"Gone But Not Forgotten"
Quaker Burial Grounds and Grave Markers in Central Ontario, with an updated Introduction[1]

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Updated Introduction

The following article was prepared as a lecture at a monthly meeting of the Ontario Archaeological Society at the University of Toronto. At the time I was involved in the study of burying grounds and their potential to provide information beyond the usual demographic information or information about stone carvers.

It appeared to me that the burying ground, which is a reflection of the attitudes and values of the living community over an extended period of time, would be an ideal subject for the testing of social change among Quakers. While published Books of Discipline of the time outlined Friends beliefs about burying grounds (as well as many other topics) the question that I wanted to find an answer to was whether Friends were actually following their testimonies about burial grounds, or were being influenced by 'worldly' practices. Could burial grounds provide information of the changing attitudes of Friends, changes that were behind

the formal divisions of Quakers into Hicksite, Orthodox and Progressive Friends?

The fieldwork for the study was done in the mid-winter, between snow storms, and it was not possible to collect all the information that would have been desirable, but I believe that the general findings of this study have held up over time and that it beckons others to continue the study of burying grounds as social instruments and sources of information that can contribute to our understanding of the evolution of values among Quakers.

Since the early 1980s, when this work was done, there have been changes to Friends burying grounds that should cause concern. Burying grounds are being surrounded by suburban developments, with all the risks that increased density of population will have on the preservation of the grounds. Increased air pollution levels continue to corrode the fragile surfaces of carved limestone markers, and the social pressure to keep the grounds neat and the grass cut will continue to threaten older stones. The grass cutters tend to chip the stones, and over time these chips result in cracks and the destruction of the stone. More recent stones have a base that protects the marker from damage. In the instance of the Hicksite burying ground on Highway 11 (Yonge Street) in Newmarket, the stones were moved and placed along the fence on the west of the property to make it easier to cut the grass!

Although the number of Quakers has declined over the years, the interest in Quaker history has not diminished and there is the desire to commemorate family history by erecting monuments in the burying grounds, and in some instances removing older stones and/or embedding them in new monuments. This practice not only destroys the integrity of the burying ground but also destroys valuable information. It should be discouraged.

What is called for is action that will see that the demographic information in all Quaker burying grounds is recorded and that a coordinated effort is made to establish good practices in all Quaker burying grounds. A practical guide to the care of Quaker burying grounds would be a useful for both grounds under the care of Friends and those now maintained by non-Quaker organizations.

As a result of the public cemetery movement of the nineteenth century, there has been a desire that burying grounds be seen as parks, or facilities for visitors to look at the landscaping as well as the markers. Since so many Quaker burying grounds are becoming part of the urban or suburban environment, would it not be worthwhile to consider letting the grounds revert to wildflowers and other non-destructive vegetation so that the original intention that the grounds reflect Quaker simplicity is maintained as well as providing a small space where the indigenous flora is maintained amidst a growing environment of manicured lawns and pavement.

This paper was an exercise in historical 'archaeology', but there are other studies that could be used to broaden the scope of this study and perhaps make necessary changes.

First, a study of the various Books of Discipline in use during the time of these cemeteries would provide another source of information. Likewise, a study of records of deaths of the various Monthly Meetings (where these records are still available) would provide data on the number of people who were interned in an unmarked grave. We know that the earliest burials were unmarked and bodies interned in a continuous row, but how many bodies continued to be buried without markers would be an important to know.

The study of graveyards has advanced in the twenty-five or more years since this address to the Ontario Archaeological Society. If my article stimulates discussion and further study, I will be pleased. If it also results in renewed interest in the preservation and study of Quaker burying grounds, I will feel doubly blessed.

Harriet, Daughter of Geo. and Harriet Lount.

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Introduction

In Ontario the historic period burial ground has been studied as a collection of decorative grave markers, with emphasis on shape, inscriptions, motifs and epitaph (Coumans, 1962; Brownlee, 1972; Hanks, 1974; Patterson, 1976; Lee-Whiting, 1977; Bird & Kobayashi, 1981), or as a source of genealogical and demographic information (Anonymous, 1959, 1965; Cody, 1967; Brownlee, 1972; Osborne, 1974). The burial ground has not been studied as evidence of the changing culture of the living community that established and maintained the site.

Outside Ontario there have been a number of studies of cemeteries as evidence of cultural change. Early studies on New England burial grounds by Dethlefsen and Deetz (1966), Dethlefsen (1969, 1972) and Dethlefsen and Jensen (1972), concentrated on decorative motifs on seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Puritan markers in Massachusetts. Recently Dethlefsen (1981) has extended his studies to a number of culturally-determined attributes of nineteenth and twentieth century public cemeteries in Alachua County, Florida. Pocius (1981) has studied the import and use of British and Irish markers in the Avalon Peninsula of Newfoundland. Trask (1978) has published a comprehensive study of grave markers and their carvers from Nova Scotia.

This study investigates four Quaker burial grounds in central Ontario that were used during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries for members of this particularistic religious group. The study shows the changes that were occurring in the burial grounds and gives clues to some of the cultural changes within the religious community.

The unique qualities of the Quaker community were shaped by the form of religious organization and the influence of the Discipline in guiding the community in its religious life and social relationships.

Religious and Social Organization

A unique and practical form of religious organization consisted of a hierarchy of interrelated meetings, beginning with the Monthly Meeting (congregation), which might have one or more Preparative Meetings. Moving up from the Monthly Meeting is the Quarterly or Half-Yearly Meeting and then the Yearly Meeting. This hierarchy exerted a conservative influence on congregations and individuals in matters of belief and social interaction. The strong control by elders and overseers and itinerant Quaker preachers was a countervailing force to the basic democratic structure of Quaker religious organization. As Doherty (1967: 22) has pointed out in his study of the Hicksite Quaker separation in the United States, "Quaker organization was primarily based on precedent and has the amorphous quality of something which had been developed slowly through practice." Although the Quakers had a well-defined Christian theology, it was not through formal creedal statements or liturgies but through 'testimonies', practical external expressions of Quaker beliefs, that the practices of Quakers was shaped. These 'testimonies' were the peculiar aspects of Quakers that attracted the non-Quaker commentators. Testimonies such as the use of distinctive dress, special language of 'thee' and 'thou' instead of you for the second person pronoun, the unprogrammed form of worship based on silence that permitted men and women to contribute equally to worship, and the numbering of the months and days of the week. There were many other testimonies that governed every aspect of the individual, both as part of the Quaker community and in relationships with the non-Quaker community. This complex network of testimonies created and maintained the Quaker culture.

Discipline and its Enforcement

Testimonies were written in a book of Discipline, which was developed for the individual as a guide to practice, and for elders and overseers as rules. The Discipline did not provide details of procedures for many of the testimonies; for example, it specified that funerals should be plain and that special meetings for worship should be called for this purpose; it did not give a step-by-step guide to funeral practice, presumably because this was already well-known by members. The Discipline was enforced at each level of the hierarchy, beginning at the Preparative Meeting, by the requirement that Meetings answer in writing a set of Queries and by a parallel series of Meetings for Discipline that reported any infractions to the Monthly Meeting. In most instances action was taken against the person involved, resulting in the individual 'acknowledging' his or her error to the congregation, or the person being 'disowned ', though not prohibited from attending meetings for worship. The Discipline was seen as a hedge against the non-Quaker world.

During the first quarter of the nineteenth century the enforcement of the Discipline established a Quaker culture marked by a high degree of intolerance with a high degree of exclusiveness, which was felt to be oppressive by some members who desired changes in the traditions to accommodate their perception of the place of Quakers in Upper Canada. Hovinen (1978: 34) comments on this intolerance in her study of the settlement of Quakers in central Ontario:

> In spite of its beginnings as a revolt against religious formalism and rigidity, the Society of Friends by 1800 was totally intolerant of any form of deviant behaviour in its members. Disownments make up a high proportion of the business of Yonge Street Monthly

> Meeting … it disowned members who fought with one another or with outsiders, who drank spirituous liquors, who celebrated New Year's Eve, who attended a Shivaree, who 'departed from plainness of speech and dress', who neglected to attend religious services, who bore illegitimate children or who were married by priests, 'hireling ministers' or magistrates, who attended services of other denominations, and most of all, who married non-Friends.

The strong control by elders and overseers was the means by which the Society of Friends protected its way of life in the frontier settlements of Upper Canada. Whatever the reasons, this rigidity had disastrous consequences for the Society of Friends.

When the prevailing winds of religious revival and change were felt in the wider Canadian society, the dissatisfaction with the conservatism of the elders and overseers contributed to two major divisions (three in the Yonge Street area). After each separation new meeting houses and burying grounds were established by the faction that was unable to physically or legally retain control of the pre-separation property. Each party of the dispute then proceeded to 'disown' the members of the other group and thus deny burial of any of the opposing faction in the original burying ground.

The full impact of the separations has never been studied, but considering the close kinship ties within and between meetings, where every member was related by marriage to most of the other members of the group, the disputes were disastrous, particularly on the stability of the Friends communities, and the ability to enforce Discipline.

The burial grounds of the various groups of Friends reflect the changes that these separations brought to Friends, particularly the changes that occurred in those testimonies that

were 'distinctive' of Quakers.

The Quaker Burial Ground

The burial ground is a prime resource for the study of cultural change in Quaker communities in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, as those buried in a Quaker ground during this period were members of the group who controlled the land, or those who were sympathetic to them.[2] The deceased were buried according to the established customs of Friends. The four burial grounds are in central Ontario and are related by history and family ties. Two were established in the early 1800s, one on the west side of Yonge Street near Newmarket and a second in the village of Pickering at Mill Street. Two other burial grounds were established by the Hicksite Friends after their separation from the continuing body in 1828. These Hicksite grounds were located on Yonge Street, near Armitage, about a mile south of the original burial ground, and a second Hicksite site was located about two miles east of the town of Pickering. The two earliest grounds were in the control of the larger group, called the Orthodox Friends, until a second separation in 1881, after which year the Yonge Street burial ground became the property of the Progressive Friends (YS-P) and the Pickering ground

became the property of the Conservative Friends (P-C).

Methodology of the Study

The date for this study was obtained from field work at the four sites. Data was collected on the orientation and placement of individual graves, and on the markers. Grave markers were analyzed for form and size, material, name of carver, inscriptions, decorations, and epitaphs. Data was collected using a standardized field survey form. Comments are made on the data, which is used to show the changes that occurred in the burial grounds during the period 1810 – 1970s.

Location of Burial Grounds

The close proximity of the meeting house and burial ground was characteristic of Canadian and American Quaker sites. Quakers never consecrated or set apart in any religious sense their burial grounds. The nineteenth century interest in the lawn cemetery had little effect on Quaker sites, except to encourage the cutting of grass, which remained plain with uniform grave lots of similar size and with no economic or religious significance to the location of a particular grave.

Orientation of Burials

Graves in traditional Christian burial grounds were often established in an east-west axis, with the feet of the deceased to the east. This practice was in preparation for the Second Coming of Christ, so the faithful could rise and face the Saviour (Jeane 1969: 40). Although the four burial grounds in this study have interments in an east-west axis, this does not appear to have special religious significance as other Quaker burial grounds in the region have graves on a north-south axis. The only common factor appears to be that grave lots

In memory of Esther, Dau. of Joseph & Annie Moore

were always at right angles to the public road, which might have been in a north-south (Yonge Street Progressive and Yonge Street Hicksite) or east-west direction (Pickering Conservative or Pickering Hicksite). Grave markers had inscriptions on the east or west face, but not consistently on the east face. At the Yonge Street Progressive burial ground the stones (with three recent exceptions) had inscriptions on the west face, away from Yonge Street, although the bodies were interred to the east of the marker, as shown by the presence of foot stones in some rows. One marker in the Yonge Street Progressive ground has an inscription of both the east and west side of the tablet. At the Yonge Street Hicksite and Pickering Conservative burial grounds the inscriptions are on the east side of the stones; at the Pickering Hicksite burial ground the stones have inscriptions on the east or west side,

depending on the relationship to a wagon track that went through the ground from south to north to connect the meeting house with the burial grounds. The later obelisk form, would be an exception to these observations, as it might have an inscription on all four sides.

Placement of Graves in Burial Grounds

In the early decades of the nineteenth century, Friends left graves unmarked, or used wooden boards or field stones to indicate the locations of internments. By the late 1820s a few, simple, marble tablet markers were permitted. Frost (1973: 43) describing Quaker practices in Colonial America states that "families would not be buried together; rather, there would be a systematic filling up of the burial ground." The same practice is reported in Ontario by Elmer Starr, a Friend whose family had been associated with the Conservatives since the separation of 1881. In 1959 he stated, "people were buried according to the order in which they died. That's the way the Yonge Street grave yard is – according to date. I have been surprised to find that a Rogers will be buried one place, and maybe some more Rogers in another place" (Anonymous 1959: 49).

The location of interments, whether individually marked by stone or marble marker, was not recorded on a plan, so that interment brought anonymity. Without a plan of the grounds it is difficult to give any clear indication of how the land was filled, and the relationship of unmarked graves. In recent times the Province of Ontario has required plans showing all known interment as a requirement under the Cemeteries Act. Friends did not permit family plots, which would have indicated rank or wealth of the family of the deceased, but they did permit the burial of members of the same family in a particular location.[3]

Number of Grave Markers

Wooden markers have decayed or have been removed by caretakers. Many of the rough field stones and small marble markers with only initials have been removed. The grave markers that have survived the vicissitudes of weather, caretakers and vandals are predominately marble and granite stones.

The number of grave markers in the four burial grounds is shown by decade in Table 1. The markers in the Yonge Street Hicksite burial ground have been moved and placed along the western edge of the lot, which has enabled the measurement of the length of each stone, but has prohibited any study of their original location.

The Yonge Street Hicksite and Pickering Hicksite burial grounds have fewer markers than the other two sites, probably because of their smaller memberships. The Pickering Conservative and Pickering Hicksite burial grounds also have been used in this century for non-Quaker burials. These non-Quaker families have, in some cases, erected memorials to those buried there during the nineteenth century.

These memorials add an un-characteristic element to the site. Only the Yonge Street Progressive burial ground has been used primarily by Friends or those closely associated with Quakers.

Table I
Number of Grave Markers in Four Quaker Burying Grounds in Central Ontario

DECADE	YS-P	P-C	YS-H	P-H	TOTAL	%
1970-79	7	4		1	12	2.1
1960-69	4	13		1	18	3.1
1950-59	2	6			8	1.4
1940-49	2	9		7	18	3.1
1930-39		9		1	10	1.7
1920-29	2	15		5	22	3.8
1910-19	4	13	2	4	23	4.0
1900-09		23	2	7	32	5.5
1890-99	6	15	2	16	39	6.7
1880-89	20	30	10	10	70	12.0
1870-79	42	36	9	15	102	17.5
1860-69	62	15	14	18	109	18.6
1850-59	25	13	11	5	54	9.3
1840-49	19	4	9	6	38	6.5
1830-39	13	4	1	4	22	3.8
1820-29	5				5	0.9
TOTAL	213	209	60	100	582	100.0

Materials used for Markers

The use of rough field stones as markers has been attributed to the economic conditions of pioneering life. Only a few field stone markers remain, as many of the smaller stones were probably removed by caretakers. The introduction of the tablet form of stone marker permitted more information to be recorded and with less difficulty than had been possible with the field stone. In the Quaker burial grounds, extensive inscriptions on markers reflect the concern for vital statistics at a time when government record-keeping was still very rudimentary. As governments made provision for the collection of vital statistics, the inscriptions on stones could become shorter.

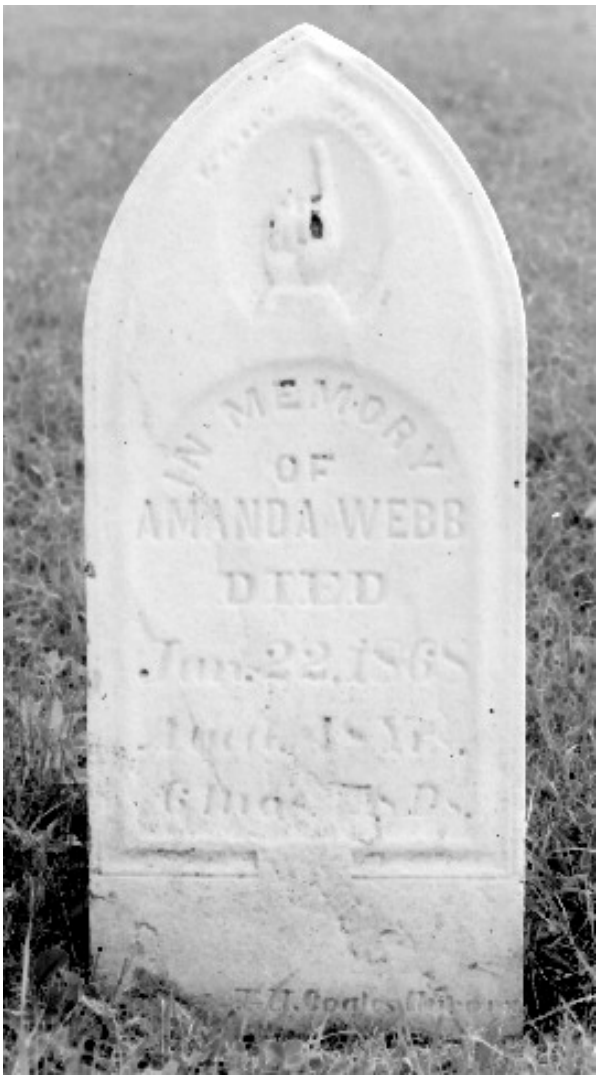
Stones with more than one inscription were very rare in the four grounds of this study until the 1870s, and then only found occasionally, except at the Pickering Conservative burial ground, where the practice was adopted in the present century.

Few stones have the name of their carver or supplier. If the name has been placed on the stone, it may now be below ground. The firms mentioned on the burial ground markers include: REIDS (also under the name D.W. Reid or Reid); W. and Co., Whitby; McArthur; T.H. Coates, Aurora; J. Cassidy; W.C. Allan, Newmarket; A.W. Anderson; J. & R.W., Whitby; Toronto; and (?) & Smith, Whitby. Unfortunately, there have been no studies of Ontario stone carvers in the nineteenth century, a subject with potential benefits for the study of diffusion and adaptation of material culture.

Granite markers were first introduced in Quaker burial grounds in the 1910s, about forty years after they were first used in non-Quaker grounds in central Ontario. By the 1940s all stones erected in the four Quaker burial grounds were of granite. The use of granite as a material had an important effect on the form and inscription on stones. Granite stones were prepared in a number of standardized shapes, which reduced the individuality and variety of markers that were possible. Although granite stones were more expensive than marble, by the 1910s the increased use of granite was less an indication of affluence than that marble markers had gone out of fashion and were no longer as easily available.

Form of Markers

The form of the stone marker is determined by the shape and size. The earliest stones were square or rectangular marble tablets, which I have called Type 1. There were three major variations of the rectangular tablet based on the upper edge: a slightly curving upper edge resembling a Romanesque arch (Type 2), a peaked upper edge forming a Norman arch (Type 3), and a corbelled upper edge, representing a Gothic arch (Type 4). Non-table markers of more elaborate shapes and granite material were placed in a separate category called Type 5. The comparative frequency of the types is shown in Table 2.



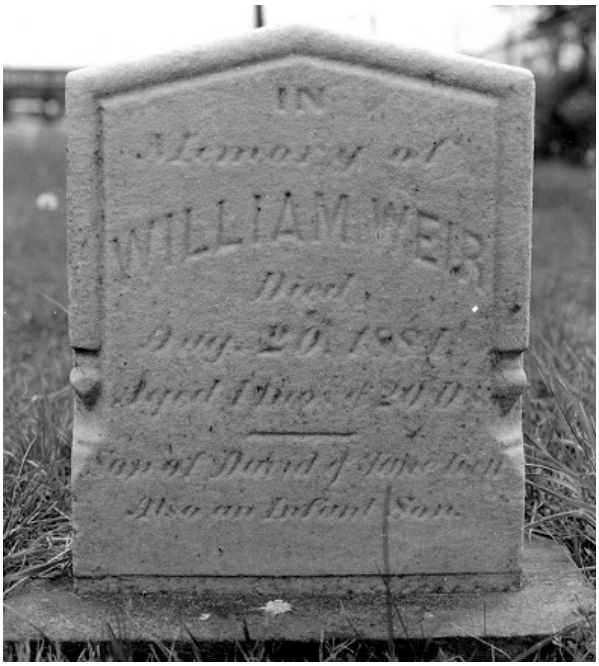
In an attempt to determine the chronological significance of these type categories, the data was organized by decade based on the assumption that the markers were cared and erected within a year or two of the death of the deceased. Where this was obviously not the case, the marker was excluded from the data.

The plain square or rectangular table (Type 1) was the predominant form in the burial grounds from the 1820s through the 1860s (Table 3)[4]. During the 1860s the Romanesque form (Type 2) became popular. The Norman (Type 3) and Gothic (Type 4) forms, which reflect a stronger ecclesiastical influence, were always a minor part of the total number of markers. The data for Types 3 and 4 markers is also shown in Table 3. Many of the Types 3 and 4 markers are used for persons who are under twenty-five years of age or unmarried at the time of death, suggesting that innovations in form were introduced in markers of children or young adults first.

Table 2
Comparative Frequencies of Gravestone 'Types'

Type	YS-P	P-C	YS-H	P-H	TOTAL
Marble Tablet Forms					
1	53		27	1	
2	102		9	31	
3	13		11	24	
4	14		3	8	
Marble & Granite Non-table Forms					
5	31		10	36	
TOTALS	213	209	60	100	582

The measurements of markers in the burial grounds do not indicate any significant increase in size of stones during the years 1830 – 1910. Type 1 stones are of two sizes: 12" wide x 12"



high x 2" thick and 12" wide x 16" high x 2" thick. The Type 2 markers were 12" to 16" wide, 13" to 15" high and 2" thick. There was little variation in the sizes of Types 3 and 4 stones. Type 3 markers were 12" wide x 16" to 20" high x 2" thick. Type 4 stones were 12" wide x 16" to 18" high x 2" thick. Fancy marble blocks, pulpits, pedestal and obelisk forms in granite were the last type to occur chronologically in the four burial grounds. They were introduced in the 1870s and continued into the twentieth century (Table 3). No attempt has been made to trace the development of individual forms. The Yonge Street Progressive burial ground has 72.8% of the markers of Types 1 and 2; Yonge Street Hicksite burial ground has 60.0% of markers of the same types. This is compared with the Pickering Conservative burial ground which has [number missing]% of the markers of Types 1 and 2 and the Pickering Hicksite ground with 32.0% of the same types. The distinction between the number of more ecclesiastical and 'worldly' markers is not clearly based on the particular group of Friends, but may be of regional significance. The study of additional Quaker burial grounds in central Ontario may help to clarify this issue.

Inscriptions

An important source of information is the inscriptions placed on the markers. The inscriptions follow a set pattern, with variations in individual elements from burial ground to burial ground, and a variation over time. The earliest stones in all four burial grounds have the following elements in the inscription:

a) Name: HANNAH PHILLIPS
d) Died: DIED
e) Date of death: 28th of 8th mo 1821
f) Age at death: AE 28 y 1 m. 7d
g) Epitaph
h) Name of carver

This is the pattern for adult men and married or unmarried women. The pattern for children:

a) Name: HARRIET
b) Filial relationship: daughter of
c) Parents: Geo. & Hannah LOUNT
d) Died: Died
e) Date of death: 8th of 7th mo 1827
f) Age at death: AE 2 y's 3 mo. 23 d.

The pattern continued to change throughout the nineteenth century until the most recent stones in this century give only the name of the deceased and the years of birth and death. The following example will illustrate this:

Name: BERT KING
a) Year of birth: 1909 –
b) Date of death: 1980

The most significant change in the inscription on Quaker markers is the move away from the 'plain' form of the date to the modern form. Quakers had a very strong testimony against the use of the modern form of date, and in the early 1800s had disowned members for straying away from the use of

plain form in speech and writing. The Quakers' opposition to the use of the modern form was that they were derived from 'pagan' religious practices. The result of this use of the 'plain' form of date was, for example, to replace November 27 with Eleventh Month 27 or 27 Eleventh Month. In the nineteenth century the Discipline does not indicate any change in the rule concerning the plain form, but the grave markers indicate that there was a gradual change in actual usage. Table 4 shows the frequencies of the use of 'plain' language in dates for the four burial grounds.

The highest percentage of grave markers with plain language was the Yonge Street Progressive and Yonge Street Hicksite burial grounds, while the lowest percentage was the Pickering Conservative burial ground.

Two examples of other elements of the inscriptional pattern than change are the use of 'wife of' or 'beloved wife of' became a frequent phrase, especially in the inscriptions on the two Pickering area burial grounds. The earliest markers at the Yonge Street Progressive burial ground (with one exception) had the word 'died' in the inscriptional pattern. The word 'deceased' was used in place of this in the Y Yonge Street Hicksite and Pickering Hicksite grounds. A variation found at the two Pickering burial grounds was the phrase 'who departed this life'.

The process by which inscriptions changed is not easily determined from the limited number of markers examined in this study. The direction of change throughout the nineteenth century can be shown and both the earliest and latest stones described.

Table 4
Comparative Frequencies of 'Plain' Language in Death Date on Grave Inscriptions

DECADE	YS-P	P-C	YS-H	P-H	TOTALS
1970-79					
1960-69					
1950-59					
1940-49					
1930-39		3			3
1920-29		2		1	3
1910-19		5		2	7
1900-09		7		2	9
1890-99	2	6	2	10	20
1880-89	4	18	11	3	36
1870-79	18	21	5	13	57
1860-69	41	8	10	12	81
1850-59	22	10	11	3	46
1840-49	11	3	9	6	29
1830-39	9	4	1	3	17
1820-29	5				5
TOTAL	112	87	49	55	303
# Inscriptions	221	253	69	115	658
% with plain language	50.7	34.4	71.0	47.8	46.0

Decoration

Stones with decorated surfaces are associated with non-Quaker markers. Decorative motifs such as the pointed finger, the dove or lamb are traditional Christian symbols used on markers throughout the study area. By the 1860s a small number of highly decorated marble stones were used in Quaker grounds, but these appear to have been popular for only two or three decades. Many of the decorative stones were used to mark burials of children, and as such may have been tolerated, where adult markers might have been removed.

With the introduction of granite markers, elaborate motifs disappeared. Granite, being a much harder stone than marble, was more expensive to carve, and often had only the essentials necessary for the identification of the burial.

Epitaphs

Only 15 epitaphs were located on the more than 500 stones in the four burial grounds. These epitaphs were usually quite short and similar to those found on non-Quaker markers elsewhere. There were the traditional quotations from the Bible, such as, "I know that my Redeemer Liveth" or "Blessed are they that die in the Lord" or "Blessed are they that die in the Lord" or "And he showed me a pure river of water of life clear as crystal proceeding out of the Throne of God and of the Lamb." Epitaphs for children were more intimate as shown by the following two examples: "She's gone to dwell with saints above, and rest in God's eternal love" and "Sleep on Sweet babe and take thy rest, God called thee home, He thought it best." On granite markers the verse is usually much shorter, as the following examples illustrate: "Gone to Rest," "Forever With the Lord" or "Gone But Not Forgotten."

There are a number of epitaphs that are not decipherable. This part of the inscription is often near the base of the stone and is first to be covered by the earth when the stone sinks. The smaller size lettering is often obscured by lichens or obliterated by corrosion.

Correlations

Although the attributes of form, inscription pattern, decoration and epitaph have been discussed separately, it should be kept in mind that in reality each stone is a combination of a number of attributes, each of which is changing at a different rate. Each burial ground is like a motion picture, with each frame slightly different, yet telling a continuous, connected story from beginning to end. It is possible to describe certain 'frames', or periods, in the evolution of the Quaker burial ground.

The pioneer period extends from the late 1800s until the 1850s, and is clearly seen in the two earliest grounds, the Yonge Street Progressive and Pickering Conservative burial grounds. The earliest burials are unmarked, in consecutive rows and without a permanent marker (though a wooden board or field stone might be used to indicate the location of a burial). By the 1820s the first markers begin to appear at the Yonge Street Progressive ground, but it was not until the 1830s that markers are found in all four burial grounds in the study. The markers are of Types 1 and 2. The pioneer period can be viewed as one of emphasis on the Friends community as the focus of life. The close kinship ties in the Meetings was the web

Yonge Street Monthly Meeting Burial Ground, June 2011

that supported the strong emphasis on the community. In a real sense the Friends community experienced in a corporate sense the death of a member, with the realization that death was the fate of all being shared by the community in worship.

Beginning in the 1850s and continuing through the 1880s there is the Victorian period, with its emphasis on family bonds. The increase in use of filial designations, the presence of shared stones, and burials in family groups, though not in family plots, indicate this shift to the family unit. This change is found at all four burial grounds. Marble markers of Types 1 and 2 are still common, but there are also Types 3 and 4 markers, especially used for young adults and children. The epitaphs become lengthy and sentimental in some instances.

The Victorian period is a time when death changes from a community experience to the family.

The Late Victorian/Edwardian period extends from the 1880s through the 1920s. The reduced number of burials in the four grounds may be an indication of the speed by which the sense of individuality developed in Quaker groups, as many (if not most) Friends were buried elsewhere, presumably in public cemeteries. Markers of Type 5 became most prominent; the modern form of date and shared stones were popular.

This period is one of emphasis on the individual and his/her status in the family with the weakened community bonds that result from such a focus.

In the twentieth century the use of granite material in pre-cut standardized forms for

markers has created a conservatism and uniformity in the burial grounds.

The modern period extends from the 1920s to the present day. The number of Friends continued to dwindle, so that interments were far less frequent. The Pickering Conservative and Hicksite burial grounds were used for non-Quaker burials. The Yonge Street Hicksite ground was 'closed' and the markers gathered and deposited along the western edge of the land. Only the Yonge Street Progressive burial ground remains as a Quaker burial ground, but now no longer under the control of the local Friends but as part of the Yearly Meeting's trust. During this period all markers are of Type 5 granite, with the granite block and raised top marker becoming the prominent form. Characteristic of the modern period inscription are the exclusive use of the modern form of date, very short (if any) epitaphs, and the only filial relationships being that of 'wife of' or 'husband of', as the children are unlikely to be living in the same area and will most likely be buried elsewhere. As a result of this increased mobility and the loss of the sense of Quaker community, burial has become an individual experience outside a family or community context. In this sense, death brings anonymity. Gone are epitaphs that remind the visitor of the fate of death.

The growing practice of cremation may bring an end to the traditional Quaker burial ground, unless some new way to remember deceased Friends in developed.

The individual burial ground reflects different states in this linear development of the Quaker site. For example, the Hicksite burial grounds at Yonge Street and Pickering have a shorter pioneer period as they were established two decades after the Yonge Street Progressive and Pickering Conservative sites. The Pickering Conservative grounds show most clearly the late Victorian and modern periods, partly influenced by the greater acculturalization of Friends in the area.

The evolution of the Quaker burial ground shows that within the four periods there is an ascendency of the family bond over that of the community bond, followed by the ascendency of the individual over the family bond, leaving a sense of discontinuity and anonymity to the observer. As the Society of Friends continues in a slow numerical decline, it may be the social historian, historian of religion or the genealogist who will be called upon to keep alive the memory of those buried in Quaker grounds, a remembrance hoped for as epitaphs on two markers, "Gone But Not Forgotten."

Footnotes:

1. This paper was originally written 1983. It is presented here using the same citation style and format in which it was written.

2. Britnell (1976: 45-47) documents instances where members of the Yonge Street area meetings were 'disowned' for marrying out or related causes. Of the 122 cases gleaned from the minutes of the Yonge Street Monthly Meeting, seven persons were disowned but later buried at the Yonge Street Orthodox (our Progressive) burial ground; six were disowned and buried at the Yonge Street Hicksite burial ground, and two were buried at the Pickering Conservative burial ground. As the location of the membership records for the crucial period of the 1840s onward are not known, it is difficult to indicate if these persons were later re-admitted into membership, which is the case with many other individuals reported in the article. If Friends did permit 'disowned' and therefore non-Friends to be buried in their grounds, the practice was limited and probably did not affect the actual practices of Friends.

3. There are two family plots in the Pickering Hicksite burial ground but these were established in more recent times and are associated with replacement (or new) markers of granite and plot markers.

4. Table 3 is missing from the hard copy of the paper from which this article was transcribed; references to the table have been retained.

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