Corporators with the conviction that there exist objects for our accomplishment transcending in interest those of mere gain, yet to develop the truth that under wise and prudent management, profit must be the result of patient perseverance...."⁴⁷²

If there were ironies here, Eli Price did not see them. Transcendence was his theme, opposed not by the free market but by unrestrained speculation *and* overreaching government. "There is something better than mammon," Price informed his readers.⁴⁷³ By grouping rural cemeteries with charitable and religious institutions, he merged the consumer picturesque with the larger landscape of urban reform, creating a seamless liberal vision on the way.

* * *

It was not as though the materialism and individualism of Philadelphia's rural cemeteries went unnoticed. Beginning in the late 1840s, prominent cultural critics, typically from New England, arrived to deliver sharp indictments. Sometimes they spoke from a religious standpoint, recalling jeremiads of yore. Such was the case with Yale President and theologian Theodore Woolsey. Visiting Laurel Hill in 1849, he alleged the cemetery lacked the solemnity befitting a place of sepulcher: "These planted trees and walks, these views of the river, these iron settees, inviting rest, draw away the attention from the tombs." Such attributes suited the homes of the

⁴⁷¹ EKP, WCC Report for 1851; Rothrock, 582. Illness forced Tarr to withdraw prematurely from the debate. He was sick by the time of Price's *Reply*, "stricken down by the hand of Providence" (p. 10) as Price magnanimously opined, and died on 13 December 1851; see John Hill Martin, *Martin's Bench and Bar of Philadelphia* (Philadelphia: Rees Welsh & Co., 1883), 316.

⁴⁷² EKP, WCC Report for 1849.

⁴⁷³ EKP, *Taxation of Learning, Charity, and Religion*, 8.

living, not those of the dead. Worst among Laurel Hill's distractions was *Old Mortality*: "Venus weeping over the dead Adonis would be quite as appropriate." What sparked Woolsey's ire was the fundamentally un-Christian sub-text he read in the landscape. If one could see past the "skin-deep sentimentality, which the inscriptions and sepulchral flower beds display," luxury and injustice were everywhere.⁴⁷⁴

Landscape gardener and belletrist Andrew Jackson Downing voiced similar concerns. A friend of John Jay Smith and an enthusiast of the cemetery movement, he nonetheless complained about "the hideous *ironmongery*" on display at Laurel Hill and Mount Auburn in terms suggestive of social failings. Confined to a footnote to mitigate its mordancy, his diatribe continued: "as if to show how far human infirmity can go, we noticed lately several lots in one of these cemeteries, not only enclosed with a most barbarous piece of *irony*, but the gate of which was positively ornamented with the coat of arms of the owner, accompanied by a brass door plate, on which was engraved the owner's name and city of residence!"⁴⁷⁵

The phrase "human infirmity" was telling. Ten years earlier, it was still possible to believe rural cemeteries were primarily places of reform. Like the "social" burial grounds that preceded them, the funerary landscapes that rose up around Philadelphia's aging villas seemed tethered to therapeutic institutions. No one doubted that some kind of social separation occurred there. Indeed, that was central the idea, the promise and premise of the project. Robert Waln had written of the Friends Asylum: "It was believed, that a mild and appropriate system of treatment, in which...the patient might enjoy the society of those who were of similar habits and opinions, would be productive of peculiar advantages."⁴⁷⁶ However, the seclusion of self and family in the cemetery now appeared in a different light. Neither Woolsey nor Downing used the word "class" but Woolsey at least had something like it in mind. Rather than countering the corrosive effects of individualism and consumerism, the community reconstituted in the cemetery had somehow multiplied and exaggerated them. Did the trend make such places less rural? Certain observers began to think so.

⁴⁷⁴ [Theodore Woolsey], "Cemeteries and Monuments," *New Englander* 28 (November 1849): 492, 495.

⁴⁷⁵ Downing, "Public Cemeteries and Public Gardens," 10. The offending enclosure was probably located at Laurel Hill, which Downing had previously identified as a magnet for such displays; see his review of James Smillie's *Greenwood Illustrated, Horticulturist* 1, no. 5 (November 1846): 230.

⁴⁷⁶ Waln, 225.

Chapter 4 Sorting Things Out: Mass Culture and the Metropolitan Picturesque

“[A]ll forms of acknowledged beauty are composed of *curved lines*; and...the further they are removed from those hard and forcible lines which denote violence, the more beautiful they are.”

– Andrew Jackson Downing, “The Beautiful in Ground,” 1852

“[Y]our unblushing avowal of your selfishness is apparent on the face of your plan.”

– John Jay Smith, “Parks versus Villages,” 1856

Addressing readers of his journal, the *Horticulturist*, in the summer of 1849, the eminent landscape gardener and critic Andrew Jackson Downing sent a dispatch from the frontlines of his campaign for “rural art and rural taste”: “Philadelphia has, we learn, nearly twenty rural cemeteries at the present moment, – several of them belonging to distinct societies, sects or associations, while others are open to all.” Downing wished to show public demand for naturalistic environments near cities and Philadelphia served his purpose. There, by his estimate, “more than a million and a half of dollars have been expended in the purchase and decoration of cemeteries.” It was a plausible if startling figure. While Boston claimed America’s first “rural” cemetery and New York possessed, in Downing’s view, “the largest, and unquestionably the finest,” Philadelphia was now the capital of cemetery production. Not only was the city replete with garden-like graveyards, it also hosted enterprises like Robert Wood’s iron works, John Baird’s marble yard, and Robert Buist’s nursery – sources of cemetery goods from New York to New Orleans, and beyond.⁴⁷⁷

“The great attraction of these cemeteries, to the mass of the community,” Downing continued, “is not in the fact that they are burial places, or solemn places of meditation for the friends of the deceased.... The true secret of the attraction lies in the natural beauty of the sites, and in the tasteful and harmonious embellishment of these sites by art.” Whatever the weight of this conclusion, such leanings on the part of the public – or what Downing significantly called its mass – were commendable. “Indeed,” he proclaimed, “in the absence of great public gardens, such as we must surely one day have in America, our rural cemeteries are doing a great deal to enlarge and educate the popular taste in rural embellishment.” Downing’s disdainful asides about “hideous *ironmongery*” and brass doorplates bearing home addresses suggested

⁴⁷⁷ [Andrew Jackson Downing], “Public Cemeteries and Public Gardens,” *Horticulturist* 4, no. 1 (July 1849): 9-10. The geographic reach of antebellum Philadelphia’s cemetery-related businesses is suggested by Edwin Wolf, *Philadelphia: Portrait of an American City* (Harrisburg: Stackpole Books, 1975), 193; Edwin T. Freedley, *Philadelphia and Its Manufactures: A Hand-Book Exhibiting the Development, Variety, and Statistics of the Manufacturing Industry of Philadelphia in 1857* (Philadelphia: Edward Young, 1859), 143, 294-295, 360-367, 450-453; C. T. Hinckley, “Everyday Actualities. – No. VII: The Spring Garden Marble Works of J. & M. Baird,” *Godey’s Lady’s Book* 46, no. 1 (January 1853): 9-11; Ulysses Prentiss Hedrick, *A History of Horticulture in America to 1860* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1950), 248-249.

cemeteries' taste-lifting powers were limited. Happily, they were also transferable. Both the popularity and dysfunction of landscaped graveyards underscored the need for public parks.⁴⁷⁸

By making his case in this fashion, Downing unwittingly helped establish the now-standard view of rural cemeteries as something transitional, a “way station” en route to a more fully formed type or idea. The final stop, in most accounts, is the American urban park. Where cemeteries offered disjointed lessons in art and nature and were, after all, privately owned, parks displayed a degree of civic maturity and aesthetic cohesion that befitted the emergent metropolis. Less frequently and now less fashionably, historians have also seen in rural cemeteries the roots of early picturesque suburbs. Thomas Bender summarized the consensus in 1974 when he observed: “The rural cemetery example undoubtedly influenced the romantic suburb movement that began with A. J. Davis’s Lewellyn [sic] Park (1852) and ended with Riverside (1869), designed by Frederick Law Olmsted and Calvert Vaux.” Today, the same connection is more often dismissed “because the imagery would have been too lugubrious.”⁴⁷⁹

In fact, both versions of the way-station thesis deserve scrutiny. The cemetery-to-park argument appears over-simple in light of works such as Roy Rosenzweig’s and Elizabeth Blackmar’s, *The Park and the People*. Where cemeteries once stood for the middle stage of a democratizing process that led from private estates to public parks, Blackmar, Rosenzweig, and others have shown that the struggle to impose genteel values through landscape design did not end at the cemetery gate.⁴⁸⁰ Nor has the cemetery-to-suburb scenario ever really received its due. Both proponents and detractors have focused on form while downplaying cultural context. What did it

⁴⁷⁸ [Downing], “Public Cemeteries,” 9-10. On Downing and parks, see David Schuyler, *The New Urban Landscape: The Redefinition of City Form in Nineteenth-Century America* (Baltimore Johns Hopkins University Press, 1986), 54-55, 61, 65-75; David Schuyler, “The Washington Park and Downing’s Legacy to Public Landscape Design,” in *Prophet with Honor: The Career of Andrew Jackson Downing, 1815-1852*, eds. George B. Tatum and Elizabeth B. MacDougall (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1989), 291-311; Roy Rosenzweig and Elizabeth Blackmar, *The Park and the People: A History of Central Park* (New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1994), 29-30.

⁴⁷⁹ Thomas Bender, “The ‘Rural’ Cemetery Movement: Urban Travail and the Appeal of Nature,” *New England Quarterly* 47 (June 1974): 210; Dolores Hayden, *Building Suburbia: Green Fields and Urban Growth, 1820-2000* (New York: Pantheon Books, 2003), 50. Bender echoes arguments in Hans Huth, *Nature and the American: Three Centuries of Changing Attitudes* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1957), 67-69; John Reys, *The Making of Urban America: A History of City Planning in the United States* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1965), chap. 12, and Albert Fein, “The American City: The Ideal and the Real,” in Edgar Kaufman, Jr., ed., *The Rise of an American Architecture* (New York: Praeger, 1970), 81-101. See also James J. Farrell *Inventing the American Way of Death, 1830-1920* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1980), 110, 112-113; Ann Douglas, *The Feminization of American Culture* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1977; repr., New York: Anchor Books, 1988), 212-213;. Hayden’s dissent follows John Archer, “County and City in the American Romantic Suburb,” *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 42, no. 2 (May 1983): 139, n. 4, but she offers countervailing evidence in her footnotes. The term “way station” appears in Karen Madsen, “To Make His Country Smile: William Hamilton’s Woodlands,” *Arnoldia* 49, no. 2 (Spring 1989): 23.

⁴⁸⁰ As early as the 1960s, Neil Harris warned that scholarship on Downing’s push for parks and landscape reform “treats the movement merely as a democratization of taste” (*The Artist in American Society: The Formative Years, 1790-1860* [New York: George Braziller, Inc., 1966], 380n.) Despite studies such as Rosenzweig’s and Blackmar’s, the democratization argument remains a staple of landscape history surveys. See Norman T. Newton, *Design on the Land: The Development of Landscape Architecture* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1971 – and still in print), 268; Elizabeth Barlow Rogers, *Landscape Design: A Cultural and Natural History* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 2001), 313, 337; Philip Pregill and John Volkman, *Landscapes in History: Design and Planning in the Eastern and Western Traditions*, 2nd ed. (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1999), 479-480.

mean that, prior to 1860, most Americans' first-hand knowledge of naturalistic landscape gardening came from visiting a rural cemetery? (While England had had romantic suburbs since the 1820s, Americans knew these only through printed matter or travel.) And what of the New World's powerful insistence on the homology between home and tomb? If traces of the cemetery's genteel didacticism lingered in urban public parks, might some of the cemetery's sacral domesticity have found its way into picturesque suburbs?

This essay makes the case that they did. Rather than reviving the old teleology, though, I hope to show how ideas and habits discussed in previous chapters migrated, stood still, or disappeared in the decade prior to the Civil War. At base, this is a story of specialization. While Americans of the 1840s managed to sustain a vision of boundlessness in which texts moved across media, domesticity touched the dead and the living, and the principle and fact of private property seemed compatible with republican community, the next decade witnessed something different. Varieties of leisure, literature, and landscape were increasingly sorted out. No single cause underlay this shift. (Cultural theorists identify specialization as a defining feature of modernity, so in that sense my argument merely bolsters their case.⁴⁸¹) But its contours were not foreordained. While Philadelphia's rural cemeteries *did* influence later elements of what scholars term "the new urban landscape," they did so not as passive vessels but as sites of struggle and innovation to which words like "crucible" and "incubator" apply.

The proliferation of rural cemeteries fostered the rise of specialized occupations. It provided a milieu in which masons could recast themselves as marble sculptors, cabinetmakers as "furnishing undertakers," surveyors as "rural architects," and horticulturists as arbiters of taste. The new cemeteries were only one factor in these transformations. Industrialization and consumer demand for new modes of belonging and distinction supplied the broader context. But cemeteries distilled and refracted those patterns. Standing at the frontlines of debates over taste and mass culture, they served to anchor still-nebulous discussions about the value of professionalism.⁴⁸² Horticulture and landscape criticism assumed special importance in this context. What made cemeteries stand apart from other kinds of real estate? Did "landscape gardeners" contribute to that mystique in a way surveyors and workaday gardeners could not? It is to those questions that this chapter's latter half will turn.

The users of the new urban landscape – the lot-buyers, tourists, and readers – were its creators, too. They were responsible for sustaining the new places and careers, and they supported still greater sorting out. As a result, the creative energy that emanated from rural cemeteries also accelerated the decline of older ideals. For the rise of picturesque parks and suburbs was Janus-faced. It represented *both* a shift toward greater publicity *and* one toward greater privacy, *both* the first stirrings of the American landscape architecture profession *and* the last throes of the republican-therapeutic project from which rural cemeteries had emerged. By the time of the Civil War, the utopian quest for reordered community that had guided early moral reformers and

⁴⁸¹ See for instance Michael E. Gardiner, *Critiques of Everyday Life* (New York: Routledge, 10-12, 76, 83, 117, 148; Lawrence A. Scaff, "Weber on the Cultural Situation of the Modern Age," in *The Cambridge Companion to Weber*, ed. Stephen Turner (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 99-116. On the place of rural cemeteries in the specialization of urban fabric, see Farrell, 110, 124; Kenneth L. Ames, "Ideologies in Stone: Meanings in Victorian Gravestones," *Journal of Popular Culture* 14, no. 4 (Spring 1981): 642, 651.

⁴⁸² This point constitutes a major theme of Farrell, chap. 4.

asylum builders had become primarily an aesthetic impulse. Calling for the subordination of private taste and self-expression to the *tout ensemble*, landscape designers and cultural critics harnessed an older rhetoric of reform to a rising crusade for professionalism.

* * *

The Cemetery as Microeconomy

When Downing touted the number of “rural” cemeteries around Philadelphia, he used the term loosely. There were many privately administered burial grounds just outside city limits but few showed evidence of naturalistic landscaping. Chartered in 1849, American Mechanics’ Cemetery carried on the local tradition inaugurated by Mutual and Ronaldson’s: behind a symmetrical, street-oriented gatehouse stretched a tidy, unyielding grid (**Fig. 1**). Others modified this scheme only slightly. At Odd Fellows (1849), which stood next to Mechanics’ on Islington Road, a curvaceous forecourt resembling a *parterre de broderie* quickly yielded to uniform rectangles; (*rond-points* like those at Monument did little to change the effect). Only in the 1850s did the winding drives of the villa-garden model spread past Laurel Hill and The Woodlands.

Few commentators dwelt on such details. Proliferation seemed more exciting than precision, and Downing’s boosterish reports from the field echoed those of contemporary newspapers. Between 1845 and 1860, over a dozen respectable cemeteries took shape on the city’s fringe. Seven were laid out or organized in 1849 alone. Some followed the for-profit examples of Laurel Hill and Monument Cemeteries while others were more strictly charitable. (As one writer aptly noted, “Speculation and benevolence have both contributed much to the change....”) What most distinguished this next wave, however, was the extent to which groups excluded from rural cemeteries led the way.⁴⁸³ Catholics created – and consecrated – Cathedral Cemetery on Lancaster Avenue in 1849. Jews established Mount Sinai northeast of the city (1853), while African-Americans formed Lebanon and Olive Cemeteries (both 1849) to the south. Finally, the white, lower-to-middling demographic that had patronized social cemeteries since the 1820s was increasingly courted by fraternal groups. The Odd Fellows ran or dominated three large cemeteries at mid century. The United American Mechanics had their own, and Mount Moriah became a *de facto* gathering place for many such organizations.⁴⁸⁴

⁴⁸³ By “excluded,” I mean both explicitly and effectively banned. African-Americans were the only group routinely singled out in official literature and legal documents as being ineligible to purchase lots; (Woodlands Cemetery was an exception). However, exclusionary practices appear to have been widespread. One is hard put to find Jewish, Catholic, or Asian burials in the earliest rural cemeteries prior to the middle of the twentieth century. The quotation is from “Cemeteries,” *North American and United States Gazette*, 3 July 1849, graciously supplied to me by Andrew Heath.

⁴⁸⁴ J. Thomas Scharf and Thompson Westcott, *History of Philadelphia, 1609-1884* (Philadelphia: L. H. Everts & Co., 1884), 1: 693, 3: 2360; Joseph Jackson, *Encyclopedia of Philadelphia* (Harrisburg, PA: National Historical Association, 1933), 4: 1214-1217; “A Mythical Board: The Jones-Mount Moriah Cemetery Case,” *Philadelphia Inquirer*, 1 October 1875. My thanks to James Duffin of the University of Pennsylvania Archives pointing out the last source. It is worth noting that other large cities – or at least New York – witnessed the rise of similar institutions at this time, that is: down-market versions of the rural cemetery oriented to middle-class patrons and their voluntary associations. New York City’s counterparts to Odd Fellows, Mount Moriah, and their kin included Cypress Hills and New York Bay cemeteries, both founded in 1848. See Daniel Curry, *New York: a Historical Sketch of the Rise and Progress of the Metropolitan City of America. By a New Yorker*. (New York, NY: Carleton

Creation of these mortuary landscapes reworked Greater Philadelphia's geography. If social burial grounds maintained the spatial logic of the walking city and early rural cemeteries took aim at carriage riders, the newest institutions self-consciously exploited omnibus and horsecar routes to make remote locations feasible. Several factors drove this departure. In addition to the rise of mass transit, population growth and consolidation with surrounding districts (1854) turned Philadelphia into a new physical and legal entity in the two decades before the Civil War. Villa suburbs appeared in Germantown and West Philadelphia, mill villages in Manayunk, Frankford, and Port Richmond. Guidebook authors competed in their efforts to capture both the city and its ever-widening "vicinity." With some 565,529 inhabitants by 1860, the emerging metropolis might be expected to establish new places for its dead.⁴⁸⁵

Yet even this round of cemetery-making tended to extrapolate earlier patterns. Lebanon and a second Philadelphia Cemetery (1848) both appeared on the Passyunk Road, forming a remote satellite of the social cemetery district. Glenwood, Odd Fellows, and Mechanics' Cemeteries made up a complementary cluster at Ridge Road and Islington Lane, halfway between the old Vineyard Burial Ground and Laurel Hill. The latter also found itself in close company (**Fig. 2**). Established in 1849, South Laurel Hill represented a physically discontinuous but administratively connected addition to its namesake. The rival Mount Vernon (1856) stood across the street while the Odd Fellows' Mount Peace (1865) emerged just to the east.⁴⁸⁶

These institutions gathered on or near two thoroughfares that connected the city to its hinterlands. Leading to the marshlands of Passyunk, the lower route remained sparsely developed beyond Moyamensing. Its northern counterpart, however, was the Ridge Road, which proceeded to bluffs above the Schuylkill by way of the Spring Garden District. Growth here was swift in the antebellum decades. Between 1844 and 1854, the neighborhood's population jumped by 111.5 percent. Public buildings gravitated toward Spring Garden Street between Thirteenth and Broad, with polite shops and houses nearby. Ridge Road (later Avenue) was more commercial and industrial. Predating the surrounding street grid and cross-cutting it on the

& Phillips, 1853), 298-299; Marilyn Yalom, *The American Resting Place: Four Hundred Years of History through Our Cemeteries and Burial Grounds* (Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin Co., 2008), 89-90.

⁴⁸⁵ Sam Bass Warner, Jr., *The Private City: Philadelphia in Three Periods of Its Growth* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1968), 49-52; John R. Stilgoe, *Borderland: Origins of the American Suburb, 1820-1939* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988), 129-131; George Rogers Taylor, "The Beginnings of Mass Transportation in Urban America: Part 1," *Smithsonian Journal of History* 1, no. 2 (Summer 1966): 35-36, 38, 40-41, 43, 46-48; Elizabeth M. Geffen, "Industrial Development and Social Crisis," in *Philadelphia: A 300-Year History*, Russell F. Weigley, Nicholas B. Wainwright, and Edwin Wolf 2nd eds. (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1982), 307-362. As Geffen notes (318), Philadelphia's death rate began to climb after 1850 following two decades of modest decline.

⁴⁸⁶ Most of these cemeteries have since been obliterated. Two useful tools for locating them are: *Smedley's Atlas of Philadelphia* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co., 1862) and *City Atlas of Philadelphia* (Philadelphia: G. M. Hopkins & Co., 1875). A third, less coherent cemetery cluster formed west of the city along Belmont and Lancaster Avenues. Cathedral and Olive Cemeteries lay at the southern end, near the avenues' intersection. Mount Lebanon (projected ca. 1858 and possibly unrealized) lay further out Lancaster, and West Laurel Hill (1869) further out Belmont; both aimed to take advantage of the adjacent line of the Pennsylvania Railroad. See Francis J. Lightfoot, *A Report upon the Property of the Mount Lebanon Cemetery Company* (Philadelphia: McLaughlin Brothers' Steam-power Book and Job Printing, 1858); Scharf and Westcott, 3:2361.

diagonal, this route became the focus and armature of the city's budding cemetery-supply district.⁴⁸⁷

Robert Wood's Steam Iron Railing Works stood on Ridge near the corner of Twelfth Street (**Figs. 3-4**). As early as 1848, its proprietor could claim to have produced "all the principal Iron Railings at Laurel Hill, Monument, and Woodland Cemeter[ies]" and to operate "the most complete and Systematic iron railing works in the United States." Business continued to boom. By 1857, Wood had built a new warehouse and foundry, his complex "extending and absorbing other buildings, until now it is a central point in the section of the city in which it is located." Wood also diversified his stock. A reporter for the *Evening Bulletin* discovered "Verandahs of many patterns, Railing in almost endless variety, Garden Chairs and Settees, Hat-racks, huge Candelabras, Centre Tables, Ornamental hitching-posts, improved school-desks, stairways, balconies, tree-boxes, brackets, umbrella stands, and in fact, almost every article of a decorative character which the great Pennsylvania staple is capable of being made into."⁴⁸⁸

Nearby, numerous monument and mantel factories competed on a similar scale. Southeastern Pennsylvania was replete with deposits of clouded limestone that merchants called "marble" to increase its value; (technically, true marble is more fully metamorphosed). The oldest quarries lay in Montgomery County, and Ridge Avenue's function as the primary route to that area made it a natural location for finishers and retailers of the material. By mid-century, the city's fancy marble works also processed stone imported from New England and abroad. John Baird's firm at Ridge and Spring Garden – an early user of steam-powered saws – reputedly consumed more than 15,000 cubic feet of Italian marble per year (**Fig. 5**). Edwin Greble, Thomas Hargrave, Lewis Thompson, J. & E. B. Schell, and Eli Hess ran similar shops, albeit with certain key differences. Hess, for instance, concentrated on mantels while Thompson specialized in

⁴⁸⁷ On Spring Garden, see Geffen, 360; Stuart M. Blumin, *The Emergence of the Middle Class: Social Experience in the American City, 1760-1900* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 175-176; Richard Webster, *Philadelphia Preserved: Catalog of the Historic American Buildings Survey*, 2d ed. (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1981), 287-290; Jeffrey P. Roberts, "Railroads and the Downtown: Philadelphia, 1830-1900," in *The Divided Metropolis: Social and Spatial Dimensions of Philadelphia, 1800-1975*, eds. William Cutler, III, and Howard Gillette, Jr. (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1980), 31-32; Kenneth T. Jackson, *Crabgrass Frontier: The Suburbanization of the United States* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985), 23-24; Nicholas B. Wainwright, *Philadelphia in the Romantic Age of Lithography* (Philadelphia: Historical Society of Pennsylvania, 1958), 117, 120, 174, 175; J. Thibaut, "Historic Resource Study, Edgar Allan Poe National Historic Site, Independence National Historical Park, Philadelphia: Edgar A. Poe, The Years in Philadelphia, 1838-1844," (report for Independence National Historical Park, 1981), chap. 2. On Ridge Road, see Edwin Iwanicki, "The Village of the Falls of Schuylkill," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 91, no. 3 (July 1967): 326-328, 338; Joseph Jackson, *Encyclopedia of Philadelphia*, 4:1045; Donald C. Jackson, "Roads Most Traveled: Turnpikes in Southeastern Pennsylvania in the Early Republic," in *Early American Technology: Making and Doing Things from the Colonial Era to 1850*, ed. Judith A. McGaw (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1994), 224-225.

⁴⁸⁸ O'Brien's *Philadelphia Wholesale Business Directory, and United States, South America, West India, London, Liverpool and Paris Circular* ([Philadelphia]: J. G. O'Brien, 1848), 193 (first quotation; my thanks to Ann Howell for identifying this source); Freedley, 450, 451 (second and third quotations). On Wood, see also Wainwright, *Romantic Age*, 195-196, 242-243; Geffen, 327, 329; C. T. Hinckley, "Everyday Actualities. – No. XI: A Day at the Ornamental Ironworks of Robert Wood," *Godey's Lady's Book* 47, no. 7 (July 1853): 5-12. Wood's firm made fences and gates for cemetery lots and for cemeteries themselves. Records of such institutional commissions include "Disbursement: Laurel Hill Cemetery South" (i.e., Cash Book no. 1 for South Laurel Hill), entries of 5 October 1849, 20 May 1850, Laurel Hill Cemetery Company Collection, Laurel Hill Cemetery; Woodlands Cemetery Company Receipt Book, entries of 26 January 1858, 24 June 1862, Woodlands Cemetery Company Collection (**WCCC hereafter**), Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, PA (**HSP hereafter**).

tabletops. Greble, who rivaled Baird in the production of monuments, abandoned Spring Garden for Chestnut Street after an 1849 fire destroyed his mill.⁴⁸⁹

Big marble works of the 1840s and 1850s employed a semi-standardized design. Closest to the street stood a generic loft building, often the starter structure around which the enterprise grew up over time. The first floor housed the sales office in front and workshops to the rear. Upper stories contained warerooms, packing rooms, and storage space. If the shop produced mantels – and most did – these received indoor protection on account of their highly polished surfaces. The same rule might apply to fine monuments and garden statuary. More often, however, these articles were removed to a side yard, screened off from the street by a fence and sometimes by an ornate arcade. At the rear lay a steam-powered sawmill. Simpler architectural treatment was its exterior hallmark – along with smoke-belching chimneys.

Such articulation of function followed recent trends in factory design. Unlike the craft shops they absorbed or replaced, steam-age marble works featured specialized zones that segregated clerks from manual laborers and divided the latter according to skill. Again, though, these changes were occurring across the spectrum of industrial architecture. It was visual liveliness, not spatial complexity, which set marble works apart, both from their neighbors and from other sorts of factories.⁴⁹⁰ Monument dealers understood the art of advertising. Decked with statues and signage, their establishments presented eye-catching melancholy tableaux. Published descriptions emphasized profusion – scenes of variety verging chaos. Prints and photographs, however, point to methodical arrangement (**Fig. 6**). Lines of mantels filled merchants' warerooms, topped here and there by a bust or figurine. (Such orderly aisles of merchandise now pervaded the world of retail. In key respects, marble shops' showrooms were spare versions of the display areas found in contemporary hat and dry goods stores.) Outside, fancy monuments stood near the street while umpteen variants of the obelisk stretched off behind them. Henry S. Tarr took this articulation further (**Fig. 7**). His Gothic-arched manufactory at 710 Green Street featured a separate office-yard for more sculptural pieces; (his side yard, by happy coincidence, overlooked Edgar Allan Poe's).⁴⁹¹

Vehicular traffic often figured in depictions of marble works. While monument dealers hoped to tempt pedestrians with artful displays, their lithographed advertisements stressed that long-distance treks were unnecessary. New modes of transit dominated the foreground (**Fig. 8**). Indeed, mass movement and measured time were leitmotifs. Signs on passing horsecars announced service from the Merchants' Exchange to Norristown. (Cemeteries, of course, lay en

⁴⁸⁹ R. Curt Chinnici, "Pennsylvania Clouded Limestone: Its Quarrying, Processing, and Use in the Stone Cutting, Furniture, and Architectural Trades," *American Furniture* (2002): 94-96, 107, 113-120 (my thanks to Elise Ciregna for pointing me to this article); Freedley, 360-367, 466; Wainwright, *Romantic Age*, 114, 116, 124, 129, 145-146, 157, 160, 196, 214, 221; Charles Morris, ed., *Makers of Philadelphia* (Philadelphia: L. R. Hamersley & Co., 1894), 222; *Biographical Encyclopædia of Pennsylvania of the Nineteenth Century* (Philadelphia: Galaxy Pub. Co., 1874), s.v. "Greble, Edwin."

⁴⁹⁰ Blumin, *Emergence*, 68, 83-92. Visual evidence indicates the vogue for theatrical, historicizing marble-yard screens peaked in the 1850s, constituting an early example of what scholars of the automobile era have termed "roadside architecture."

⁴⁹¹ Hinckley, *passim*; Webster, 287; Wainwright, *Romantic Age*, 114, 124, 214; Thibaut, maps 5 and 7; R. A. Smith, *Philadelphia As It Is in 1852...* (Philadelphia: Lindsay and Blakiston, 1852), 332, 350, 354; Kenneth Finkel, *Nineteenth-Century Photography in Philadelphia* (New York: Dover, 1980), 54, 108.

route.) By the 1850s, clocks claimed pride of place on monument dealers' facades. Ticking steadily above urns and obelisks, they reminded passersby of life's brevity and the wisdom of investment: it was important to plan ahead. And yet sheer visual-commercial vivacity tended to subvert this sobriety. Exploring Philadelphia in 1853, the teenage brothers Aaron and Nathan Stein paused to admire "some excellent specimens of the Sculptors Art" on display at Edwin Greble's marble yard. The Steins' omnibus-assisted tour of the city took them to cemeteries, churches, and other staid cultural attractions, but their enthusiastically composed scrapbook made room for Greble's and Tarr's advertisements.⁴⁹²

Spring Garden's cemetery-supply zone contained the city's densest concentrations of marble yards and ironworks. It was less effective, however, in capturing other segments of the funeral goods business. Nurseries and florists were widely dispersed.⁴⁹³ Their proprietors sometimes set up shop near cemetery entrances, which also attracted isolated marble yards. (Thomas Delahunty's establishment, which opened across from Laurel Hill in 1855, survived well into living memory.) Another notable absence was that of commercial undertakers. Once a sideline of cabinetmaking, this trade had grown in prestige and complexity, and its members preferred to locate near the mercantile core. William Hill Moore, who learned the business during the cholera epidemic of 1819-1820, was among the first to offer readymade coffins. Operating from two addresses on Arch Street, he handled "The whole business of funerals, viz. furnishing Shrouds, Winding Sheets, Crapes, Gloves, Ice Boxes, Hearses, which are very superior, Carriages, &c." A competitor, P. R. Schuyler, held a corner at Fourth and Beaver. Both men dealt in cemetery lots and Schuyler said so in his advertisements. Neither, however, sought proximity to the new cemeteries or to the sellers of lot adornments.⁴⁹⁴

While undertakers might buy grave lots in bulk, making money by acting as retailers, the ties between cemeteries and lot adornment producers were usually less direct. Mutual awareness typified their marketing efforts. An obvious example was the placement of advertisements for fences and monuments next to published descriptions of cemeteries (**Fig. 9**). The latter, in turn, might favor particular design firms. Architect William Strickland and marble mason John Struthers had been present at Laurel Hill's founding. Along with architect Thomas Ustick

⁴⁹² Aaron and Nathan Stein Scrapbook (1853), Athenaeum of Philadelphia, pp. 44, 76-77.

⁴⁹³ Such businesses required large tracts of land, discouraging the clustering seen in Spring Garden. Still, they might seek proximity to cemeteries, either across the street or en route. At Twelfth and Lombard Streets, Robert Buist's nursery lay near the social-cemetery district in Southwark and Moyamensing.

⁴⁹⁴ *The Industries of Philadelphia* (Philadelphia: Richard Edwards, 1881), 251; advertisement, *Philadelphia Saturday Bulletin*, 3 September 1831 (quotation); Wainwright, 177, 179. On undertaking in the Philadelphia area, see Virginia Russell Remsburg, "From Coffin-Making to Undertaking: the Rise of the Funeral Directing Industry in the 1880s," (M.A. thesis, University of Delaware, 1992); Morrison H. Heckscher, "The Cabinetmaker and His Changing Role in the Funeral Arts, Philadelphia, 1785-1848," (1964), TMs, Downs Collection, Winterthur Library, Winterthur, DE; Thomas H. Keels, *Images of America: Philadelphia Graveyards and Cemeteries* (Charleston: Arcadia Publishing, 2003), 110-113.

Both Schuyler and Moore were "furnishing undertakers," meaning they performed funerals and sold or rented the necessary goods; see Julian Litten, *The English Way of Death* (London: Robert Hale, 1991), 22, 26, 28. Moore was heavily invested in lots at Woodlands Cemetery and served on the company's board. While his shop stood far from the cemetery, he still managed to advertise there by erecting a great Gothic Revival monument to himself several decades before his demise. See *The Charter, By-Laws, and Regulations of the Woodlands Cemetery Company. With a List of the Lot Holders, to March 1, 1868* (Philadelphia: Collins, pr., 1868), illus. facing p. 24; "An Undertaker's Story: Fifty Thousand Burials in Fifty Years," *New York Times*, 28 August 1881, repr. from *Philadelphia Times*.

Walter – another Laurel Hill associate – these men received commendation in the cemetery’s 1844 guidebook.⁴⁹⁵

Personal connections were evidently important. Nevertheless, foregrounding such designers and producers also served a broader purpose: that of cultivating lot-holder taste. Laurel Hill’s managers saw themselves as shepherds of their patrons’ aesthetic sensibilities, a ministering function implicit in company rules and spelled out in company guidebooks. Paraphrasing Scottish landscape gardener John Claudius Loudon, Laurel Hill founder John Jay Smith asserted: “The salutary effects of ornate and well-preserved cemeteries, on the moral taste and general sentiments of all classes, is a most valuable result, and seems to have been appreciated in all ages, by all civilized nations.”⁴⁹⁶

The idea that morality and taste were intertwined held an established place in Western thought. Directly or otherwise, most antebellum Americans derived such notions from the Scottish “common sense” philosophy of Dugald Stewart, Lord Kames, and Archibald Alison – or, indeed, from Loudon himself. In principle at least this tradition had powerful egalitarian overtones. Reason, taste, and morality were shared modes of apprehension (or “senses”), so attendant bodies of knowledge such as theology and aesthetics were likewise universally accessible. But while Scottish realism’s democratic (or proto-Pragmatic) implications are sometimes interpreted as constituting the totality of its appeal in the United States, the conservative elements proved just as attractive. Emphasizing social order and cultural uplift, self-appointed stewards like A. J. Downing and John Jay Smith worked their way toward a public philosophy “not of the closet but of the schoolroom and, it was hoped, of the marketplace.”⁴⁹⁷

⁴⁹⁵ [John Jay Smith], *Guide to Laurel Hill Cemetery, Near Philadelphia* (Philadelphia: C. Sherman, 1844), 27, 32, 33, 36, 38. Laurel Hill’s managers evidently brought Struthers on board because of his management experience at Ronaldson’s Cemetery. See MS Minutes of the Laurel Hill Cemetery Company, 14 November 1835, collection of the company; *Philadelphia Cemetery. Copy of the Deeds of Trust, Charter, By-Laws, and List of Lot-Holders; with an Account of the Cemetery* (Philadelphia: Mifflin & Parry, pr., 1845), 10.

⁴⁹⁶ [John Jay Smith], *Guide to Laurel Hill* (1844 ed.), 16. Smith paraphrases Loudon’s *On the Laying Out, Planting, and Managing of Cemeteries* (1843; facsimile ed. Surrey, UK: Ivelet Books Ltd., 1981), 1. Where Loudon refers to cemeteries’ improving influence on “the moral sentiments and general taste of all classes, and more especially the great masses of society,” Smith garbles or self-consciously reworks this passage to create the term “moral taste.”

⁴⁹⁷ D. H. Meyer, *The Instructed Conscience: The Shaping of the American National Ethic* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1972), ix-xii, xiv, 24, 28-31, 37-42 (quotation); Terrence Martin, *The Instructed Vision: Scottish Common Sense Philosophy and the Origins of American Fiction* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1961), 4-5, 7, 11-12, 18, 21, 23, 45, 49, 51-54; William Charvat, *The Origins of American Critical Thought, 1810-1835* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1936), 38, 42; Robert S. Cox, *Body and Soul: A Sympathetic History of American Spiritualism* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2003), 24-28; Steven Mintz, *Moralists and Modernizers: America’s Pre-Civil War Reformers* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995), 19-20; William H. Goetzmann, *Beyond the Revolution: A History of American Thought from Pragmatism to Paine* (New York: Basic Books, 2009), chap. 4; Richard L. Bushman, *The Refinement of America: Persons, Houses, Cities* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1992), 324-331. On common sense thought in American architectural and landscape gardening theory, see Adam W. Sweeting, *Reading Houses and Building Books: Andrew Jackson Downing and the Architecture of Popular Antebellum Literature, 1835-1855* (Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 1996), 9, 11, 13, 25, 93-101, 158; Judith K. Major, *To Live in the New World: A. J. Downing and American Landscape Gardening* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1997), 37, 62, 69-70, 79-80; Dell Upton, “Pattern Books and Professionalism: Aspects of the Transformation of Domestic Architecture in America,” *Winterthur Portfolio* 19, nos. 2-3 (Summer-Autumn 1984): 125-127; David Wall, “Andrew Jackson Downing and the Tyranny of Taste,” *American Nineteenth Century History* 8, no. 2 (June 2007): 187-203.

It was the visual symptoms of mass culture that alarmed New World arbiters of taste. These “Genteel Romantics,” as historian Adam Sweeting has called them, did not speak for the cultural majority. Echoing earlier critics of the urban grid (see Chap. 2), they saw banality and repetition – a kind of bewildering monotony – where many Americans still saw order, and they felt obliged to intervene.⁴⁹⁸ Rural cemeteries were of obvious interest. Experimental in nature, they were meant to serve as laboratories for the values Smith and his peers hoped to inculcate in society. Rather quickly, however, that mission encountered obstacles. “Rural” cemeteries were becoming more built-up and fenced-in. Their densest parts, indeed, increasingly resembled marble yards.⁴⁹⁹ Such appearances threatened the verdure and variety landscape gardening principles demanded.

As early as 1843, Laurel Hill’s managers intoned: “It has been the frequent remark of visitors – our own citizens as well as strangers – that a monotony already begins to be apparent in the *style and form* of the improvements; obelisk succeeds obelisk, &c., with only slight variation, and if this is continued, we shall see, in time, too dull an uniformity to strike the mind with agreeable sentiments.” Naturally, the managers believed, their patrons would wish to join them “in carrying out the original intention of creating at Laurel Hill a *toute ensemble*, which shall evince that...there is growing up an improved taste in monumental sculpture.” Lot holders were enjoined to make “a little *inquiry before ordering a monument*.” In this way, they might avoid the error of “always taking the advice of the stone-mason, often himself willing to suggest the greatest bulk for the least money, and thus allowing marble to usurp the place of good taste.”⁵⁰⁰

In fact, such complaints registered a change in taste more than its failure. When it came to monument design, rural cemeteries had initially been neoclassical environments. Well into the 1840s, use of obelisks and other “Roman” forms went unchallenged. If anything, their

⁴⁹⁸ Sweeting uses the term “Genteel Romantics” to distinguish the Hudson River coterie of A. J. Downing and his associates from more radical contemporaries such as the Transcendentalists (see pp. 9, 63, 94-97). It is worth stressing, however, that these groups’ ideas were not diametrically opposed and that many members of the Northeastern elite shared some version of them. Moreover, those views were long in the making. While the belief that “the domestic landscape was an outward and visible sign of moral character” is usually identified with Downing in modern scholarship, it surfaces a generation earlier in the writings of Timothy Dwight; see Jack Larkin, “From ‘Country Mediocrity’ to ‘Rural Improvement’: Transforming the Slovenly Countryside in Central Massachusetts, 1775-1840,” in *Everyday Life in the Early Republic*, ed. Catherine Hutchins (Winterthur, DE: Henry Francis du Pont Winterthur Museum, 1994), 183-184; John Conron, *American Picturesque* (University Park, PA: Penn State University Press, 2000), 118, 232, 240. The renewed appeal of such values to the antebellum bourgeoisie had much to do with “the dense, apparently chaotic, land use of the [period’s] burgeoning commercial cities” (Dell Upton, “Another City: The Urban Cultural Landscape in the Early Republic,” in *Everyday Life in the Early Republic*, 96).

⁴⁹⁹ Landscape gardener Adolph Strauch made precisely this analogy in reference to Cincinnati’s Spring Grove Cemetery; see Blanche Linden-Ward and David C. Sloane, “Spring Grove: The Founding of Cincinnati’s Rural Cemetery, 1845-1855,” *Queen City Heritage* 43, no. 1 (Spring 1985): 30.

⁵⁰⁰ [John Jay Smith], *Regulations of the Laurel Hill Cemetery, on the River Schuylkill, near Philadelphia* (Philadelphia: T. B. Town, 1843), 9-10; italics in original; “*toute*” was corrected to “*tout*” in later versions. Guidebooks included this passage among the cemetery’s regulations throughout the 1840s. It appeared as well in John Jay Smith, *Designs for Monuments and Mural Tablets: Adapted to Rural Cemeteries, Church Yards, Churches, and Chapels...* (New York: Bartlett & Welford, 1846), where, Smith expanded: “The practice too often is, with those in affliction, to take the advice of the stone mason, whose ends are answered if he can sell a massive block of stone cut into the shape of an obelisk; thousands of abortions of this description of monument disfigure the face of our land” (29). Subsequent cemetery founders, especially those familiar with Smith, might use *tout ensemble*, as well. See, for instance, *The Wood-Lawn Cemetery, for the City of New York and Vicinity. Its Grounds, Provisions of the Statutes, Rules and Regulations*. (New York, NY: published by the cemetery, 1864), 11.

multiplication suggested a depth of republican feeling of which a new and rising nation could be proud. As the trend continued, however, it produced undesirable side-effects. The most obvious – too much of a good thing – need not have indicated a shift in values. Edmund Burke, Lord Kames, and other British theorists had long held that “Proportion is beautiful, but uniformity disgusts by excess.”⁵⁰¹ This way of thinking remained pervasive. Classical in cast, it nonetheless found support in a Romantic generation that included J. C. Loudon, A. J. Downing, and John Ruskin. Another hazard involved creeping paganism. Theodore Woolsey commented on it at Laurel Hill (see Chap. 3), and other critics echoed his objections. Sometimes they acknowledged the beauty of ancient forms. “But,” they asked, “are they appropriate for us?” Finally, there was a sense that monuments should be more plastic and three-dimensional. While this turn might encourage the use of Christian iconography, it could also promote adoption of forms supposedly expressive of their sponsors’ characters. (Familiar from treatises on house design, such notions also found a place in the cemetery.)⁵⁰²

It was in this context that Laurel Hill’s keepers made their plea for variety. Their warnings against “taking the advice of the stone-mason” must have resonated at a time when segments of that trade were becoming high-volume, steam-driven operations. And yet, even without tastemakers’ admonitions, tomb design was growing more diverse. Long interested in custom work, well-off lot holders commissioned versions of the Gothic tracery, bundle columns, and Bibles on podiums for which publications like Laurel Hill’s guidebook served as de facto catalogs. Elite establishments such as J. Struthers & Son – responsible for crafting George Washington’s sarcophagus – handled much of this business. Often conceived in concert with architects, their designs were the ones Laurel Hill’s managers tried hardest to promote.⁵⁰³ But large producers like Baird, Greble, and Hargrave had begun to vary their stock, too. By the late 1840s, such firms embellished their mainstay, obelisks, with Gothic finials and Greek frets. Downcast angels and demure lambs appeared in their yards in years come.

That these innovations found a ready market is suggestive: as the scale of production increased, so did families’ desire to personalize their tombs.⁵⁰⁴ The possibility that such eclecticism could generate its own kind of monotony was not immediately apparent or articulated. Instead,

⁵⁰¹ As summarized by Charvat, 43.

⁵⁰² A. D. Gridley, “Rural Cemeteries,” *Horticulturist* n.s. 5, no. 6 (June 1855): 282 (quotation); [John Jay Smith], “Rural Cemeteries, No. 3: Conclusion,” *Horticulturist* n.s. 6, no. 10 (October 1856): 442-443; Edward North, “The Proper Expression of a Rural Cemetery,” *Horticulturist* n.s. 7, no. 6 (June 1857): 253-256. North ponders whether trees, too, may convey the character of the deceased. On the architectural context, see Upton, “Pattern Books and Professionalism,” 126.

⁵⁰³ See above, n. 18. Smith extended and generalized this promotion in *Designs for Monuments and Mural Tablets*: “The [monument] purchaser in all cases, should study the subject himself before deciding on a design, or he should ask advice from an architect of known judgment, or apply to a good stone mason who keeps books on the subject, and who is an original designer of monuments alone, as is the case with one at least of our most eminent masons in Philadelphia” (p. 29). The differences between the Struthers firm and its higher-volume competitors were significant but by no means absolute. The relationship is elucidated by sociologist Pierre Bourdieu’s contrast distinction between the “field of mass production” and the “field of restricted production,” discussed in Gary Stevens, *The Favored Circle: The Social Foundations of Architectural Distinction* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1998), 82-83.

⁵⁰⁴ Stewart Ewen discusses “mass produced visions of individualism by which people could extricate themselves from the mass” in *Captains of Consciousness: Advertising and the Social Roots of the Consumer Culture* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1976), 44-48. See also Farrell, 142; Bushman, *Refinement of America*, xvii-xviii, 406-412; Upton, “Pattern Books and Professionalism,” 126-130.

boosters hailed the trend as a coup that Philadelphia had led. Edwin T. Freedley, a chronicler of local industry, proclaimed: “Long before the Marble-workers in New York and other cities were seemingly aware that uniformity in design was not a merit, those of this city employed special designers; and the genius of at least one, who for twelve years was solely occupied in making monumental designs for one firm, has afforded copyists abundant and profitable occupation.”⁵⁰⁵

Yet the cultural significance of mass production remained unclear. Some observers saw in large-scale manufacturing the fulfillment of a democratic vision: the spread of cheaper and more varied goods meant refinement was no longer a luxury. That was Freedley’s position. Recalling “the appearance of handsome folios, issued gratuitously” by Robert Wood in the 1840s, Freedley concluded: “It was then seen, as we believe for the first time, that forms of rare artistic beauty in an imperishable material were within the reach of men of very moderate means. The farmer, as well as the millionaire, could have an ornamental Verandah to his house, decorations for his garden or his grounds, and a beautiful Iron protection around the graves of his ancestors; and thus one barrier to the equality of mankind was removed.”⁵⁰⁶ Behind such punning (?) pronouncements, though, some trace of unease might linger. Freedley himself described how one genius laid the way for many copyists. Harsher critics fashioned the same observation into an attack on contemporary culture.

Sarah Josepha Hale, editor of *Godey’s Lady’s Book*, presented the case forthrightly. After touting the journal’s ability to supply fresh content in an increasingly mimetic environment, she continued:

[I]t is rather a disagreeable fact to reflect upon, that in this country imitations are so numerous and so unblushingly made of everything that is not secured to the originator by copyright.... But the evidences of this curse of the times is [sic] not confined to literary, commercial, mechanical, and agricultural enterprises; we behold the same servility in the senate, in the pulpit, in the rostrum, and the lecture-room; nay, we behold them at every turn, among the monuments of our otherwise beautiful cemeteries. Laurel Hill, among other places, affords some sad specimens of the coolness, we had almost said the shamelessness, with which imitators can appropriate to themselves the chaste and original designs of others, until there have been raised so many monuments of similar structure and emblems, that they remind us of the verses that appear from day to day among the death notices in the ‘Ledger,’ without any other alteration than that of the name of the lamented deceased.⁵⁰⁷

⁵⁰⁵ Freedley, 365. The reference is almost certainly to a member of the Struthers firm.

⁵⁰⁶ Ibid., 450. On the context of such arguments, see Bushman, *Refinement of America*, 410-412, 421-425.

⁵⁰⁷ “Imitators,” *Godey’s Lady’s Book* 45 (August 1852): 199. Hale’s suggestion to the contrary, some of the customs she described were longstanding. Since the eighteenth century, for instance, obituary writers had employed “character blanks,” modifying them with only the barest particulars about the deceased. (See Margaretta M. Lovell, *Art in a Season of Revolution: Painters, Artisans, and Patrons in Early America* [Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2005], 76-77.) It is true that sentimental language such as that used in epitaphs was becoming increasingly formulaic and, perhaps more importantly, increasingly available in layman-oriented kits of parts; the logical upshot of this trend may be seen in Thomas E. Hill, *Hill’s Manual of Social and Business Forms...* (Chicago: Moses Warren & Co., 1879), 295-301. But, still more significantly, it was Hale’s sensibility that was new – and appropriate to her medium. As Ann Douglas notes, periodicals like *Godey’s* “led the way in the signing of articles,

Cemeteries, in this view, were no more immune to servile imitation than were other sectors of American culture. If anything, they shared with sentimental literature a particular vulnerability to the scourge. But were reproduction and cultural progress necessarily inimical? Or might the cheapening and broadcasting of certain goods actually enhance the fame and fortune of their makers, encouraging creative endeavor while benefiting the nation as a whole? While Hale's stance approached orthodoxy among antebellum cultural critics, that consensus emerged only gradually. Throughout the 1840s, "copyists" of many stripes portrayed themselves – and were portrayed by others – as defenders of republican principles. Their case amounted to a kind of juggling act. Unstable at times, it attempted to reconcile notions of knowledge as a public resource and taste as an improvable faculty with the proliferation of mass-produced goods and the dictates of artistic professionalism.

* * *

Advocates of commercial replication drew on hallowed philosophical precepts. Their assertions about intellectual property – and often, as well, about art – sprang from the premise that an enlightened republic's vitality depends on the maximum diffusion of knowledge. The Constitution had enshrined this idea, enabling Congress to limit the duration of authors' and inventors' rights to their works in order "To promote the Progress of Science and useful Arts." The Copyright Act of 1790 applied the principle specifically to "maps, charts, and books," and while later laws cast the net more broadly, antebellum proponents of mass production tended to drift, as in Edwin Freedley's example, back to the pivotal role played by books.⁵⁰⁸

Images held an uncertain place here. Did Enlightenment endorsements of diffusion apply to pictures as well as to texts? What separated edifying content from advertising? And did depictions of large personal investments like houses and tombs serve as tools of instruction, offering guidance through the rocky shoals of taste? Or were they symptoms of luxury and indulgence, an affront to republican simplicity? Such questions rarely surfaced in print, at least not in quite these terms. To be sure, pundits of both sexes worried about the place of fashion at funerals and the threat it posed to sincerity. But, when it came to lot adornment, popular writers like Freedley assumed that diffusion of goods and images remained a worthy end in itself. In so doing, they maintained conventions that historian Meredith McGill associates with "the culture of reprinting" (see Chap. 3). Foreign and maddening to authors like Charles Dickens, who

the use of copyright, and the cultivation of advertising on a large scale – all developments which were to underpin the financing of later American magazines" (*Feminization of American Culture*, 229). This and other passages in Douglas' book (e.g., pp. 81-82) suggest authorship and landscape design professionalized in related ways in nineteenth-century America. Both fields built upon and reacted to mass culture while drawing on sentimentalism.⁵⁰⁸ I rely here primarily on Meredith McGill, *American Literature and the Culture of Reprinting, 1834-1853* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2003), 10, 21-23, 63-71, 80, 93-102, 110-122, 281. The classic sources on the American "republic of letters" are Richard D. Brown, *Knowledge is Power: The Diffusion of Information in Early America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989); Michael Warner, *The Letters of the Republic: Publication and the Public Sphere in Eighteenth-Century America* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1990). On the subsequent career of this ideal, see McGill, *passim*; Ronald J. Zboray, *A Fictive People: Antebellum Economic Development and the American Reading Public* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993); Robert Darnton, "Google and the Future of Books," *New York Review of Books* 56, no. 2 (12 February 2009): 9-11.

crusaded for international copyright, this ethos underlay Americans' embrace of cheap publications and the printing techniques that accompanied them.⁵⁰⁹

A process known as anastatic printing briefly channeled a stream of this enthusiasm. Invented in Germany around 1840, the system permitted the copying of texts and images through acid-engraved zinc plates. Early proponents stressed the potential for reviving antique or out-of-print works; (the term "anastatic" came from the Greek word for resurrection.) But, in 1845, Edgar Allan Poe joined a chorus of admirers who perceived a wider range of possibilities. Writing in the wake of recent English demonstrations and publicity, he foresaw an age in which "any thing written, drawn, or printed, can be made to stereotype [sic] itself, with absolute accuracy, in five minutes." The number of copies was potentially unlimited. Poe declared: "The tendency of all this is to cheapen information, to diffuse knowledge and amusement, and to bring before the public the very class of works which are most valuable, but least in circulation on account of unsaleability...."⁵¹⁰ While anastatic printing ultimately fell shy of such predictions, its heyday coincided with rising interest in "rural" taste and showed that book publishing, too, could be brought within the orbit of Philadelphia's cemetery-based economy.

Anastatic printing's New World debut originated in a trip Laurel Hill's John Jay Smith took to Europe in 1845. Smith traveled with his son, Robert, whose health the journey was meant to restore. Shortly after their arrival, however, both men commenced painstaking study of the anastatic process. Writing from London, the elder Smith ticked off some of the "thousand adaptations" of which the technique seemed capable:

An architect, we will say, wishes to compete with others for the contract of a public building, church, monument, or for a bridge; ...instead of laboriously making copies, he uses the anastatic press, and saves two-thirds of his time. A purchaser of real estate, say a square of ground, proposes to cut it up for building lots in a certain way; he draws his plan in the suitable ink, walks into the anastatic office, and, while he is reading a short paragraph in a morning paper, the printer hands him enough copies for his purpose at a cost not near equal to drawing the same plan on stone for the lithographic press. So with a map; the owner of coal lands or farms wishes to bring their advantages before the public, and in no way

⁵⁰⁹ McGill, 28-30; Sweeting, 123-127; Isabelle Lehuu, *Carnival on the Page: Popular Print Media in Antebellum America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2000), 102-105; Karen Halttunen, *Confidence Men and Painted Women: A Study of Middle-Class Culture in America, 1830-1870* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1982), chap. 5; Gunther Barth, *City People: The Rise of Modern City Culture in Nineteenth-Century America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980), 75-78, 123, 132-142; Douglas, *Feminization of American Culture*, 67-68, 229.

⁵¹⁰ Edgar Allan Poe, "Anastatic Printing," *Broadway Journal* 1 (12 April 1845): 230. On Poe's embrace of anastatic technology, see Leon Jackson, "'The Italics are Mine': Edgar Allan Poe and the Semiotics of Print," in *Illuminating Letters: Typography and Literary Interpretation*, eds. Paul C. Gutjahr and Megan L. Benton (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2001), 158-161; Terence Whalen, *Edgar Allan Poe and the Masses: The Political Economy of Literature in Antebellum America* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1999), 53-55. On the technology itself and its introduction to America, see Walter W. Ristow, "The Map Publishing Career of Robert Pearsall Smith," *Quarterly Journal of the Library of Congress* 26, no. 3 (July 1969): 174-185; Walter W. Ristow, "The Anastatic Process in Map Reproduction," *Cartographic Journal* 9, no. 1 (June 1972): 37-42. Useful additions and corrections appear in Edward J. Law, "The Introduction of Anastatic Printing to America," *Journal of the Printing Historical Society* n.s. 13 (Spring 2009): [forthcoming].

can he do this better than by plans showing their situations and advantages of access to market; he has copies struck off, and attains his object.⁵¹¹

The list ran on a bit longer, encompassing periodicals and “whole books, with the engravings in them.” But these media, less the illustrations, were already Smith’s stock-in-trade. It was his emphasis on graphic matter and, specifically, on the depiction of architecture and real estate, that amounted to something new.

Smith signed an agreement with the process’s German patentees in August of 1845, making him the sole distributor of American licenses. Returning to Philadelphia, he set up his sons in related businesses. Robert received charge of the Anastatic Printing Office, an establishment aimed at “Architects, Artists, Draughtsmen and Conveyancers.”⁵¹² Lloyd, then a law-book seller, briefly assumed duties as a publisher of books and antiquarian map facsimiles. These endeavors were closely intertwined. However, although John Jay Smith was their common denominator, he avoided direct association with them. His self-assigned role would be his customary one: three quarto-sized pattern books, all published in 1846, bore his name as their author / compiler.

Designs for Monuments and Mural Tablets: Adapted to Rural Cemeteries, Church Yards and Chapels was a split-personality project. The first half took the form of a treatise on cemetery layout and management. No such work had previously been published in the United States, but, since Smith culled most of the contents from Loudon’s *On the Laying Out, Planting, and Managing of Cemeteries* (1843), this section must count as an abridgment. The second half consisted of twenty-six anastatically printed plates. One was a composite of Loudon’s figures and several others came from a recent book by English architect Carl Tottie. The remainder depicted Roman and medieval sarcophagi, tombs at Père Lachaise, Laurel Hill, and Greenwood cemeteries, and, naturally, some neoclassical designs available from J. Struthers & Son.

Historians have dismissed Smith’s book on account of his borrowing or sought originality in his excisions.⁵¹³ Both efforts, however, seem misguided. Smith made secondarity a selling point: the title page of *Designs for Monuments and Mural Tablets* advertised a “Preliminary Essay...On the Basis of Loudon’s Work” (**Fig. 10**). Rather, the project’s significance lay

⁵¹¹ John Jay Smith, *A Summer’s Jaunt Across the Water* (Philadelphia: J. W. Moore, 1846), 2: 131.

⁵¹² Flyer for the Anastatic Printing Office, John Jay Smith Papers, Library Company of Philadelphia, on deposit at HSP (quotation); Ristow, “Career of Robert Pearsall Smith,” 177-178; Law [PP?]. As Law notes, the agreement John Jay Smith signed on 2 August 1845 envisioned him primarily as anastatic printing’s New World promoter and license distributor, allowing him to use the process only when “absolutely necessary” to further these ends. This requirement may explain the division of labor Smith worked out with his sons.

⁵¹³ Stanley French, “The Cemetery as Cultural Institution: The Establishment of Mount Auburn and the ‘Rural Cemetery’ Movement,” *American Quarterly* 26, no. 1 (March 1974): 56; David Schuyler, “The Evolution of the Anglo-American Rural Cemetery: Landscape Architecture as Social and Cultural History,” *Journal of Garden History* 4, no. 3 (July-September 1984): 302; *Biographical Dictionary of Philadelphia Architects: 1700-1930*, eds. Sandra Tatman and Roger Moss (Boston, MA: G.K. Hall & Co., 1985), s.v. “Sidney, James Charles.” In his review of *Designs for Monuments*, A. J. Downing praised Smith for omitting Loudon’s observations on “the very formal style of laying out cemeteries, which the latter advocated” (*Horticulturist* 1, no. 7 [January 1847]: 329). In fact, Loudon had criticized the “system of laying out a cemetery into imaginary squares” (*Managing of Cemeteries*, 17-18) and his suggestions for an alternative based on “double beds with green paths between” reappeared in Smith’s book. Contra Downing and his interpreters, then, Smith’s omission seems more likely to represent a simple abridgement than to indicate a distinctly American preference for picturesque design.

precisely in its reprinted-ness. Ungoverned by international copyright, Loudon's small-format advice manual became an image-heavy, folio-style miscellany. Its anastatically produced plates, which bore scant relationship to the text, supplied new visual content but they, too, were borrowed and re-sorted. What made the work distinctive, and, perhaps, distinctly American, was its unabashed emphasis on recombination.

Smith's other anastatic pattern books addressed related subjects. *A Guide to Workers in Metals and Stone* presented drawings of wares like those for sale along Ridge Avenue. These included "gates, piers, balcony & cemetery railing, window guards, balustrades, for staircases, verandahs, fanlights, lamps and lampposts, palisades, monuments, mantels...&c. with various useful ornaments at large."⁵¹⁴ *Two Hundred Designs for Cottages and Villas* took on the tomb's suburban counterpart; like *Designs for Monuments and Mural Tablets*, it focused on a type whose accoutrements appeared in the *Guide to Workers*. There was a significant departure, however. Where Smith's cemetery book announced its debt to J. C. Loudon, the other works emphasized the role of Thomas Ustick Walter. Along with Smith, Walter had "selected and composed" the contents. His name appeared above Smith's on the covers, where he was heralded as the "Architect of Girard College."

If rising interest in picturesque goods made such works marketable, two other factors made them feasible. These were access to anastatic printing and the absence of international copyright. The latter, of course, had long enabled Smith's literary career; works like *Waldie's Select Circulating Library* would have been impossible without it. But anastatic printing changed the spirit and the means of such endeavors.⁵¹⁵ Now, the editor's job hinged on the selection of *visual* materials – an arena in which, outside of Laurel Hill, Smith possessed few credentials.⁵¹⁶ This deficit likely underlay his decision to partner with Walter. (By the mid 1840s, Girard College and other commissions had won the architect national acclaim.) It also helps explain the tone, at once commercial-democratic and self-justifying, that typified their joint publications.

⁵¹⁴ This list appears on the book's cover as part of the title. The title page, however, carried an alternate list.

⁵¹⁵ Publishers Carey & Hart announced: "By the old modes of Engraving so large a number of plates would have been too expensive to have ventured upon the publication, while by the Anastatic Process we are enabled to offer Two Hundred Designs for a moderate sum" (John Jay Smith and Thomas Ustick Walter, *Two Hundred Designs for Cottages and Villas, Etc., Etc.* [Philadelphia: Carey and Hart, 1846], back cover). The book cost \$2.50 per number, with four numbers planned. On the business mechanics of Smith's and Walter's pattern book ventures, see [Law, pp.??]

In principle, anastatic printing could be used to reproduce text and images on the same page. In practice, however, the combination appears to have been prohibitively difficult: Smith's books appended anastatically printed plates to conventionally printed – i.e. stereotyped – text. This awkwardness highlights a paradox: the reprinting of texts (Smith's old standby), and the reprinting of images (his new one) did not mesh smoothly. The former relied on widely available technology while the latter was based on an arcane and proprietary process. However, unlike contemporary engravings, anastatic drawings were cheap to reproduce and easily derived from existing publications. Anastatic printing, then, amounted to a hybrid, exemplifying both Meredith McGill's "culture of reprinting" and Hugh Amory's "proprietary illustration" (see McGill, 28). A third label, such as "proprietary reprinting," would seem to be in order here.

⁵¹⁶ Prior to his anastatic ventures, Smith's authority in the visual realm stemmed solely from his work at Laurel Hill. His plea that lot holders make "a little *inquiry before ordering a monument*" suggests he was prepared to act on such inquiries, as does his reference to drawings "whose adoption would materially obviate" the problem of repetition (*Regulations* [1843], 9-10). Kept at the company's downtown office, such a portfolio might well have supplied materials for Smith's subsequent anastatic pattern books.

A Guide to Workers declared at the outset: “The present demand for works in Metal and Marble, and the taste displayed by our domestic artisans, together with the well-known absence of any similar work adapted to our wants, has been a sufficient stimulus to the editors to...introduce such a collection of Designs and Patterns as may be a guide in forming correct and tasteful compositions.” Honing that ability, the compilers suggested, was “the true way to insure a preference for American manufactures, and prevent the inundation of foreign goods, which has so long obstructed the rising fame of our artists.”⁵¹⁷ Taste in this equation had little to do with originality. It was a learnable skill or sensibility to which Americans had a right of access. Similar logic characterized *Two Hundred Designs for Cottages and Villas*. There, Smith and Walter held, “previously formed ideas” would allow the reader / viewer to “embod[y] his own conceptions of the ornamental and useful.” Confining their words to terse prefaces and conceding that, “in such a variety as we have presented, there is something that is faulty, as well as much to admire,” the editors nonetheless judged their customers capable of “combining, altering, or adding” to suit their particular needs.⁵¹⁸

There was nothing especially radical in this recipe. For decades, authors of American architectural books had borrowed freely from English sources while also warning readers against copying. Both practices made sense under the prevailing logic of “architectural science.”⁵¹⁹ More recently, A. J. Downing had set a similar precedent for landscape gardening. His influential *Treatise* on the subject (1841 etc.) quoted British sources without attribution.⁵²⁰ Even on theoretical grounds, *Two Hundred Designs* might have seemed unexceptionable. The variegated and owner-tailored schemes it claimed to promote arguably qualified as picturesque. Nonetheless, by the mid 1840s, publishing architectural designs without commentary or cost estimates amounted to a kind of provocation. Recent works like Downing’s *Cottage Residences* (1842) were assertively didactic. While such pattern books lacked the detailed, craftsman-oriented information available in builders’ guides, they combined advice for general readers with digressions on history and taste.⁵²¹ Smith and Walter dispensed with even these conventions. Maintaining the premise of reader education, they let images alone do the work. Might not such an approach inspire laymen with false confidence in their own powers of discernment? What of the specialized knowledge that architects (including Walter) insisted they alone could provide? The editors explained that, in weighing the virtues of text versus plates in a work of fixed cost, they had opted to maximize the visual. What buyers lost in written instruction, they gained in access to “every style.”⁵²²

⁵¹⁷ John Jay Smith and Thomas Ustick Walter, *A Guide to Workers in Metals and Stone...* (Philadelphia: Carey and Hart, 1846), unpagged preface.

⁵¹⁸ Smith and Walter, *Two Hundred Designs for Cottages and Villas*, unpagged preface. It is worth noting that neither of the Smith-Walter books ignored the question of originality entirely. In both cases, designs were presented as “original and selected.” The originals were mostly contributed by Smith’s associates: Thomas Ustick Walter, James Charles Sidney, Alexander Jackson Davis, and John Struthers. Their names appeared on their drawings while those of British designers were omitted.

⁵¹⁹ Upton, “Pattern Books and Professionalism,” 114-118; Mary N. Woods, *From Craft to Profession: The Practice of Architecture in Nineteenth-Century America* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1999), 30-33, 57, 61-62.

⁵²⁰ Major, *New World*, 72-73; see also Woods, 84-85.

⁵²¹ Upton, “Pattern Books and Professionalism,” 121-122; Woods, 84-85.

⁵²² Smith and Walter, *Two Hundred Designs for Cottages and Villas*, unpagged preface. Smith reiterated the case for the didactic power of images in *Designs for Monuments and Mural Tablets*: “To be able to judge in what a good

Yet Walter, at least, was well aware of the professionalizing context in which his and Smith's books appeared. Nine years earlier, he had organized the American Institution of Architects, an important if short-lived body that preceded the American *Institute* of Architects, and his hopes for that field paralleled Downing's for landscape gardening.⁵²³ As a result, *Two Hundred Designs* placated architects even as it provoked them. The most democratic-sounding passage asserted:

The professional man, surrounded by costly works of art, when he inspects our book, may at once say, that amid some original designs, he recognizes much that he is familiar with; but before he condemns our labours, he will also probably remember how difficult to procure, and how expensive to import, are the works from whose treasures we have drawn for the information imparted; and that, though the engravings in question may be in *his* possession, how few persons in America can command access to them; and on reflection he may feel disposed to join the many in expressing his surprise that no similar book has heretofore been presented to the public in any part of the world....

But appeasement followed close by. Smith and Walter continued, "It is always economical, as well as necessary to the production of a good and true building, to employ a professional man...." Indeed, the editors alleged, the taste-improving mission to which their work contributed would inevitably spur demand for architects.⁵²⁴

A. J. Downing might have been expected to savage such expedient logic but he and Smith had a symbiotic friendship. Since the beginning of the decade, the landscape gardener had sought Smith's advice on Philadelphia-area architectural talent, and it was through Smith's intercession that designs by John Notman and T. U. Walter found a place in Downing's books.⁵²⁵ Smith, in

monument consists, requires some education; that is, some experience is necessary, and this is obtained by viewing good models either in real structures or drawings" (29).

⁵²³ Woods, 4-5, 28, 31-34, 36, 59; Jeffrey A. Cohen, "Building a Discipline: Early Institutional Settings for Architectural Education in Philadelphia, 1804-1890," *JSAH: The Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 53, no. 2 (June 1994): 149. Walter's involvement with the American Institution of Architects marked the peak of his interest in popular self-culture. A related if more rarefied experiment was the Athenian Institute, which Walter, Smith, and other prominent Philadelphians founded in the same year (1837). See the Institute's charter and related materials in John Jay Smith Papers, LCP.

⁵²⁴ John Jay Smith and Thomas U. Walter, *Two Hundred Designs*, preface. In implicitly appealing to middle-class readers who appreciated the architect's services but could not afford them, Smith and Walter followed the example of English works such as Samuel H. Brooks, *Designs for Cottage and Villa Architecture* (London: T. Kelly, 1839). However, while Brooks talked down to the cottage-building "middling orders" (iii), Smith and Walter talked up to them. On the complex, often contradictory attitudes toward taste, amateurism, and professionalism in this period, see Upton, "Pattern Books and Professionalism," 120-127; Bushman, *Refinement of America*, 242-250, 273-279.

⁵²⁵ Downing's letters to Smith are in the Smith Papers, LCP. The earliest letter dates to 15 November 1841, but Downing makes clear here that he and Smith had been in touch beforehand. On their correspondence, see Constance M. Greiff, *John Notman, Architect, 1810-1865* (Philadelphia: Athenaeum of Philadelphia, 1979), 64, 79, 235; Major, *New World*, 32, 59, 66-68, 73-74, 86, 89; Judith K. Major, "The Downing Letters," *Landscape Architecture* 76, no. 1 (January-February 1986): 50-57; George B. Tatum, "Introduction: The Downing Decade (1841-1852)" and "Nature's Gardener," in *Prophet with Honor*, 22-23, 26, 27, 29, 34, 38, 39, 68-69, 70, 291; David Schuyler, *Apostle of Taste: Andrew Jackson Downing, 1815-1852* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996), 55, 76, 80, 84, 89, 170, 217.

turn, was positioned to assist his correspondent. When *Cottage Residences* appeared in 1842, the copy Downing sent to Philadelphia came with the words: “I am well aware of the influence at your command in the literary taste of your community & will be greatly obliged for any notice of the work which you can fairly give on perusing it.” Indeed, while the two men’s letters dwelt on horticulture and social connections, they also touched on the world of publishing. In August of 1846, for instance, Downing wrote: “I wish very much that you would do me the favor to send me some crayons of the kind necessary to be used for your anastatic drawings.... I wish if possible to have a drawing made & sent to you for use in my magazine.”⁵²⁶

All of this tended to soften Downing’s response to Smith’s pattern books. *Designs for Monuments and Mural Tablets* received a favorable review in the *Horticulturist* and even *Two Hundred Designs for Cottages and Villas* was not dismissed out of hand. Downing called the latter “a timely contribution to the stock of *materiel*, every day in greater demand among those of our citizens who desire to build ornamental cottages.” This was faint praise, however, recalling Smith’s depiction of stonemasons as purveyors of “the greatest bulk for the least money.” Downing continued:

The designs are in outline merely, and are usually accompanied by ground plans of the principal floor. They are not, however, accompanied with any descriptions of the buildings, the object being rather to present a *great number* of examples, some good, and some of course indifferent, allowing each individual to use his own fancy in selecting, than to direct and form the taste by models especially adapted to this country.... This is asking from the architecturally uneducated person... a good deal of the highest inventive powers of the best architect, for we think no houses positively so bad as those *made up* by such persons, from odds and ends that are borrowed from half a dozen different designs.⁵²⁷

Downing was accusing Smith of a failure of leadership. Where Smith claimed he could guide public taste entirely through visual example, Downing declared this an impossible feat. Lending confusion rather than clarity to the contretemps was the fact that both sides could cite common-sense principles. While the latter held taste to be a universal faculty, its development among individuals – and, by implication, among social groups – was understood to vary. If mass-produced books extended the reach of good taste across America, they could spread bad taste just

⁵²⁶ Downing to Smith, 6 August 1842, note pasted in Smith’s copy of *Cottage Residences*, collection of the author (first quotation); Downing to Smith, 24 August 1846, Smith Papers (second quotation). See also Downing to Smith, 22 August [1846] and 19 February 1847, both in Smith Papers; (the latter is reproduced in Major, “Downing Letters,” 56). Downing’s plan to use anastatic drawings in *The Horticulturist* seems to have been stillborn. In 1846 and 1847, the journal continued to rely on Alexander Anderson’s wood engravings, a key component of Downing’s early works. See James S. Ackerman, *The Villa: Form and Ideology in Country Houses* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990), 240-241; Charles B. Wood, “The New ‘Pattern Books’ and the Role of the Agricultural Press,” in *Prophet with Honor*, 185.

⁵²⁷ [Andrew Jackson Downing], “Reviews,” *Horticulturist* 1, no. 5 (November 1846): 231-232. Although untutored patrons were the targets of Downing’s criticism, his indictment closely parallels those used by architects to distance themselves from builders and their handbooks. On that rhetoric and architects’ transfer of tutelage from one group to the other, see Upton, “Pattern Books and Professionalism,” 120-123.

as effectively. Text, Downing felt, served as a lifeline in this regard. To omit it was not only to devalue professionalism but also to abdicate a kind of class responsibility.⁵²⁸

Similar themes surfaced in Downing's adjacent review of a book Smith was sure to encounter. This was *Green-Wood Illustrated* (1847), a lavish portrait of Laurel Hill's Brooklyn competitor. The work succeeded, in Downing's view, precisely where *Two Hundred Designs* had failed: "Fair broad margins, admirably executed line engravings, and scholar-like and refined letter press, all original, fresh, and wearing the best stamp of the native mint – this is really refreshing in these days of cheap and flimsy reprints, magazine scrap plates, and wholesale literary robberies." Downing took pains to connect these admirable physiognomic attributes to the refinement of America more generally:

The work is one which appeals strongly to the finer sentiments, and not to the utilitarian feeling of the day, and we chronicle its advent, in so perfect a form, as one of the many signs of the deep under-current of feeling, which sways silently, yet powerfully, the heart of the nation, showing plainly enough to those who care to observe, that the passion for the "almighty dollar," prominent as it may appear on the surface, has not destroyed in the hearts of the people any warm current of tenderness, love of poetry, nature and art, that distinguish the civilized man from a rude and barbarous inhabitant of the Fejee Islands.⁵²⁹

This paean to higher motives was not, of course, a call for wider access. While *Two Hundred Designs* came in numbers that cost \$2.50 and included thirty plates, *Green-Wood Illustrated* cost 50 cents per slim three-engraving section. (Downing aptly concluded his review with a commendation "To those who can afford to buy illustrated works of this class.") But the appeal to symbolic disinterest was no less important for that. Appearing as it did in a discussion of rural cemeteries, the plea linked Downing's views on aesthetics and culture to ongoing arguments about "urban" commerce and "rural" seclusion. Further testimony came in his portrayal of a traditional urban graveyard: "that sad and desolate place, open to the garish eye by the highway and in the crowded streets, overgrown with thistles and briars, and calculated only to render more painful and revolting the final decay of the poor discarded tenement of the soul!"⁵³⁰ Rural cemeteries were, of course, preferable. Like *Green-Wood Illustrated* itself, they offered greater permanence and privacy.

The divergence between Downing and Smith stemmed partly from contrasting self-images. Smith still saw himself as an editor and man of letters. An opponent of international copyright,

⁵²⁸ On the social views implicit in Downing's position, see Upton, "Pattern Books and Professionalism," 123-127; Harris, 208-215; Major, *New World*, 30; Wall, *passim*; [Andrew Jackson Downing], "Hints to Rural Improvers," *Horticulturist* 3, no. 1 [July 1848]: 10. Downing felt the risks to taste were greatest where new money and domestic architecture converged. That *Two Hundred Designs* wandered mute into this particular territory made the work seem doubly irresponsible.

⁵²⁹ [Andrew Jackson Downing], "Reviews," *Horticulturist* 1, no. 5 (November 1846): 228. Downing favored book-design analogies to illustrate failures of taste and composition: "A fine country house, without a porch or a covered shelter to the doorway of some description, is therefore as incomplete, to the correct eye, as a well printed book without a title page..." (*A Treatise on the Theory and Practice of Landscape Gardening, Adapted to North America...*, 4th ed. [New York: George P. Putnam, 1850], 375).

⁵³⁰ *Ibid.*, 229-230.

he had produced the sort of high-volume miscellanies from which the nation's mass-market for literature emerged.⁵³¹ Downing had ties to that world but his deepening commitments lay elsewhere. He identified himself first and foremost as a landscape gardener and hoped to develop that field as a profession. Thus, while both men advocated a kind of cultural stewardship compatible with common-sense principles, Downing was more insistent on the need for expert guidance. Where Smith tended to see culture as "iteration not origination," Downing built a case for professionalism and, eventually, for artist-centered originality.⁵³²

In the mid 1840s, however, these positions were far from absolute. Downing was a borrower and compiler, especially in his early years. Only gradually did he depart from his initial mission: "the selection from his English predecessors...of those ideas which appeared from his practical experience as most adaptable for use in America."⁵³³ Likewise, even a diffusionist like Smith might defer to professional prerogatives; his preface to *Two Hundred Designs* suggested as much. Such competing impulses were characteristic of the age. They sometimes appeared simultaneously, as when Poe's praise for anastatic printing wound up as a defense of intellectual property. (Freeing the writer's art from its old physical constraints, Poe claimed, simply made the need for international copyright "more urgent and more obvious than ever").⁵³⁴ Increasingly, Smith was ready to agree. In 1845, he alluded to "the shame I will always feel at the recollection that [Sir Walter Scott] derived no compensation whatever from his American publishers."⁵³⁵ His own edition of Scott's *Life of Napoleon* had perhaps begun to weigh on him.

⁵³¹ McGill, 1. Smith had long defended reprinting on republican grounds, a tradition his son would revive in the second half of the century. See [John Jay Smith] "International Copyright," *Journal of Belles Lettres* 18, pt. 2 (1 November 1836), unpagged; [Robert Pearsall Smith], *International Copyright. Protected Copyright with Free-Trade Competition* (London: Ballantine, Hanson, & Co., 1886); Robert Pearsall Smith, "An Anglo-American Copyright," *Nineteenth Century* 129 (November 1887): 602-610; Robert Pearsall Smith, "Anglo-American Copyright," *North American Review* 146 (1888): 68-76.

⁵³² McGill, 4 (quotation); Major, *New World*, 11, 30-32, 57, 126-129; Ackerman, 247-248. As a rule, mainstream debates about imitation and its place in antebellum culture touched indirectly if at all on formal aesthetic theory. At times, though, the two discourses did converge, as in Downing's distinction between "fac-simile imitation" and "artistical imitation." Like Loudon, Downing emphasized the latter category's superiority and saw in it the basis of landscape gardening's claim to professional legitimacy. ("By Landscape Gardening," he explained, "we understand not only an imitation, in the grounds of a country residence, of the agreeable forms of nature, but an *expressive, harmonious, and refined imitation*," *Treatise*, 68.) He also associated fine art with the re-contextualization of foreign materials, a view compatible with John Jay Smith's approach to literary production. See Major, *New World*, 38, 57-61, 72-73. As these passages suggest, both Downing and Smith had a foot in the culture of reprinting and its attendant notion of authorship as "adaptation and distribution" (McGill, 93). But "reprinting" alone is too narrow a framework to explain their predicament. Rather, both men should be understood as partial heirs to early modern "concepts of personal and cultural identity" that, as Margaretta Lovell notes, "differ from those we extrapolate from our own culture" (*Art in a Season of Revolution*, 78).

⁵³³ George B. Tatum, "The Beautiful and the Picturesque," *American Quarterly* 3, no. 1 (Spring 1951): 41.

⁵³⁴ Poe, "Anastatic Printing," 231.

⁵³⁵ John Jay Smith, *Summer's Jaunt*, 2: 214. This was a generic sentiment of the age (McGill, 77, 88, 101) and Smith expressed it while reflecting on the "Tardy justice [that] is done in Europe to genius of the first grade." Still, the larger point stands: by the mid 1840s, Smith was increasingly inclined to measure value in ways McGill identifies as antithetical to the culture of reprinting, namely on the basis of "authorial intention and the principle of scarcity" (3). It is also worth noting that Smith objected strongly to "piracy" when it targeted his own publications. See John Jay Smith, *Recollections of John Jay Smith*, Elizabeth Pearsall Smith, ed. (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1892), 102.

Despite Downing's caustic remarks, then, his and Smith's views proved reconcilable. Like the New York belletrists who were his Hudson River neighbors, Downing strongly admired European culture. Like them, too, he hoped that America would develop an authentic counterpart, built not upon rote imitation but on selective appropriation. These ambitions pervaded the marketplace of "rural" ideas in which both Downing and Smith had a stake. Admittedly, the two men occupied different positions in that arena, and Downing's critique of *Two Hundred Designs* highlighted potential fissures between the culture of reprinting and the dictates of artistic professionalism. But their rift was not a lasting one. Smith found the role of Genteel Romantic as congenial as that of democratizing distributor. He continued submitting essays to the *Horticulturist* and, three years after Downing's death, succeeded him as the journal's editor.

In a sense, this leap was another example of the specialization fostered by the rural cemetery movement. The crusade for landscaped, extramural burial places was itself, of course, part of larger developments: it registered the rise of sentimental domesticity, mass-cultural Romanticism, and new approaches to urban reform. But the heyday of rural cemeteries encouraged sector-specific changes. Much as furnishing undertakers differentiated themselves from cabinetmakers and marble workers built up their own hierarchies, so an entrepreneurial magazinist-librarian could become an arbiter of taste. Related to such transformations – and to Smith's particular – was the emergence of American landscape professionalism. As the antebellum city grew, so did the number of groups who designed its oases. Cemetery work helped launch these practitioners' careers; it did not, however, contain them.

The Cemetery as Catalyst of Careers

The titles of John Jay Smith's pattern books, with their focus on cemetery monuments, suburban villas, and related ornamentation, provide a core sample of the cultural impulses surrounding America's mid-century encounter with romantic consumerism. Bridging what scholars sometimes call "the cult of melancholy" to the better-known "cult of domesticity," these publications capture an episode in the history of taste that would seem strange even two decades later.⁵³⁶ What were the contours of that moment? Who participated and what were their roles? While full answers to those questions exceed the limits of this study, a glimpse of key players in the Philadelphia area reveals a kind of occupational dynamism that subsequent profession building, urban social separation, and the trauma of the Civil War would radically diminish.

⁵³⁶ The antebellum "cult of domesticity" is the subject of a vast literature. Of special relevance here are: Clifford E. Clark, Jr., "Domestic Architecture as an Index to Social History: The Romantic Revival and the Cult of Domesticity in America, 1840-1870," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 7 (1976): 33-56; Michael Sappol, *A Traffic of Dead Bodies: Anatomy and Embodied Social Identity in Nineteenth-Century America* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002), 38, 178-182; Gillian Brown, *Domestic Individualism: Imagining the Self in Nineteenth-Century America* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1990), 2-7, 69-77. Historians usually treat the "cult of melancholy" as a proto-romantic phenomenon that reached its climax in England and France in mid to late eighteenth century. Both "cults," however, grew out gradual shifts in Puritanism, under way a century earlier and still resonating a century later. See Colin Campbell, *The Romantic Ethic and the Spirit of Modern Consumerism* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1987), *passim*; Blanche Linden-Ward, *Silent City on a Hill: Landscapes of Memory and Boston's Mount Auburn Cemetery* (Columbus: Ohio State University, 1989), 2, 36-39, 65, 68, 102, 110; Douglas, *Feminization of American Culture*, chaps. 1-2, 4, 6 (the cults' convergence is discussed in the latter chapter).

The trades that flourished in this context – those of seedsmen, nurserymen, gardeners, marble workers, builders, and surveyors – intermingled with the nascent professions of architecture and landscape gardening; (the term “landscape architecture,” while used on occasion, had not yet assumed its modern meaning).⁵³⁷ In the following two decades, however, these groups’ areas of overlap would shrink. “Professionalization” is the familiar explanation but that process, or rather set of processes, advanced in conjunction with urban social and geographic changes that are too often neglected in such accounts.⁵³⁸ Simply put, the sorting out of occupations meshed with the sorting out of social groups and spaces. The land fever that swept pre-Civil War America worked in concert with the era’s “transportation revolution,” and the resulting boom in metropolitan real estate influenced the kind and quantity of work available to makers of buildings and landscapes.

* * *

By the middle of the nineteenth century, Americans were employing the term *rural* to describe new places on the outskirts of cities. A. J. Downing used it in his publications, where it denoted some combination of *genteel*, *picturesque*, and *suburban*.⁵³⁹ Rural cemeteries helped usher in this coinage. However, when Downing included “remarks on rural architecture” in his *Treatise*, readers could expect the corresponding essay to survey versions of the modern “country house.” *Country* was equally slippery. Sometimes it substituted for *rural*, especially when paired with *life*. Indeed, by dint of its association with villa suburbs and genteel farms, the phrase “country life” helped distinguish the landscapes of the living from those of the dead. A standard summary of elite suburbanization near Philadelphia read: “The taste for country life is increasing here very rapidly. New & tasteful houses are built every year.” Of course, both “rural” and “country” in

⁵³⁷ The term “landscape architecture” was in use by the late 1820s but referred to “architecture placed in landscape scenes, particularly those suitable for painting” (Pregill and Volkman, 503). Downing’s *Treatise* (sec. 9) kept this definition alive through the 1850s.

⁵³⁸ An important exception is the work of Mary Woods. Early in her study, she notes: “The history of the professions is, in part, a history of cities” (6) – a story she interweaves with “the formation of regional and national markets” (27) and the contemporary commodification of labor (29) in the antebellum period. See also Wall, 196; while professionalism is not his focus, his analysis of Downing points in that direction.

⁵³⁹ Each of these terms had its own distinct history, and while their meanings showed signs of converging at mid century, that process was far from complete. Unlike “rural,” for instance, “suburban” retained some of its older, lower-class associations into the 1840s. Thus Downing’s *Cottage Residences* (1842) “made the democratic gesture of including a ‘suburban cottage, for a little family’” (Sweeting, 42; see also pp. 67, 72, 157 on “picturesque”). Large estates, by contrast, were sometimes still referred to as “parks,” an aristocratic usage deplored by Downing protégé Frank J. Scott, in *The Art of Beautifying Suburban Home Grounds of Small Extent...* (New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1870), 27. On the connotations of “rural” in the antebellum decades, see Linden-Ward, *Silent City*, 175. On “suburb” and “suburban,” see Kenneth Jackson, *Crabgrass Frontier*, 16-18, 46, 58, 63-66, 71, 77; Robert Fishman, *Bourgeois Utopias: The Rise and Fall of Suburbia* (New York: Basic Books, 1987), 6-8, 62-63; Blumin, *Emergence*, 164.

In architectural parlance, the term “rural” had long been applied to *fabriques* on English estates. It showed up, for instance, in William Halfpenny’s *Rural Architecture in the Gothick Taste...* and *Rural Architecture in the Chinese Taste...*, both of 1752. Another Briton, John Plaw, was among the first to use the term in its proto-suburban sense, i.e. in combination with “cottage” and “villa”; see his *Rural Architecture, or, Designs, from the Simple Cottage to the Decorated Villa* (1794). The first American pattern book to employ “rural” in this sense was Alexander Jackson Davis, *Rural Residences, etc.: Consisting of Designs, Original and Selected, for Cottages, Farm-houses, Villas, and Village Churches...* (1837). Downing’s notion of the rural, however, derived as much from agricultural as from architectural discourse. In many respects, he must be counted as a leading if late-coming exponent of the “rural improvement” ideology outlined in Larkin, *passim*.

this sense referred to urban cultural catchment areas. Praising a nearby estate on which A. J. Downing was at work, diarist Sidney George Fisher added: “A man of any education cannot live among farmers in this country. The moment you leave the neighborhood of a city you are in the midst of barbarism, except in a very few spots in America.”⁵⁴⁰

Rustic labels captured an outlook A. J. Downing helped Americans to learn. His written works aimed to do for architecture and landscape something roughly analogous to what Irving’s and Cooper’s had done for literature: they grafted Anglophile aesthetic sensibilities onto native topography and customs, genteel forms and gestures onto ostensibly democratic conditions. Publishing was central to this enterprise. By 1850, Downing’s *Treatise* had gone through multiple editions, his books on fruit trees and house designs were popular, and his magazine, the *Horticulturist*, served as a national clearing house for information on gardening and architecture. Practice supplemented this influence, albeit in very different ways. Although Downing closed his Newburgh, New York nursery in 1846, his commissions and correspondence kept him at the center of a far-flung network that included belletrists, botanists, nurserymen, gardeners, and architects. Some were practical tradesmen, dependent on this work for their livelihoods. Others were polite recreation-seekers, drawn to farming and gardening as pastimes.⁵⁴¹

Downing himself stood somewhere in between. Born to the nursery business – both his father and a brother were nurserymen – he befriended Baron de Liderer, the Austrian consul-general, and was in frequent contact with members of the Hudson Valley gentry from the 1830s onward.⁵⁴² But while landscape gardening had largely gained acceptance as a profession in

⁵⁴⁰ Sidney George Fisher, *A Philadelphia Perspective: The Diary of Sidney George Fisher Covering the Years 1834 – 1871*, ed. Nicholas B. Wainwright (Philadelphia: The Historical Society of Pennsylvania, 1967), 37, 94, 202 (quotations); [Andrew Jackson Downing], “Citizens Retiring to the Country,” *Horticulturist* 7, no. 2 (February 1852): 57-61. The “country” world to which Fisher and Downing referred was as much imagined as real – a place equally apart from the hubbub of urban business and the toil of workaday farming. Despite this ideal’s long history (see Chap. 1), its antebellum form was distinctive. Anglophile literary values, changes in the national economy, and new forms of transportation combined to create the far-flung middle landscape analyzed in Stilgoe, *Borderland*, 1-23; Sweeting, 10-12, 49, 59, 96, 117-119, 126-127, 143, 147-150, 152, 155; Ackerman, 229, 240, 242, 248-249; Bushman, *Refinement of America*, chap. 11, esp. pp. 352, 381. The progressive urbanization of this ideal is the subject of Schuyler’s *New Urban Landscape*; see especially pp. 2, 26-29, 35-36, 53, 66-67, 85, 151-152.

⁵⁴¹ For publication and sales data on Downing’s works, see Wood, “New ‘Pattern Books,’” 166, 186-188. Unlike the designs Downing executed on commission, those he published were more widely viewed *and* more selectively adopted. This distinction is worth remembering when reading testimonials to his influence, e.g., Sidney George Fisher, *Philadelphia Perspective*, 189, and the sources quoted in Ackerman, 244; Van Wyck Brooks, *The World of Washington Irving* [New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., 1944], 465). Written with relief and admiration – America was indeed capable of cultivation – these statements are of limited empirical value. One contemporary captured their spirit when describing *Treatise* readers as “the thousands in every part of the country who were waiting for the master-word which should tell them what to do to make their homes as beautiful as they wished” (George W. Curtis, “Memoir,” in Andrew Jackson Downing, *Rural Essays*, ed. George W. Curtis [New York: Leavitt & Allen, 1856], xxiv). A useful corrective is Upton, “Pattern Books and Professionalism,” 136-150, which shows that while the impact of Downing’s books on the American cultural landscape may have been broad, it was also often superficial. The standard works on Downing are Major, *New World*; Schuyler, *Apostle of Taste*; and *Prophet with Honor*. See also Harris, 208-216; Ackerman, chap. 10; Sweeting, *passim*; Wall, *passim*.

⁵⁴² Curtis, xvi-xvii. Curtis elaborated: “At the house of the Baron, also, and in that of his wealthy neighbor, Edward Armstrong, Downing discovered how subtly cultivation refines men as well as plants, and there met that polished society whose elegance and grace could not fail to charm him as essential to the most satisfactory intercourse, while it presented the most entire contrast to the associations of his childhood” (xvii). And later: “[Downing’s] social tendency was constantly toward those whom great wealth had given opportunity of that ameliorating culture, – of

Britain, Americans of the class that hired Downing still sometimes balked at surrendering a bastion of aristocratic amateurism to the hands of a rate-charging specialist. Sidney George Fisher mused: “It is certainly an indication of some advance in refinement that a ‘landscape gardener’ can find employment, & constant, profitable employment, in this country.” Later and less generously he added: “Like [Downing’s] books better than himself. . .Landscape gardening with him is a profession & not a liberal taste, and he talks with a professional air. I dislike ‘bread-studies’ & artizanship, and the smell of the shop destroys my pleasure in any subject however interesting in itself.”⁵⁴³ [cite O’Malley]

In some respects, the world of “rural art and rural taste” over which Downing presided resembles what sociologist Pierre Bourdieu defined as a *field*. Broader than any one trade or profession, a field in this sense constitutes “a mutually supporting set of social institutions, individuals, and discourses.”⁵⁴⁴ An advantage of this framework is its dynamism, which is suited to the period in question. With neither architecture nor landscape gardening professionalized (although the former was further along), association with things rural served an important ratifying function. It did so, however, only for about two decades. After 1860, other institutions and ideas held sway.

Certainly, the rural aesthetic did not comprise a coherent style. English in origin, it embraced Italianate villas, Gothic cottages, and bark-clad “rustic work,” as well as landscapes deemed Picturesque or Beautiful under canons set forth by Downing.⁵⁴⁵ And yet *style* carries apt connotations of a coded language. If the rural program never amounted to a system like that advanced by the French *École des Beaux Arts*, it nonetheless produced ideals and nomenclature that informed both design work and discourse. In light of these limitations, the phenomenon is probably best classified as a moment in the history of taste. Important to the professionalization of architecture and landscape design and loosely codified in written works, it nonetheless proved too transient and unstable to qualify as something larger.

The antebellum pastoral ethos was bound up with romantic views of death and the cult of domesticity. As such, it found expression in the world of consumer goods. Robert Wood, the Philadelphia iron-founder, gained national renown through “the adornment of the dwelling-

surrounding beautiful homes with beautiful grounds, and filling them with refined and beautiful persons, which is the happy fortune of few” (xxx). The social functions of antebellum horticultural networks need further study. Oddly, contemporaries seem to have been more willing than historians to discuss such matters. For instance, in talking up the benefits of arboriculture to the new occupant of a “country residence,” John Jay Smith observed: “very quickly he who knew little and cared less about trees, finds himself acquiring the acquaintance of the *most distinguished botanical families!*” (John Jay Smith, “Arboricultural Gossip,” *Horticulturist* 2, no. 1 (July 1847): 29.⁵⁴³ Sidney George Fisher, *Philadelphia Perspective*, 202, 224. Fisher’s own finances may be relevant here (Major, *New World*, 33), but he generally saw “refinement and commerce [as] water and oil” (Bushman, *Refinement of America*, 412).

⁵⁴⁴ Stevens, 75. Stevens’ discussion of Bourdieu depends in this instance on Derek Robbins, *The Work of Pierre Bourdieu: Recognizing Society* (Milton Keynes, UK: Open University Press, 1991).

⁵⁴⁵ “Rural” was often used interchangeably with “picturesque,” a habit compatible with Christopher Hussey’s contention that “the picturesque was not in itself a style but rather a method of combining and using styles” (Carroll L. V. Meeks, *The Railroad Station: an Architectural History* [New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1956; repr., Secaucus, NJ: Castle Books, 1978], 3). However, the primary connection between “rural” and “picturesque” was the refining mission they bespoke. Both connoted ways of seeing as much as they described objective qualities. Thus A. J. Davis introduced *Rural Residences* by noting: “The bald and uninteresting aspect of our houses must be obvious to every traveler; and to those who are familiar with the picturesque Cottages and Villas of England, it is positively painful to witness here the wasteful and tasteless expenditure of money in building” (unpaged).

places, breathing places, and last resting places of the intra-mural portion of the American people.”⁵⁴⁶ Marble works focused on monuments and mantelpieces, twin symbols of hearth and hereafter (**Fig. 11**). And undertakers, still tied to cabinetmaking, might sell, in addition to coffins, “bureaus, tables, sofas, sofa beds, chairs, bedsteads, and mattresses of all kinds.”⁵⁴⁷

Polite conceptions of body and self lay at the center of this phenomenon. As “home” became, in popular discourse, a more private and feminized arena, the parallel functions of the tomb were articulated with increasing clarity. Startling by earlier standards was the cultural mainstream’s frank acknowledgement of the corpse’s importance. Whatever the dictates of religious doctrine, Enlightenment notions of sympathy combined with more sentimental habits of mind to make *feeling* the gold standard in such matters. “[A]rgue and philosophize as we may on this subject...,” said one writer, “We *do* care for the future condition of that, which was once so intimately a part of ourselves.” The author continued: “Let [the grave] be in retirement, away from the noise and bustle of towns and streets, and all the garish show of life.... Let it be set apart and enclosed, as our living homes are, from vulgar intrusion.”⁵⁴⁸

Thus the pairing of home and tomb was always more than a marketing gimmick. Sharing an atmosphere of enclosure, proprietorship, and Christian-familial intimacy, these realms struck many Americans as joined inherently by bonds of sentiment. That way of thinking developed over decades. What stood out by the 1840s was the association’s literalism and physical reality. Cast iron “death furniture” began appearing on family grave lots, making them outdoor extensions of the parlor. Visiting Laurel Hill at the end of the decade, popular journalist George G. Foster wrote: “The narrow apartments of the dead are grouped in family homes, each household enclosed in rich and costly iron railing and furnished with iron chairs, where the living may come and hold communion with their departed kinsfolk....”⁵⁴⁹

The influence of the home-tomb economy extended throughout the building trades. Some sense of its reach comes from the projected readership of Smith’s and Walter’s *Guide to Workers in Metals and Stone*: “Architects and Designers, Black and White Smiths, Brass Founders, Iron Masters...Pattern Makers, Marble Masons, Stucco Workers, Carvers and Ornamental Workers in

⁵⁴⁶ Freedley, 451.

⁵⁴⁷ Mid-nineteenth-century advertisement reproduced without attribution in John Maas, *The Gingerbread Age* (New York, NY: Rinehart & Co., Inc., 1957), 25.

⁵⁴⁸ [J. Brazer], “Rural Cemeteries,” *North American Review* 53, no. 113 (October 1841): 386, 402. On the context of such sentiments, see Sappol, 9-10, 27-30, 35, 38, 132-135, 180-182; 234; Cox, 23-35; Gary Laderman, *The Sacred Remains: American Attitudes Toward Death, 1799-1883* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996), 53-55, 73-74.

⁵⁴⁹ George G. Foster, “‘Philadelphia in Slices,’ by George G. Foster,” 1848-1849, ed. George Rogers Taylor, *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 93, no. 1 (January 1969): 45-46. On grave-related ironwork, see also Ellen Marie Snyder, “At Rest: Victorian Death Furniture,” in *Perspectives on American Furniture*, ed. Gerald W. R. Ward (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1988), 241-272; Blanche Linden-Ward, “‘The Fencing Mania’: The Rise and Fall of Nineteenth-Century Funerary Enclosures,” *Markers: The Journal of the Association for Gravestone Studies* 7 (1990): 35-58.

The home-tomb analogy was pervasive; see John F. Sears, *Sacred Places: American Tourist Attractions in the Nineteenth Century* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), 107-109; Douglas, *Feminization of American Culture*, chap. 6; Ann Douglas, “Heaven Our Home: Consolation Literature in the Northern United States, 1830-1880,” in *Death in America*, David E. Stannard, ed., (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1975), 49-68. While literary examples have received the most study, evidence appears in other arenas. At Monument Cemetery, for instance, managers referred to family tombs as “residences”; (see records of Monument Cemetery, housed at Lawnview Cemetery, Rockledge, PA).

Wood, Potters, Etc.” *Two Hundred Designs for Cottages and Villas* likewise targeted “The Professional Architect, the Topographical Engineer, the Builder, the Carpenter, the Mason, &c., &c.” Such subtitles nodded to a style of artisanal instruction that had flourished in earlier decades. John Haviland’s *The Builders’ Assistant* (1818-1821), for instance, had been intended “For the use of builders, carpenters, masons, plasterers, cabinet-makers, and carvers.” In a similar vein, Philadelphia’s Franklin Institute had offered a dual-track course in drawing. The “architectural” side was meant to serve “Cabinet-makers, Carpenters, Stone-cutters, and machinists of all descriptions,” while the “miscellaneous” counterpart catered to “chair-painters, chasers in various metals, Stucco workers, and painters of ornaments.”⁵⁵⁰ Rhetorically, at least, books like Smith’s and Walter’s assumed a place in this tradition.

By the 1840s, however, attitudes toward design work were shifting. Publications like the *Guide to Workers* were not technical manuals; they were flipbooks of patterns and styles, meant for consumers as much or more than producers. Thus the titles of such works looked backward. Their suggestion of republican fraternity among the building trades obscured an accelerating trend toward distinction. Skilled craftsmen who passed through the Franklin Institute and its kin were more likely to call themselves “architects” as their careers progressed. After 1850, would-be architects donned this title even before their formal training began. John McArthur, Jr., and Addison Hutton were prominent local examples. Although the American Institute of Architects was not founded until 1857, the values it aimed to promote were already beginning to spread.⁵⁵¹

Despite Downing’s best efforts, the landscape field remained murky by comparison. Architects sometimes waded into it. Thus T. U. Walter, who apparently “studied landscape painting in water-colors” before attending the Franklin Institute, went on to design a section of Woodlands Cemetery in the mid 1840s.⁵⁵² A more important and lasting crossover occurred in the career of John Notman. After working at Laurel Hill, Notman embarked on a series of landscape commissions that took him well beyond Philadelphia’s confines. These included the original plan of Cincinnati’s Spring Grove Cemetery (largely erased by subsequent superintendents), and better-preserved schemes for Richmond, Virginia’s, Hollywood Cemetery and Capitol Square. Notman also designed the grounds of at least half a dozen estates. In familiar pre-Civil War fashion, his work centered on the home and the tomb.⁵⁵³

⁵⁵⁰ *The Franklin Journal and American Mechanics’ Magazine* 2 (1826): 190, as quoted and discussed in Cohen, 146; on Haviland, see Cohen, pp. 145-147.

⁵⁵¹ Cohen, 149-150, 161-162, 168; Upton, “Pattern Books and Professionalism,” 117-120; Woods, 29-36, 57-60, 84-85.

⁵⁵² George C. Mason, “Memoir of Thomas Ustick Walter, LL.D.,” *Journal of the Franklin Institute* 126, no. 755 (November 1888): 404 (quotation); Cohen, 151; Aaron V. Wunsch, “Woodlands Cemetery,” HALS No. PA-5, Historic American Landscape Survey, National Park Service, U. S. Department of the Interior, 2004, pp. 13, 14, 40, 46. In a similar vein, William Strickland briefly listed himself as a “landscape painter” and gave some thought to the design of institutional grounds, including Laurel Hill Cemetery’s (Agnes Addison Gilchrist, *William Strickland: Architect and Engineer, 1788-1854* [Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1950], 3, 25, 87; Aaron V. Wunsch, “Addendum to Laurel Hill Cemetery,” HABS No. PA-1811, Historic American Buildings Survey, National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior, 1999, p. 14. However, there is little reason to believe either architect saw his landscape design efforts primarily as artistic undertakings. Both approached this work as surveyors rather than as horticulturists or landscape gardeners.

⁵⁵³ Greiff, 18-19, 25, 28-30, 53-60, 63, 68, 82, 126-127, 142-145, 161-163; Keith N. Morgan, “The Landscape Gardening of John Notman, 1810-1865” (M.A. thesis, University of Delaware, 1973); Keith N. Morgan, “The Emergence of the American Landscape Professional: John Notman and the Design of Rural Cemeteries,” *Journal of*

But Notman's case was unusual. Only a handful of antebellum practitioners presumed to call themselves landscape gardeners or to offer their services as such. Notman's British background may have primed him for the job; (John Nash, J. C. Loudon, and their peers routinely undertook landscape commissions). But even he seems to have used the title infrequently. Having made the transition from "carpenter" to "architect" after ten years of New World practice, he had difficulty enough collecting fees and respect in that capacity. Opening a second front in the struggle for professional legitimacy may simply have defied common sense.⁵⁵⁴

Before 1860, horticulturists and surveyors conceived most of the nation's large "designed landscapes." Yet neither group's members tended to think of themselves as designers in the ways Notman or Downing did. They worked instead within the confines of occupations and pastimes that predated the Revolution. Surveying, of course, had been central to colonial life. George Washington had charted the vast holdings of the Fairfax family in his youth (a prelude to his own land speculations) and other members of the Virginia gentry built careers around similar undertakings. There were urban precedents, too. Philadelphia's "surveyors and regulators" had been charged with laying out and leveling streets since the seventeenth century. Their disparate duties recalled English uses of the term *surveyor* to "embrace architects, civil engineers, cartographers and other trades and skills now distinct." Diverse though their specialties were, these experts were not grouped arbitrarily. As architectural historian Andrew Saint observes: "What surveyors had in common was a relationship with property. In the first instance they were measurers, delineators, adjudicators and improvers of land."⁵⁵⁵

In popular imagery, horticulture was a leisurely pursuit. As such, it accrued different associations than surveying even though many individuals tried their hands at both. Contemporary dictionaries defined a horticulturist as "one who is fond of, or skilled in, the art of

Garden History 4, no. 3 (1984): 269-289; Linden-Ward and Sloane, 23, 25; Blanche Linden, "Notman, John," in *Pioneers of American Landscape Design II: An Annotated Bibliography*, eds. Charles A. Birnbaum and Julie K. Fix (Washington, DC: Historic Landscape Initiative, National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior, 1995), 109-113. Other antebellum landscape designers whose work focused on cemeteries and residential subdivisions included Howard Daniels, Philip M. Price, and J. C. Sidney (all discussed in this chapter) as well as Alexander Wadsworth and Adolph Strauch. On the latter two, see Sears, 227, n. 52; Blanche Linden-Ward, "The Greening of Cincinnati: Adolph Strauch's Legacy in Park Design," *Queen City Heritage* 51, no. 1 (Spring 1993): 20-21.

⁵⁵⁴ Greiff, 40-43. Downing characterized Notman as a landscape gardener in the first edition of the *Treatise* (Morgan, "Landscape Gardening of John Notman," 41) and Notman may have applied the title to himself when designing Richmond's Capitol Square (Greiff, 162). Another leader in the field – who likewise depended on cemetery commissions – was New York-based architect Howard Daniels. For brief overview of his career, see Christine B. Lozner's entry in *Pioneers of American Landscape Design: An Annotated Bibliography*, eds. Charles A. Birnbaum and Lisa E. Crowder (Washington, DC: Historic Landscape Initiative, National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior, 1993), 36-38.

⁵⁵⁵ Andrew Saint, *Architect and Engineer: A Study in Sibling Rivalry* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007), 42 (quotations); John Hill Martin, *Martin's Bench and Bar of Philadelphia* (Philadelphia: Rees Welsh & Co., 1883), 141-152; Dell Upton, *Another City: Urban Life and Urban Spaces in the New Republic* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008), 137, 139-141; Andro Linklater, *Measuring America: How an Untamed Wilderness Shaped the United States and Fulfilled the Promise of Democracy* (New York: Walker & Co., 2002), 38-39, 44-45, 50-54; Sarah S. Hughes, *Surveyors and Statesmen: Land Measuring in Colonial Virginia* (Richmond, VA: The Virginia Surveyors Foundation, Ltd., and The Virginia Association of Surveyors, Inc., 1979), chaps. 5 and 11; John Barry Love, "The Colonial Surveyor in Pennsylvania" (Ph. D. diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1970).

cultivating gardens.”⁵⁵⁶ If horticulturists were gardeners, however, their title implied they were more. Thanks to avatars such as English naturalist Joseph Banks and to an outpouring of prescriptive literature, horticulture stood apart from both the manual labor of gardening and the scientific practice of botany. Taste was the defining ingredient. Its presence or absence constituted a central theme of writings on the subject; plays on “cultivation” were a natural corollary.⁵⁵⁷

In reality, even self-proclaimed horticulturists were a diverse lot. Some were paid estate gardeners. Early national Philadelphia hosted John Lyon and Frederick Pursh, who served successive terms at The Woodlands. They were experts of high standing, often charged with workforces of their own. Like their patrons, such men might be naturalists, collecting botanical specimens on the eighteenth-century model. Other horticulturists were commercial nurserymen. John Bartram, Jr., David Landreth, and Bernard M’Mahon all fitted that description, as did later arrivals John McArran and Robert Buist. Even the wealthiest horticulturists – the employers of a Pursh or a Buist – were rarely gentlemen in the English sense. Many made their fortunes as merchants or land speculators and remained involved in these activities throughout their lives. Henry Pratt of Lemon Hill was the most prominent local example.⁵⁵⁸

During the 1820s and 1830s, horticulture’s center of gravity shifted away from great estates and towards institutions, businesses, and suburbs. The botanical gardens of old blurred in content and function with nurseries run by the likes of André Parmentier in Brooklyn and Robert Buist in Philadelphia. A Scottish émigré, Buist had learned his trade at the Edinburgh Botanic Gardens and England’s Elvaston Castle. His arrival in Philadelphia coincided with the city’s “tremendous strides in horticulture,” marked in part by the founding of the Pennsylvania Horticultural Society in the previous year (1827). Buist had much in common with Downing [*cite O’Malley*]. Both sold ornamental plants to gentlemen farmers with economic ties to growing cities. Both treated their premises as botanical showplaces; (Downing called his establishment his “Botanic Garden and Nurseries”). And both wrote books on gardening that were widely consulted in their day. There were late-career overlaps, too. Downing analyzed rural cemeteries and apparently helped conceive one. Buist served as treasurer of Ronaldson’s and Mount Vernon Cemeteries and my

⁵⁵⁶ *Compact Edition of the Oxford English Dictionary* (1971), quoting 1818 definition.

⁵⁵⁷ Tamara Plakins Thornton, *Cultivating Gentlemen: The Meaning of County Life among the Boston Elite 1785–1860* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989), *passim*, but especially pp. 168-171. See also Wall, 194-195; Curtis as quoted in n. 64, above.

⁵⁵⁸ Joseph Ewan, “Philadelphia Heritage: Plants and People” in George H. M. Lawrence, ed., *America’s Garden Legacy: A Taste for Pleasure*, (Philadelphia: Pennsylvania Horticultural Society, 1978), 1-18; Joseph and Nesta Ewan, “John Lyon, Nurseryman and Plant Hunter, and His Journal, 1799 – 1814,” *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* 53, no. 2 (1963): *passim*; Joseph Ewan, “Frederick Pursh, 1774-1820, and His Botanical Associates,” *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 96, no. 5 (October 1952): 599-628; John W. Harshberger, *The Botanists of Philadelphia and Their Work* (Philadelphia: Press of T. C. Davis & Sons, 1899), s.v. “Frederick Pursh” and “John Lyon”; John Jay Smith, *Recollections*, 274; Henry Simpson, *Lives of Eminent Philadelphians, Now Deceased* (Philadelphia: William Brotherhead, 1859), s.v. “Henry Pratt.” Pratt’s background and horticultural efforts resembled those of Boston “merchant-horticulturists” Thomas C. Amory, Thomas Handasyd Perkins, and John Perkins Cushing (Thornton, 147-152). In a later decade, John Jay Smith went so far as to claim that nursery operation could serve as a fall-back career in case of mercantile failure; see John Jay Smith, “Horticulture,” *Horticulturist* n.s. 3, no. 8 (1 August 1853): 361.

have secured the services of his fellow countryman, John Notman, to design the latter institution's gatehouse.⁵⁵⁹

Rural cemeteries were the first places in America where surveyors and horticulturists collaborated on a regular basis. They did so, however, from different strategic positions. While both groups could and did contribute to the ranks of cemetery founders, it was horticulturists who spread the type around the country. Mount Auburn's Jacob Bigelow was typical. His background in medicine and botany drew him toward the Massachusetts Horticultural Society, which served its members as a de facto nursery. That group, in turn, was instrumental in establishing Mount Auburn Cemetery. John Jay Smith and Eli Price played similar roles at their respective cemeteries, albeit without comparable institutional support. (Philadelphia's horticultural network was less centralized than Boston's; the presence of well-developed nurseries both aided the rise of Pennsylvania Horticultural Society and diminished the importance of belonging to it.) And the pattern repeated out west. Cincinnati's Spring Grove Cemetery, for instance, sprang from the initiative of businessman Robert Buchanan, also a founder of the Cincinnati Horticultural Society. Practicing law, medicine, and banking, these men read Loudon and Downing, turned to each other for advice and introductions, and supervised the planting of their city's cemeteries for little or no compensation.⁵⁶⁰

The surveyors who complemented these efforts might bring similar backgrounds and skills. Mount Auburn's Henry A. S. Dearborn, for instance, was a founder and President of the Massachusetts Horticultural Society. (Like other men of his training and ambitions, he called himself a civil engineer).⁵⁶¹ Philip M. Price, who laid out Laurel Hill, Monument, and Woodlands Cemeteries, was Eli Price's younger brother. But the nature of their work made a difference. Surveying was seldom a hobby. It was laborious and technical, requiring use of a compass and theodolite and proficiency in algebra and trigonometry.⁵⁶² Where horticulture, like

⁵⁵⁹ Harshberger, s.v. "Robert Buist" (first quotation); Tatum, "Nature's Gardener," 71 (second quotation), 79; Wainwright, *Romantic Age*, 83, 229; *Philadelphia Cemetery. Copy of the Deeds of Trust*, [ii]; Greiff, 18, 39, 215. On "romantic period horticulturists," see Pregill and Volkman, 460-463.

⁵⁶⁰ Thornton, chap. 5; Linden-Ward, *Silent City*, 175; Linden-Ward and Sloane, "Spring Grove," 20-22; Wunsch, "Woodlands Cemetery," 51. The advanced and decentralized state of horticulture Philadelphia is apparent in *Report of the Committee Appointed by the Horticultural Society, of Pennsylvania, for Visiting the Nurseries and Gardens in the Vicinity of Philadelphia* (Philadelphia: Wm. F. Geddes, pr., 1831); Andrew Jackson Downing, "Notes on the Progress of Gardening in the United States During the Year 1840," *Gardener's Magazine* 41 (December 1840): 643-644.

⁵⁶¹ Linden-Ward, *Silent City*, 123, 127-129, 181-184, 197-205. In this proto-professional environment, the line between surveying and civil engineering remained vague. Surveying in its traditional sense had encompassed civil engineering (Saint, 42). By the nineteenth century, though, the relationship was often inverted, with surveying treated as a (lesser) component of civil engineering. There were, perhaps, some real differences. Civil engineers claimed to understand vertical measurements – and thus three-dimensional space – in a way surveyors did not (Daniel H. Calhoun, *The American Civil Engineer: Origins and Conflict* [Cambridge, MA: Technology Press, MIT / Harvard University Press, 1960], 19-20, 57, 59). But the engineer's quest for authority exaggerated these distinctions. In key respects, then, the divide between surveyors and engineers approximated that between builders and architects. And, much as title of "architect-builder" constituted an attempt to bridge the gap, so, too, did "topographical engineer;" (see, for instance, Gilchrist 48; Calhoun, 124). The parallels between architects' and engineers' New World professional aspirations are clear in the writings of Benjamin Latrobe – an exceptional figure, to be sure, but an insecure and highly articulate one (Saint, 171; Calhoun, 16; Woods, 7, 9-10, 16-24).

⁵⁶² For a contemporary overview, see John Gummere, *A Treatise on Surveying, Containing the Theory and Practice: to which is Prefixed a Perspicuous System of Plane Trigonometry* (Philadelphia: Kimber & Sharpless, 1837). On

architecture, laid claim to being an art *and* a science, surveying generally limited any such pretenses to the latter category.

These differences became important during the middle third of the century. Before then, they were less clear-cut. Surveying was part of many young men's educations, either through schooling or military service. Assignments on turnpikes, canals, and railroads offered a chance for further instruction. Benjamin Latrobe, the early republic's preeminent engineer-architect, agreed to assist New Castle, Delaware, in "regulating the levels of Streets, and furnishing to the corporation a correct Plan of the town."⁵⁶³ Much of the work then fell to Robert Mills and William Strickland, two young assistants who, before embarking on their own architectural careers, were already competent surveyors. They obtained that skill not through formal engineering education (which, outside West Point, remained meager) but from on-the-job training and the study of mathematics. Strickland felt his time with Latrobe served him poorly in this regard. He compensated by joining forces with Robert Brooke, a veteran Philadelphia surveyor and regulator. The apprenticeship, Strickland recalled, not only gave him practice "in establishing the lines of the streets, lanes, and alleys" of the Northern Liberties District, it also provided "an excellent opportunity to study Geometry and Algebra, and apply the results to the zig-zag ground plan of that district, the streets of which seem to have been let loose from the trammels of William Penn's rectangles."⁵⁶⁴

Such stints might also, of course, assist careers that stayed technical in focus. Strickland Kneass, who served as Philadelphia's Chief Engineer and Surveyor at mid century, "derived most of his practical training from his services upon the Delaware and Schuylkill Canal and Philadelphia and Wilmington Railroad...."⁵⁶⁵ They could also mark abrupt changes in vocation. On his disillusioned return from New Harmony, physician Philip M. Price became a surveyor for the Spring Garden District. Filling a post once held by Robert Brooke, he partnered with regulator Joseph Fox, invested in local real estate, and mentored surveyors of the next generation.⁵⁶⁶

slightly earlier practices, see Donald Jackson, "Roads Most Traveled," 204-205. The use of works like Gummere's in contemporary grammar schools is attested by Samuel Fitch Hotchkin, *The York Road, Old and New* (Philadelphia: Binder & Kelly, 1892), 105.

⁵⁶³ Benjamin Henry Latrobe, *The Correspondence and Miscellaneous Papers of Benjamin Henry Latrobe*, eds. John C. Van Home and Lee W. Formwalt (New Haven: Yale University Press for the Maryland Historical Society, 1894-1988), 1: 517, as quoted in Upton, *Another City*, 141. On the training of American surveyors, see John R. Stilgoe, *Common Landscape of America, 1580-1845* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1982), 100-101.

⁵⁶⁴ William Strickland, autobiographical fragment, ca. 1825, John K. Kane Papers, American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia, partially quoted in Woods, 62 (my thanks to Jeffrey Cohen for supplying the full text). On Strickland's and Mills' surveying, see Cohen, "Building a Discipline," 144; Gilchrist, 2-4, 11, 45-48, 61-62, 84, 88; H. M. Pierce Gallagher, *Robert Mills: Architect of the Washington Monument, 1781-1855* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1935), 46-47, 126-127, 134, 138, 141-142, 169. On Brooke, see Donald Jackson, "Roads Most Traveled," 220-229; Calhoun, 16, 19, 20, 34. (Brooke may have met Strickland, as well as Latrobe and Mills, through their joint efforts on the Chesapeake and Delaware Canal, 1803-1806.) On engineering education, see Calhoun, *passim*; Marvin J. Anderson, "The Architectural Education of Nineteenth-Century American Engineers: Dennis Hart Mahan at West Point," *JSAH: The Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 67, no. 2 (June 2008): 222-247.

⁵⁶⁵ Scharf and Westcott, 3:1749.

⁵⁶⁶ Obituaries of Philip M. Price, genealogical clippings file, Chester County Historical Society, West Chester, Pennsylvania; Union Canal Co. v. Young et al., 1 Whart. 410 (Sup. Ct. Penna., Eastern District, 1836); Susan M. Price, "The Story of the Price-Lightfoot Family," 1929, Price Family Scrapbooks, Friends Historical Library, Swarthmore College, 5-6, 12-13. Fox may well have taken on Price as an apprentice in the late 1820s. Their

The fluidity of this occupational environment has sometimes perplexed modern scholars. While the roles of surveyors and horticulturists were relatively discrete, the two groups played off each other's ideas and sometimes acted as, or collaborated with, architects and civil engineers. Historians ask: did Philip Price or his brother design Woodlands Cemetery? Did John Notman, John Jay Smith, or Philip Price design Laurel Hill? And what about Mount Auburn, where Henry A. S. Dearborn, Alexander Wadsworth, and Jacob Bigelow all contributed to the final result? None of these men readily forsook credit for his achievements; (Bigelow was especially egotistical, and brazenly inflated his claims). But attribution to a single party misses the mark. It assumes the existence of distinct artistic and technical modes of practice at a time when those categories – always under construction – were partially formed at best.⁵⁶⁷

The proto-professional milieu in which rural cemeteries took shape is better understood as *productive* – a moment of possibility in which careers and identities were cast. Designing a city's new cemetery furnished a multitude of valuable connections. Of the examples discussed so far, John Notman offers the best case in point. Laurel Hill put his name in the public eye. More importantly, it provided an entrée to the elite Philadelphia-Burlington network from which many of his commissions subsequently derived. Cemetery manager Nathan Dunn was a proximate link to new clients. But it was through horticulturist-litterateur John Jay Smith that Notman really came into his own. Thanks to Smith, Notman's designs appeared in Downing's *Treatise* and *Cottage Residences* – popular works with high circulation. A decade after coming America, Notman was prepared to move from “carpenter” to “architect.”⁵⁶⁸

Notman's transition illustrates how a craftsman with art-architect ambitions might benefit from the “rural” moment. But there were other beneficiaries, too, often tied more directly to the local real estate market. When the five-year depression brought on by the Panic of 1837 began to lift, occupations connected to urban land development confronted a range of new business opportunities. These increased, though by no means uniformly, as mass transit routes stretched west into Blockley Township, north into Germantown and Montgomery County, and northeast towards Richmond and Frankford. During the 1850s, commuter railroads began regular service to outlying villages such as Chestnut Hill and Jenkintown, accelerating their rebirth as elite suburbs. Streetcars rapidly edged out omnibuses at the decade's end, connecting the city's inner suburbs to its core and encouraging the construction of row houses, cottages, and villas.⁵⁶⁹

partnership connects an important clan of eighteenth-century Philadelphia surveyors (the Foxes) with one of its nineteenth-century counterparts (the Price-Lightfoot family). Price helped train Edward D. Roberts and John and Francis Lightfoot, on whom see also John Hill Martin, 151, 152; Wunsch, “Woodlands Cemetery,” 13, 15-16, 45-46, 64, 71, 115.

⁵⁶⁷ On Bigelow, see Linden-Ward, *Silent City*, 204. The separation of those who conceive a work of architecture or landscape architecture from those who execute it has remained incomplete and problematic. Magali Sarfatti Larson has characterized the division as one between *telos* and *techné*. On its implications, see Larson, “Emblem and Exception: The Historical Definition of the Architects' Professional Role,” in *Professionals in Urban Form*, eds. Judith R. Blau, Mark La Gory, and John S. Pipkin (New York: State of New York University Press, 1983), 49-85; Stevens, 20-21; Upton, “Pattern Books and Professionalism,” 114, 149; Carla Corbin, “No ‘Gross Offense against Good Taste in Landscape Art’: The Pre-Professional Era in *Garden and Forest*,” *Landscape Journal* 25, no. 2 (Fall 2006): 158-168.

⁵⁶⁸ Greiff, 16, 18, 20, 21, 25, 28-30, 40.

⁵⁶⁹ Roberts, 31-36; Geffen, 316, 322-323, 360-361; Sidney George Fisher, *Philadelphia Perspective*, 36-37, 74; Russell F. Weigley, “The Border City in Civil War, 1854-1865,” in *Philadelphia: A 300-Year History*, Russell F.

Real estate development is best understood as a constellation of value-adding practices. Obvious examples include surveying, the grading of streets, and the erection of houses. Such work seems routine and inevitable, creating “facts on the ground” more than images in the mind. But development is also a representational act. It gives confidence to prospective buyers and entices them with views and language. As such, it draws on skills and services that might otherwise seem unrelated. At mid century, key players included architects, builders, civil engineers, lithographers, real estate lawyers, and title specialists known as conveyancers. It was for these groups as much as for the general public that John Jay Smith imported anastatic printing.

Outside of Laurel Hill Cemetery, the Smiths remained minimally involved in antebellum real estate. Their main ties to that world were through publications: tomb-and-villa pattern books, horticultural literature, and, maps. The latter initially took the form of facsimiles. Based on originals at the Library Company, they included John Reed’s *Map of the City and Liberties of Philadelphia* (1774 [1846]) and Thomas Holme’s *Map of the Province of Pennsylvania* (1687 [?] [1846]). Such documents held antiquarian appeal but their reprinting stemmed from modern circumstances. The Holme map, Smith explained, had “become so extremely scarce as to make its production in courts, or reference to it by lawyers and scriveners, extremely difficult.”⁵⁷⁰

Starting off at the Anastatic Printing Office, John Jay Smith’s son, Robert, established a nationally important map publishing firm. His first major production was *Sidney’s Map of Ten Miles round* (1847), a magisterial circular overview of Philadelphia and its fast-changing outskirts (**Fig. 12**). The work portrayed the city as budding metropolis: turnpikes stretching out in all directions, railroads supplementing them, hamlets-turned-factory-towns and farms intermingled. Here was a directory of sorts. Major landholders’ names appeared on their tracts, aiding salesmen, speculators, or anyone else hoping to capitalize on the urban fringe. In most respects, though, artistic appeal trumped utility. Views of Laurel Hill and Girard College graced the corners, bright colors marked out city neighborhoods, and foliate borders served as a frame. These features help explain the map’s popularity, and second life as a handkerchief.⁵⁷¹

Over the next five years, the younger Smith expanded his endeavors. Moving beyond his home city (but depending on its printers and engravers), he published some of the first detailed maps of Mid Atlantic counties. Urban “vicinities” received special attention but rural areas with sufficient numbers of subscribers obtained coverage, too. After 1852, the firm turned its energies toward New York State. There, under Smith’s auspices, teams of surveyors,

Weigley, Nicholas B. Wainwright, and Edwin Wolf 2nd, eds. (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1982), 368, 379; Roger Miller and Joseph Siry, “The Emerging Suburb: West Philadelphia, 1850-1880,” *Pennsylvania History* 46, no. 2 (April 1980): 99-145; David R. Contosta, *Suburb in the City: Chestnut Hill, Philadelphia, 1850-1990* (Columbus, OH: Ohio State University Press, 1992), chap. 2; Donna J. Rilling, *Making Houses, Crafting Capitalism: Builders in Philadelphia, 1790-1850* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001), 67, 163.

⁵⁷⁰ John Jay Smith, *Summer’s Jaunt*, 2: 132 (quotation); Ristow, “Career of Robert Pearsall Smith,” 178-180. In the cases of the Holme and Reed maps – and quite possibly others as well – the Smiths limited their print run to two hundred copies, after which they destroyed the plates. For a sense of how Smith marketed these facsimiles, see his letter of 27 April 1846 to Richard M. Crain, Deputy Secretary of Pennsylvania’s Land Office, on file in Special Collections, Haverford College Library, Haverford, PA.

⁵⁷¹ John Jay Smith called the map a “semi-literary publication” and added: “If a good businessman had had it in hand, it would in all probability have reached a circulation equal to that of a Waverly novel” (*Recollections*, 225).

statisticians, and draftsmen produced maps of all sixty counties, followed by a great map of the state itself. When a speaker informed the American Philosophical Society in 1864 that “about two-thirds of the well-settled north has been delineated,” Robert Smith received much of the credit.⁵⁷² But Smith was one link in a chain that took shape around 1850. The boom in steam-driven lithography that began in the previous decade ushered in “the first era of inexpensive mass-produced graphic art in America.”⁵⁷³ It also helped solidify Philadelphia’s status as the industry’s capital. Some sixteen lithographic firms operated in the city by 1856, many of them located around Fifth, Sixth, and Market Streets. As a “middleman between surveyors and printers,” Smith worked closely with Peter S. Duval, a French native who ran “the largest, oldest, and most famous” of these concerns until a fire of that year destroyed his building.⁵⁷⁴ Surveying, for obvious reasons, was less concentrated and capital-intensive. Indeed, when it came to remote campaigns such as mapping New York State, Smith hired staff from the county or township under study. Early on, though, he often relied on a single, Philadelphia-based surveyor. This was James Charles Sidney, for whom the *Map of Ten Miles round* was named.⁵⁷⁵

Sidney came to America in January of 1845. His arrival in Philadelphia coincided with the Smiths’ forays into anastatic printing, and that circumstance afforded an opening. John Jay Smith recalled, “Having in my employ at the library, as a sub, a clever civil engineer from England, named J. C. Sidney, I kept him at work in the morning, in the upper rooms of the library, making maps of the city, of ten miles around it, etc.” These assignments have a somewhat menial ring, but they connected Sidney to the Smith family’s other enterprises. He produced six plates for *Two Hundred Designs for Cottages and Villas* (1846), three of which showed his own designs. Fieldwork occupied him, too. His surveys formed the basis of his *Map of Ten Miles round*, which the elder Smith called “the most successful of our maps.” Beginning in 1849, Sidney laid out South Laurel Hill Cemetery, a discontinuous addition to its namesake.⁵⁷⁶

Sidney’s dexterity and ambition drew him towards all kinds of urban pastoralism. Billing himself primarily as a civil engineer, he made his bid in a related field by publishing *American Cottage and Villa Architecture* (1850) and entering a series of partnerships with architects that lasted into the 1860s. Rural cemeteries were a mainstay. After designing South Laurel Hill, Sidney secured at least nine other such commissions, stretching from Easton, Pennsylvania, to New York and Montreal. Most of this work hinged on surveying: he established the lines of roads, paths, and grave lots and presented a plan to the managers. Fairmount Park (1859) in Philadelphia was different. There, Sidney and architect Andrew Adams accompanied their winning proposal with a detailed discussion of topography, circulation, and plantings. Tellingly,

⁵⁷² Robert Pearsall Smith, “On the County Maps of the United States” [as paraphrased by J. Peter Lesley], *Proceedings of the America Philosophical Society* 9, no. 71 (18 march 1864): 352 (quotation); Ristow, “Career of Robert Pearsall Smith,” 184-195; Walter W. Ristow, “The French-Smith Map and Gazetteer of New York State,” *Quarterly Journal of the Library of Congress* 36, no. 1 (Winter 1979): 68-90; Michael P. Conzen, “The All-American County Atlas: Styles of Commercial Landownership Mapping and America Culture,” in *Images of the World: The Atlas through History*, eds. John A. Wolter and Ronald E. Grim (Washington, DC: Library of Congress, 1997), 333, 335.

⁵⁷³ Conzen, 331.

⁵⁷⁴ Ristow, “Career of Robert Pearsall Smith,” 185 (first quotation); Wainwright, *Romantic Age*, 70.

⁵⁷⁵ Ristow, “Career of Robert Pearsall Smith,” 182-185; Ristow, “French-Smith Map and Gazetteer,” 71-72, 75, 79-81, 88.

⁵⁷⁶ John Jay Smith, *Recollections*, 224 (quotations); Ristow, “Career of Robert Pearsall Smith,” 180-182; Wunsch, “Laurel Hill Cemetery,” 48-49.

the duo identified themselves “rural architects.” As if to clarify the purview of a title that Downing himself had helped to introduce, the partners advertised their “particular attention” to “building and laying out of country seats, cemeteries and public grounds.”⁵⁷⁷

And yet measurement and partition of ground – the treatment of landscape as property – remained Sidney’s primary service. Like William Strickland and Philip Price before him, he bootstrapped his early career by surveying Philadelphia’s growing suburbs. Working in Spring Garden, Penn Township, Mantua, and Germantown, he systematically related existing tracts of land to the actual and proposed streets and railroads. Sometimes he played a part in these undertakings. An 1852 newspaper article described him and his partner, James P. W. Neff, as “the celebrated railroad contractors” and heralded their construction of the Chestnut Hill Railroad as a boon to abutters. (The same paper predicted the line would “open a vast field for cottages for at least a mile on both sides of [the route].”)⁵⁷⁸ In other cases, Sidney furnished sellers with what amounted to serving suggestions. Although his *Plan of Farms Near Jenkintown* (1855) appears to show a fully realized picturesque subdivision, improvements other than the principal road turn out to be imaginary (**Fig. 13**). The lithograph merely illustrates how these tracts “may be divided into a number of the most desirable Building Sites.”⁵⁷⁹

Sidney often joined such schemes as an investor. Subdividing lots and erecting housing on speculation, he exploited the ground rent system that made the city so conducive to such projects. As early as 1851, he and James Neff were prepared to spend \$5,000 on four parcels near Girard College. Similar purchases provided a foothold in residential subdivisions throughout the city’s northern outskirts. In the larger scheme of Philadelphia development, though, Sidney remained a bit player. As such, he stood in the shadow of men like Woodlands Cemetery’s founders.⁵⁸⁰

When Eli Price died in 1884, former Supreme Court Justice William Strong proclaimed, “it is probable that more titles in the City of Philadelphia passed under his revision than under the revision of any living lawyer, if not any lawyer who every lived in Philadelphia.” Strong did not exaggerate. Others echoed his opinion and also mentioned the related roles Price had played in shaping state and local tile law. The Price Act of 1853 “hewed away the remaining shackles on

⁵⁷⁷ *Biographical Dictionary of Philadelphia Architects*, s.v. “Sidney, James Charles” (quotation); Michael J. Lewis, “The First Design for Fairmount Park,” *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 130, no. 3 (July 2006): 283-297; J. C. Sidney and Andrew Adams, *Description of Plan for the Improvement of Fairmount Park* (Philadelphia: Merrihew & Thomson, pr., 1859); Tatum, “Nature’s Gardener,” 79.

⁵⁷⁸ Editorials in *Germantown Telegraph*, 4 February and 14 April 1852, the first quoted in Contosta, 43, the second transcribed by Jefferson Moak, whom I thank for sharing his research.

⁵⁷⁹ *Peremptory Sale. Thomas & Sons, Auctioneers. The "Abington" and "Cheltenham" Farms near Jenkintown*, broadside, 1855 (quotation); *Plan of Farms near Jenkintown, Designed for Country Seats* (Philadelphia: A. Kollner, lith., 1855). Given the detailed nature of this design, the high cost of lithographing it, and use of the term “peremptory sale” in the auction advertisement, it seems likely the developers were forced to sell before their plan had come to fruition.

⁵⁸⁰ Sidney’s Philadelphia land dealings are recorded in deeds in the Philadelphia City Archives and are traceable through the Grantor and Grantee Indexes (incomplete for 1863-1866). The 1851 purchase appears in Deed Book G.W.C. 97, p. 167 (1 May 1851). In the mid 1850s, Sidney laid out and invested in a ca. 70 acre subdivision in the Spuyten Duyvil section of Westchester County (now the South Bronx); see *Journal of the Board of Education of the City of New York. 1885* (New York: Evening Post Printing Office, 1885), 811-814, and advertisements in the *New York Times*, 2 April 1855 – 29 September 1857. On ground rents in Philadelphia, see Rilling, chap. 2.

the free transmission of real property in Pennsylvania.” The Consolidation Act of the following year, for which Price was largely responsible, “gathered together the segregated limbs of this great body politic [Philadelphia], and moulded them into one great harmonious and powerful unity.” These accounts jumped from Price’s bucolic upbringing (the presumed source of his honorable character) to his mid-life accomplishments, underplaying what transpired in between. There were exceptions, however. One speaker noted: “I have the impression that when he entered on his professional life he designed his sphere to be a more humble one, that of conveyancing and the practice of the law applicable to that pursuit.”⁵⁸¹

The humility of that vocation was itself a matter of perspective. A century earlier, conveyancing had indeed been low-status work. Its practitioners were essentially scribes, copying out legal and financial instruments related to the sale of property. But by the time Eli Price turned to law, conveyancing stood almost adjacent. As historian Donna Rilling has noted, “Conveyancers touted an expertise in the morass of legal documentation that was unsurpassed by real estate lawyers until the second half of the nineteenth century.” Indeed, their standing was sufficiently elevated at mid century that “Many delegated copying jobs to subordinates and focused instead on reviewing title, arbitrating sales and purchases, researching legal complications, and mediating loans.”⁵⁸² Little wonder, then, that Price had considered this alternate career path. In terms of day-to-day requirements, the skills needed were nearly identical.

Eli Price thus found himself in good company when establishing Woodlands Cemetery. Of seventeen original incorporators, three were conveyancers and four others pursued related occupations. Former Woodlands estate owner Thomas Mitchell was the company’s largest shareholder. He was also prominent conveyancer. His son and business partner, Benjamin, likewise invested time and money in the cemetery, as did Eli’s surveyor brother, Philip. Trained in medicine but seasoned in real estate, the latter ultimately declared himself a conveyancer, too. The shift highlights a longstanding practice: many surveyors acted as conveyancers, and vice versa. Philadelphia’s leading clans of surveyors included the Foxes, the Bonsalls, the Prices, and the Lightfoots. At mid century, all of these families included at least one self-identified conveyancer.⁵⁸³

In retrospect, local real estate men’s participation in rural cemeteries seems logical enough. Laurel Hill had shown the profitability of the type, and the years 1838 and 1839, when Monument and Woodlands were conceived, witnessed a mild recovery amid a broader economic crisis. Indeed, such investments must have appeared relatively safe. Monument’s founder,

⁵⁸¹ “Bar Meeting [in Honor of] Eli K. Price, Esq.,” *Philadelphia Legal Intelligencer*, 28 November 1884.

⁵⁸² Rilling, 58, 59.

⁵⁸³ *The Charter, By-Laws, and Regulations of the Woodlands Cemetery Company* (Philadelphia: T. & G. Town, pr., 1845), 2; *Reports Relative to the Woodlands Cemetery* (Philadelphia: C. Alexander, pr., 1843), 4-5; Philadelphia city directories, 1840-1855; John Hill Martin, 150-152. The occupations of surveyors and conveyancers naturally overlapped because the two groups relied on a common pool of knowledge. That pool’s ingredients are evident in the post-consolidation duties of district surveyors: “Each...shall keep an accurate record...of all the surveys and adjustments of party lines, and also furnish duplicates thereof to the chief engineer and surveyor within one month after the same is made, and also such plans of such parts of said district, and in such form, and with such details as the said chief engineer shall from time to time require for official purposes.” It seemed necessary to add: “such plans, surveys, records, minutes, notes, memoranda, and regulations...are the property of the city of Philadelphia, and shall be delivered to their successors in office on the termination of their official service” (Scharf and Westcott, 3:1746).

Abraham Elkinton, had speculated in housing during the pre-Panic boom years and understood the risks of that sector. The Prices and Thomas Mitchell launched their enterprise on the ruins of Mitchell's canal scheme. And in the spring of 1840, when Woodlands Cemetery received its charter, six of its incorporators showed their faith in such projects by owning lots at competing Monument.⁵⁸⁴

And yet, in crucial respects, rural cemeteries were not like other kinds of real estate. Both Monument and Woodlands struggled in their early years, and not only because economic conditions worsened before they improved. Endless squabbling divided board members among themselves and from stockholders. While these conflicts had multiple origins and the role of personality cannot be ignored, the structural problems were more important.⁵⁸⁵ They hinged partly on questions of influence: should a founder and principal investor retain special say in the company's affairs? But even when such problems subsided, more type-specific ones persisted. Rural cemeteries had direct roots in the romantic-institutional ferment of preceding decades. As such, they inherited a market-palliating mission that was enhanced by their patent domesticity. How could the cemetery's therapeutic and communal functions – its identity as a moral collectivity – be reconciled with its basis in alienable property? The answer lay partly in appearances – ones crafted by surveyors and horticulturists.

Creators of cemetery ground plans found themselves in an awkward position. To them fell the task of drafting schemes cheap enough for managers to implement and picturesque enough for lot buyers to want. Naturalism, after all, was in many ways the rural cemetery's *raison d'être*. It symbolized the departure from "urban" commerce and was a staple of those cognate institutions, the asylum and the hospital. But compared to simple grid subdivision, curving lines were complex and costly. In practice, this meant two things. First, serpentine forms were limited to roads and paths, while grave lots remained largely rectangular (see Chap. 2). Second, landscape designers had to act as boosters and educators. Hired to supply aesthetic naturalism, they countered managerial suspicions of artistic license by stressing the curve's market value over – but never explicitly against – its therapeutic-communal value.

Since the days of Lancelot "Capability" Brown, a central conceit of English landscape gardening had been regard for a site's unique qualities. Reverence for topographic specificity – the so-called "genius of the place" – had been important at Mount Auburn Cemetery, where avenues and paths were supposed to run "as nearly level as possible by winding gradually and gracefully through the valleys and obliquely over the hills, without any unnecessary or unavoidable bend,

⁵⁸⁴ On Elkinton's and Mitchell's speculations, see Chap. 3, above, and Sidney George Fisher, *Philadelphia Perspective*, 60-61, 100. According to the latter, Mitchell told potential investors in Woodlands Cemetery that he expected profits to quadruple the \$30,000 he had paid for the site. The Woodlands incorporators owning lots at Monument Cemetery in early 1840 were Andrew D. Cash, William E. Lehman, John Lindsay, Benjamin G. Mitchell, William H. Moore, and Philip M. Price (*Act of Incorporation, By-Laws, Rules and Regulations of the Monument Cemetery of Philadelphia. Together with the Names of the Officers and Members, For 1840-41, and the Third Annual Report* [Philadelphia: Charles A. Elliott, pr., 1841], 19, 21, 22). Capital might also flow in the other direction – that is, money made through cemetery-related businesses might end up being invested in real estate. This pattern appears in the careers of monument makers John Baird and Edwin Greble; see Morris, 222; Edwin Greble Letters, Downs Collection, Winterthur Library, Winterthur, DE.

⁵⁸⁵ It is worth repeating that public qualms about for-profit cemetery operation, apparent in the history of institutions such as Green-Wood in Brooklyn (Sloane, *Last Great Necessity*, 59, 131), do not seem to have been among the factors hindering such ventures in Philadelphia.

and especially to avoid all sinuosities.”⁵⁸⁶ Subsequent cemetery builders and their critics echoed these precepts as if they were catechism. At Woodlands, for instance, Eli and Philip Price touted drives that, while maximizing access to lots, were “not so multiplied as to become involved in a labyrinth” (**Fig. 14**). (Mount Auburn, ironically, was a target of this comparison.)⁵⁸⁷ Yet the persistent need to condemn arbitrary convolutions while praising “natural” ones says as much about cultural expectations as it does about internal rules of practice. Antebellum landscape designers needed to convince a skeptical public of the value of their services. Since curves struck many contemporaries as being landscape designers’ main product, use of the form had to appear selective, rational, and tasteful. Too few curves seemed stingy and unimaginative; too many seemed costly and capricious.

Red ink forced the issue at Woodlands. Managers were perplexed by the amounts they were spending to realize the Price brothers’ design, and they implicitly accused Philip of complicating the scheme to increase his fees. His plaintive response, citing “labor... which from the lines being curved must necessarily be very tedious,” speaks volumes about his predicament. Four years later, Eli was still defending the cemetery’s plan. Quoting J. C. Loudon and French poet Jacques Delille, he informed the board that the site’s varied contours sanctioned the use of straight avenues in some areas and serpentine ones in others. The disquisition, while generally lucid, sometimes veered toward obscurity. At one point, for instance, Price explained: “when the motive of taste and convenience ceases, the irregular course of the avenues glide[s] easily into the geometrical form, and the tasteful yields to the useful in planning, or rather follows out true taste, which is also gratified with that which is most useful and convenient....”⁵⁸⁸

John Notman faced comparable challenges at Spring Grove Cemetery. Managers of the Cincinnati institution received his proposal for their grounds in early 1845. After carefully comparing plan to site, the board gave its unanimous approval and asked New York architect Howard Daniels to oversee construction. Daniels served initially as a surveyor, his duties paralleling those of Philip Price in Philadelphia. As time passed, however, both Daniels and his employers grew wary. Daniels traveled East, inspected leading cemeteries, and recommended major changes to Notman’s scheme. Notman was outraged, but to no avail. The board followed Daniels and retained his services, thus advancing an important career; (success in “landscape gardening and rural architecture” lay in Daniels’ future). Notman, meanwhile, struggled to obtain compensation. Spring Grove’s managers eventually paid part of his bill but later concluded that “a large outlay might have been saved, with a manifest improvement of the plan, by a reduction of the roads and gravel walks to about one half the number proposed.”⁵⁸⁹

⁵⁸⁶ Henry A. S. Dearborn, “Plan of the Avenues of Mount Auburn and Plan of the Cottage for the Gardener of Mount Auburn and Report of the Garden and Cemetery Committee of the Massachusetts Horticultural Society” (1834) as quoted in Linden-Ward, *Silent City*, 199.

⁵⁸⁷ Eli K. and Philip M. Price, “Report of the Committee to Visit Mount Auburn, to the Woodlands Cemetery Company,” 17 February 1843, as reproduced in *Reports Relative to the Woodlands Cemetery*, 14. See also Gridley, “Rural Cemeteries,” 280.

⁵⁸⁸ Philip M. Price to Woodlands Cemetery managers, 30 December 1843 (first quotation); Eli K. Price, Report from the Chairman of the Executive Committee to the Managers of Woodlands Cemetery for 1847, (incorrectly) dated 1 January 1847. Both documents in WCCC.

⁵⁸⁹ *The Cincinnati Cemetery of Spring Grove. Report for 1857* (Cincinnati, 1857), 6-7, as quoted in Greiff, 82. My account follows Linden-Ward and Sloane, “Spring Grove,” 23, 25, and Linden-Ward’s (now Linden’s) notes and transcriptions, which she was kind enough to share with me. On Daniels’ career, see Lozner, 36-37; Schuyler, *New Urban Landscape*, 215-251, n. 26; advertisement, *Horticulturist* n.s. 5, no. 3 (March 1855): unpaginated section.

Such conflicts were obviously symptomatic of landscape gardening's pre-professional status. In the background, though, hovered the question of how to reconcile the rural cemetery's therapeutic-institutional impulses with its basis in private property. What would this mean on the ground? The grid had fostered small-scale proprietorship in the nation's largest cities while serving as an emblem of reform and rationality. The curve, conversely, was meant to palliate market society's most corrosive effects at Friends' Asylum and the Pennsylvania Hospital. But those same winding paths and shifting views also gave grave lots their appeal to purchasers. John Pechin said as much when confronting Woodlands Cemetery's managers (see Chap. 3). His insistence that "prominent parts of circles...suit the fancy of many individuals" achieved little, but it contained the utilitarian defense of romanticism for which cemetery designers ultimately searched. Thus, when John Notman submitted his plan for Richmond, Virginia's, Hollywood Cemetery (1848), he drew upon similar logic. Chastened by his experience at Spring Grove, he informed his Southern patrons: "The roads necessarily wind and turn to avoid acclivities. This is an advantage, as it produces many angles and corner lots, which are sought for, as you will find, – they will be [the] first bought up, being desirable for the display of a monument or tomb."⁵⁹⁰

As Notman's words suggest, mid-century consumers and designers paid increasing attention to "corner" lots. J. C. Sidney accentuated them in his plan for South Laurel Hill, which also displayed the double-lot rows Notman advocated (**Figs. 15a-15b**). Far from rejecting the urban grid, such layouts extrapolated its logic. In this manner, surveyors and landscape gardeners succeeded in adjusting picturesque planning principles to the preliminary wants of lot buyers and managers. But cemeteries were not static artifacts. The same proprietary framework that brought patrons to the sales office fostered eclectic development over time. Was it possible to mitigate this transformation, to preserve the *tout ensemble*? The aim of men like John Jay Smith and Eli Price was to foster such a managed aesthetic. The task of retaining cohesion at visual level while accommodating the particularities of lot-holder taste was partly bureaucratic, and it was in this realm that Smith excelled. His regulations for Laurel Hill introduced controls on monuments and enclosures that subsequent cemetery founders adopted and reworked for years. Only in the 1860s, when the spread of "landscape lawn" planning principles encouraged still tighter limitations did those Smith promoted begin to recede.⁵⁹¹

Price's counterpart to Smith's achievement was more theoretical. After watching Woodlands Cemetery evolve out of the remnants of William Hamilton's estate, Price discerned a discrepancy between the overall design and effect of lot holders' improvements: "Thus we have

In the latter, Daniels stated: "Having laid out fifteen cemeteries, and a corresponding number of private grounds, he feels confident that he will be able to please his employers."

⁵⁹⁰ "Report accompanying Plan of Hollywood Cemetery, Richmond, Va., By John Notman, Architect, Philadelphia, February 12, 1848," minutes of the Hollywood Cemetery Company, Virginia Historical Society, Richmond, VA. My thanks to Virginia Price for procuring a copy of this document, which is transcribed in Greiff, 142-145.

⁵⁹¹ John Jay Smith, *Recollections*, 292. Smith's claims about the influence of his regulations are substantiated by comparing them to publications such as *Rules and Regulations of the Green-Wood Cemetery with a Catalogue of the Proprietors and Mr. Cleaveland's Descriptive Notice of "Green-Wood Illustrated"* (New York: Green-Wood Cemetery, 1852), 10-15. However, Smith neglected to mention his own debt to James Ronaldson on matters such as vault construction. Compare *Regulations of the Laurel Hill Cemetery, on the River Schuylkill, near Philadelphia* (Philadelphia: A. Waldie, pr., 1837), 8, to *Philadelphia Cemetery. Copy of the Deeds of Trust*, 8.

the grand and imposing, and the diminutively beautiful, blended; with every intermediate scale of enclosure and vegetable growths planted to please the infinitely varying tastes of the lot holders. How then,” Price wondered, “are these extremes, never before so united in landscape gardening, to be blended with harmonious effect, and how shall those exercising the paramount power of the company correct the incongruities produced by the planting of dissimilar tastes?” The answer lay in the soft exercise of corporate power. Lot holders might indulge in “the cultivation of flowers and shrubs that do not rise to a height to vary the landscape or obscure the prospect.” Even parties who preferred “planting trees stiffly as in the four corners of their lot” might do so unhindered; the company would offset the result by “planting at a short distance irregularly so as to throw the whole into an irregular group.” While managers retained the right to remove trees, they were to exercise it as a last resort. The goal was to “avoid collisions,” to “succeed by persuasion or conviction.”⁵⁹²

Price understood he was proposing something new. His emphasis on transitions and harmony owed much to Downing and Loudon, both of whom he quoted in passing. His insistence that “the graceful order of improvement” suited The Woodlands was especially significant, for it recalled Downing’s definition of the Beautiful as “nature or art obeying the universal laws of perfect existence...easily, freely, harmoniously, and without the *display* of power.”⁵⁹³ Yet Price’s was an institutional aesthetic, a mode of governance as much as style. As such it recalled, albeit faintly, the therapeutic projects for which Philadelphia had long been famous. Posing as a neutral expert, a referee in the realm of taste, Price looked backward to the world of early republican social reform and forward to the ethos of landscape professionalism.⁵⁹⁴

Professionalism, the Grid, and the Curve in the Era of Parks and Suburbs

It might at first seem perverse to suggest that the ideals behind institutions like the Friends’ Asylum and the Preston Retreat gave way to impulses that were primarily aesthetic in the years leading up to the Civil War. Such institutions, after all, were the places where naturalistic design made its first inroads in America outside of private estates; movement, verdure, and sensory variety were important there from the beginning. Moreover, we are told, the creation of New York’s Central Park and its counterparts in other cities signaled the beginnings of the “American Environmental Tradition.” Here, if anywhere, we should be able to witness landscape design’s first in-depth engagements with urban progressivism.⁵⁹⁵ Yet several contemporary

⁵⁹² Eli K. Price, Report for 1847. Price reiterates these themes in his Report from the Managers to the Corporators for 1851, n.d. [3 January 1852], WCCC. In both instances, he articulates values and ideas later codified in urban zoning. This was still more true of his subsequent endeavors within the realm of Philadelphia municipal law; see William E. DuBois and John Sergeant Price, “Eli K. Price,” in *History of Chester County, Pennsylvania, with Genealogical and Biographical Sketches*, eds. J. Smith Futhery and Gilbert Cope (Philadelphia: Louis H. Everts, 1881), 698.

⁵⁹³ Eli K. Price, Report for 1847; Downing, *Treatise*, 69 (italics in original); Major, *New World*, 80-84; Conron, 233-234.

⁵⁹⁴ David Wall correctly relates such aesthetic impulses to established notions of republican virtue, defined as “the willingness of citizens to subordinate their private desires and convenience to the public good” (192, quoting Jean V. Matthews, *Toward a New Society: American Thought and Culture, 1800-1830* [Boston, MA: Twayne Publishers, 1991], 5).

⁵⁹⁵ Albert Fein, *Frederick Law Olmsted and the American Environmental Tradition* (New York: George Braziller, 1972), 7, 14-15, 28-29; Albert Fein, “The American City: The Ideal and the Real,” in *The Rise of an American*

developments tend to obstruct our view. By the 1850s, the idealism that had motivated the previous generation's reformers was on the wane. In its wake came more pragmatic conceptions of deviancy and more narrowly targeted solutions. To be sure, asylum builders, temperance societies, and young men's associations still saw environments as root causes, and they still looked to landscape as part of the cure. Their programs, however, lacked their predecessors' near-utopian optimism. Instead, as cities' geographic reach expanded and their enclaves grew more segregated, "the city" or "the slum" appeared as problems in their own rights.⁵⁹⁶ It was at this point that the American landscape architecture profession found its first proponents.

The other complicating factor was professionalism itself. Landscape designers were prominent among the groups that stepped forward to solve big-city problems. But their quest for exclusive authority in their field, while framed in reformist terms, was not obviously compatible with the class reconciliation that A. J. Downing and, later, Frederick Law Olmsted espoused. Could these projects operate in tandem? Perhaps. Different arenas suggested different answers. The formation of metropolitan parks comported with the notion of the city as a problem. Here, at least in theory, landscape gardening and social improvement might work largely in concert. In the case of cemeteries, however, the same period actually witnessed a widening divide between the promotion of landscape professionalism and the pursuit of old-style reform. When Downing declared that "tasteful and harmonious embellishment" rather than emotional ties to the deceased brought visitors to cemeteries, he both described and encouraged the split. Perhaps picturesque landscape design could move beyond strict social utility. If practitioners could loosen the linkage, they might increase public interest in art.⁵⁹⁷

By art, of course, Downing meant landscape gardening. Could it also become a profession? Downing clearly thought so, and, in the years following his untimely death, his friends and associates took up the cause. In order for their project to succeed, it would need to seem disinterested. That it managed also to seem humanitarian owed much to the renewed bond between morality and taste. In the decade and a half before the Civil War, that pairing enjoyed a renaissance, in part because it suited new needs. As cities ballooned and industrial capitalism matured, white-collar politesse emerged in contrast not only to manual labor but also to mass culture and bourgeois boorishness. Preventing failures of taste became an act of compassion in this context, allowing aspirants to middle-class status to rescue themselves from the wrong associations. Thus, the push for landscape professionalism assimilated itself to older reform

Architecture, ed. Henry Russell Hitchcock (New York: Praeger / Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1970): 51-105; Schuyler, *New Urban Landscape*, chaps. 4-6.

⁵⁹⁶ Paul Boyer, *Urban Masses and Moral Order in America, 1820-1920* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1978), 55, 67-75; 81-87; David J. Rothman, *The Discovery of the Asylum: Social Order and Disorder in the New Republic* (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1971), chap. 10; Mary Ryan, *Cradle of the Middle Class: The Family in Oneida County, New York, 1790 – 1865* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1981), 14-15, 142-154, 210-218; Stuart M. Blumin, "Explaining the New Metropolis: Perception, Depiction, and Analysis in Mid-Nineteenth-Century New York City," *Journal of Urban History* 11, no. 1 (November 1984): 9-27; Blumin, *Emergence, 192-206*; Upton, "Another City," 106. Building on Boyer's insights, Ryan and Blumin are especially adept at explaining how these changes in the nature of reform were bound up with middle-class self definition at this time – a project that led, ultimately, emphatically, and somewhat ironically to greater emphasis on privacy and domesticity.

⁵⁹⁷ Fein correctly observes: "The most pronounced trend in Downing's career was a shift from rural and horticultural interests to urban and social concerns" ("American City," 75). But, as I hope to demonstrate, Downing and successors such as Olmsted were ambivalent about this trend, recognizing that the dictates urban reform and those of landscape professionalism meshed only incompletely.

ideals. When Downing and his successors touted horticulture over surveying – as they did quite assertively in these years – they simultaneously if paradoxically promised to palliate the influence of “politics – commerce – the professions – and all other busy, engrossing occupations, whose cares become...almost a fever in the veins of our ardent, enterprising people.”⁵⁹⁸

As antebellum cities mushroomed, so, too, did extensions of the grid. New suburbs, mill villages, and additions all tended to follow a regular, rectilinear street pattern. That planning convention, however, came under fresh scrutiny. A sometime symbol of republican ideals, it had occasionally been labeled routine and mechanistic as early as the 1830s (see Chap. 2). Amid accelerating urbanization, such rhetoric became assertively moralizing. Worse than unimaginative, the grid now struck landscape reformers as an instrument of low-minded profit seeking. It seemed, in fact, to conduct the very currents of ambition and rootlessness that rural cemeteries had promised to ground.⁵⁹⁹ The physical impact of such views was limited. Public officials and private developers continued to favor orthogonal subdivision and Philadelphia was no exception. But the polemics had real-world consequences. Branded as “mass” and mercenary – the equivalent of cheaply printed texts – the grid became an emblematic foil against which the values of American landscape professionalism were forged.

* * *

On the eve of the Civil War, Philadelphia cohered and pulled apart in ways that ways that seemed vaguely familiar. Statistically, of course, recent changes had been staggering. The population, which exceeded half a million, had doubled in twenty years. Roughly one out of three residents was foreign born, and the great annexation of 1854 had given the city an official reach of 130 square miles. In key respects, though, old ways of living and seeing persisted. While streetcar service was on the rise, its implications for urban growth remained unclear. Suburbs housed little of the white-collar workforce. Except in the emergent downtown, built-up neighborhoods, covering some six square miles, continued to accommodate industry and commerce alongside residential development. Social sorting was still primarily by block.⁶⁰⁰

Along with these enduring patterns came apparent continuity in their setting: nearly every new neighborhood and subdivision took shape on some sort of grid. West Philadelphia contained numerous examples (**Fig 16**). Although the area still resembled a cluster of villages more than a cohesive addition, its eastern flank now deferred to the city’s core. Gone were the idiosyncratic

⁵⁹⁸ [Andrew Jackson Downing], “A Chapter on School-Houses,” *Horticulturist* 2, no. 9 (March 1848): 396; see also John Jay Smith, “Horticulture,” 360, and any number of articles published in that journal ca. 1850. On the urban and class contexts of these sentiments, see Blumin, *Emergence*, chap. 5; Bruce Dorsey, *Reforming Men and Women: Gender in the Antebellum City* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2002), chap. 1. Dorsey observes “The middle class constructed a paradoxical attitude toward the new consumerism – dependent on it for economic power and social status, but critical of the vice of luxury when expressed by the rich above them and the poor below them. This simultaneous attachment to and detachment from a market economy helped to define the Anglo-American middle calls and produced the anti-materialist critique that dominated nearly every reform movement in antebellum America” (34-35).

⁵⁹⁹ See chap. 2, above; Harris, 205-215; Farrell, 108-109.

⁶⁰⁰ Blumin, *Emergence*, 163-179; Sam Bass Warner, *Private City*, 50-51; Dorsey, *Reforming Men and Women*, 113-116; Kenneth Jackson, *Crabgrass Frontier*, 142; Miller and Siry, 102-104, 112, 114, 118, 127-128, 143. Although Philadelphia’s mid-century transformation was less dramatic than New York’s, some instructive parallels appear in Blumin, “Explaining the New Metropolis,” 9-38.

street names of Hamilton Village, replaced by numbers and the names of trees. North of Market Street and south of the Baltimore Turnpike, competing grids collided with the main one, their alignments based on watercourses, old roads, and property lines. Block sizes varied widely in these areas. Some even retained older place names. Nonetheless, numerical designations for north-south streets crept steadily westward. The long-term trajectory was clear.⁶⁰¹

In the influential view of Sam Bass Warner, growth of this sort signaled a failure of imagination and leadership. Rather than addressing industrial-age planning needs, Philadelphians clung to the style of urbanism they knew best. Thus:

Although mid-century Philadelphia was a brand-new sprawling port and mill city, as much a novelty as Cincinnati, or St. Louis, or Liverpool then were, no important innovations went into the building of its physical structure... The grid street, the narrow house lot, the row house, the interior alley, and the rear yard house or shack were endlessly repeated. When so repeated, however, they lost entirely their eighteenth-century character and took on instead that mixture of dreariness and confusion which so characterized nineteenth-century mass building.⁶⁰²

Warner's critique is essentially functionalist: suited to eighteenth-century needs, the urban grid had become outmoded – an old-fashioned cloak turned readymade straightjacket on a burgeoning industrial city. The problem with this view is that it attends inadequately to culture. The grid did not simply go out of date. That it struck some antebellum critics as having done so testifies more convincingly to the consolidation of a viewpoint that had been several decades in the making.

Visitors had complained of Philadelphia's bewildering monotony since the early national period. These objections grew louder at mid century, and were more likely to come from local sources. In 1855, for instance, the *Public Ledger* observed: "All the houses are oblong squares.... They are almost as uniform as a row of bricks set up on end.... Unless you know a street well, it is ten to one that you mistake it for another." Rooflines, window profiles, entire city blocks – all seemed prone to the malady. The writer beseeched: "— anything to break this wearisome iteration of the square, even were it a Chinese pagoda for a tea store, or a Swiss cottage for an ice-cream saloon."⁶⁰³

⁶⁰¹ Samuel L. Smedley, *Atlas of the City of Philadelphia* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co., 1862); Miller and Siry, 102-104, 107-109, 117, 143. Although West Philadelphia's street names increasingly conformed with those of the core, this pattern was sometimes reversed. Callowhill Street, for instance, was renamed Powelton Avenue when the Powelton subdivision was established.

⁶⁰² Sam Bass Warner, *Private City*, 50. Here and elsewhere, Warner associates Philadelphia's physical form with his overarching concept of "privatism." The essence of the latter, he explains, "lay in its concentration upon the individual and the individual's search for wealth" (3). Closely related charges of an elite characterized by selfishness, introversion, the neglect of the public realm appear in E. Digby Baltzell, *Puritan Boston and Quaker Philadelphia: Two Protestant Ethics and the Spirit of Class Authority and Leadership* (New York: Free Press, 1979). Though products of their own eras, these arguments mirror critiques that emerged in the middle decades of the nineteenth century, e.g. Foster, 30-31.

⁶⁰³ One of John Jay Smith's first acts as editor of the *Horticulturist* was to reprint this article on its pages. See "Private Architecture," *Horticulturist* n.s. 5, no. 9 (September 1855): 413-414. The authorship of the original is unclear but the writer's yearnings for exotic commercial architecture may suggest familiarity with building types then standing in London. See Julia Scalzo, "All a Matter of Taste: The Problem of Victorian and Edwardian Shop Fronts," *JSAH* 68, no. (March 2009): 55.

Yet there was nothing like consensus on the matter. Defenders of the grid remained outspoken, and they continued to cast assailants as outsiders. Perhaps “persons coming from such tangled webs as London, Paris, Boston, and [downtown] New York” could be excused for their misapprehension. “Unused to the admirable clearness and order of the plan of such a city as this, they look about in vain for the acute and obtuse angles, serpentine ways, triangular, rhomboidal and pentagonal blocks or the disorderly concatenations of houses which exist where they dwell.” Nonetheless, the same writer announced, “time has proudly vindicated Philadelphia by exhibiting to us the spectacle of other cities in this New World copying this same ‘distressingly regular’ plan which has so often been voted a bore in Philadelphia.” Why should Philadelphians themselves, then, not perpetuate a tried-and-true system?⁶⁰⁴

Supporters declared that they should – “subject, of course, to such improvements and alterations in the length of blocks, the width of main avenues, etc.” as befitted modern needs and desires. That qualification was important. Its author asked Philadelphians to see the city’s fabric as something malleable and worthy of adjustment. And they did. During the middle years of the century, municipal authorities established a twenty-five foot minimum width for new streets and alleys. They decreed that new houses be accompanied by no less than 144 square feet of adjacent open space, known as “curtilage” in contemporary parlance. And, significantly, they displayed their willingness to depart from the grid and renew their reputation for reform by establishing a great riverside park. Rural cemeteries had anticipated such measures in a general sense. They also did so in a particular one: almost all of the legislation that enabled these developments was conceived or reworked by Eli K. Price.⁶⁰⁵

Philadelphia’s mid-century cityscape was not, then, a work of mindless repetition. Far from signaling inertia or evasion, the grid’s spread showed its perceived vitality. Civic leaders believed modernization was necessary, and they applied strong measures toward that end. The biggest, of course, was consolidation. Under the 1854 act, city growth became more uniform and sanitary. A huge sewer-building campaign got under way, and the work of surveying turned increasingly systematic. Street addresses were finally rationalized over the course of several years. That shift, in turn, made possible a feat of which early republican quantifiers could only have dreamt. As Chief Engineer and Surveyor Strickland Kneass demonstrated, it was now possible to produce a table in which street names and intersections bore a regular, repeatable relationship to block and house numbers. In key respects, the 1850s saw the fulfillment of the great “regulating” project that had begun some sixty years earlier.⁶⁰⁶

⁶⁰⁴ *North American and United States Gazette*, 29 November 1854. I am grateful to Andrew Heath for alerting me to this article and supplying a transcription.

⁶⁰⁵ *Ibid.* (quotation); DuBois and John Sergeant Price, 697-698. Scholars have long seen rural cemeteries as precursors of modern city planning and Eli Price’s biography strengthens the link. However, as private corporations whose charters kept out city streets, Philadelphia’s rural cemeteries also became major obstacles to the city’s expanding grid. See “Blocking up the County,” *Sunday Dispatch*, 10 August 1851; “Blocked Up Streets,” *Sunday Dispatch*, 15 February 1852. My thanks to Andrew Heath for supplying transcriptions of these important articles.

⁶⁰⁶ Scharf and Westcott, 3:1746-1752; John Hill Martin, 151-152; Upton, *Another City*, 142. Upton discusses an earlier and more abstract proposal that would have rationalized the street system by treating it as an “algebraic grid.” On the chaos that continued to reign, especially for strangers, prior to 1858, see “Naming of Streets and Numbering of Houses,” *Public Ledger*, 22 March 1849.

Such robust interventions doubtless gratified the grid's defenders. Yet even those who admired Philadelphia's plan sometimes saw it as an instrument of commerce. George Foster praised the "equitable distribution of the streets [which] enables the City to breathe freely and expand itself comfortably in all directions." He did so, however, after noting that those same streets were "as regularly balanced as a merchant's ledger." The metaphor had a musty quality: pokes at the city's Quaker-mercantile rectitude dated back at least a quarter-century. But Foster did not dwell on religious stereotypes. The Quakers themselves, he noted, were increasingly assimilated into mainstream culture through their taste for fashionable clothing. Their city, in turn, was a city of shopkeepers – the most fully "bourgeois" in the republic.⁶⁰⁷

Implicitly and perhaps unconsciously, Foster contributed to an emerging convention. He participated, that is, in the creeping devaluation of the grid. His comments were relatively mild and they confined themselves to Philadelphia. The city's form, he suggested, was proper and self-disciplined but small-minded, tight-fisted, and ordinary. The grid, in other words, befitted "one of the most substantial, most reliable, most intelligent and altogether respectable commercial communities in existence," but one whose citizens were neither "the most liberal or the most public-spirited."⁶⁰⁸ Place-specific though it was, that judgment foreshadowed claims soon made against New York, Midwestern cities, and orthogonal planning in general. Landscape theorists led the charge, and they did so through the language of reform.

Critics of urban rectilinearity framed their arguments in abstract terms. Sometimes they made no reference to the city or its inhabitants at all. Such was the case in A. J. Downing's essay, "The Beautiful in Ground" (1852). Here, Downing contrasted curved lines – the received basis of beauty from Hogarth onward – with "those hard and forcible lines which denote violence." "[M]any persons," he conceded, might admire level surfaces. "Hence, as there are a thousand men who value power, where there is one who can feel beauty, we see all ignorant persons, who set about embellishing their pleasure grounds, or even the site for a home, immediately commence leveling the surface. Once brought to this level, improvement can go no further, according to their views, since to subjugate or level is the whole aim of man's ambition."⁶⁰⁹

But of course such aesthetic disquisitions had social overtones. As his reference to ambition suggested, Downing spoke the language of reform. The key concept he drew upon was *influence*.⁶¹⁰ Much as an earlier generation of asylum builders hoped to counter the effects of

⁶⁰⁷ Foster, 26-28. Foster's indictment is Philadelphia-specific but similar judgments were beginning to be leveled at New York and other cities. It is worth noting that while such critiques of the urban grid as petit-bourgeois gained currency, wealthy merchants were leading the way in establishing the nation's first upper-class suburbs (Schuyler, *New Urban Landscape*, 150-151). For a fascinating, early identification of bourgeois values with homogenization and, ultimately, with the erasure of place, see "Decline of Country Towns," *Brother Jonathan* 1, no. 7 (12 February 1842): 177. Significantly, the essay is reprinted from a British journal in one of America's new "mammoth" weeklies; see McGill, 83-84, 119-120.

⁶⁰⁸ Foster, 30.

⁶⁰⁹ [Andrew Jackson Downing], "The Beautiful in Ground," *Horticulturist* 7, no. 3 (March 1852): 106. See also Major, *New World*, 95-96, 141; Wall, 193. Referring to Downing and the sisters Catherine Beecher and Harriet Beecher Stowe, Conron observes: "Their designs are avowedly rural, products of an unmanipulative relation between art and nature, but the subtext is urban..." (232).

⁶¹⁰ On *influence*, see Douglas, *Feminization of American Culture*, 9, 41, 45, 67, 69, 129; Dorsey, *Reforming Men and Women*, 2, 38, 83-85. While the concept was central to many antebellum reform movements, Downing and his cohort were, in fact, ambivalent about such crusades. Adam Sweeting observes: "Genteel Romantics wished to

politics and money lust through isolation and exposure to nature, so Downing resumed that crusade on a narrower and more private scale. His essay “On the Moral Influence of Good Houses” (1848) captured the ethos: beautiful houses could improve by example, showing society how their owners had “risen above the platform of mere animal wants.” Unlike his reformist predecessors, however, Downing focused primarily on taste. Thus the pathology of ambition, once treated as a quasi-medical condition, became bound up with particular forms and sensibilities.⁶¹¹

While Downing encouraged that association, he was by no means its inventor or monopolist. The bridge between therapeutic and aesthetic objectives had multiple foundations. The most obvious was the fusion of morality and taste that grew out of Scottish common-sense philosophy. Equally crucial if less readily apparent was the bond between professionalism and romanticism. Surfacing in eighteenth-century England, the professional ideal had originally applied only to law, medicine, and the ministry. Unlike work in the counting house or shop, toil in these occupations need not seem illiberal.

As a gentleman, the professional was a man of chivalrous instincts and refined feelings. His principal considerations, unlike those of merchants or tradesmen, were never financial. Honor guided his actions, and authority was his due. He was a paternal figure who advised his clients on what was best for them; he did not sell them goods or services.⁶¹²

American social and economic conditions were less hospitable to such self-positioning. Doctors and lawyers might complain, but, when it came to securing comparable deference for the design fields, the challenge was even more daunting. Benjamin Latrobe had met disappointment at nearly every turn in the early years of the republic. Downing’s prospects did not look much better: landscape gardening was less patently useful than architecture or engineering. Nonetheless, two pervasive cultural constructions came to his aid. One was the “man of feeling” role that had emerged in recent decades through the combination of literary sentimentalism and evangelical religion.⁶¹³ Compounding the value of Downing’s adoption of this persona was the popular antebellum belief that, in an age of urban capitalistic expansion, horticulture possessed curative powers. Lydia Sigourney told *Godey’s* readers:

reform America’s manners and morals but generally eschewed popular reform movements. For them, reform began at home” (10; see also 95, 101).

⁶¹¹ [Andrew Jackson Downing], “On the Moral Influence of Good Houses,” *Horticulturist* 2, no. 8 (February 1848): 345 (quotation). On the role of these ideas in Downing’s work and in architectural-reformist thought more generally, see Harris, 208, 215; Sweeting 93-106; Bushman, *Refinement of America*, 263; Upton, “Pattern Books,” 127; Wall, 191-193, 195-197. As noted above (n. 21), such convictions were not confined to Downing or his era, but they were codified, expanded, and sentimentalized at that time. Harris succinctly observes: “Downing’s most enduring legacy was his identification of aesthetic reform with a set of ethical and social ideals, his rural commonwealth [consisting] of men of honor whose rationality was strengthened by the natural beauty which the architect and gardener had assembled” (215).

⁶¹² Woods, 6. See also pp. 10, 16, 29-31; Upton, “Pattern Books and Professionalism,” 119-120; Sappol, 47-80, esp. pp. 53, 63-65, 78.

⁶¹³ Dorsey, *Reforming Men and Women*, 20-23, 188-89. Dorsey helps illuminate Downing’s appeal to middle-class readers: “A masculine persona based on sentiment came to be inseparably woven together with middle-class attachments to politeness, consumerism, and commerce” (20).

If the admiration of the beautiful things of Nature has a tendency to soften and refine the character, the culture of them has a still more powerful and abiding influence. . . . The lessons learned among the works of Nature, are of peculiar value in the present age. The restlessness and din of the rail-road principle, which pervades its operations, and the spirit of accumulation which threatens to corrode every generous sensibility are modified by the sweet friendship of the quiet plants.⁶¹⁴

Diffusers of horticultural knowledge thus performed a social service: beyond simply advising on taste, they helped Americans adjust to modernity.

Gender's centrality here was overwhelming. As Ann Douglas has shown, the synthesis of "masculine" expertise and "feminine" influence produced a kind of cultural authority to which middle-class Americans were receptive. Much of Downing's success lay in applying that logic to horticulture. Plants themselves, however, were only part of the equation. Curving lines supplied the proper framework. They operated, in fact, as a metonym for the entire ruralizing project. Where straight lines symbolized masculine ambition, curves connoted feminine self-restraint. In nature, Downing claimed, "What cannot be softened, is hidden and rounded by means of foliage, trees and shrubs, and creeping vines, and so the tendency to the curve is always greater and greater. But man often forms ugly surfaces of ground, by breaking up all natural curves, without recognizing their expression. . . ; in short, by regarding only the little he wishes to do in his folly, and not studying the larger part that nature has already done in her wisdom." The genius of the place was feminine, her influence demonstrably feminizing.⁶¹⁵

If curves exerted a softening influence, they were also, like Victorian womanhood, understood as uplifting and refining. To Downing and his adherents, the form represented the antithesis not just of "harshness and violence" but of all-too-human pretension and artifice. In this sense, his support of sinuosity comported with his opposition to the pruning of trees, the fencing of lots, and the use of white paint on houses. All were *outward* signs of order and restraint, and thus violations of nature. They were also tired signals of gentility. Becoming prevalent in middle-class areas, they ignored romanticism's ascendancy as the new standard of taste.⁶¹⁶ Ultimately, however, unbridled materialism – self-improvement without self-control – remained the principal target. In "rural" literature, as in George Foster's critique, straight lines stood for narrowness and petty competition. The counter-ethic need not censure moneymaking. While patricians like Sidney George Fisher perceived an unbridgeable gap between business and the higher realms of human experience, Downing and other Genteel Romantics were prone to see urban commerce and rural refinement as two sides of the same coin. That difference was subtle but important.

⁶¹⁴ Lydia Sigourney, "Horticulture," *Godey's Lady's Book* 21 (October 1840): 179, as quoted in Harvey Green, "The Problem of Time in Nineteenth Century America," in *A Time to Mourn: Expressions of Grief in Nineteenth Century America*, Martha V. Pike and Janice Gray Armstrong, eds. (Stony Brook, NY: The Museums at Stony Brook, 1980), 43. See also John Jay Smith, "Horticulture," 360-364; Thornton, 160-166; Blumin, "Explaining the New Metropolis," 14.

⁶¹⁵ [Downing], "Beautiful in Ground," 107 (quotation); Douglas, *Feminization of American Culture*, 57, 102, 202-203; Sweeting, 9, 11-12, 21-22, 126-127; Conron, 231-241. Conron makes the important point that Downing's primary objective is reforming the American *male* self (233).

⁶¹⁶ [Downing], "Beautiful in Ground," 107 (quotation); Major, *New World*, 140-141; Bushman, *Refinement of America*, 258; Stilgoe, *Common Landscape*, 168-169; Sweeting, 109; Larkin, 184-194.

Rather than attacking “the city” or “the market,” they singled out unmitigated self-seeking. The “spirit of improvement” was acceptable, even laudable; it simply required direction.⁶¹⁷

Since much of this discourse had gestated around cemeteries, it was fitting that John Jay Smith helped extend it to suburbs. No essay performed that task better than “Parks versus Villages” (1856). Staging a dialogue between Editor and Improver, Smith has the two characters debate the form of a proposed railroad suburb. The Improver’s plan is patently urban. He boasts: “Single lots, twenty feet by one hundred; double lots, just twice that size. In the alleys you see here on the plan, the plots are fifteen by sixty. It cuts up beautifully!” The Editor inquires: “And, pray, why do you follow so exactly the plan of all rectangular cities?” The response – “Because it cuts up the land to so much greater profit” – is by this point over-determined.

What follows is a trenchant version of the tutorials the *Horticulturist* customarily gave its own readers. After declaring, “your unblushing avowal of your selfish purposes is apparent on the face of your plan,” the Editor continues:

There is an appreciation of beauty underlying all the rough natures and busy merchants, which, if once awakened, is sure to respond to good leadership... What you want is, first, to burn your map; get a surveyor and a landscape gardener (a real one, I mean) to lay out your farms according to some well-established principles. Don’t think of leveling that knoll!... Plant your boundaries judiciously, say, with Norway firs... make a properly curved drive through the place, which shall approach in its gentle sweeps every acre or half-acre of the *park!* Yes, a park, for the residence of reasonable human beings, who have enough of city when they are obliged to go to it for shopping. Let every plot be in itself a rural home....⁶¹⁸

Smith meant “park” in its traditional sense: a private estate endowed with gardens and groves. (This magnanimous amenity trumps the token “public square” the Improver has proposed.) But parks of the modern variety – public places giving access to pictorialized nature – were also beginning to play an important role in urban reformist thought. Fairmount Park in Philadelphia, Druid Hill in Baltimore, and Central Park in Manhattan all were created or dramatically expanded in the mid to late 1850s. And related principles entered the realm of suburb planning. As early as 1850, A. J. Downing had conceived a “rural village” in which freestanding houses encircled a landscaped common. A more rugged and de-centralized interpretation of this idea appeared in West Orange, New Jersey’s, Llewellyn Park (ca. 1853-1857).

⁶¹⁷ [Downing], “Hints to Rural Improvers,” 9-10; [Downing], “Citizens Retiring to the Country,” 57-59; [Andrew Jackson Downing], “Our Country Villages,” *Horticulturist* 4, no. 12 (June 1850): 537-541; John Jay Smith, “Horticulture,” 360-361; John Jay Smith, “Reciprocity: the Country Visiting the City,” *Horticulturist* n.s. 8, no. 8 (August 1858): 345-348; J. H., “Around Cincinnati,” *Horticulturist* n.s. 8, no. 10 (October 1858): 465-466; Sweeting, 9, 11-12, 22, 126-127; Bushman, *Refinement of America*, 412; Conron, 232; Schuyler, *New Urban Landscape*, 74, 153-156. Schuyler apparently concurs with Downing’s assessment of the plan of Dearman (Irvington), New York: “the speculative intent was obvious” (154). For Downing himself, however, it seems fair to say that the obviousness was as problematic as the intent.

⁶¹⁸ [John Jay Smith], “Parks versus Villages,” *Horticulturist* n.s. 6, no. 4 (April 1856): 153-155. See also Schuyler, *New Urban Landscape*, 155-156.

Shared cultural assumptions – the importance of sanitation, the therapeutic value of nature, the refining influence of art – have led historians to see picturesque cemeteries, parks, and suburbs as related types. And rightly so. How else to explain Theodore Tilton’s 1860s characterization of Llewellyn Park as “Greenwood without the graves”?⁶¹⁹ Unlike the English, most Americans had no knowledge of romantic landscapes apart from strolls they took in cemeteries or images they encountered in print. Moreover, New World cemetery planners had long shown more openness to picturesque informality than their British counterparts. Brushing aside Loudon’s warnings, they applied his advice on suburb design directly to the landscapes of the dead.⁶²⁰ It was only logical, then, that Downing should suggest a cemetery-like shareholder system for parks, or that he should cite cemeteries and asylums as examples of the “embryo arcadias” he wished American schoolyards would become. Nor should it come as a surprise that residents of Llewellyn Park buried a shroud-wrapped young woman in their midst. If anything, the residual influence of rural cemeteries has been under-studied. Predating all of these institutions, reformist thought of the early republic holds the key to their patent similarities.⁶²¹

But this web of cultural connections should not obscure the changes that were also underway. With each passing decade, the communitarian vision of early asylum builders became harder to recognize. In Downing’s ideal suburb, for instance, the “model and small-scale society” envisioned by philanthropists of an earlier generation survived in assumptions about the benevolent influence of nature on body, mind, and social group.⁶²² But continuities told only half the story. Where asylums aimed at a temporary restorative experience, permanence and private property were the bedrock of Downing’s scheme. Preemptively addressing critics, he has a skeptical listener exclaim: “I see, Mr. Editor, you are a bit of a communist.” To this, the patient prophet responds: “By no means. On the contrary, we believe, above all things under heaven, in the power and virtue of the *individual home*. . . . But we are *republican*. . . . Let us next take up popular refinement in the arts, manners, social life, and innocent enjoyments, and we shall see what a virtuous and educated republic can really become.”⁶²³

The drift in this direction was bound up with the growth of cities and the increasing isolation of their parts. Could one still speak of *the* urban community? If so, might naturalistic parks and village-like suburbs play a part in its improvement? The answers were far from clear. In 1825, a visitor to the Friends Asylum in Frankford had recounted the founders’ hopes that “a mild and appropriate system of treatment, in which . . . the patient might enjoy the society of those who

⁶¹⁹ Theodore Tilton, “Llewellyn Park,” *The Independent*, 26 May 1864, as quoted in Susan Henderson, “Llewellyn Park, Suburban Idyll,” *Journal of Garden History* 7, no. 3 (July / September 1987): 240.

⁶²⁰ Eli K. Price, Report for 1847, and Executive Committee Minutes, 30 June 1847, WCCC. See also Schuyler, “Evolution of the Anglo-American Rural Cemetery,” 302. Loudon felt strongly that park-like naturalism had little or no place in cemeteries. Only geometry conveyed the requisite dignity.

⁶²¹ [Downing], “Public Cemeteries,” 11; [Downing], “School-Houses,” 395; Schuyler, *New Urban Landscape*, 55; Henderson, 239.

⁶²² Rothman, 71.

⁶²³ [Downing], “Our Country Villages,” 541. On Downing’s model suburb, the values undergirding it, and related changes in American reformist thought, see Rothman, xviii-xix, 69-71, 89, 108, 118-119, 127-133, 154; Boyer, 2, 17-21, 30-34, 44-55, 74, 81-86; Ryan, 142-154; Blumin, *Emergence*, 196-206; Upton, *Another City*, chap. 10; Wall, 191-192, 196-197; John Archer, *Architecture and Suburbia: From English Village to American Dream House, 1690-2000* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2005), 179. Similar ideas, but with an overt debt to Charles Fourier, surrounded Llewellyn Park. See Henderson, 239; Richard Guy Wilson, “Idealism and the Origin of the First American Suburb: Llewellyn Park, New Jersey,” *American Art Journal* 11 (October 1979): 79-90.

were of similar habits and opinions, would be productive of peculiar advantages.”⁶²⁴ The belief that social-sympathetic homogeneity might have therapeutic benefits persisted three decades later, but with crucial modifications. Perhaps, park theorists allowed, limited mixing in the proper setting might exert a softening influence on inter-class relationships. Elite suburbs, however, remained aloof. In discussions that surrounded them, strategies once aimed at redeeming the urban community became part of the logic of escaping it.⁶²⁵

A particularly Philadelphian commentary on this shift survives in verses commemorating Lucretia Mott’s migration from Eleventh and Arch Streets to the city’s remote northern fringe. The farmhouse to which Mott and her husband moved, and which they remade in villa-like fashion, lay in Montgomery County, close to the Cheltenham Hills subdivision that J. C. Sidney had recently designed. The Motts’ son-in-law had assembled the Cheltenham Hills tract for that purpose. He was also responsible for procuring the Motts’ new domicile. As the relevant stanza recorded:

Who first a rural homestead found
And bought the farmer’s homely ground
And beautified it all around?

Edward Davis

Nonetheless, Lucretia’s sister suggested, the couple’s relocation came at a cost. The lines she composed on their departure forms a half-teasing catalog of the adjustments entailed in this archetypal move from city to country.

Who will constantly ring the bell
And ask her if she’ll please to tell
Where Mrs. Mott has gone to dwell?

The beggars

And who persistently will say
“We cannot cannot go away
Here in the entry let us stay”?

Colored beggars⁶²⁶

Good-natured in intent, the poem amounts to a kind of indictment. It demonstrates, among other things, the potential strain between Quaker domesticity and Quaker sympathy, the twin engines of “rural” reform in Greater Philadelphia’s history.⁶²⁷

⁶²⁴ Robert Wain, Jr., “An Account of the Asylum for the Insane, Established by the Society of Friends, near Frankford, in the Vicinity of Philadelphia,” *Philadelphia Journal of the Medical and Physical Sciences*, n.s., 1, no. 2 (August 1825): 225.

⁶²⁵ Blumin, *Emergence*, 163-165, 182-189, 192-206; Ryan, 14-15, 142-154.

⁶²⁶ H. Justice Williams, “Flight to the Suburbs (Anno 1857),” *Quaker History* 64, no. 2 (Autumn 1975): 105-109 (quotation).

⁶²⁷ See chap. 2, above; Fishman, 139-141; Barry Levy, *Quakers and the American Family: British Settlement in the Delaware Valley* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), chap. 4. Lest Quakers be unduly singled out here, it is worth noting that the tensions in question were in many ways latent in the structure of sympathy itself. Citing the work of Julie Ellison, Robert Cox observes: “a person sympathized most powerfully with those with whom he or she was most frequently in contact and much less powerfully with others. As a result, ...the infrastructure of Smithian

A satirical essay in the *Horticulturist* addressed the downside (real or imagined) of such transitions: the suffocating sameness of deep-suburban life. Critiquing Smith's "Parks versus Villages," the pseudonymous correspondent laments that "Town folks... must have a country villa in some starched –up, macaroni village, or neighborhood, populated, for the most part, with just such flunkies as themselves..."⁶²⁸ Here was the paradox of the cemetery, recapitulated in suburban terms. Just as successive obelisks risked creating "too dull an uniformity," so the villa-building classes might reproduce the very banality, pretension, and stiffness "country" life was meant to undo. Put differently, the qualities now attributed to the grid were more easily condemned than eradicated. Many writers of the day said as much. Some were jocular and arch, others moralizing and serious. They mentioned the break-neck pace of urban growth. They occasionally fretted about its social implications. But, again, their arguments were not against these changes per se. Rather, they stressed, the new "rural" spaces must remain unmarred by the outward signs of ownership, competition, and urbanity. Here, if anywhere, one should be able to let one's guard down.⁶²⁹

For the same reasons, paradoxically, visual variety could prove just as problematic. Suburban architecture, critics claimed, was falling victim to idiosyncrasy and fashion – "too much assuming the *gossamer* style." (Feminization here looked threatening rather than desirable). In cemeteries, the need for a cohesive aesthetic seemed more pressing than ever. Patrick Barry, who edited the *Horticulturist* between Downing's and Smith's terms, waxed eloquent on the subject. Why, he asked, should not all cemetery adornment be conducted "by the superintendent of the grounds, who we will presume to be a competent man, working upon a well understood and approved general design? Will people not be willing to sacrifice their individual tastes and vanities for the general good, in the same way as the citizens of a town entrust the embellishment and care of public parks or grounds to a competent person...?" And distaste for high enclosures continued unabated. As late as 1857, Edward North yearned for a time

when no bin-like unsightly fences, or hard iron palisades will surround the lots appropriated to families; such close unrural circumvallations, with their pickets, padlocks, and paint, have an unsocial expression. They look as if neighbors were suspicious of each other, even in their graves; while those having lived, suffered, and rejoiced together as kindred, finally sleep together in family groups, the

sympathy was supported by the practices of social proximity, brining the differential social contact that emerged from in equalities in practices of race, class, and gender directly into the theoretical constitution of society" (pp. 27-28).

⁶²⁸ Jeffreys [pseud.], "Critique on the April Horticulturist," *Horticulturist* n.s. 6, no. 6 (June 1856): 264. Jeffreys has summer villa dwellers in mind but might as well have targeted their year-round counterparts. They, after all, were the subject of the article to which Jeffreys was responding, and their numbers were sharply rising; (see John Jay Smith, "Town and Country; or Which is Best," *Horticulturist* n.s. 8, no. 6 (June 1858): 249. Among its other attributes, Jeffreys' rant constitutes a striking if brief example of a genre generally thought to have developed a century later: the "lay-sociological critique of the new suburbia" (Robert Beuka, *SuburbiaNation: Reading Suburban Landscape in Twentieth-Century American Fiction and Film* [New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004], 68).

⁶²⁹ Patrick Barry, "Suburban Residences," *Horticulturist* n. s. 4, no. 7 (July 1854): 296-300. Barry's focus is on the discrepancy between the ideals of privacy and seclusion that (elite) suburbs were meant to uphold and the combination of urban development patterns and conspicuous consumption that in fact had become the norm.

divisions of the ground, marked possibly by low evergreen hedges, should be such as to recognize a brotherhood in Christian faith and common humanity.⁶³⁰

By this point, however, such writings endorsed principles landscape designers had begun to embrace. Three years earlier, the Prussian-born landscape gardener Adolph Strauch had embarked on a clean sweep of Cincinnati's Spring Grove Cemetery. Decrying "capricious strangeness" in lot holder taste, he moved to limit tombstone heights, eradicate private plantings, and ban future construction of lot fences. At last, a "scientific" or "systematic" approach to the *tout ensemble* was at hand. John Jay Smith and Eli K. Price had yearned for such a strategy, but Spring Grove's board gave Strauch the power to implement it. He became the cemetery's superintendent in 1859. Thereafter, many cemetery builders took cues from his "landscape lawn plan." It guided the design of Philadelphia's West Laurel Hill (1869) and the redesign of New York's Woodlawn, where J. C. Sidney had supplied the original scheme. As part of the same turn, cemeteries conferred increasing power on their superintendents. If the lawn-park cemetery represented a crackdown on picturesque eclecticism, it also greatly broadened the purview of the landscape professional-as-manager.⁶³¹

Suburbs were less susceptible to centralized appearance management. Despite elaborate deed covenants and assistance from cemetery veteran Howard Daniels, New Jersey's Llewellyn Park relied on homeowners' good will to enforce a ban on property fences. Still, the guiding impulse was similar. Although every parcel was visually distinct from its neighbor, "yet each, by happy partnership with every other, possess[ed] the whole park in common."⁶³² In general terms, this was the effect Price and Smith had sought at their cemeteries. Its entry into a handful of suburbs marked an important shift, and one whose spirit (if not details) became normative. Well after the Civil War, middle-class etiquette manuals used fenceless yards and lush plantings to illustrate "The Neighborhood Where People Live In Harmony." Divided space, by contrast, signified not simply ill will but the breakdown of society itself (**Fig. 17**).⁶³³

As a specific model, Llewellyn Park attracted few followers. Certainly, nothing much like it materialized around Philadelphia. J. C. Sidney's scheme for Cheltenham Hills employed serpentine roads but included no public amenities. Much of the site was soon subsumed within the vast estate of financier Jay Cooke. Architect Samuel Sloan hoped Redleaf Park (1868), near Overbrook, would indeed be Philadelphia's answer to Llewellyn Park. The scheme appears to have fallen flat. Only Ridley Park (1871) in Delaware County came anywhere close. What Philadelphia characteristically produced instead were individual estates, flung out along railroads and, closer to home, middle-to-upper-class suburbs that followed the grid. The latter, as it happened, conformed closely to the sort of "selfish" plan John Jay Smith had reviled in "Parks versus Villages." In Germantown and West Philadelphia, a handful of great mansions stood on

⁶³⁰ The quotations come, respectively, from Jeffreys, 266; [Patrick Barry], "Rural Cemeteries," *Horticulturist* n.s. 3, no. 7 (July 1853): 299; North, 256. See also [Gridley], "Cemeteries," 614; Gridley, "Rural Cemeteries," 282.

⁶³¹ Linden-Ward and Sloane, "Spring Grove," 29-31. The quotations, which appear there, are originally from Adolph Strauch, *Spring Grove Cemetery* (Cincinnati, 1869), 4-5. On the relationship of Strauch's reforms and the growing power of cemetery superintendents to the rise of the professionalism in American landscape design, see Farrell, 112-125. On Sidney, see *Wood-Lawn Cemetery*, 9.

⁶³² Tilton as quoted in Henderson, 225.

⁶³³ Thomas E. Hill, *Manual of Social and Business Forms: a Guide to Correct Writing...*, 17th ed. (Chicago: M. Warren, 1879), 176-177.

lots measuring some 200 by 150 feet. Far more common, even at the high end of the market, were semi-detached villas with modest yards. Groups of such houses sometimes comprised uniform blocks (or “terraces”) but more often were built singly or in small groups, mixed in with row houses and cottages. Naturalistic landscaping found a place on the largest lots. As a comprehensive planning strategy, it was all but absent.⁶³⁴

What, then, became of the aestheticized communitarianism developed in rural cemeteries, extolled by landscape reformers, and further promoted in prescriptive literature? In the realm of residential subdivisions, the effect was clearly limited. Philadelphia’s Ridley Park, Chicago’s Riverside, and Baltimore’s Roland Park stood out. It was not until the twentieth century that winding roads and shared open space appeared regularly in professionally designed suburbs. City parks were another matter. Beginning in New York but fanning out across the country, parks and park systems became staples of metropolitan life during the Gilded Age. Their roles in American landscape architecture, city planning, and successive urban reform movements have been amply documented and do not lend themselves to passing summary.⁶³⁵

What we might attend to instead are the ways in which antebellum understandings of the grid and the curve set the stage for those developments. Before the mid 1850s, landscape gardeners and allied authorities rarely singled out specific occupations for criticism. The grid itself came under fire, but, aside from the faceless Improver, those who brought the form into being were generally immune to attack. Had such hostility materialized, surveyors need not have been its only target. Their work immersed them in the world of urban real estate but that was true of other occupations including, of course, those of gardeners. Some surveyors were pioneers of picturesque land division, as the careers of Philip M. Price and J. C. Sidney indicate. And landscape gardeners needed surveyors as much as architects needed builders. John Jay Smith’s Editor acknowledged this symbiosis even as he suggested new lines of demarcation: “get a surveyor and a landscape gardener (a real one, I mean).”

Yet, despite these mitigating circumstances, the figure of the surveyor did indeed become a sort of villain in antebellum rural discourse. Borrowing Downing’s gendered rhetoric, landscape critics presented surveying as an assault on nature. Routinely, they likened the act to “carving” or “cutting.” Patrick Barry felt cemetery sites were especially vulnerable: “Here is a piece of ground for a rural cemetery – it is to be laid out – intersected with walks and avenues – and the

⁶³⁴ *Plan of Cheltenham Hills, Cheltenham Township, Montgomery County Penna.* (Philadelphia: Friend & Aub, lith., 1854), HSP; [Samuel Sloan], “A Home within a Park,” *Sloan’s Architectural Review and Builders’ Journal* 1, no. 2 (August 1868): 99-100; John W. Jordan, *A History of Delaware County, Pennsylvania, and Its People* (New York: Lewis Historical Publishing Co., 1914), 1:319; Nancy A. Holst, “Pattern Books and the Suburbanization of Germantown, Pennsylvania, in the Mid-Nineteenth Century” (Ph.D. diss., University of Delaware, 2009); Miller and Siry, *passim*. In *Crabgrass Frontier* (85), Kenneth Jackson implies Redleaf Park was realized, but I have found no supporting evidence. Harold N. Cooleage, Jr., *Samuel Sloan, Architect of Philadelphia, 1815-1884* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1986), makes no mention of the project. At Ridely Park, Reps sees “mere imitation of the superficial features of the romantic plan without real comprehension of the over-all effect” (348). Put more bluntly: the grid predominated.

⁶³⁵ Major studies include Schuyler, *New Urban Landscape*; Rosenzweig and Blackmar; Daniel Bluestone, *Constructing Chicago* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1991), chaps. 1-2; Galen Cranz, *The Politics of Park Design: A History of Urban Parks in America* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1982); Mel Scott, *American City Planning Since 1890: a History Commemorating the Fiftieth Anniversary of the American Institute of Planners* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1969).

surveyor is called in to do it. He, with an eye merely to certain conveniences in getting from one point to another, carves it up into patches as if he were mapping out the site of a new city; and the ground is ruined.” Clergyman A. Delos Gridley agreed. Cemetery design was a specialized arena, too often surrendered to unfeeling blunderers: “The usual committee or trustees... can not do such a work, nor can an ordinary land-surveyor, nor every ‘old-country gardener.’ Before a single stone is turned, an artist should be secured, if possible, who can appreciate all the capabilities of the place, and can use them to highest advantage.”⁶³⁶

That articles like these became regular features of the *Horticulturist* was no coincidence. In 1848, Downing had defined landscape gardening as “a more refined kind of nature” and the implications of that premise continued to reverberate in his journal. As surveying took shape as landscape gardening’s rhetorical opposite, the latter field’s identification with refinement in general and with fine art in particular grew stronger. Historian Judith Major discerns in Downing’s early writings “a dichotomy between a logical system that valued reason and sought an ideal beauty in nature and a philosophy that looked to the imagination to discover the individual spirit and expression of natural objects.” The same tension surfaced in many 1840s architectural treatises, and, had the *Horticulturist* been founded a decade earlier, its contributors might conceivably have favored science over art as the basis of landscape gardening’s professional legitimacy. Nonetheless, it was horticulture’s artistic and romantic associations that won out. Long a part of gardening literature, their attraction increased, as we have seen, through the sentimental-reformist ethos surrounding plants and plant cultivation.⁶³⁷

John Jay Smith’s editorship (and ownership) of Downing’s periodical corresponded with this trend’s zenith. Coming on the heels of New York nurseryman Patrick Barry, Smith explained his own ascension in both regional and historical terms:

Philadelphia, the geographical and climatic, as well as the horticultural centre of the Union, was believed to be the most desirable point of issue, and it was further decided in a council of the well-wishers of the work, that most of the qualifications of information and practical knowledge could be found in the correspondents of the journal and in a city which first formed and still continues a most useful Horticultural Society, and where is contained a corps of enthusiastic lovers of rural adornment and botanical science; a centre, in fact, where DOWNING’S parish was much enlarged...⁶³⁸

As if to drive home the point, the accompanying issue formed a sort of who’s who of “rural” practice near Philadelphia. Contributors included plantsmen William Saunders and Thomas Meehan (both Germantown residents, like Smith), as well as physician, statesman, and botanist William Darlington of West Chester. An entire node of the nation’s horticultural network had gained a new level of prominence.

⁶³⁶ [Patrick Barry], “Rural Cemeteries,” 298-299; Gridley, “Rural Cemeteries,” 280.

⁶³⁷ [Downing], “Hints to Rural Improvers,” 9; Major, *New World*, 37. See also Major, *New World*, 29-32, 53-62, 126-129, 140, 154; Upton, “Pattern Books,” 115-117, 118-120; Woods, 17, 30-36.

⁶³⁸ [John Jay Smith], “The Editor to the Reader,” *Horticulturist* n.s. 3, no. 7 (July 1855): 299.

Saunders put the matter of professionalism front and center. “The gardener must not only possess a high degree of refined and cultivated artistic taste, but he must also have a thorough knowledge of the habits and requirements of plants, their general and special combinations, and everything in connection with their culture and management.”⁶³⁹ This manifesto set the tone for what followed in the next five years. Like his predecessors, Smith used the *Horticulturist* to present landscape gardening as the province of discerning experts. More forcibly, perhaps, he also used the post to assist his peers while maintaining some distance from their work. A frequent visitor to great landscaped estates, he prided himself on “never having consented, though asked, to advise professionally in landscape gardening for a fee, as Downing had done as a business.”⁶⁴⁰ The role of kingmaker held out more appeal.

During what Smith called his “horticultural period,” he stood as a national authority on the design and management of cemeteries. Articles of interest to cemetery founders remained a staple of his magazine and contacts within this readership gave him wide influence over landscape gardeners’ careers at time when cemetery commissions remained among the most prestigious and lucrative. Given this sway, Smith’s neglect of surveyor-generalists is significant. J. C. Sidney, for example, secured large jobs in the mid to late 1850s, many of them in the Philadelphia area, and some, perhaps, with Smith’s aid. But none of Sidney’s writings or designs appeared in Smith’s journal. Instead, the editor favored practitioners like William Saunders, a British-born nurseryman and botanist. Saunders contributed regularly to *Horticulturist*. He published his scheme for Philadelphia’s Hunting Park there and saw several of his contracts announced.⁶⁴¹

In the summer of 1860, Saunders decided to advertise his services on a two-page circular. Buoyed by a run of important commissions, he was able to present a roster of references that included “some of...the *highest authorities* in this country, on matters relating to his profession.” Warm praise came from John Jay Smith: “Few persons, that I have known, possess the principles on which success depends so thoroughly as yourself, and I am well aware that this is the result of much study, reading, observation and practice, aided by a quick eye to see *the future*, and a knowledge not only of how to plant, but also, (and here is one of the great defects of many *soi-disant* artists,) to what size the small specimens of trees and shrubs will attain.”⁶⁴² It was this

⁶³⁹ William Saunders, “Planting Shrubberies,” *Horticulturist* n.s. 3, no. 7 (July 1855): 300.

⁶⁴⁰ John Jay Smith, *Recollections*, 264.

⁶⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 306; William Saunders, “Plan of Hunting Park,” *Horticulturist* n.s. 8, no. 10 (October 1858): 460-464. The one instance in which Sidney’s name appears in the *Horticulturist* during Smith’s tenure is telling. Following an announcement that “Mr. WILLIAM SAUNDERS has accepted the office of laying out the great cemetery of Chicago [Rosehill],” Smith added, almost in passing: “at Philadelphia, Mr. Sidney carried off the first prize of \$500 for Fair Mount Park”; see [John Jay Smith], “Editor’s Table,” *Horticulturist* 14, no. 4 (April 1859): 185. In the same year, Sidney began publishing articles in a newly formed rival journal, Thomas Meehan’s *Gardener’s Monthly*.

Some of the attributes that disqualified Sidney from the pages of the *Horticulturist* also distinguished him from Frederick Law Olmsted. Referring to the latter’s 1867 service as consultant to the Fairmount Park Commission, Michael Lewis notes: “What Olmsted did contribute, and what Sidney could not, was a theoretical statement of the purpose of the park. Olmsted drew on a different intellectual tradition than Sidney, who was decidedly a product of the rather empirical culture of Philadelphia” (294).

⁶⁴² *Landscape Gardening and Rural Improvements* [1860], a circular advertising the services of William Saunders, Smith Papers 14: 242. My thanks to Sandra Markham for pointing me to this source. The other recommendation from Downing’s inner circle came from Henry Winthrop Sargent. Interestingly, a concluding list of referees

erudite understanding of plant materials and their maturation that landscape authorities such as Smith now identified as the touchstone of professional authenticity. A civil engineer of sufficient taste and learning might hope to acquire the requisite attributes. “An ordinary land-surveyor,” however, stood about as much chance as “every ‘old-country gardener.’”

Three decades earlier, rural cemeteries had created the opening through which many “*soi-disant* artists” had gained access to a burgeoning field. Now, that entrance showed signs of narrowing. If romantic cemeteries and rural discourse created a climate of occupational dynamism, urban parks and the expertise surrounding them helped bring that era to a close. The leading figure here was Frederick Law Olmsted. Along with his partner, Calvert Vaux, A. J. Downing’s onetime collaborator, Olmsted promoted parks and professionalism with unequalled eloquence and zeal. It was his firm, too, that began using the term “landscape architecture” in its modern sense. Olmsted initially balked at the coinage, for reasons that bear repeating:

The art is not gardening nor is it architecture. . . . It is the sylvan art, *fine-art* in distinction from Horticulture, Agriculture or Sylvan *useful* art [i.e., forestry]. We want a distinction between a nurseryman and a market gardener & an orchardist, and an artist. . . . If you are bound to establish this new art – you don’t want an old name for it. And for clearness, for convenience, for distinctness you do need half a dozen new technical words at least.⁶⁴³

Having listed his profession’s antecedents only to dismiss them, Olmsted found himself in a taxonomic quandary; (even horticulture now looked *déclassé*). Eventually, he suppressed these qualms, but his peers continued to wrestle with them. Indeed, dissecting the label’s inadequacy came to function as a kind of badge of membership.

H.W.S. Cleveland followed suit. A New England transplant to Midwestern climes, Cleveland made his name adapting landscape architecture to that regions’ physical and cultural conditions. Civil engineering was part of his training, and he appears to have worked as a surveyor. This background may account for his broad definition of his field’s mission as “the subdivision and arrangement of land for the occupation of civilized men.” As he elaborated: “[it] is an art demanding the exercise of ingenuity, judgment and taste, and one which nearly concerns the interests of real estate proprietors, and the welfare and happiness of all future occupants.” Nonetheless, Cleveland disliked “landscape architecture” for many of the same reasons as Olmsted. Using the label “under protest,” he eventually removed it from his letterhead.⁶⁴⁴

includes Philip M. Price, with whom Saunders presumably worked on Philadelphia projects. In practical terms, what differentiated Saunders from a Price or a Sidney came down largely to the former’s ability to furnish designs “drawn up so as to present the exact location of each tree and shrub, . . . the kinds to be planted . . . and explanatory remarks [to] accompany them.”

⁶⁴³ Frederick Law Olmsted to Calvert Vaux, 1 August 1865, as reprinted in *The Papers of Frederick Law Olmsted, Volume V: The California Frontier, 1863-1865*, eds. Victoria Post Ranney, Gerard J. Rauluk, and Carolyn F. Hoffman (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1990), 422-423.

⁶⁴⁴ H. W. S. Cleveland, *Landscape Architecture as Applied to the Wants of the West* [1873], ed. Roy Lubove (Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1975), unpagged preface (quotations); Karl Haglund, “Rural Tastes, Rectangular Ideas, and the Skirmishes of H.W.S. Cleveland,” *Landscape Architecture* 66, no. 1 (January 1976): 67-69.

All of this sounds remote from Philadelphia but, in fact, it was not. Cleveland practiced at a time when the Quaker City's influence remained strong in Midwestern town planning and this circumstance supplied a keen grievance. "[A]ppalled by the thoughtless repetition of the gridiron street pattern," Cleveland worked to dispel fellow citizens' "rectangular ideas" about the proper form of new development.⁶⁴⁵ In language familiar from the *Horticulturist* (but appearing in the *Christian Examiner*), he had previously decried the "experiments of speculators, who lay out rectangular villages with the aid of a surveyor, and offer rural felicity for sale in lots of thirty by fifty feet." Now, in the early 1870s, "he recognized it as an ominous portent for the future of urban life in the United States that numbers of old surveyors, men without the least conception of landscape architecture as he and Vaux and Olmsted and a few others understood it, were setting themselves up...as landscape architects."⁶⁴⁶

As these words suggest, landscape architects' drive to delimit their field remained in many ways an uphill battle. Even with the founding of the American Society of Landscape Architects in 1899 and the subsequent advent of collegiate training programs, members of the profession struggled to distance themselves from gardening and groundwork on one hand and dilettantish "decoration" on the other. The rise of city planning as a sister occupation offered help. It gave landscape architecture's early ties to urban reform a more serious and scientific foundation. Nonetheless, the search for exclusivity proved only partially successful. It continues, in some form, to this day.⁶⁴⁷

From another perspective, however, the professionalizing project that began with Downing and matured under Olmsted had achieved its ends early on. During the middle decades of the nineteenth century, it became much harder for generalists to enter the field. The horticulturist-led quest for centralized aesthetic management at mid century was gradually folded into the crusade for landscape professionalism, to the exclusion of lesser arts. Surveying in particular became a liability rather than an asset if unaccompanied by horticultural credentials. One testament to that development was J. C. Sidney's descent into deep obscurity. Dying in 1881 after a fall from the roof of his row house, he received scant commemoration in Philadelphia newspapers. This injustice was picked up in the still-terse obituary supplied by *Gardener's Monthly*. "Few men," the column's author noted, "possibly had more influence on the architectural and rural beauty of Philadelphia in the very recent past than Mr. Sidney, but so far as we know, the daily press of Philadelphia passed over his sudden death in a few lines' notice...."⁶⁴⁸ It was a sad ending to a long career, but also symptomatic of the times.

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⁶⁴⁵ Laura Wood Roper, *FLO: A Biography of Frederick Law Olmsted* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1973), 334 (first quotation); H.W.S. Cleveland to Frederick Law Olmsted, 7 September 1870, as quoted in Haglund, 67.

⁶⁴⁶ H.W.S. Cleveland, "Landscape Gardening," *Christian Examiner* 58 (May 1855): 389, as quoted in Schuyler, *New Urban Landscape*, 155 (first quotation); Roper, 335.

⁶⁴⁷ Brief reviews of the profession's post-Civil-War development include Corbin, 158-168; Judith K. Major, "Surveying Professional Domains," *Landscape Architecture* 75, no. 1 (January-February 1985): 66-71. See also Pregill and Volkman, chaps. 18 and 19.

⁶⁴⁸ [Thomas Meehan], "J. C. Sidney," *Gardener's Monthly and Horticulturist* 23, no. 270 (June 1881): 193.

A few years before Sidney's demise, Frederick Law Olmsted proposed to explain how New York City got its modern plan. Addressing William R. Martin, board president of that city's parks department, Olmsted observed:

There seems to be good authority for the story that the system of 1807 was hit upon by the chance occurrence of a mason's sieve near a map of the ground to be laid out. It was taken up and placed on the map, and the question being asked "what do you want better than that?" no one was able to answer. This may not be the whole story of the plan, but the result is the same as if it were.⁶⁴⁹

Olmsted's semi-fictional account crops up regularly in histories of landscape architecture and city planning. And yet, despite its canonical status, the statement has somehow avoided scrutiny. We know Olmsted was a proponent of public parks and of nature as a balm for urban problems. We know he disliked rectilinear development. And we know that he is winking at us in this passage. But why a *mason's sieve* – that humble symbol of workmanly brick-making? And why, given their grave responsibilities, had New York's city fathers been so unimaginative?

If the preceding chapter has a principal objective, it is to suggest that this way of looking at cities and their makers was not a response to inherent limitations. The grid and the curve were discursive categories as much as physical realities, and their interplay throughout the nineteenth century helped constitute each in new ways. Nor was the relationship hermetic. Its contours evolved in response to changing class identities and the rapid sorting out of urban space. Landscape professionalism was only one strand of that story. That it grew in importance was predictable. That historians have largely accepted its rationale seems more mysterious.

The bounded spaces of death, life, and leisure that took shape in this period were defined partly by mutual opposition. In the year 1860, John Jay Smith estimated that a total of 140,000 visitors came through Laurel Hill Cemetery's gates. By then, he had begun to discourage railroad operators from delivering more tourists to the site and it is tempting to see his contemporaneous support for a large urban park as a related impulse.⁶⁵⁰ Similar patterns surfaced in the cemetery-suburb relationship. As early as 1854, a writer for the *Legal Intelligencer* announced: "Contiguity of our residences to *our most beautiful Cemeteries* is not desired, save by a very few persons." Samuel Sloan unintentionally extrapolated this and older logic when claiming Redleaf Park would be "the very opposite of the 'living death,' it has often become, both morally and physically, [to dwell] in our reasonably healthy, but yet pent-up city."⁶⁵¹

To some degree, the segregation of these landscape types by function simply built upon earlier patterns. Rural cemeteries had themselves ruptured the logic of the walking city, and their unstable mixture of burial, domesticity, and quasi-public leisure was arguably doomed from the

⁶⁴⁹ Frederick Law Olmsted and James R. Croes, "Preliminary Report of the Landscape Architect and the Civil and Topographical Engineer, upon the Laying Out of the Twenty-third and Twenty-fourth Wards," City of New York, Document No. 72 of the Board of the Department of Publick Parks, 1877, as reprinted in Frederick Law Olmsted, *Civilizing American Cities: A Selection of Frederick Law Olmsted's Writings on City Landscapes*, ed. S. D. Sutton (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1971), 45.

⁶⁵⁰ [Gridley], "Cemeteries," 606; Wunsch, "Laurel Hill Cemetery," 59-67.

⁶⁵¹ "Old Burial Places," *Legal Intelligencer*, 17 March 1854; [Sloan], 99. My thanks to Donna Rilling for supplying me with the *Intelligencer* article.

beginning. Urban parks thus became official sites of inter-class sociability; elite suburbs became the opposite; and cemeteries, less often called “rural” after 1860, became more strictly the domain of the dead. Yet these outcomes were not foreordained. Thirty years earlier, it would have been impossible to predict, much less to plan for, the impact of streetcars and railroads. That new technologies telescoped older socio-spatial habits made sense, but even that development was inflected by others. The Civil War, for instance, transformed the ways Americans thought about death. The sheer number of casualties and the thousands of acres they covered challenged sentimental conceptions of the corpse. If the war’s social implications echoed those of Philadelphia’s late-eighteenth-century yellow fever epidemics, the effects were far broader and more lasting.⁶⁵²

Once again, though, we should notice what lingered. Rather than dissolving, the bonds between mortuary and residential landscapes continued to evolve. As Philadelphia’s West Laurel Hill (1869) and Lawnview (1907) cemeteries demonstrate, an old impulse came full circle as founders of those institutions named internal subdivisions of grave lots after railroad suburbs and townships. Nor did professionalization achieve all its objectives. Finding the ranks of landscape architects closed against them, surveyors still obtained work in the field. West Laurel Hill, conceived by cartographer G. M. Hopkins, is again a useful case in point.

Perhaps the greatest continuities lay in managerial imperatives – and in the realm of the grid and the curve. Adolph Strauch’s 1850s clampdown on monuments and lot fences was a forceful attempt to suppress the visual implications of grid-based property relations. But that goal had long appealed to cemetery operators and it gained strength in the post-bellum decades. The lawn-park cemetery that matured in the Gilded Age was a triumph for the gently rolling (or Beautiful) topography A. J. Downing had celebrated. It also permitted the elaboration of Strauch’s ideals. By the 1890s, the anti-individualistic strain in lawn-plan rhetoric reached fever pitch as the “selfish” leanings ascribed to the grid were pinned more directly on those who dared enclose their portions of it.

Superficially, this turn might seem to constitute a revival the communitarian tendencies that had surrounded grid-based cemeteries of the early republic. When cemetery managers worried that their institutions preserved “the distinctions which all regret in life,” they seemed to echo the complaints of Hicksite schoolteacher William Adams.⁶⁵³ But the new push for uniformity was a de facto call for centralization. It emphasized rule-based conformity, not grid-based neutrality. (Indeed, areal segregation became more pronounced as managers set lot prices by location). The physical leveling preached by lawn cemetery advocates did not amount to social leveling. While the new republic’s fascination with systems and efficiency underwent a revival of sorts, its concerns for transparency and commensurability did not.

⁶⁵² Laderman, chaps. 7-11, Linden-Ward, *Silent City*, 321-322; Blanche Linden-Ward, “Strange but Genteel Pleasure Grounds: Tourist and Leisure Uses of Nineteenth-Century Rural Cemeteries,” in *Cemeteries and Grave Markers: Voices in American Culture*, ed. Richard E. Meyer (Logan [UT]: Utah State University Press, 1992), 321-323; Drew Gilpin Faust, *This Republic of Suffering: Death and the American Civil War* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2008).

⁶⁵³ J. S. Norton, [untitled article], *Park and Cemetery* 5 (October 1895): 139, as quoted in Farrell, 123. On the neo-communitarian turn in cemetery rhetoric of this period, see Farrell, 116-123.

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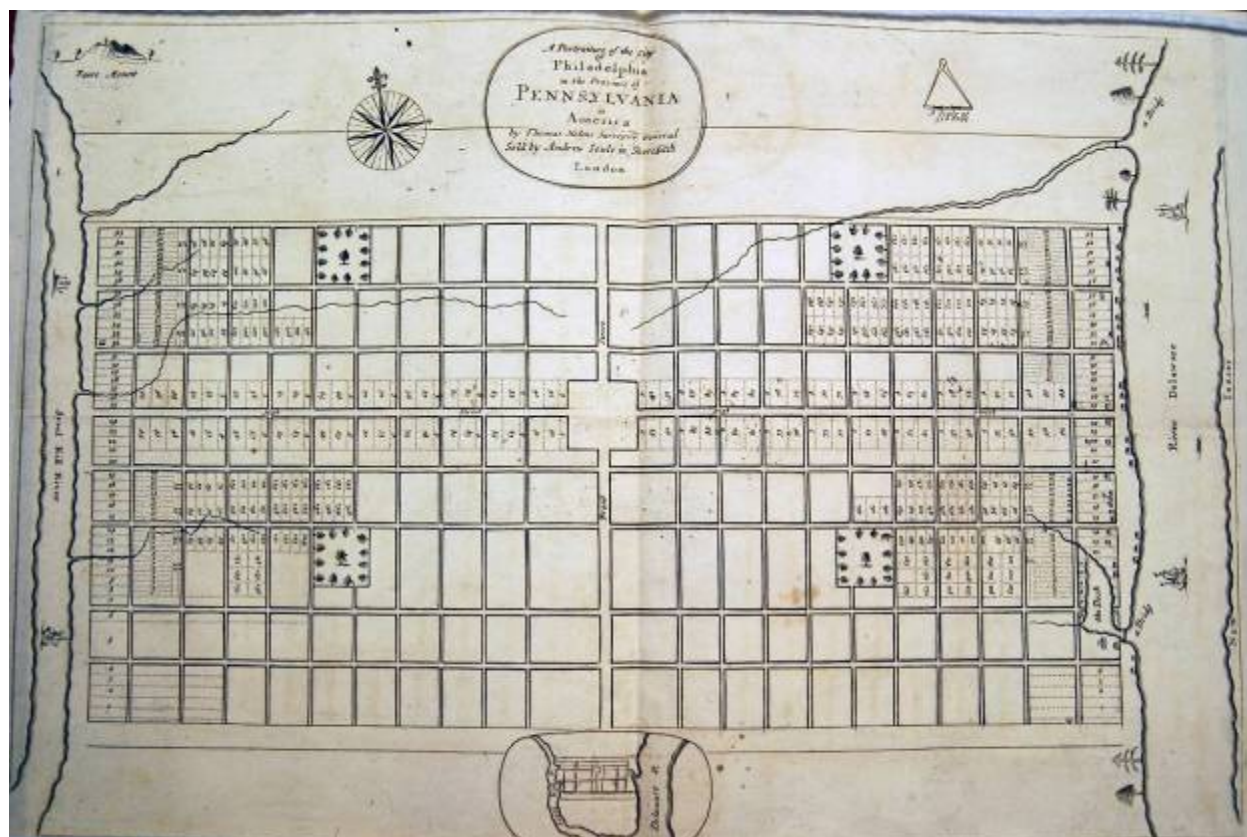


Fig. 1.1. *A Portraiture of the City of Philadelphia...*, Thomas Holme, surveyor, 1683. (Haverford College Special Collections.)

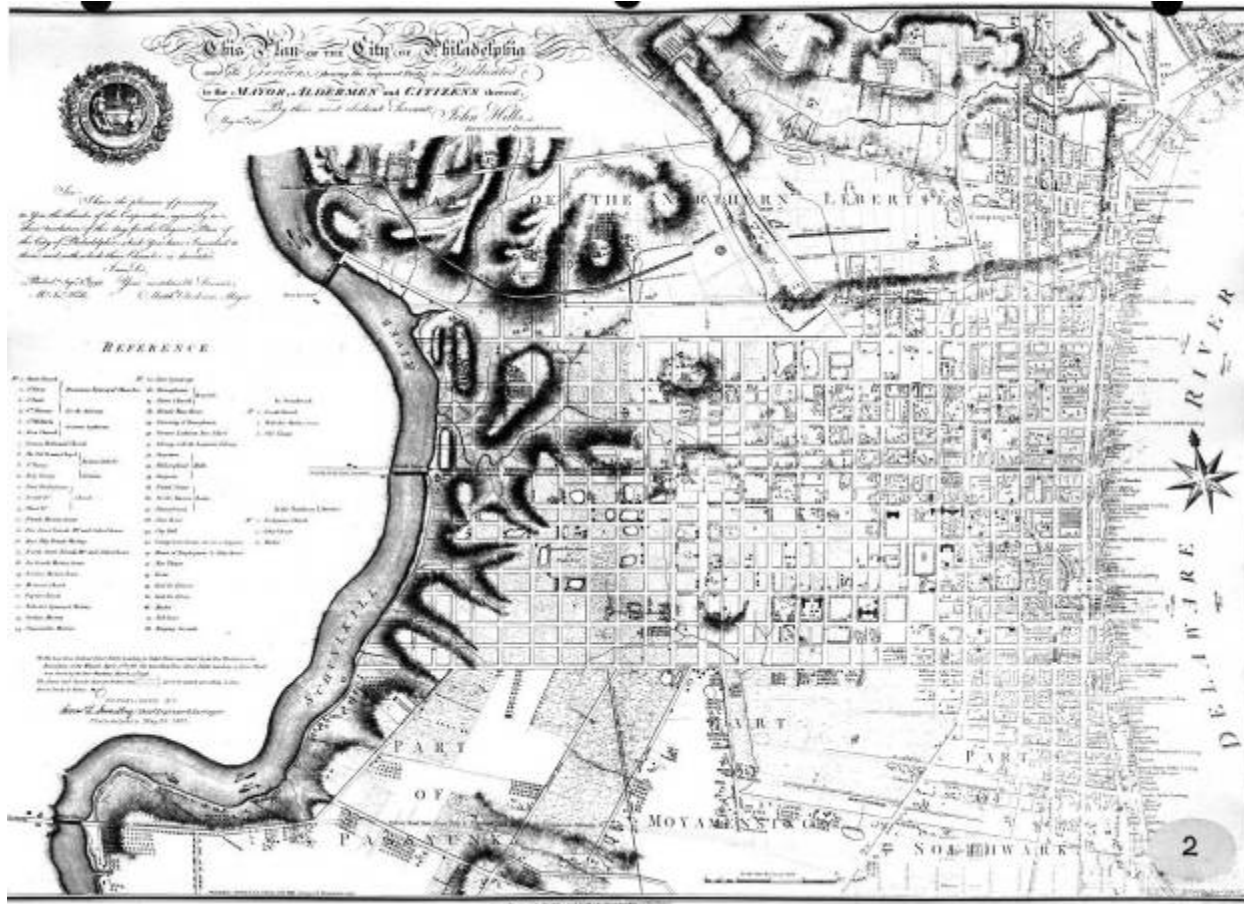


Fig. 1.2. Plan of the City of Philadelphia and Its Environs, John Hills, surveyor and draughtsman, 1796. (Philadelphia Water Department Archives / Adam Levine.)



Fig. 1.3. Plan of the Improved Part of the City [of Philadelphia], Nicholas Scull, surveyor and draftsman, 1762; detail showing Arch Street burial ground cluster. (Reps, Making of Urban America.)

Fig. 1.4. View of Gloria Dei or Old Swedes' Church, Philadelphia, John Moran, photographer, ca. 1862. (Library Company of Philadelphia.)



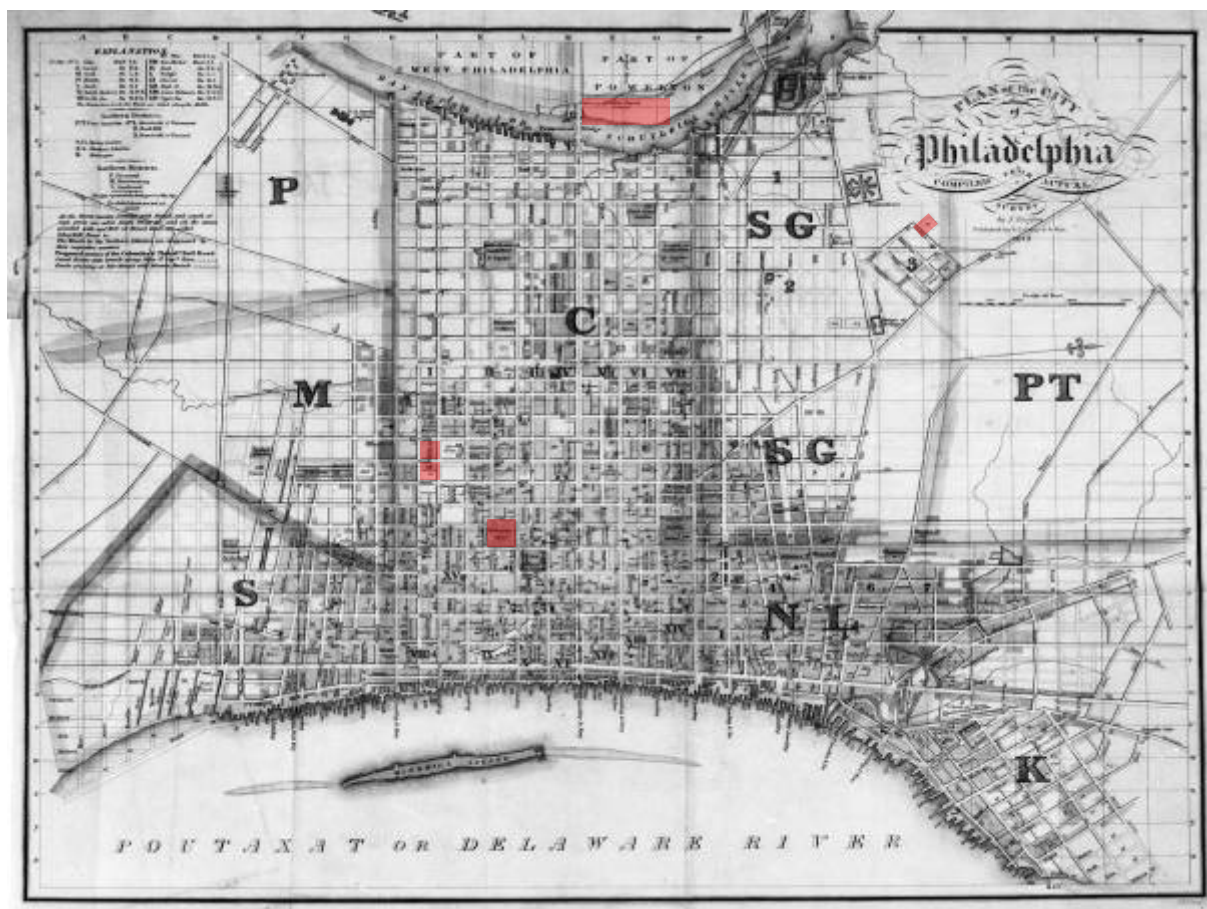


Fig. 1.5. Plan of the City of Philadelphia, F. Drayton, surveyor, J. H. Young, engraver, 1833; highlighted to show Potters Fields, 1790 – 1840. (Library Company of Philadelphia.)

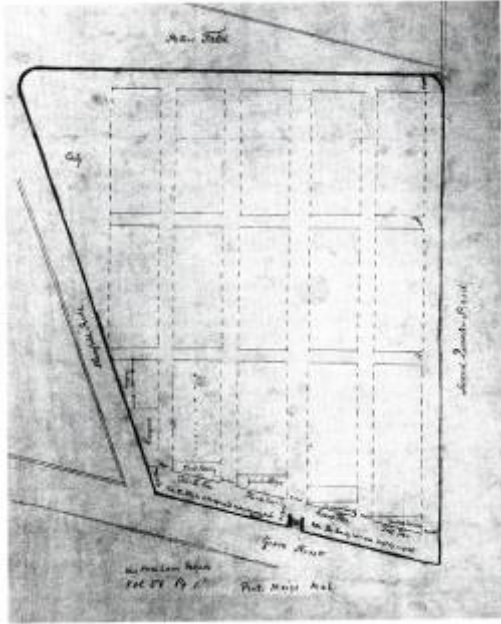


Fig. 1.6. New Burying Ground, New Haven, Josiah Meigs, draftsman, 1797. (Sloane, *Last Great Necessity*.)

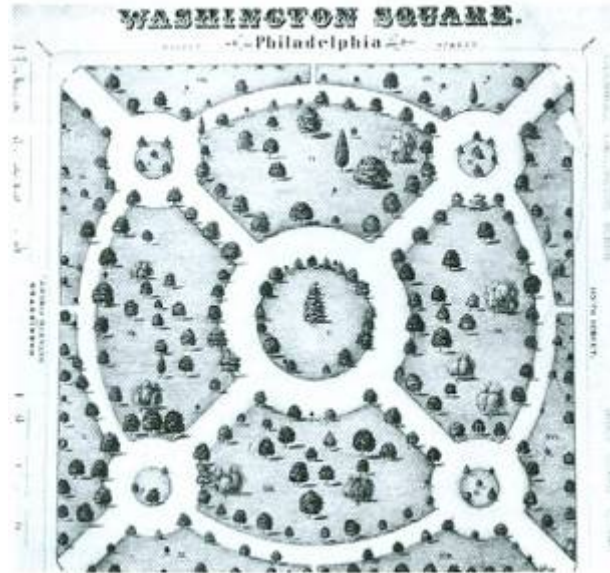


Fig. 1.7 Detail of *Map of Washington Square, Philadelphia*, John B. Colahan, surveyor, M. Schmitz, delineator, T. Sinclair, lithographer, 1843. The plantings and ground plan date from the late 1810s. (Cohen, “Alternative Designs for Washington Monument.”)

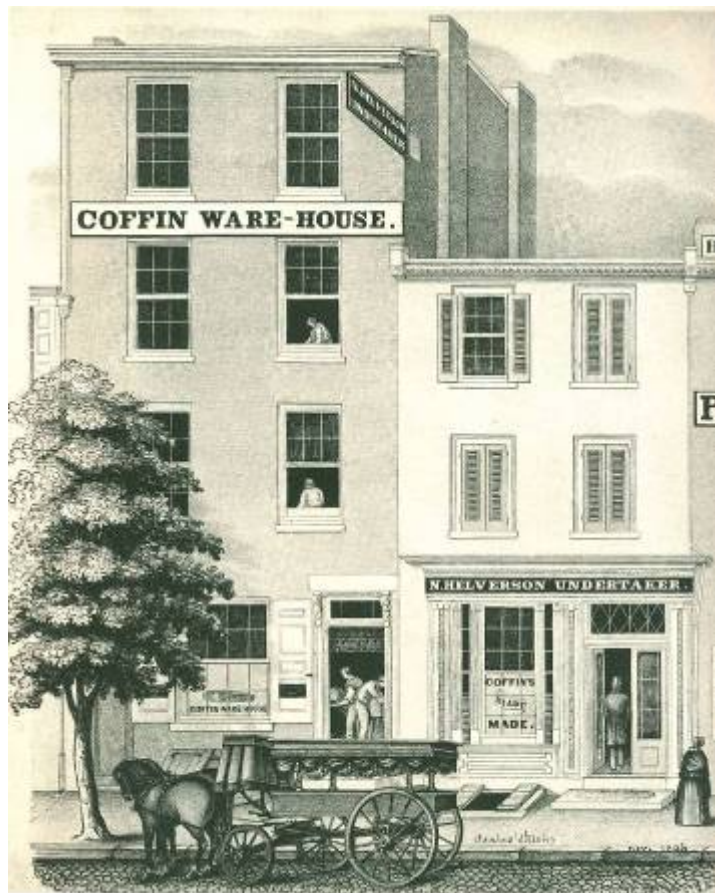


Fig. 1.8. Shop and warehouse of Nicholas Helverson, undertaker, W. H. Rease, artist, Wagner & McGuigan, lithographers, ca. 1846. (Library Company of Philadelphia.)



Fig. 1.9. *Map of the City of Philadelphia Together with All the Surrounding Districts*, J. C. Sidney, surveyor, 1849; detail of the social cemetery district. The unnamed cemeteries shown here are: Machpelah (1832), at the northwest corner of Tenth and Prime Streets, and Lafayette (1838), on the south side of Federal Street between Ninth and Tenth Streets.

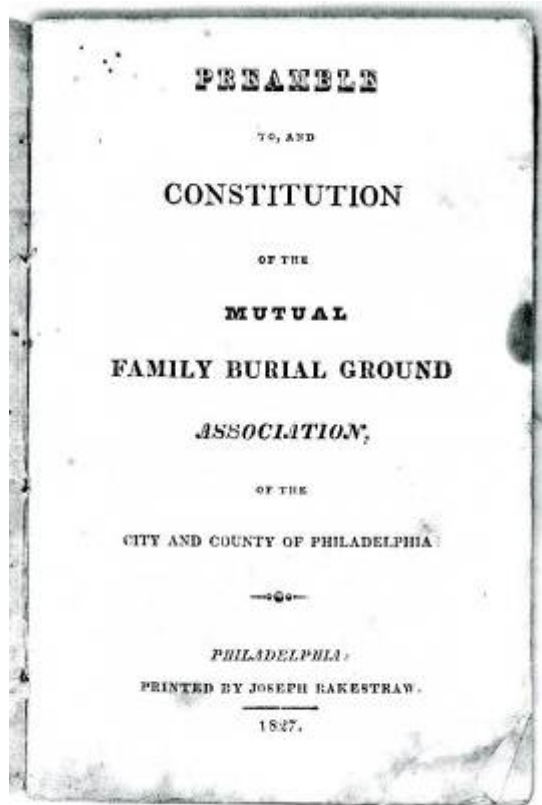


Fig. 1.10. Cover of *Preamble to, and Constitution of the Mutual Family Burial Ground Association* 1827. (Historical Society of Pennsylvania).

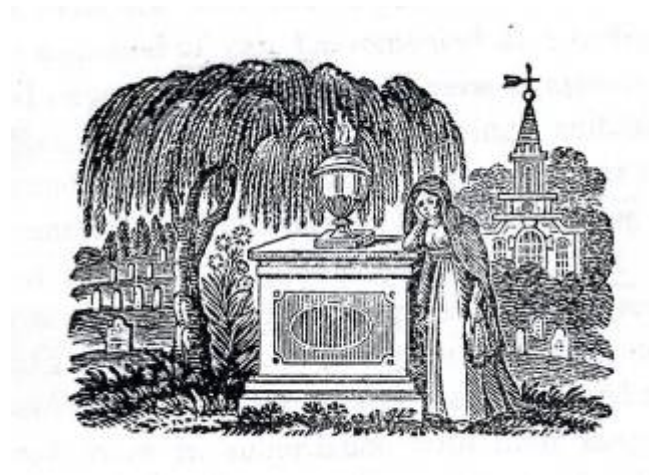


Fig. 1.11. Cover detail of *Charter and By-Laws, of the Machpelah Cemetery Society of Philadelphia*, 1832. (Historical Society of Pennsylvania). Like the Mutual Family Burial Ground on which it was modeled, Machpelah downplayed its disjunction from churchyards.

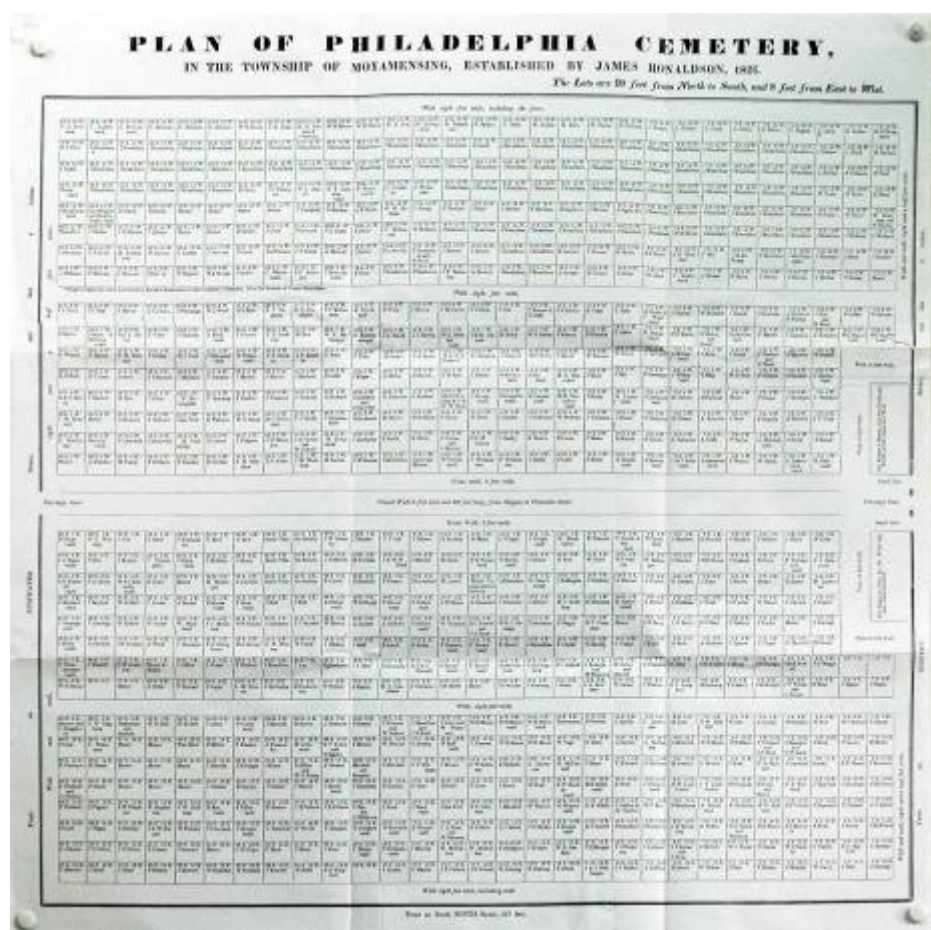


Fig. 1.12. Plan of Philadelphia Cemetery, *Philadelphia Cemetery. Copy of the Deeds of Trust..., 1845.* (Historical Society of Pennsylvania.)



Fig. 1.13. View through Philadelphia Cemetery, n.d. (Casnter Collection, Free Library of Philadelphia.)



Fig. 1.14a. View of Philadelphia Cemetery gatehouse, ca. 1930, showing Keeper's House on the right and House for Bier on left. (Philadelphia Department of Public Transit – Historic Philadelphia Sites Photograph Collection, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.)



Fig. 1.14b. Outline plan of Philadelphia Cemetery, detail from Fig. 1.12, above.

PLAN OF THE 14 WARDS OF PHILADELPHIA. 29

NORTH.	
<i>Vine</i>	<i>Street.</i>
North Mulberry ward.	Upper Delaware ward.
<i>Race or</i>	<i>Sassafras Street.</i>
South Mulberry ward.	Lower Delaware ward.
<i>Arch or</i>	<i>Mulberry Street.</i>
North ward.	High Street ward.
<i>Market or</i>	<i>High Street.</i>
Middle ward.	Chesnut ward.
<i>Chesnut</i>	<i>Street.</i>
South ward.	Walnut ward.
<i>Walnut</i>	<i>Street.</i>
Locust ward.	Dock ward.
<i>Spruce</i>	<i>Street.</i>
Cedar ward.	New Market ward.
<i>South or</i>	<i>Cedar Street.</i>
SOUTH.	

C 2

Fig. 2.1. Plan of Philadelphia wards, ca. 1810. (Mease, *Picture of Philadelphia*.) In this revealing diagram – half map, half list – the city’s dissimilar parts are presented as equal, rectangular units.



Fig. 2.2. The grid as national vision and matrix of private property: Mound Township, McDonough County, Illinois. (Conzen, "County Landownership Map.")



Fig. 2.3. Arch Street Burial Ground, northeast corner of southern section. (Friends Historical Library, Swarthmore College.) Although this plat shows an area used most heavily between 1848 and 1872, the early nineteenth-century row system persisted.



Fig. 2.4. Western Burial Ground. David J. Kennedy, artist, 1864. (Historical Society of Pennsylvania.)

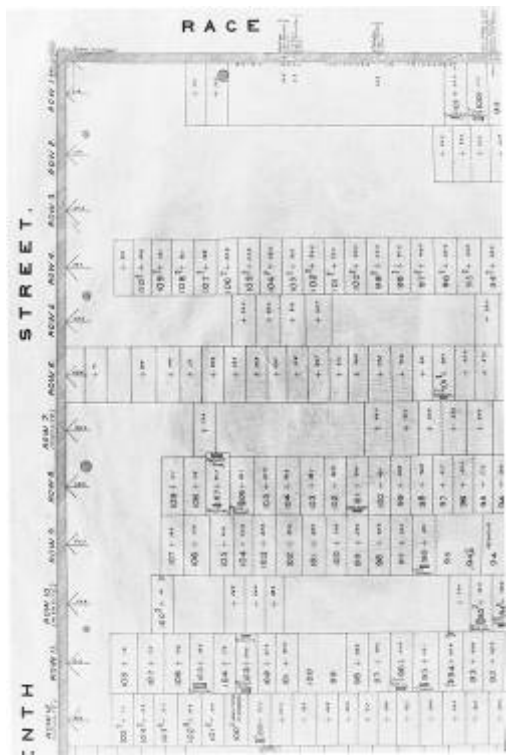


Fig. 2.5. Plan of Western Burial Ground, Joseph H. Young, surveyor and draftsman, 1891. (Arch Street Meeting Archives, Haverford College.) This detail of the site's northwest corner shows the separate rows assigned to Hicksites.

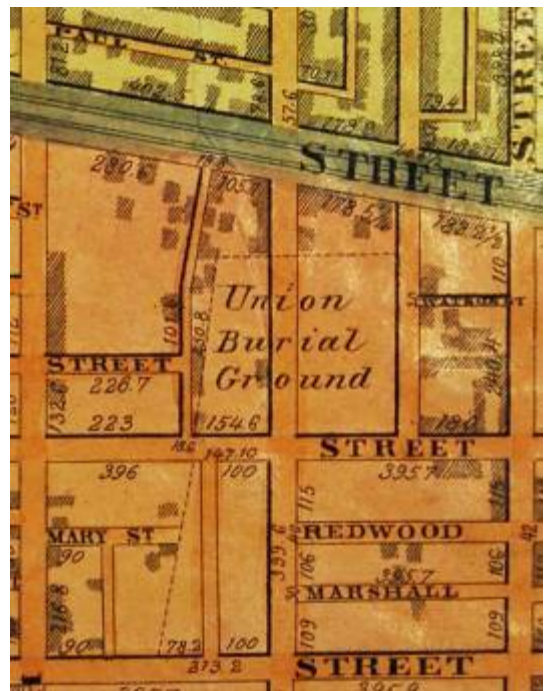


Fig. 2.6. Map of the City of Philadelphia Together with All the Surrounding Districts, J. C. Sidney, surveyor, 1849; detail of Union Burial Ground. (Historical Society of Pennsylvania.)



Fig. 2.7. "Laurel Hill," William Croome, artist, A. W. Graham, engraver, *Godey's Lady's Book*, March, 1844. (Free Library of Philadelphia.) This is a generalized view of the cemetery. Rather than accurately documenting topography, it suggests the polite atmosphere described in contemporary periodicals.

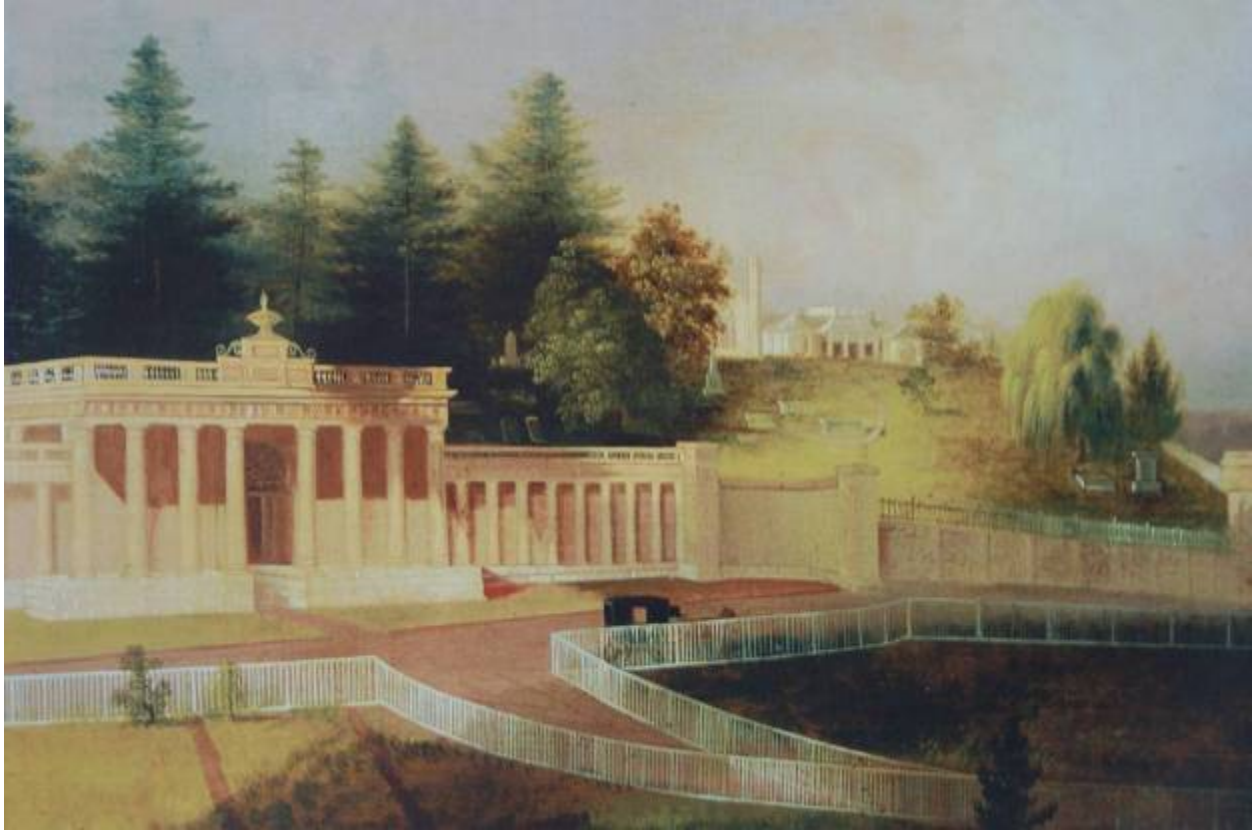


Fig. 2.8. "Laurel Hill Cemetery Gate, Philadelphia," unknown artist, ca. 1840. (Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts.)

GROUND PLAN OF LAUREL HILL CEMETERY,

As far as the place was surveyed into separate lots in 1837; other surveys are in progress. Purchasers may own one lot or more, according to their inclination, or the size of their families, and receive a deed in perpetuity. The lots vary from 8 feet by 10, 10 by 12, to 12 by 15, &c.

References. 1, Mansion; 2, Chapel; 3, Receiving Tomb; 4, Superintendent's Cottage; 5, Coach-house; 6, Stabling; 7, Green-house; 8, Statues; 9, Gardener's Lodge; 10, Porter's Lodge; 11, Shrubby; 12, River Schuylkill.

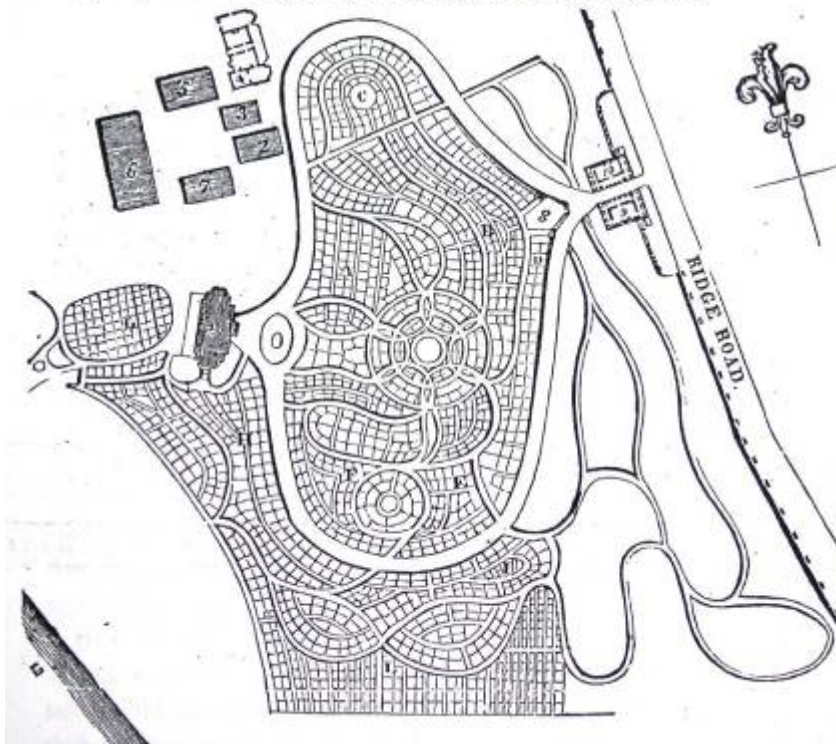


Fig. 2.9. Plan of Laurel Hill Cemetery, *Statues of Old Mortality and His Pony*, 1838. (Laurel Hill Cemetery Company.)



Fig. 3.1. “Woodlands, the Seat of William Hamilton, from the Bridge at Gray’s Ferry,” James Peller Malcom, artist, 1792. (Snyder, *City of Independence*).



Fig. 3.2. "Blockley Almshouse," John Casper Wild, artist, 1838. (Free Library of Philadelphia.)

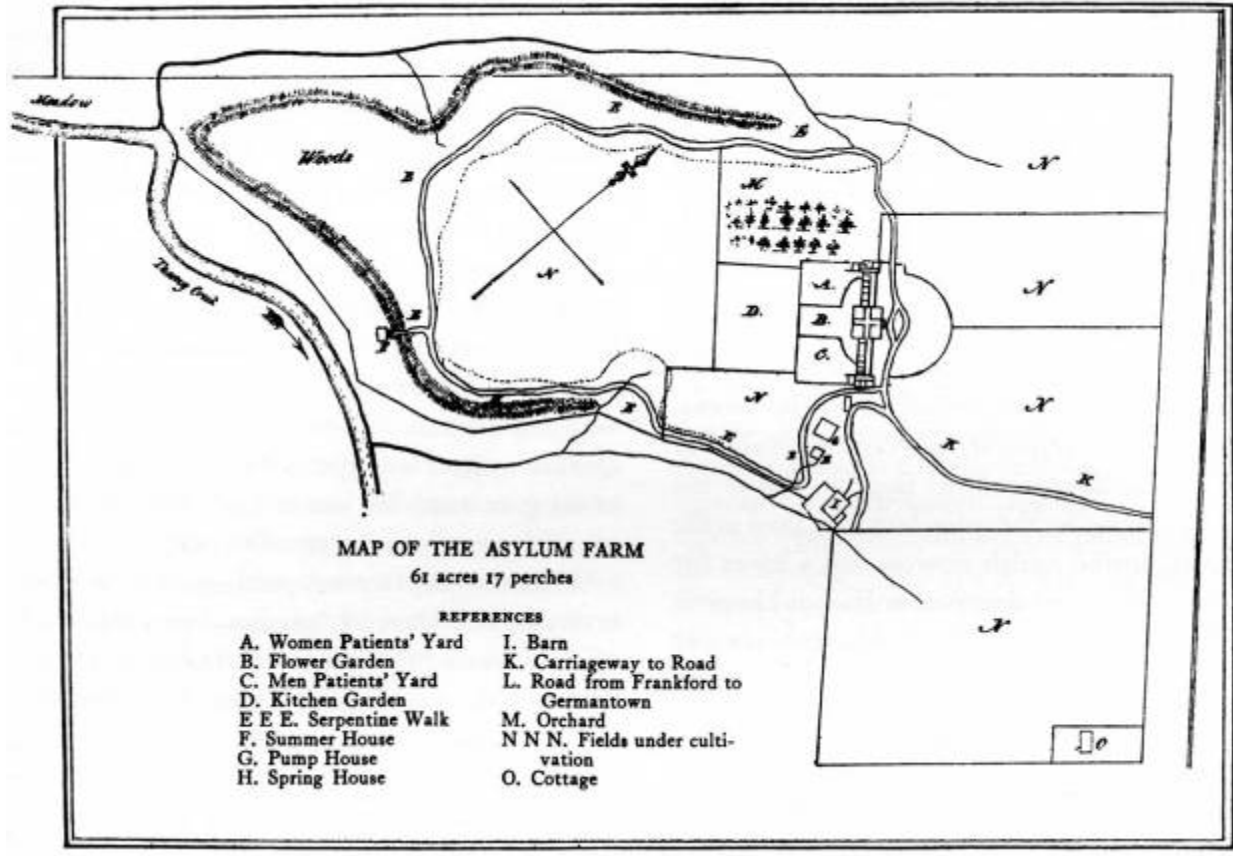


Fig. 3.3. Ground plan of Friends' Asylum, 1832. (Gerlach-Spriggs, *Restorative Gardens.*)

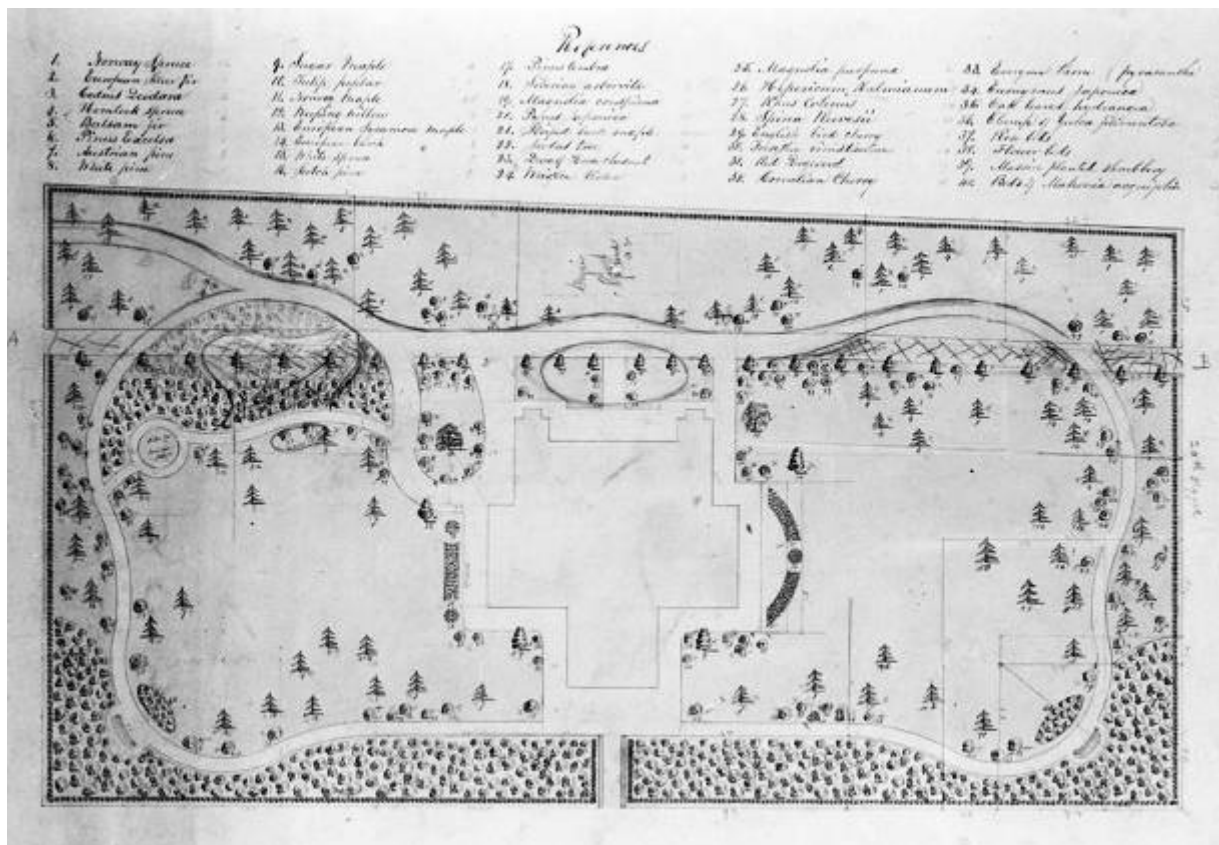
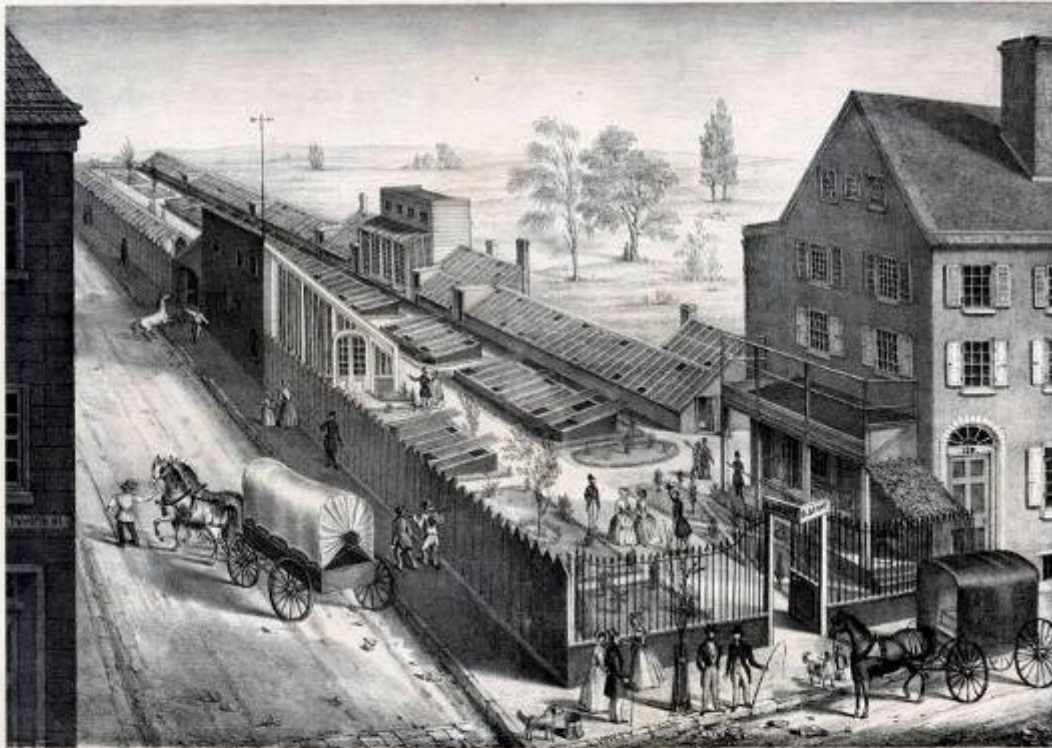


Fig. 3.4. Ground plan for the Preston Retreat, Thomas Ustick Walter, designer, 1837, photograph of drawing. (Historic American Buildings Survey.)

VIEW OF ROBERT BUIST'S CITY NURSERY & GREENHOUSES N^o 140 SOUTH TWELFTH ST. PHILA. 1846.



WHOLESALE & RETAIL HORTICULTURAL & AGRICULTURAL WAREHOUSE

374 Chestnut St. below 3^d St. South Side.

We receive on consignment of his stock, either at his Nurseries or Seed, Farm, Acids, Fruit & Ornamental Trees, Implements & Books of every description for the Garden, Farm or Manure Ground.

Orders promptly attended to; every article warranted to be what it is represented.

Fig. 3.5. "View of Robert Buist's City Nursery & Greenhouses," Alfred M. Hoffs, lithographer, 1846. (Library Company of Philadelphia.)



Fig. 3.6. "Lemon Hill," B. R. Evans, artist, 1852. (Wolf, *Philadelphia*.)



Fig. 3.7. View of Laurel Hill Cemetery's main entrance, n.d. (Castner Collection, Free Library of Philadelphia.)



Fig. 3.9. Old Mortality sculpture group, early twentieth-century photograph. (Laurel Hill Cemetery Company.)



Fig. 3.8. Old Mortality enclosure, half of a stereograph view, n.d. (Library Company of Philadelphia.)



Fig. 3.10. Proposed entrance to Harewood, Humphry Repton, *Observations on the Theory and Practice of Landscape Gardening*, 1803. (Library Company of Philadelphia.) Note penciling, likely dating from time of Laurel Hill's founding.



Fig. 3.11. "Laurel Hill Cemetery," Augustus Köllner, artist, Laurent Deroy, lithographer, 1848. (Castner Collection, Free Library of Philadelphia.)

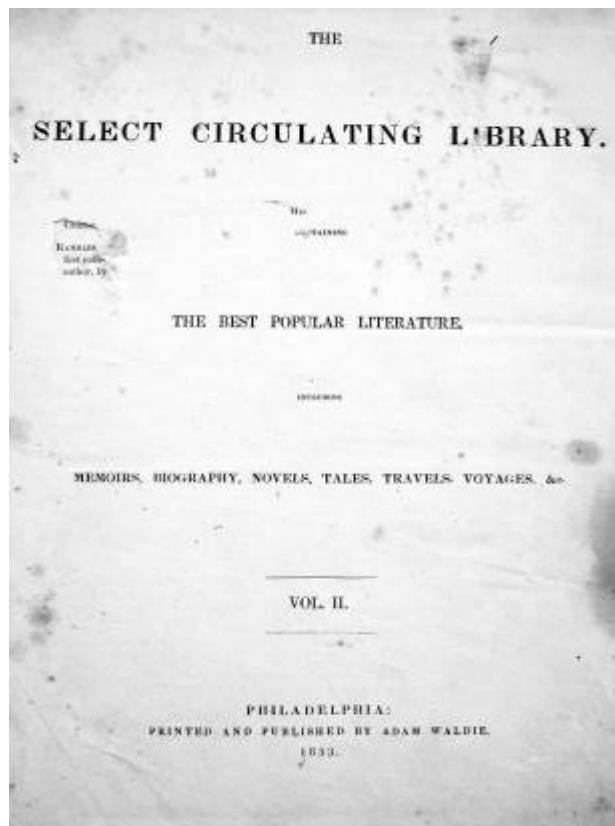


Fig. 3.12. Cover of *Waldie's Select Circulating Library*, 1833. (Library Company of Philadelphia.)



Fig. 3.13. "Laurel Hill Cemetery," John Casper Wild, artist, 1838, detail showing principal buildings of the cemetery. (Castner Collection, Free Library of Philadelphia.)

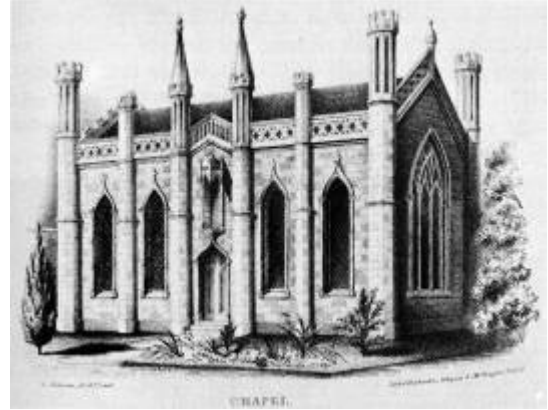


Fig. 3.14. Laurel Hill Cemetery chapel, John Notman, architect and delineator, Pinkerton, Wagner & McGuigan, lithographers, [Smith], *Guide to Laurel Hill Cemetery*, 1844. (Collection of the author.)

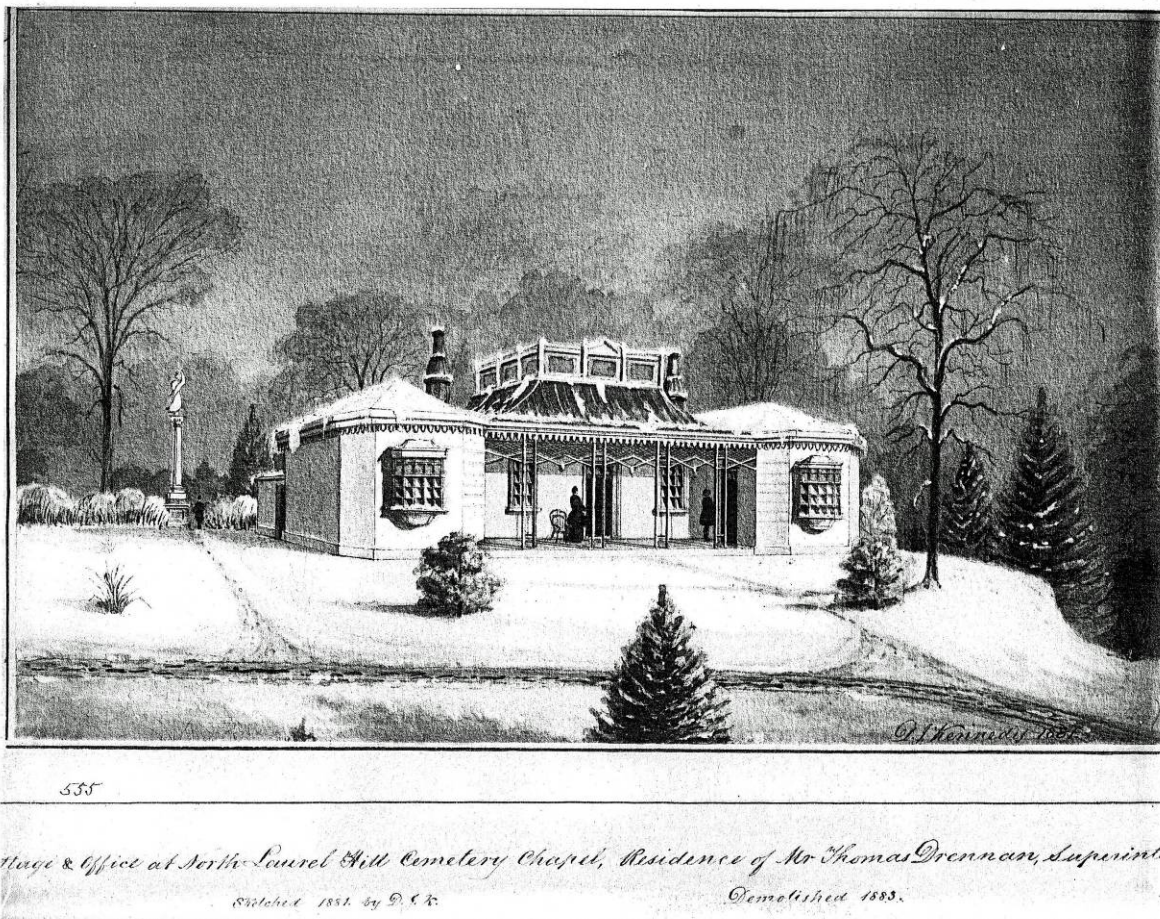


Fig. 3.15. “[Superintendent’s] Cottage & Office at North Laurel Hill Cemetery...,”
David J. Kennedy, artist, 1881. (Historical Society of Pennsylvania.)

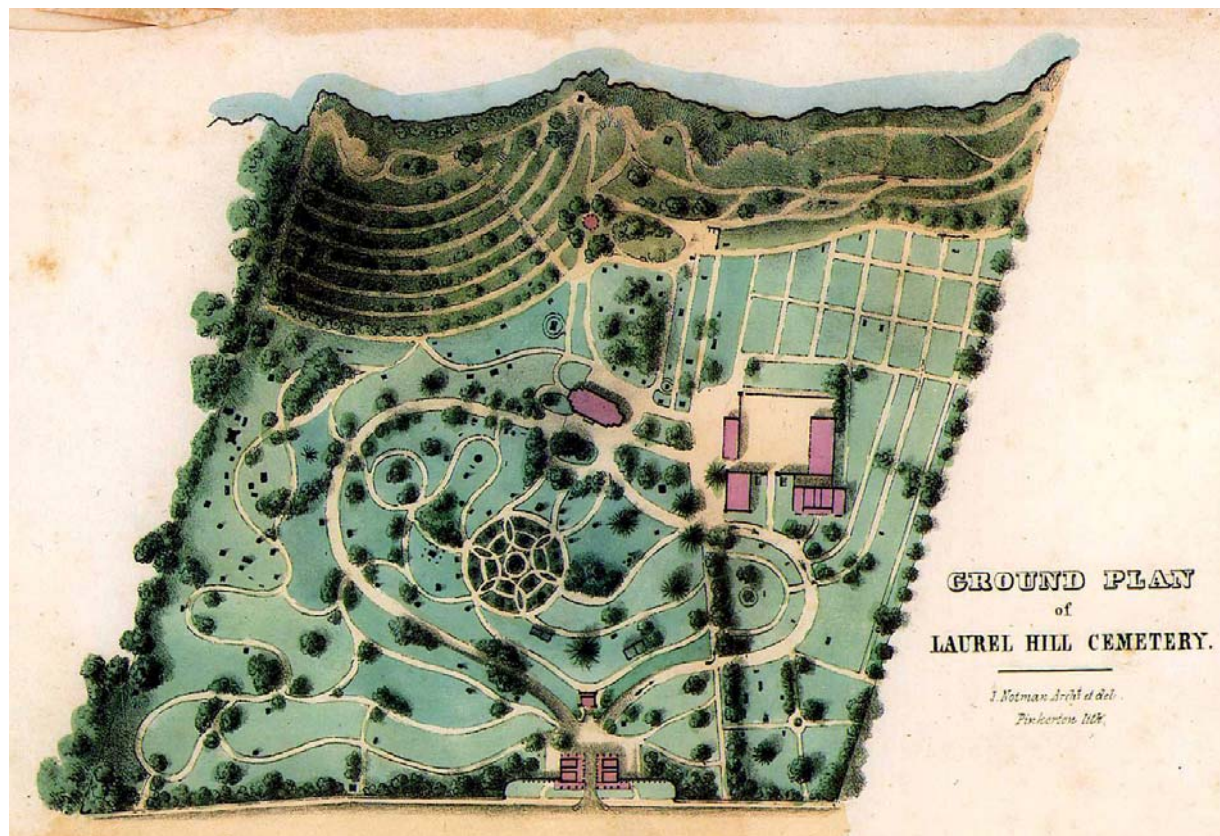


Fig. 3.16. "Ground Plan of Laurel Hill Cemetery," John Notman, architect and delineator, Pinkerton, Wagner & McGuigan, lithographers, [Smith], *Guide to Laurel Hill Cemetery*, 1844. Collection of the author.

ENTRANCE TO LAUREL HILL CEMETERY.

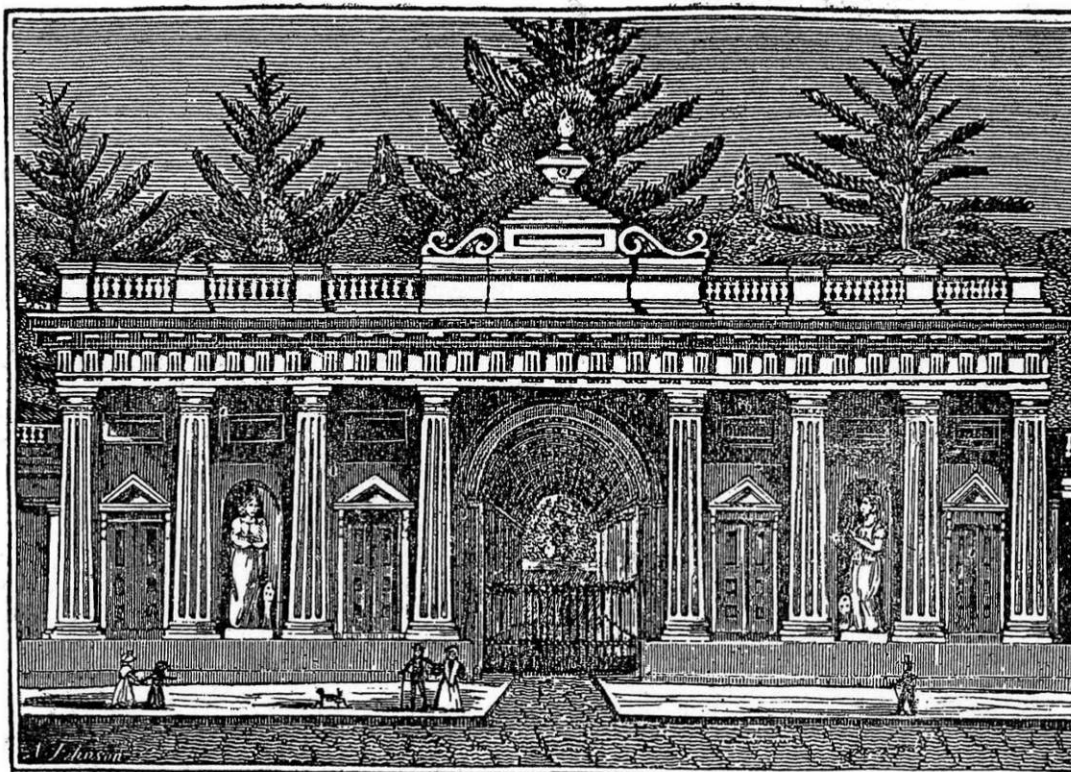


Fig. 3.17. "Entrance to Laurel Hill Cemetery," Neville Johnson, engraver, *Ladies' Garland*, January, 1838. Laurel Hill Cemetery Company.

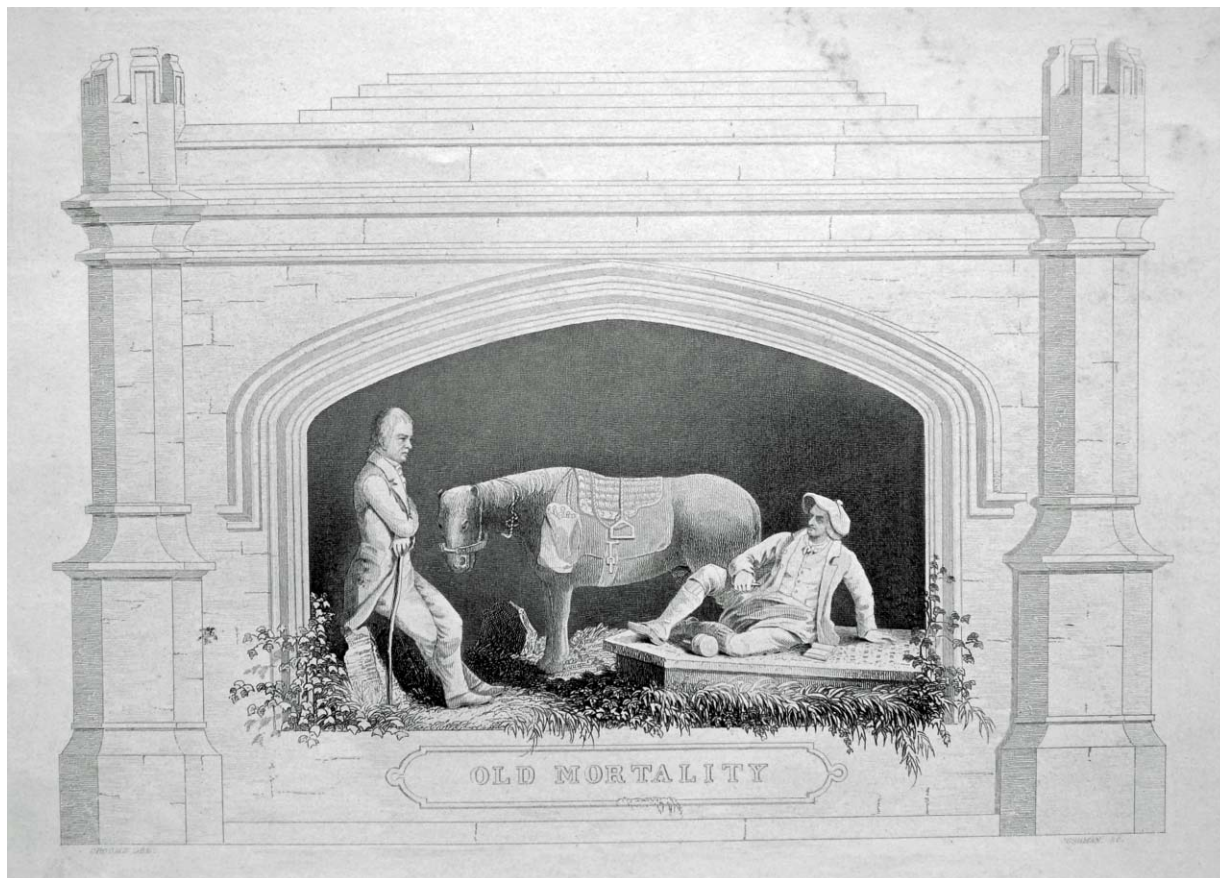


Fig. 3.18. "Old Mortality," William Croome, artist, George H. Cushman, engraver, *Godey's Lady's Book*, April, 1842. (Castner Collection, Free Library of Philadelphia.)

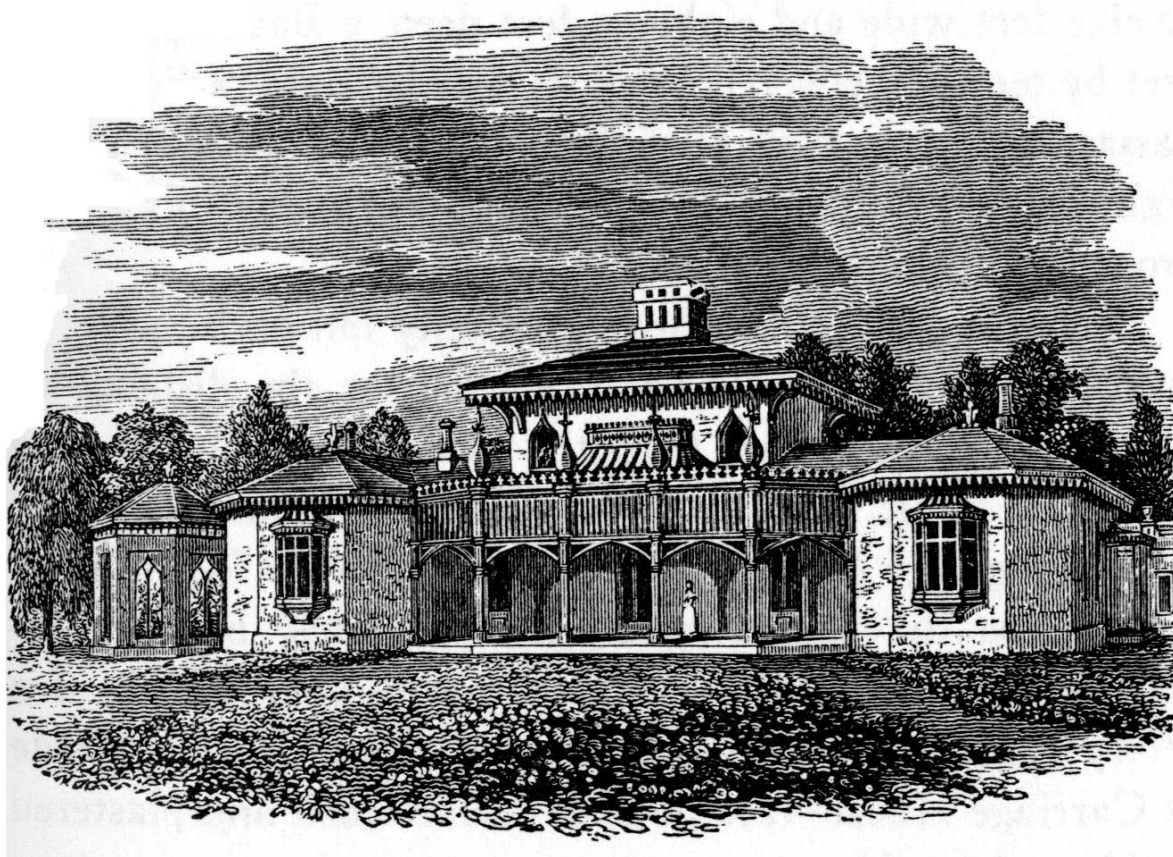



Fig. 3.19. Nathan Dunn's cottage, Mount Holly, New Jersey. Downing, *Treatise on the Theory and Practice of landscape Gardening*, 1841.

SIR DAVID WILKIE.



Sir David Wilkie, distinguished as a painter, was born near Cupar, in Fife-shire, 1785, and was the son of a minister in the Scotch Church. He went to London in 1803, and soon attracted notice by his "Village Politician," "Blind Fiddler," "Reading Day," &c. These established his reputation, and in 1811, he was made a Royal Academician. From which period he regularly produced, and as regularly sold at increasing prices, his most celebrated paintings. Among the number may be mentioned "Fencing for the Best," "The Penny Wedding," "Blind Man's Buff," "The Village Fiddler," "The Reading of the Will," and "Children Posturing Reading the Gazette of the Battle of Waterloo." About the year 1825, Wilkie lost a considerable amount of money, which affected his health. Indeed serious apprehensions were entertained for the safety of his mind as well as physical faculties. He was advised to make a tour of the continent, which he did, remaining away for two or three years. Notwithstanding the advice of physicians that he should not pursue his profession while abroad, he undertook three pictures both in Italy and Spain, which on his return attracted the admires by a great change in the style of his execution, the choice of his subjects, and the principles of his chiaro-oscuro. This new style had its admirers, but by no means so large a number as the earlier one.

Wilkie died of Cholera on the 1st of June, 1841. A marble figure—of which the casting, accompanying is a good representation—was erected on the mound in the inner hall of the London National Gallery, by his friends.


The apartment in Rome in the best style of the Messrs. Liveroni, who are justly considered among the first artists of the country, and who have furnished because all the beautiful cuts with which it has been embellished.

THE PUBLIC LEDGER

Has now a circulation of about FIFTY THOUSAND COPIES DAILY, which is second to none among newspapers published in Philadelphia, and one of the largest in any city. It is printed by order of the Board of Directors of the City of Philadelphia.

Two of "Hoe's Last East" Eight Cylinder Printing Machines,

Each of which run through the night, and each one of which is capable of printing from 10,000 to 15,000 copies per hour. The machines are of the most improved construction, and are of the most durable material. They are of the most improved construction, and are of the most durable material. They are of the most improved construction, and are of the most durable material.

See  *Simon* June 3, '53

COD LIVER OIL.

ADMIT THE BEARER TO THE STREPT IS
 Give up this Ticket at the Door. '53

ADMIT THE BEARER TO THE INDEPENDENCE HALL
 Give up this Ticket at the Door. '53

Extract from the **REGULATIONS of the Officers.**
 I admit and require that no ecclesiastic, missionary, or adherent of any sect whatsoever, shall ever hold or exercise any station or office whatever in the said College, until such person shall be admitted for the purpose, or as a visitor, within the premises appropriated to the purpose of the said College.

STRANGER'S TICKET.

ADMIT

M. Stein and party

TO VISIT THE
 GROUNDS AND UNOCCUPIED PORTIONS
 OF THE
MAIN BUILDING
 OF THE **GIRARD COLLEGE.**
Simon Director

This is a Permit to the College

Admit Bearer and three friends to
LAUREL HILL
 LLOYD P. SMITH, Secy.
 This ticket will admit 4 - The bearer & 3



 Admission from 10 till 3 o'clock P.M.
On the back of this Permittion Place the Signature of a Director. It will admit any number.

Fig. 3.20. Page from Aaron and Nathan Stein scrapbook, 1853. (Athenaeum of Philadelphia.)

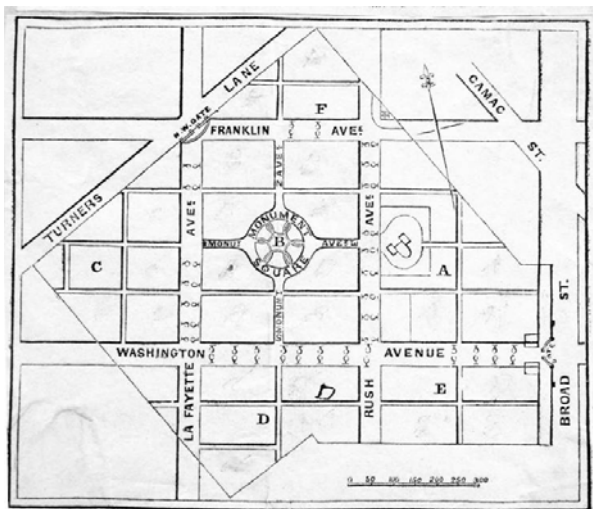


Fig. 3.22. "Design for an Entrance to Monument Cemetery on Broad Street," John D. Jones, architect, R. S. Gilbert, engineer, Act of Incorporation, By-laws, Rules and Regulations of the Monument Cemetery..., 1839. (Historical Society of Pennsylvania.)



Fig. 3.21. "Ground Plot of Monument Cemetery," Act of Incorporation, By-laws, Rules and Regulations of the Monument Cemetery..., 1839. (Historical Society of Pennsylvania.)

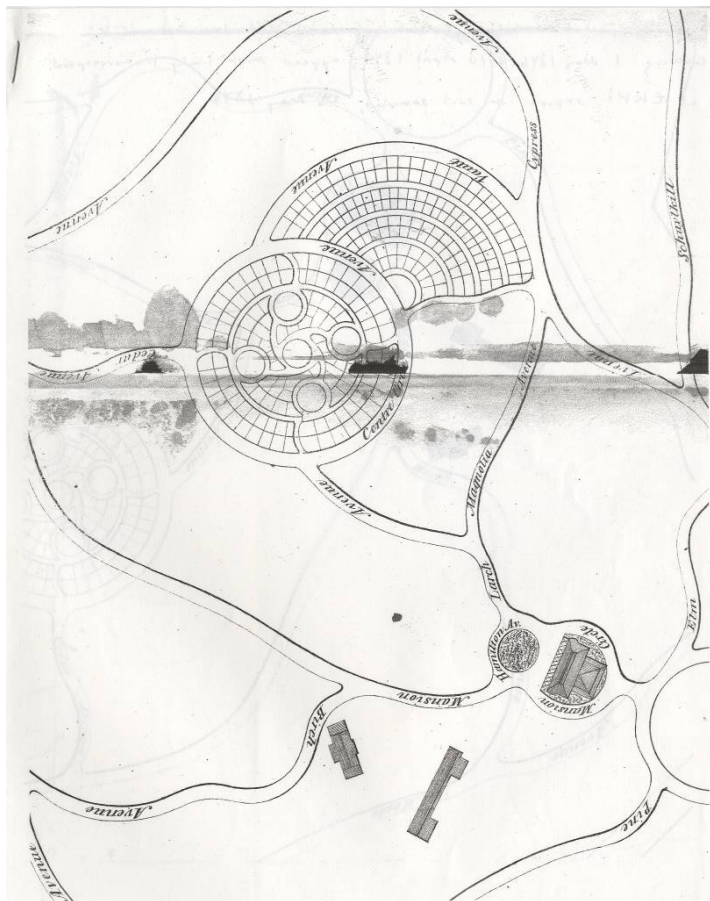


Fig. 3.23. Ground plan of Woodlands Cemetery, central zone, Philip M. Price, surveyor, ca. 1846. (Woodlands Cemetery Collection, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.) The circular section of the plan was redesigned along simpler lines shortly after this lithograph was made.

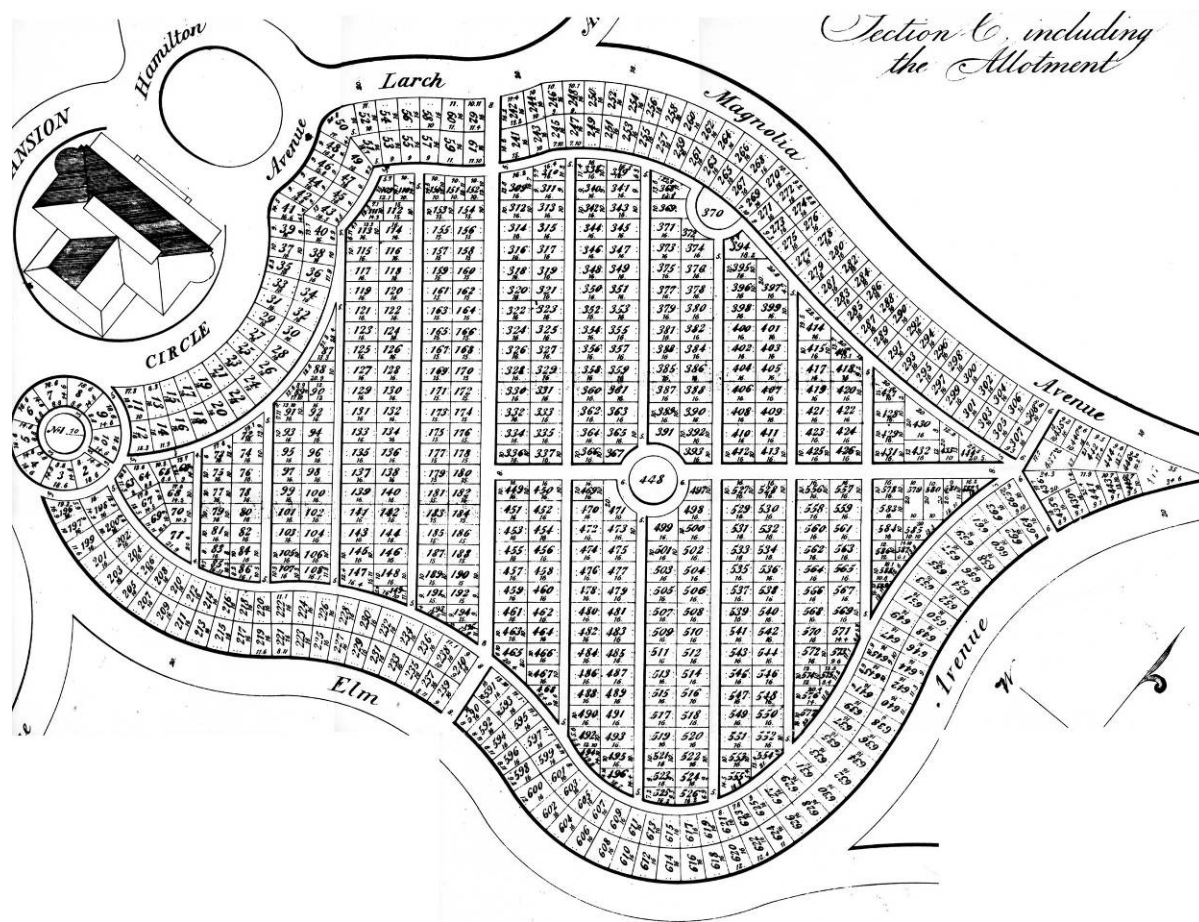


Fig. 3.24. Woodlands Cemetery, Section C, Philip M. Price, surveyor, ca. 1845. (Woodlands Cemetery Collection, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.)

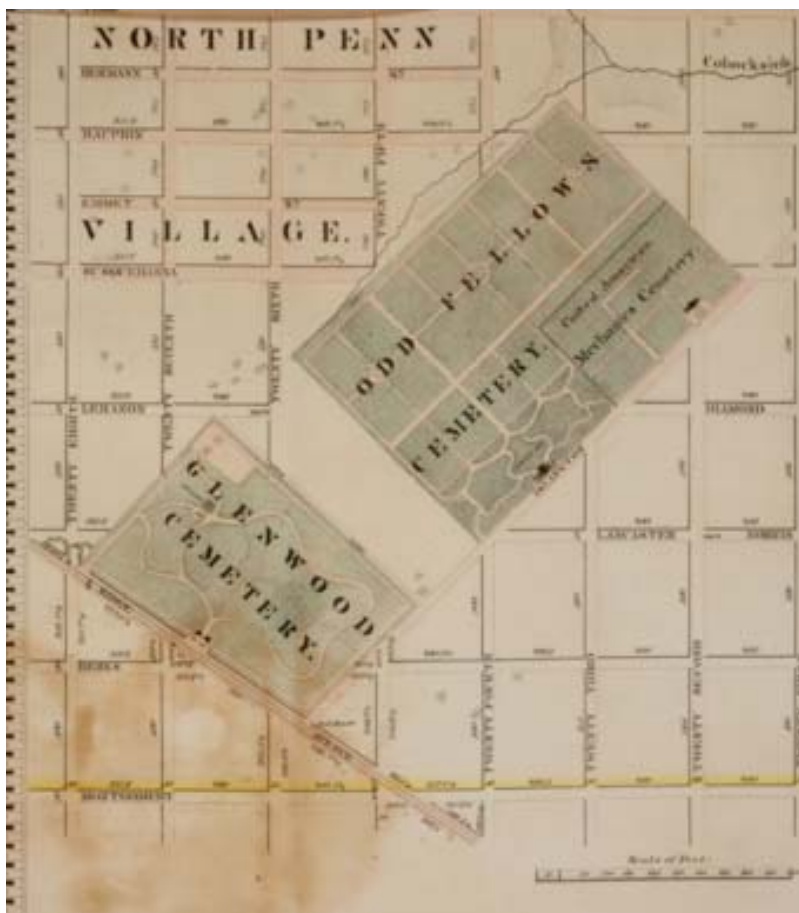


Fig. 4.1. *Smedley's Atlas of the City of Philadelphia, 1862*; detail showing the cemetery cluster at Ridge Avenue and Islington Road. (Library Company of Philadelphia.)

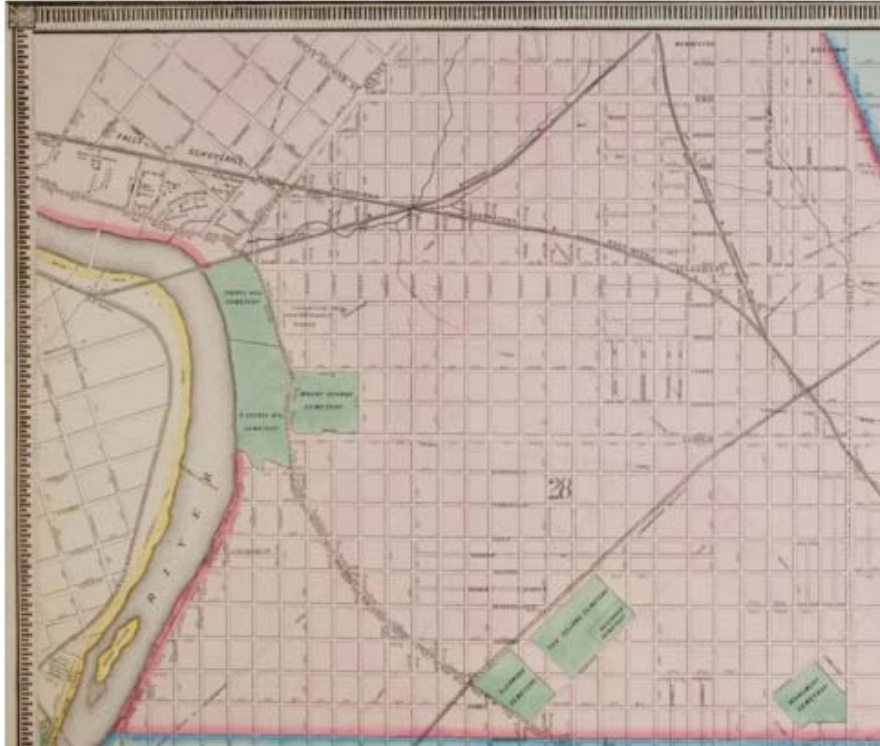
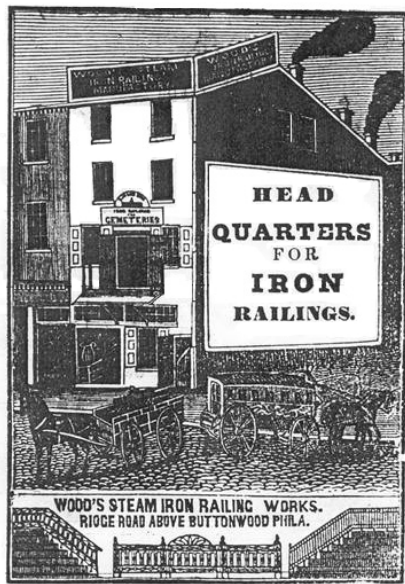


Fig. 4.2. *Barnes Map of the Whole Incorporated City of Philadelphia, 1867*; detail showing the city's 28th Ward. (Library Company of Philadelphia.)



AT THIS ESTABLISHMENT

All the principal Iron Railings at
LAUREL HILL, MONUMENT, AND
WOODLAND CEMETERY,
 Have been executed,
 It being the most complete and Systematic
 Iron Railing Works in the United States.

ROBERT WOOD,
 Proprietor.

Ridge Road, above Buttonwood Street
 PHILADELPHIA.

Fig. 4.3. Advertisement for Robert Wood's ironworks, *O'Brien's Philadelphia Wholesale Business Directory...*, 1848. (Courtesy, Ann Howell.)



Fig. 4.4. *Robert Wood's Railing, Architectural & Ornamental Iron Works*, R. F. Reynolds, artist, ca. 1851. (Library Company of Philadelphia.)



Fig. 4.5. *John Baird, Steam Marble Works*, Wagner & McGuigan, lithographers, ca. 1848. (Library Company of Philadelphia.)

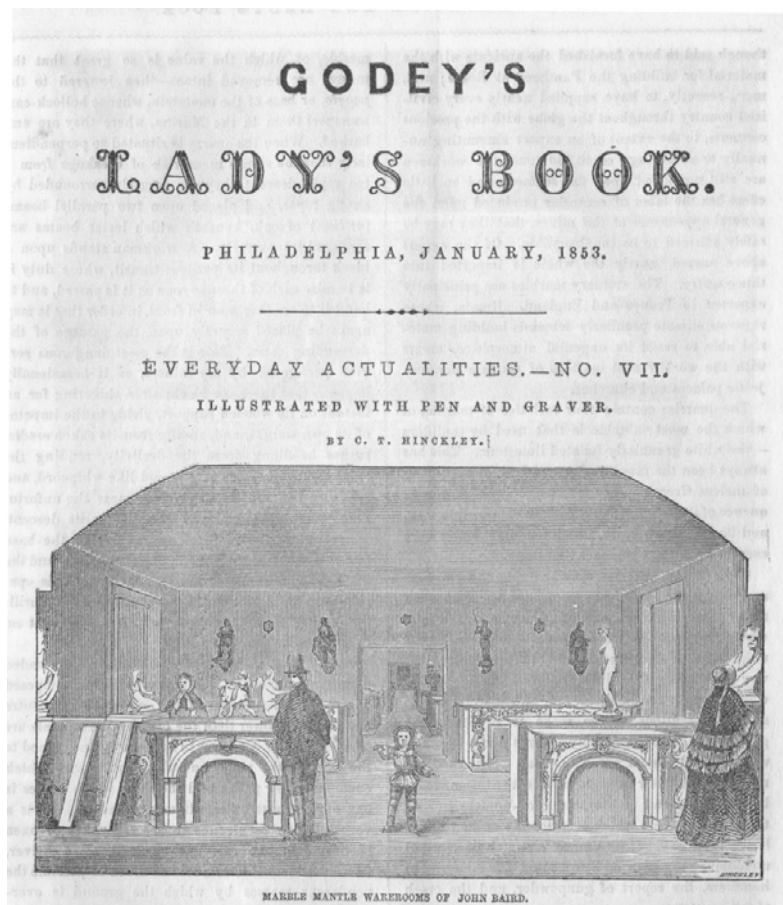


Fig. 4.6. One of J. & M. Baird's mantel warerooms as shown in *Godey's Lady's Book*, January, 1853. (Library Company of Philadelphia.)

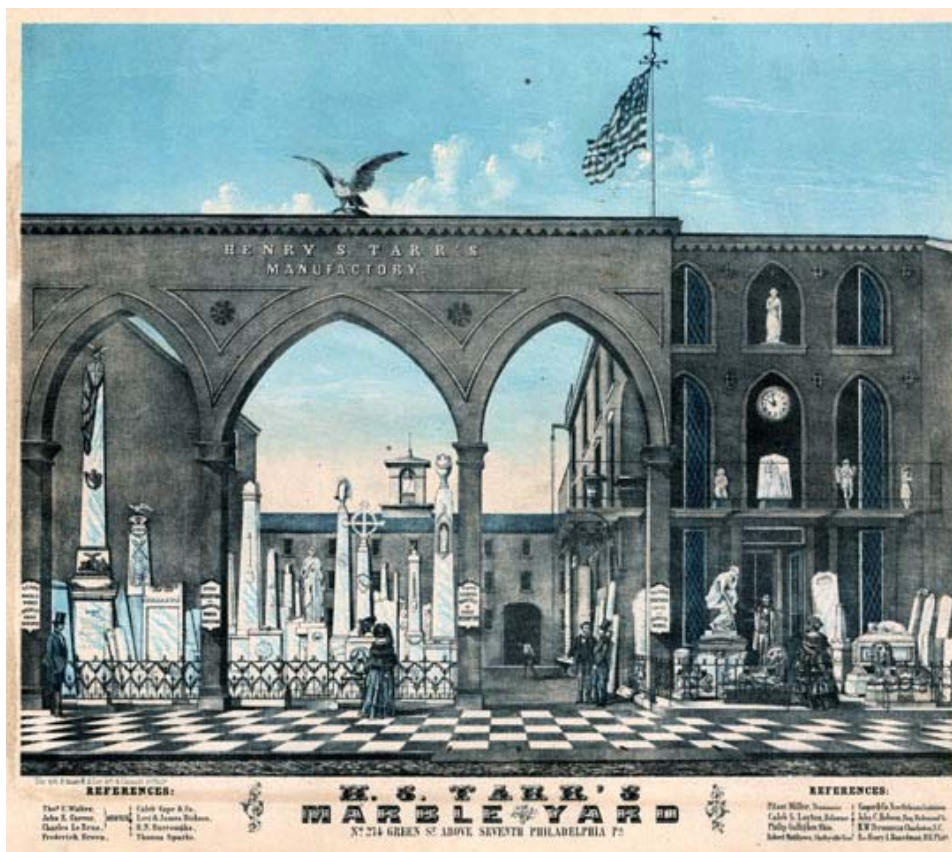


Fig. 4.7. *H. S. Tarr's Marble Yard*, W. H. Rease, lithographer, ca. 1858. (Library Company of Philadelphia.)

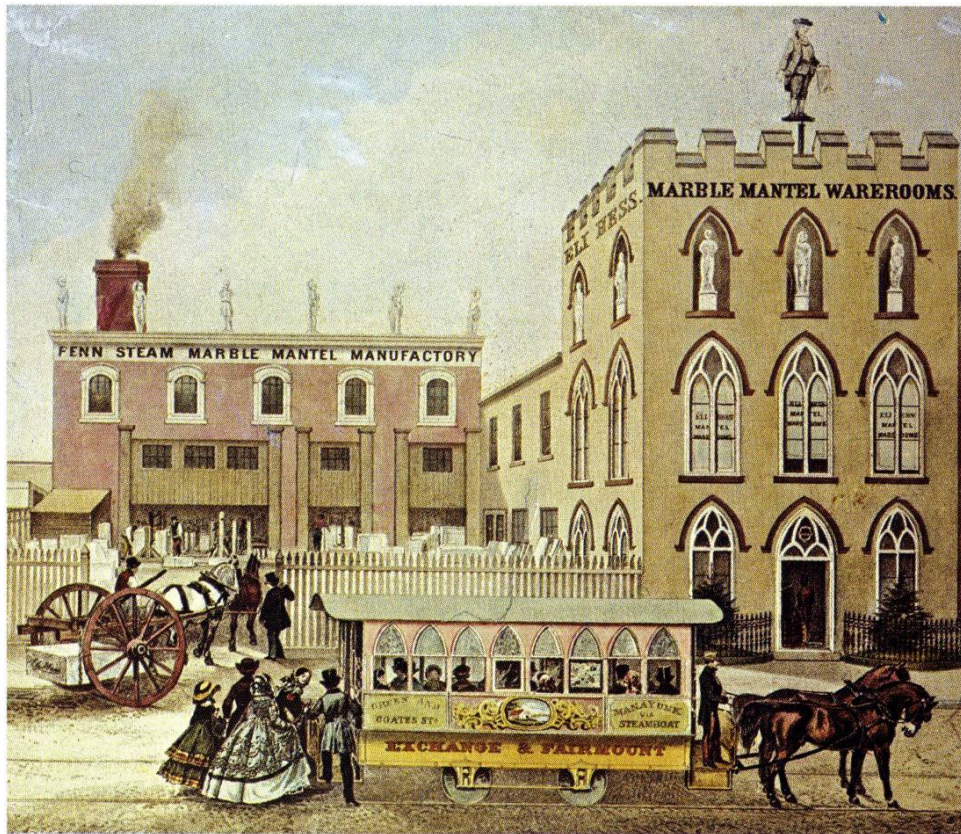


Fig. 4.8. *Eli Hess' Penn Steam Marble Mantel Manufacturing*, W. H. Rease, lithographer, 1859. (Library Company of Philadelphia.)

PHILADELPHIA STEAM MARBLE WORKS,
Chestnut Street, between Schuylkill Fifth and Sixth Streets.



The Subscriber executes all kinds of Marble and Sand-stone work for buildings,

MONUMENTS,

TILING FOR FLOORS, AND EVERY DESCRIPTION OF
ORNAMENTAL MARBLE WORK.

In his warerooms are over one hundred varieties of

MASSIVE,

Composed of Italian, French, Spanish, Portuguese, and other foreign and domestic Marbles. Also,

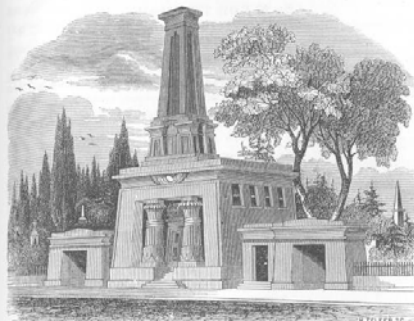
STATUARY, GARDEN VASES, FOUNTAINS, ETC.

Marble in the block and slab to suit the Trade.

EDWIN GREBLE.

is beautifully proportioned, chastely ornamented, and elegantly executed. It is worthy of its accomplished architect, Mr. John Notman, and its sculptor, Mr. Joseph Maples.

Visitors obtain tickets of admission from Mr. L. P. Smith, at the Philadelphia Library, South Fifth Street.



ODD FELLOWS' CEMETERY.

THE ODD FELLOWS' CEMETERY is situated on Islington Lane, near the Ridge Road, about two miles from the northern boundary of the city proper. It contains thirty-two acres, and is intersected by spacious avenues of from fifteen to thirty feet in width, well graded. A substantial stone wall, surmounted by a neat iron railing, has been erected along the entire front. The first interment was made on the 5th of May, 1849. The Cemetery is under the management of the Order whose name it bears.

Fig. 4.9. Opposite pages in R. A. Smith's *Philadelphia as It Is*, in 1852, 1852. (Library Company of Philadelphia.)

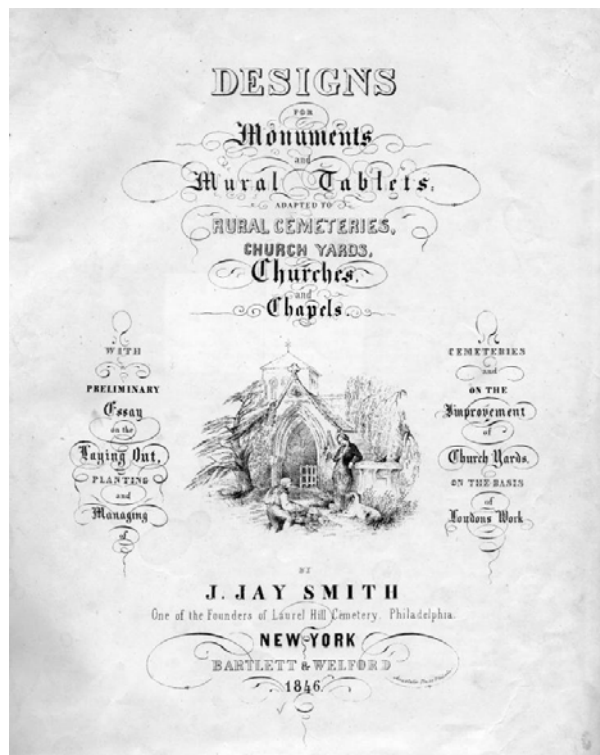


Fig. 4.10. Title page of John Jay Smith's *Designs for Monuments and Mural Tablets*, 1846. (Library Company of Philadelphia.)

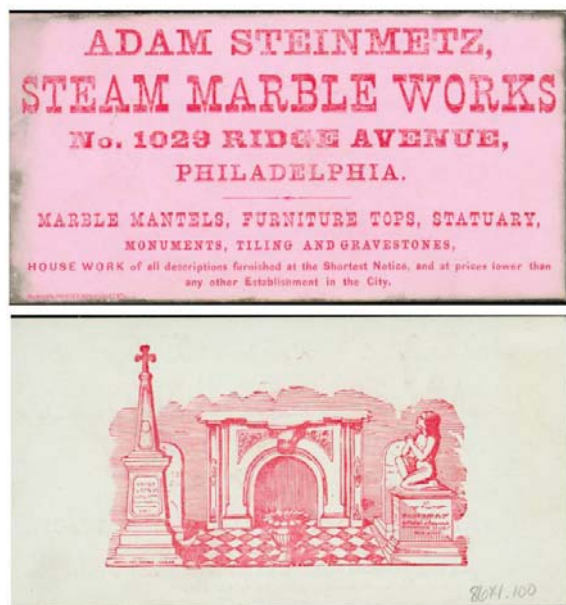


Fig. 4.11. Trade card of Adam Steinmetz, n.d. (Joseph Downs Collection, Wintherthur Library.)

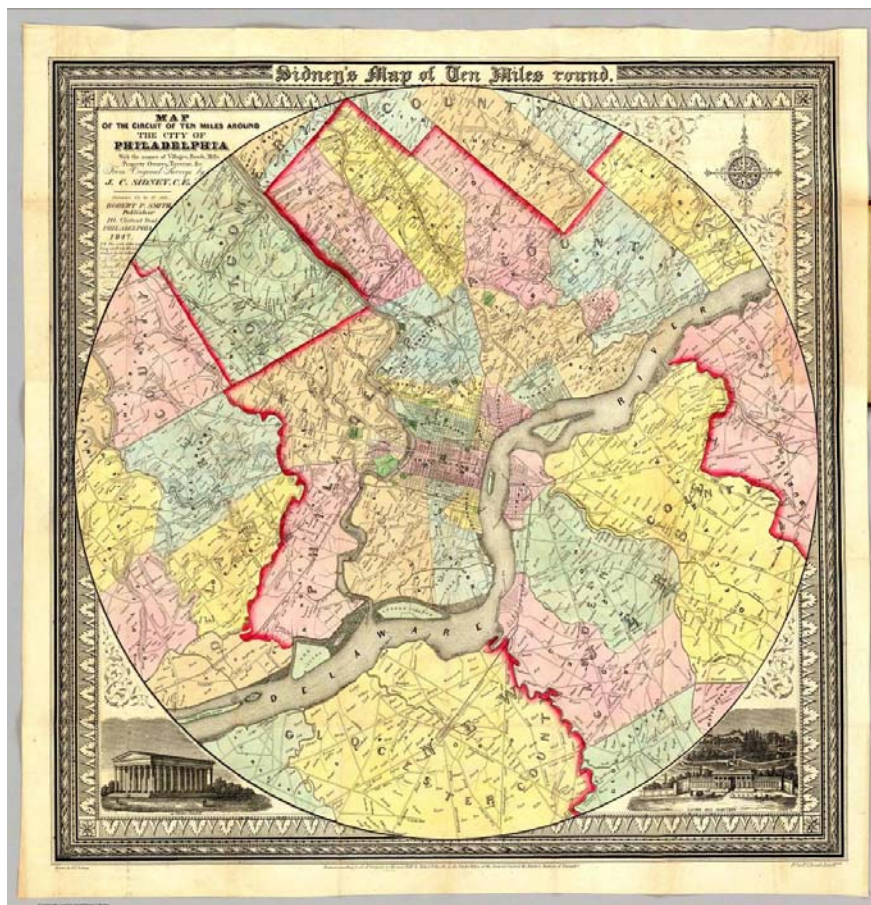


Fig. 4.12. *Sidney's Map of Ten Miles round, 1847.* (Historical Society of Pennsylvania.)



Fig. 4.13. *Plan of Farms near Jenkintown, Designed for Country Seats*, James C. Sidney and James P. W. Neff, designers and surveyors, 1855. (Library Company of Philadelphia.)

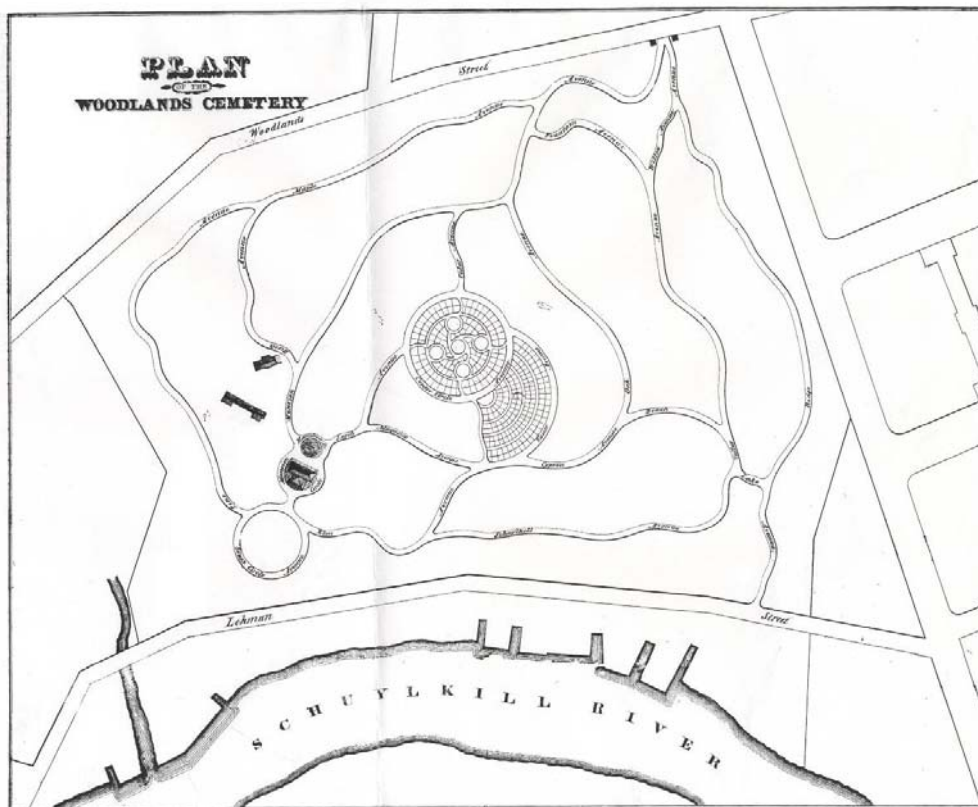


Fig. 4.14. *Plan of the Woodlands Cemetery*, Philip M. Price, surveyor, ca. 1846. (Woodlands Cemetery Collection, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.)

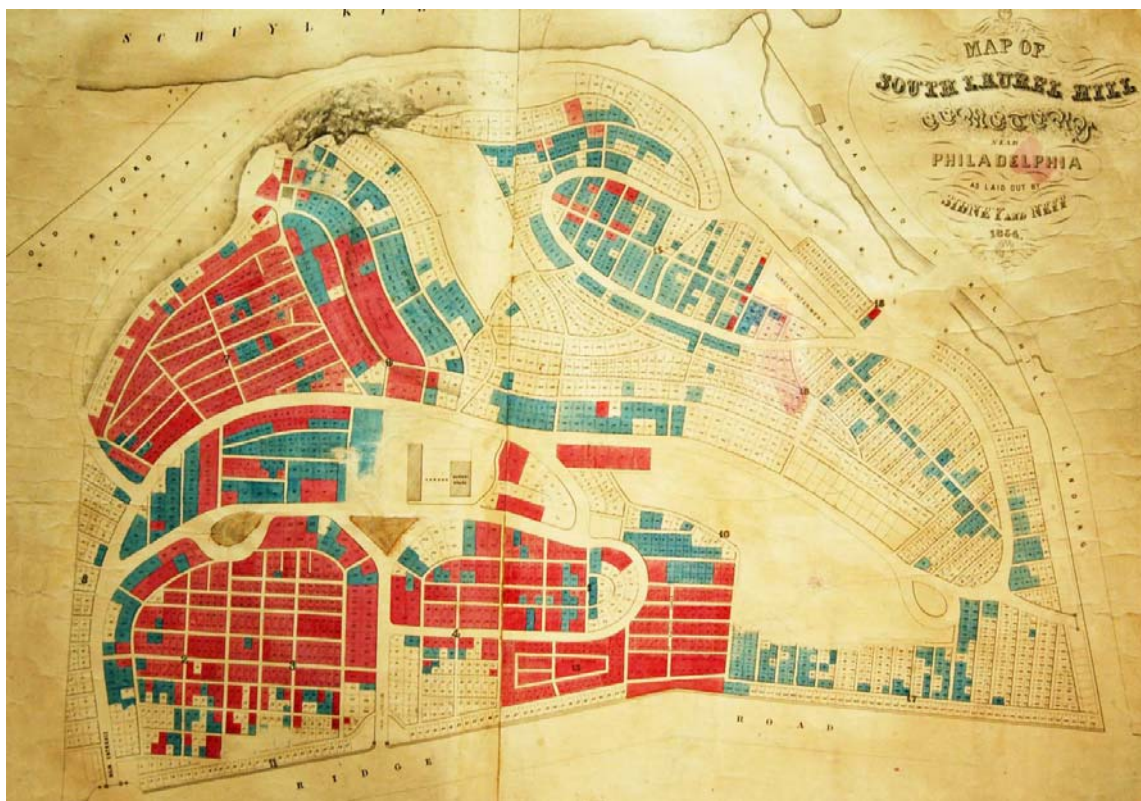


Fig. 4.15a. *Map of South Laurel Hill Cemetery, near Philadelphia*, James C. Sidney and James P. W. Neff, designers and surveyors, 1854. (Laurel Hill Cemetery Company Collection.)

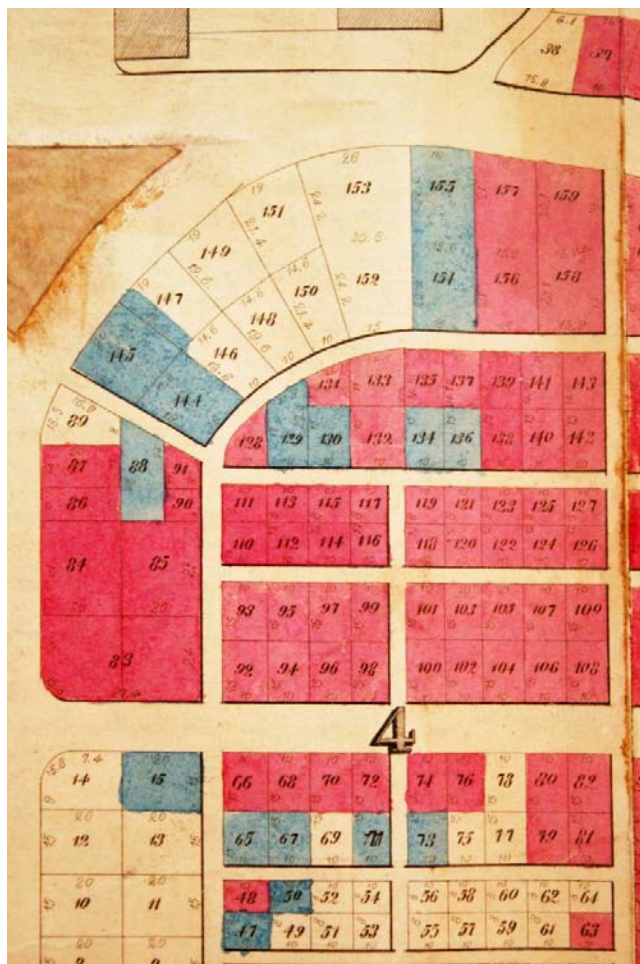


Fig. 4.15b. *Map of South Laurel, 1854*; detail showing “corner lots” and double-lot rows.

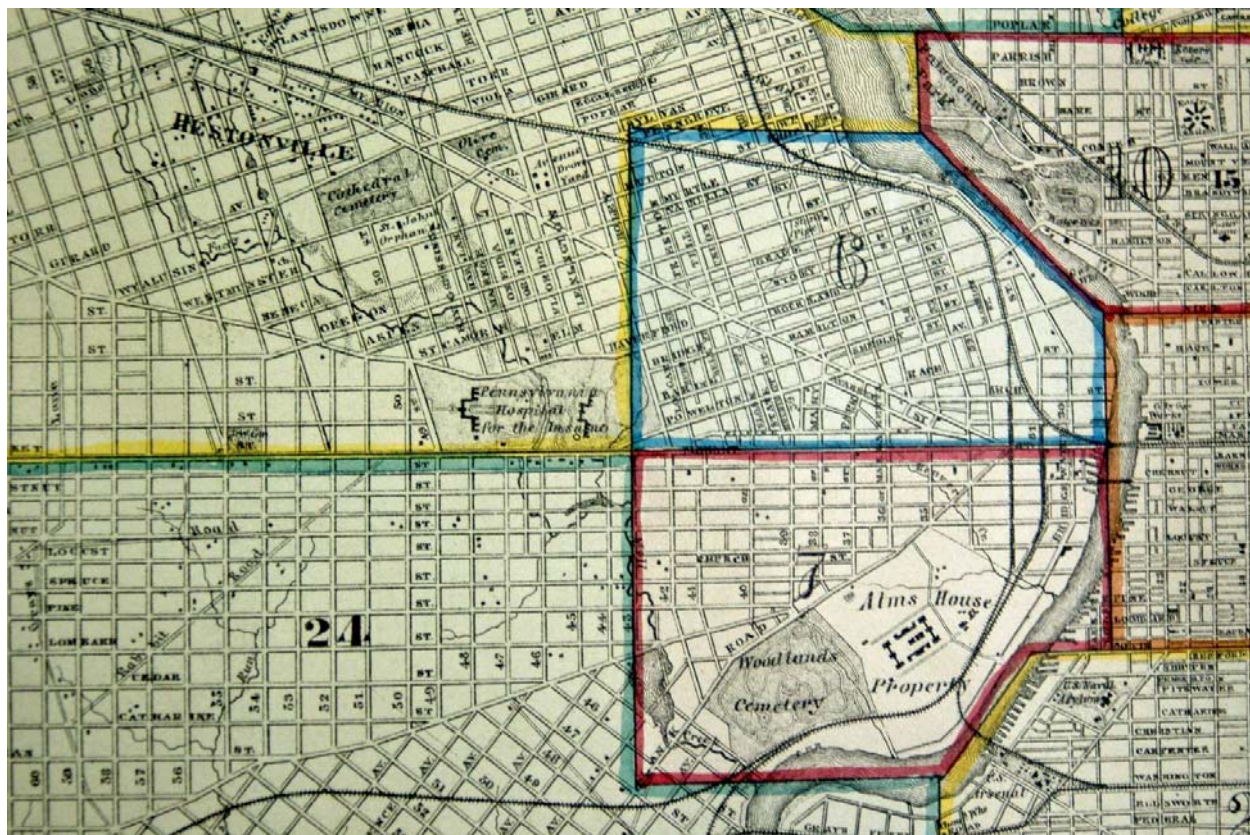


Fig. 4.16. *Smedley's Atlas of the City of Philadelphia*, 1862; detail of West Philadelphia index map. (Library Company of Philadelphia.)

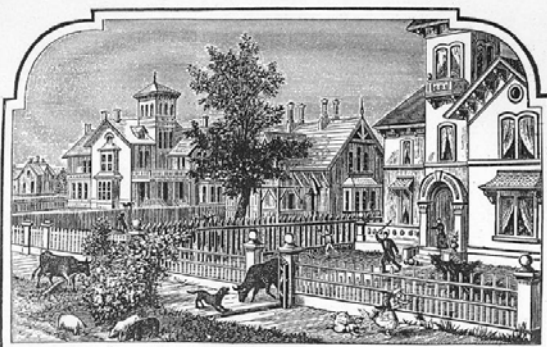


FIG. 22. PEOPLE WHO ARE TROUBLED BY THEIR NEIGHBORS.

The above illustration represents a common scene. The neighbors suspect each other, and they destroy the beauty of their grounds in the attempt to shut each other out. Suspicious and selfishness rule. Regardless of the rights of others, animals are allowed to trample to pieces the sidewalks, to destroy shade trees and to despoil the neighbor's yard. Inharmony, disorder, and ill-feeling among the people are characteristics of the neighborhood.

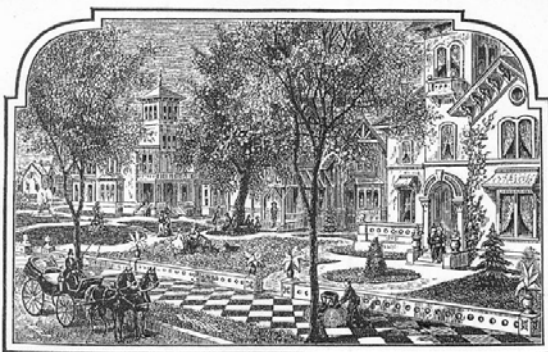


FIG. 23. THE NEIGHBORHOOD WHERE PEOPLE LIVE IN HARMONY.

This illustration represents a neighborhood where the people evidently do unto others as they wish others to do unto them. They trust each other. The barriers between them are removed. No animal is allowed to do injury. Enjoying peace and beauty they evidently desire that the neighbor shall share the same. This co-operation, kindness and regard for all, give the beauty, the harmony, the peace, and the evident contentment which are here presented.

Fig. 4.17. Two illustrations from Thomas E. Hill, *Manual of Social and Business Forms* 17th ed., 1879, as reproduced in Mass, *Gingerbread Age*.