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INTRODUCTION

Fruits, vegetables and flowers were once political weapons. This occurred in the mid-nineteenth-century America. In the "Log Cabin and Hard Cider" campaign of 1840, President Martin Van Buren was attacked by his Whig opponents as aristocratic because he "was alleged to luxuriate in strawberries, raspberries, celery, and cauliflower."[1] Flowers and fruits were "political" in their names as well. In a speech delivered before horticulturists in 1833, Alexander H. Everett, the brother of one of the greatest orators of the period, Edward Everett, stated humorously that "*Lewis the Fourteenth*, was, by far, the most brilliant flower in the collection . . .while *Bonaparte* and Washington mingled rather obscurely with the common herd. . . ." He added, "Washington has been rather more fortunate in fruits than in flowers." In the same speech, Everett referred to the tulip market as well as to "the progress of taste" and "liberal political institutions."[2] Everett's speech was delivered at the fifth annual festival of the Massachusetts Horticultural Society. Zebedee Cook, Jr., a successful businessman in insurance in Boston, speaking at the second annual festival of the Massachusetts Horticultural Society in 1830, mentioned the "indigenous and exotic plants and fruits, that require the aid of artificial culture" as well as the "moral nature of man" and the "improvement of social life."[3] In other speakers' speeches of the time as well, there was a strange mixture of practical horticulture and issues of morality, national character and the future of the Republic. This reflects the unique missions of horticulture during this period.

Tamara Plakins Thornton offered a solid analysis of the horticultural and agricultural enthusiasm among the Boston elite in antebellum America in her book, *Cultivating Gentlemen: The Meaning of Country Life among the Boston Elite, 1785-1860*. She pointed out the "bizarre aspect of Boston's horticultural enthusiasm," saying "they

(Boston elite) felt that they had something in common with their fruits, flowers, and vegetables."[4] She explained this "bizarre aspect" from the viewpoint of class consciousness was their desire to create "a noble specimen of the fruit of New England culture."

This paper takes a different and new approach. I examine in this paper horticulture through its relationship with a new type of graveyard called "rural" or "garden" cemeteries[5] which prospered along with horticulture in the mid-nineteenth century. The same rhetoric used for horticulture can be observed in contemporary documents related to garden cemeteries. Cemeteries were not merely burial places for the dead, but places to improve people' taste and even the national character. To find out why such rhetoric was used, I examine the primary documents including those related to the Massachusetts Horticultural Society, one of the oldest such societies, and articles in the *New England Farmer*, one of America's oldest magazines on horticulture, as well as materials from garden cemeteries. I pay special attention to the parts of such documents that have been ignored by horticulture and cemetery historians. Through this study, I show that horticulture was given a grander mission than mere class formation: the mission reflected the needs of a new nation, and garden cemeteries provided the ideal place for its realization. To discuss this, I first outline the status of horticulture in early America and how the first garden cemetery was created. I examine the garden cemetery from a horticultural perspective as well. Historians of the garden cemetery have always shown an interest in horticulture, but none have attempted to explain its picturesque, geographical varieties from a botanical viewpoint. This paper discusses this aspect. I also discuss why community leaders devoted themselves to horticulture, and explain the unique mission of horticulture, which was pregnant with visions of the new republic . Lastly, I attempt to explain the driving force behind the rapid spread beyond sectional boundaries of garden cemeteries, in which horticulturists were deeply involved.

HORTICULTURE IN EARLY AMERICA

The term horticulture is composed of the Latin, *hortus* (garden) and culture, meaning the "cultivation of a garden." According to the Oxford English Dictionary, the word first appeared in English in 1678. In the late seventeenth century, English "plant hunters"

went off around the world, seeking new plants. Nurserymen at home began to cultivate the finest plants for trade. Reflecting this trend, a new word, horticulture, joined an existing word, "gardening," in English vocabulary. Gardening at that time dealt with not only flowers and plants for pleasure and embellishment but also the skills and science of growing and selling fruits and vegetables. In fact, a garden then was more often used for vegetables than for flowers. In Thomas Green Fessenden's *New American Gardener*, published in 1828, the word garden mostly meant a vegetable garden. Therefore, we have to first understand that horticulture had a double meaning, the practical one of growing vegetables and fruits and the aesthetic one of growing and appreciating beautiful flowers and other decorative plants. Alexander H. Everett pointed out these two purposes of horticulture in his 1833 speech: one was to "improve the qualities of vegetables, flowers, and fruits," and the other, "higher" purpose was the design of the grounds and gardens, "whether intended for the recreation of individuals, the ornament of cities and palaces, or the repositories of the dead."[6]

In America in the early nineteenth century, horticulture was still a form of agriculture. The scientific organization that first discussed American agriculture and horticulture was the American Philosophical Society, founded by Benjamin Franklin in 1769 to "promote useful knowledge."[7] Franklin, the first president of the society, had a keen interest in agriculture and horticulture and worked hard to enlighten and educate farmers through *Poor Richard's Almanac*.

Between the Revolution and the 1820s, the study of agriculture was separated from philosophy, which included general science; then horticulture was separated from agriculture. Agricultural societies were established in the 1780s and 90s in Pennsylvania, South Carolina, and Massachusetts to improve agricultural productivity. Agricultural societies were among the first voluntary associations organized after independence.[8] In 1792 the Massachusetts Society for Promoting Agriculture was established by John Lowell, a lawyer from Newburyport and the father of Francis Cabot Lowell, an industrial pioneer. Members of agricultural societies were mostly members of the wealthy social elite.[9]

Horticulture did not gain popularity as a field distinct from agriculture until the late 1820s, a half century after independence. The first horticultural society was established in New York City in 1818, but it declined and was dissolved fifteen years later. The

Pennsylvania Horticultural Society was established in Philadelphia in 1827, followed by the Massachusetts Horticultural Society in Boston in 1829. In Europe, England was the most advanced in horticulture; the Horticultural Society of London was established in 1804. Paris followed London and set up the Horticultural Society of Paris in 1826. Henry A.S. Dearborn, the first president of the Massachusetts Horticultural Society, discussed the status of horticulture in America in an article in the *New England Farmer* dated June 22, 1831:

> When it is perceived what laudable efforts have been made in Europe, and how honorable the results, it is impossible that the citizens of the United States should long linger in the rear of the general march of improvement. They will hasten to present establishments, and to evince a zeal for the encouragement of rural economy, commensurate with the extent and natural resources of the country, and the variety of its soil and climate.[10]

Bostonians wanted the Unites States had keep up with other nations in horticulture. To this end, horticulturists needed an experimental garden and they needed funding. They thought they had the ideal solution in uniting the experimental garden with the cemetery.

THE FIRST GARDEN CEMETERY

In 1825 Jacob Bigelow, a physician and botanist, invited ten influential friends to his house in Boston and proposed creating a cemetery "composed of family burial lots, separated and interspersed with trees, shrubs, and flowers, in a wood or landscape garden." He felt this would substitute the overcrowded graveyards of Boston.

Bigelow and those who agreed with his proposal, however, had difficulties in finding a suitable site, and four years passed without any progress. In 1829, the Massachusetts Horticultural Society was established, and Bigelow became a member. Henry A.S. Dearborn, the first president of the Society, was an active horticulturist and one of the guests invited to Bigelow's house in 1825. (Unfortunately, he could not attend.) Since the idea of such a cemetery was quite new and there were " prejudices and apprehensions of the community. . .to remove the dead. . .to the solitude of a distant wood," Bigelow

decided to enlist the cooperation of "a young, active, and popular" Massachusetts Horticultural Society.[11]

In 1831, Mount Auburn Cemetery was established in a suburb of Boston, the first garden cemetery in the U.S., in cooperation with the Massachusetts Horticultural Society. For the benefit of the Society, it was decided to accommodate an experimental garden for flowers and fruits in the cemetery.[12] Dearborn said that the purpose of the experimental garden was "the collection and cultivation of common, improved, and new varieties of the different kinds of Fruits, Esculent Vegetables, Forest and Ornamental Trees and Shrubs, Flowering, Economical and other interesting Plants." He intended to conduct comparative experiments on methods of culture and find optimum ways to gain maximum harvests "by seeds, scions, buds, suckers, layers, and cuttings."[13] The flat land located north of Mount Auburn, called Indian Ridge, was chosen for the experimental garden.

Mount Auburn was an innovation because it was a large nondenominational burial ground established in a suburb and designed in a picturesque landscape style. Mount Auburn was extremely successful and attracted many visitors as well as people buying burial lots. Other cities facing the same problems of overcrowded in-city burial grounds, soon followed Mount Auburn, and in a short time garden cemeteries spread to almost all cities in the eastern U.S.

The great popularity of Mount Auburn can be attributed to its picturesque landscape. Andrew Jackson Downing, often called America's first landscape gardener with an international reputation, praised Mount Auburn as "richly picturesque." He attributed the secret of Mount Auburn's attraction to "the natural beauty of the sites, and in the tasteful and harmonious embellishment of these sites by art."[14] "The chief merit in natural landscape," Downing wrote, is "variety (which) must be sought by the choice of ground, with alternation of hill and dale, flowing streams and lakes, covered with aquatic plants."[15]

The founders of Mount Auburn selected their site carefully. It stood "near a fine sweep in Charles River," presenting "every *variety* of surface, rising in one part into a beautiful elevation, level in others, with intermediate depressions, a considerable part of the whole covered with the natural growth of wood (author's emphasis)."[16] Such "rural beauty" and "romantic seclusion" attracted the thoughtful leaders of Boston society such

as Alexander and Edward Everett and other founders of Mount Auburn who cultivated rural tastes through the literature of Wordsworth, Scott, Byron, Pope, Addison, and the Scottish rationalists.[17]

Rivers, hills, dales, ponds and other geographical features created a perfect setting where visitors from the busy city could enter a quiet, sacred world.[18] Such geographical variety, however, had a quite different meaning when examined from the horticultural viewpoint. Dearborn stated in his report that the cemetery and experimental garden "should present all possible varieties of soil, common in the vicinity of Boston," including "hills, valleys, plains, brooks, and low meadows." With this geographical variety, the cemetery and experimental garden could "afford proper localities for every kind of tree and plant, that will flourish in this climate."[19] The geographical variety of Mount Auburn, featuring ponds and hills, was needed not only for its picturesque setting but also to provide locations for experimental gardening. Therefore, it is quite important to understand that the cemetery's picturesque landscape had a two-layered text. Waters, a feature element of a picturesque landscape, with a symbolic, sacred meaning, were also an important environment which would "furnish appropriate positions for aquatic plants." Just as abundant natural resources in great variety promised industrial progress, a variety of soils and climate were thought suitable for producing maximum results through scientific experiments.

The experimental garden was, however, abandoned after a few years. The joint enterprise failed in 1835 because of an internal conflict between the horticulturists, who wanted the experimental garden, and the burial lot holders, who worried about security because of the free public access to the experimental garden.[20] This happy marriage did not continue as an institution, but it gave birth to a unique garden cemetery that itself was an experimental garden.

THE CEMETERY AS A BOTANICAL GARDEN

U.P. Hedrick mentioned in his book, *A History of Horticulture in America to 1860,* that the garden cemetery became a "notable botanic garden."[21] Andrew Jackson Downing praised Laurel Hill Cemetery as the best "arboretum" in the country, especially rich in

rare trees.[22] Laurel Hill Cemetery was established in 1836 in Philadelphia by John Jay Smith Jr., a Quaker businessman in Philadelphia. Smith had a strong interest in science, art and horticulture. For Smith, Laurel Hill was the ideal combination of his interest in horticulture and business.[23]

When Downing urged Americans to establish parks in their cities after observing the great success of garden cemeteries, he proposed that such grounds "contain a collection of all the hardy trees and shrubs that grow in this climate, each distinctly labeled,--so that the most ignorant visitor could not fail to learn something of trees." He also proposed "the botanical arrangement of plants."[24]

This passion for rare plants and the classification of plant species was, of course, shared by other western countries, especially after the Linnaean System became prevalent in the mid-eighteenth century. An Englishman, John Claudius Loudon, one of the greatest landscape designers of the time, laid out the arboretum at Derby in 1839 based on Jussieu's classification of plant species. He used shrubs and trees collected from all the major English nurseries.[25] Abney Park, a private enterprise cemetery established in 1840 in London, boasted of its excellent planting. James Stevens Curl pointed out that Abney Park was, "in every sense an arboretum, and each tree was labelled for the 'edification of the working classes.'"[26]

While Philadelphia, with its Quaker tradition, encouraged the study of natural history, including botany, which was accessible to anyone who was curious, Boston with its Puritan tradition pursued an elitist natural-philosophy approach that required mathematics education.[27] Philadelphia produced world-famous botanists, such as John Bartram, and established a strong foothold as a center of botany. Philadelphia, in fact, motivated Bigelow to be a botanist. When he went to Philadelphia in 1809 to further his medical education at the University of Pennsylvania after graduating from Harvard Medical School, he was influenced by a famous botanist, Benjamin Smith Barton, and became a botanist as well as a physician.[28] Philadelphia was the most advanced city in scientific study at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Harvard College had "little to do with any of the sciences, " but in 1804 a professorship of natural history was established, and in 1807 Botanical Garden was laid out at Harvard College with the support of the Massachusetts Society for Promoting Agriculture.[29] However, the academic value of

agriculture was never accepted by Harvard faculty members or the administration.[30]

Garden cemeteries in general, whether established by horticulturists or not, reflected more or less the botanical and horticultural interests of the time, as many horticulturists were involved in the establishment of garden cemeteries. Jesse Buel, an enthusiastic agricultural reformer and the publisher of the weekly journal *The Cultivator*, prepared the public for the establishment of the Albany Rural Cemetery established in New York in 1844.[31] Joseph Sebastian Cabot, who founded the Harmony Grove Cemetery in Salem, Massachusetts in 1840, was a lawyer and horticulturist. Other horticulturists with a commitment to garden cemeteries included Louis Allen of Buffalo, Robert Buchanan of Cincinnati, Elias W. Leavenworth of Syracuse, and Thomas Vaiul of Troy, New York, as well as the above-mentioned John Jay Smith of Philadelphia.[32] This is not surprising because many community leaders promoted a range of social reforms and shared a passion for horticulture in antebellum America.

HORTICULTURE, A KEY TO CULTURAL INDEPENDENCE

What motivated intellectuals to devote themselves in horticulture? I mentioned earlier that in Dearborn's proposal for the experimental garden, he emphasized including "all possible varieties of soil, common in the vicinity of Boston (to) afford proper localities for every kind of tree and plant." Locality is the key to understanding Dearborn's idea of the experimental garden. In addition to collecting and exchanging rare foreign plants, growing local trees and plants was thought to be an essential activity of horticultural societies. Garden cemeteries were an ideal place for this purpose. Ralph Waldo Emerson declared in a speech delivered at the consecration ceremony of Sleepy Hollow Cemetery in Concord in 1855 that the cemetery should be an arboretum:

> ...[an Arboretum] wherein may be planted, by the taste of every citizen, one tree, with its name recorded in a book; every tree that is native to Massachusetts, or will grow in it; so that every child may be shown growing, side by side, the eleven oaks of Massachusetts; and the twenty willows; the beech, which we have allowed to die out of the eastern countries; and here the vast firs of California and Oregon.[33]

Emerson's emphasis on local plants was not simply local. The emphasis on locality ultimately meant U.S."horticultural" independence from Europe. Zebedee Cook, Jr. in his 1830 speech anticipated the idea of Emerson in the *American Scholar*:

> We have been too long accustomed to rely upon foreign nurseries for fruit trees and other plants. I am aware that to a certain extent this is unavoidable. But we should depend more upon our own resources, and learn to appreciate them.[34]

This is a declaration of independence of American horticulture. Dearborn offered a similar idea in his speech at the first annual festival of the Massachusetts Horticultural Society.

> Having been so long dependent upon our transatlantic collaborators, it now becomes a duty, to attempt a reciprocation of the numerous benefits we have received; and by emulating their zeal, intelligence, and experimental industry, we must develop the resources of our own country,...The indigenous forest-trees, ornamental shrubs, flowers, fruits, and edible vegetables of North America are remarkable for their variety, size, splendor, and value. Extending from the Polar regions to those of the tropics, this mighty section of the continent, embraces *every clime and every variety of soil*, teeming with innumerable specimens of the vegetable kingdom, in all the luxuriance of their primeval and unexplored domains (author's emphasis). [35]

Dearborn well understood that the versatility unique to the American continent had unlimited potential, and that there was a need to study and experiment with local plants, still an "unexplored domain." Dearborn listed eighteen botanists who had contributed to the study of North American plants, and included Jacob Bigelow as well as John Bartram and Benjamin Smith Barton. In 1814, Bigelow published *Florula Bostoniensis: A Collection of Plants of Boston and its Environs, with their Generic and Specific Characters, Synonyms, Descriptions, Places of Growth, and Time of Flowering, and Occasional Remarks.* At the time, botanical works were rarely available in book shops, and even when available, they were usually written in Latin and used a complicated

nomenclature, and thus were not meant for amateurs or students. [36] Bigelow's book dealt with local plants, something lacking or inadequately covered in existing botanical books. He also simplified the technical terms. Bigelow's book, like the garden cemetery he proposed, was innovative. The book as well as his lectures on botany created, especially in the young, great enthusiasm for botanical studies. His biographer, George E. Ellis, pointed out that due to Bigelow's botanical book, the subject "was for the time 'the rage' in the town, and the pursuit of it greatly advanced here refinement of taste, and promoted healthful physical exercise in pleasant excursions for study."[37] It is worth noting that the "entertaining" element of botany appealed to people of the period when middle-class urban dwellers were becoming interested in outdoor activities such as walking as healthy exercises, and this became one of the attractions of garden cemeteries.

Cook and Dearborn, as well as Bigelow, emphasized local values, decrying the fact that "everything that bore the impress of foreign original was sought after, admired and eulogized without much regard to its intrinsic merits." The tendency to "underrate almost everything of domestic origin," however, was fast disappearing "before the beaming and unquenchable light of intelligence and patriotism."[38]

HORTICULTURE, A BAROMETER OF THE NATIONAL CULTURE

Dearborn said in his 1829 speech that horticulture was pursued after the immediate demands for food, shelter and clothing had been satisfied and that it was the most distinguished of the fine arts. When a people progressed from barbarism to civilization, Dearborn said, agriculture first sprang up to provide food and clothing, followed by commerce and manufacturing. The wealth multiplied through this process created "a more refined taste."[39]

Flourishing horticulture indicated that the U.S. had come to a stage of civilization in which refined taste was sought after. As one guidebook said in pointing out the benefits of visiting garden cemeteries, Americans were "a hard, practical people, intensely absorbed in business. . .impelled in every way to undervalue and lose sight of what may be called the graces of civilization."[40] According to Zebedee Cook, the vitality of horticulture in the U.S. was proof of "the refined taste and liberality of its citizens. . . ."[41]

This was very important for Americans who knew they were regarded as culturally backward by Europeans. An English writer, Harriet Martineau, was very much impressed with the beauty of Mount Auburn and said that it was very much like America and its Puritan tradition for the first object of Americans' enthusiasm for refined taste to be the cemetery. She praised Mount Auburn for being no less attractive than European equivalents.[42] Beautiful landscapes were a barometer of culture.

Why, then, were beautiful landscapes important? Were flowers and ornamental trees not luxuries with little utility? Speeches and documents of horticultural societies often suggested that horticulture cultivated the mind as well as the soil. The motto of *The Cultivator*, the journal first published in 1834 in Albany, was, "To improve the soil and the mind."[43] Dearborn said in his report that experimental gardens and garden cemeteries would "elevate the character of the Commonwealth, and that of its citizens," and that they would "increase the enjoyment of all classes of citizens, advance the prosperity, and improve the general aspect of the whole country." [44]

For Lydia Huntley Sigourney, a popular poet of sentimental, melancholy subjects, the relationship between plants and people was even mysterious. She wrote about horticulture in the October 1840 issue of *Godey's Lady's Book*:

> 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. It takes the form of an offering of an affection. . . . 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 friendships of the quiet plants.[45]

Horticulture was expected to nurture among Americans, who were busy with money-making, a refined taste through "the sweet friendship of the quiet plants." It would ultimately help improve the national character. Garden cemeteries were also expected to serve as a "delightful indication of a purer growth in our national character than politics and money-getting."[46]

TURNING RUDE FIELDS INTO GARDENS

In addition to its cultural roles, horticulture also offered a clue to solving the domestic problems that America faced during the 1830s ad 40s. After the end of the War of 1812, Americans experienced important structural changes, including the industrial revolution, the transportation revolution, and rapid urbanization. For the first time in the 4,500 years of urban history, cities experienced an important structural changes: a decrease of population at the center, an increase in distance between residence and the work place as population in the suburbs increased. These changes were facilitated by the transportation revolution, which began in 1815 with the introduction of the steam ferry, the omnibus, the horsecar, and the railroad. These changes all worked to turn the cities, in Kenneth T. Jackson's words, "inside out." [47] With these changes, the methods of agriculture also greatly changed.

Shortly after the American Revolution, most of the population was engaged in agriculture. Farm crops, however, were generally consumed within the community. As Hedrick points out in his *A History of Horticulture in America to 1860*, before canals and railroads were built, there was no means of transporting farm crops originating more than a mile or so from rivers or the sea.[48] Therefore, although there were some farms growing vegetables and fruits for the Boston, New York and Philadelphia markets, other cities had no such farms. In addition, there were often local prejudices that prevented the smooth flow of products through communities and states. Hedrick discusses a case in New York in 1787. New York had a population of 30,000 that year and was supplied with daily products such as firewood, cheese, chicken, fruit and vegetables from neighboring states. However, since this interstate trade was considered ruinous to domestic industry, a high protective tariff was eventually imposed.[49]

Ideas of self-sufficiency in agriculture were greatly influenced by the changes in industry and transportation. The earliest sign of change was observed around 1800, when the price of land on the periphery of large cities began to rise, causing the subdivision of land into smaller lots. Farmers were encouraged to use the land intensely and grow vegetables and fruits for the market .[50]

America also faced one more inevitable reality of land subdivision. Dearborn commented on this in a speech:

> There being no law of primogeniture in the American Republics, estates are continually subdivided, until each portion is so reduced, as not to exceed the means of general occupancy: whatever sums, therefore, are lavished on a country residence, beyond the conveniences and comforts usually required by the great mass of the freeholders, are lost to the heirs, and often prove ruinous to the aspiring projector.[51]

This was a general crisis affecting much of New England, and according to Robert F. Dazell, these difficulties had already been observed in the second half of the eighteenth century.[52] Sons had to pursue different occupations or stay on smaller and smaller pieces of land and try to produce maximum profits through intensive farming. Farmers were encouraged to produce more versatile, higher quality vegetables, fruits and flowers. Dearborn called such a change an effort to turn "the rude fields (into) gardens."[53] Converting fields into gardens meant intensive farming.

In addition to these problems, New England farmers faced a more serious crisis. The opening of the Erie Canal in 1825 greatly shortened the distance between the East and West. The Erie Canal was a 560-kilometer canal connecting Buffalo on Lake Erie and Albany on the Hudson. It was constructed between 1817 and 1825. The completion of the canal allowed a large influx of less expensive farm crops into the cities on the east coast. Agriculture in New England was hurt, and farmers in New England had to change their main crops. They were no longer able to compete with the West in grains. Agricultural reformers insisted that in order to survive, New England farmers had to turn to "truck gardens," meaning raising vegetables for market.

Agriculture had to be reformed and improved so that eastern farmers could compete with the West and prosper. The "march of civilization" was advancing rapidly, and New England farmers could not be left out. Isaac Goodwin expressed this triumphant spirit in a speech before the Worcester Agricultural Society held in 1824:

> Yes, the spirit of improvement has gone forth, through our valleys and over our

> plains: its march upon our hilltops is that of a giant in his strength: its course is not to be obstructed by jealousy, by ignorance, or by parsimony: it crushes beneath its feet alike the useless tradition of our predecessors, and the ridiculous theories of fanciful innovators: its progress is directed by science, by reason, and by experience. . . . Fields of the highest culture, orchards of bending fruit, and barns of loaded treasures salute the eye. In our streets, the ear is greeted with the sound of the hammer, the spindle, and the loom. . . .[54]

"Science," "reason," and "experience," were the keys to progress, but to achieve progress, farmers needed "mental cultivation" as well.[55] If literary institutions disappeared, the neat School-Houses, Temples of Religion, and the decent Grave-Yards of their ancestors would also disappear, Goodwin said. Then people might hear not the sound of civilization embracing hopes, but the "noise of the Mechanic (and) the busy stir of commerce." The balance between agriculture and commerce might be destroyed, with laboring farmers and mechanics being looked down on. People might find "a bloated population" and "fields of rank luxuriance." It would be, Goodwin said, "a barren splendour."[56]

Horticulture was expected to convert "fields of rank luxuriance" into well-maintained orchards and gardens. Agriculture in New England would have to be modernized and a happy, balanced prosperity, not the materialistic progress of "a barren splendour," would be the outcome.

HORTICULTURE, AN IDEAL PURSUIT FOR PURITAN NEW ENGLAND

For New Englanders with their Puritan tradition, horticulture also offered a sense of accomplishment. Zebedee Cook said in his speech that the pursuits of horticulture "impart vigor to the body, and expansion and elevation to the mind."[57] Later in his speech he said, "Cleanliness is indispensable to the health, and beauty, and usefulness of fruit trees."[58] Cook seems to anthropomorphize the woody objects of his admiration. Pruning fruit trees should be done not only for practical necessity but also for creating "a tasteful and ornamental " form. Cook compared pruning plants to training children, and said:

> Trees, like children, should be taught correct habits while they are susceptible of good impressions, and as we are directed to train up the latter in the way they should go, that in maturer life they shall not depart from the precepts that are instilled into their minds in youth, so is it desirable in relation to the former, that we should cultivate the young plant with reference to the future tree, and prune and train it as we would have it to *grow*. [59]

Cook called diseases and insects "evil," and said that men should fight against them "patiently [and] zealously." He thought that insects damaged the beauty and health of fruit trees as well as their productivity. Enemies, incursions, and assailants cluttered his description of the fight against evil, which sounded like a war between Man and Satan. If people failed to exterminate harmful insects, they had "disregarded the duties they owe to their neighbors," and that crime deserved "the most severe and unrestrained rebuke."[60] If Dearborn's comment on horticulture as something to "increase the enjoyment of all classes of citizens," is examined again in this context, the enjoyment of horticulture seems not mere entertainment but an ideal vessel into which Puritan persistence, industry and zeal could be poured. The same viewpoint can be found in the following advice by Cornelia Walter, writing in the *Mount Auburn Illustrated*:

> The flowers planted on or around the spot of interment, whilst as far as possible maintaining their natural appearance, should never be permitted to run together and crowd like weeds, but should be so carefully trained, separated, and arranged, as to impress the passer-by with a sure feeling that those interred beneath, have a perpetual memory in the hearts of the survivors; that they are duly cared for as perennial memorials of the love of friends, or, what is more comforting still, as symbols and types of the resurrection! [61]

Her choice of words such as "perennial memory" is redolent of her gardening preoccupation. Beauty was the visible proof of perseverance and industry. If proper and diligent care was provided, a beautiful fruit would be produced. The term "barren," which is often used to describe an unattractive landscape, means bearing no fruit.

GARDEN CEMETERIES, A REMEDY FOR THE DEGRADATION OF MORALITY IN BOOMING CITIES

After the opening of the Erie Canal in 1825, in addition to New Englanders moving West looking for better land, immigrants from Ireland and England flowed into New York, creating booming cities alongside the Hudson River and the Erie Canal. Albany was the second oldest city in the original thirteen colonies, and after the opening of the Erie Canal, the city prospered as a center of commerce. New cities also rapidly grew in the 1830s and 40s; Utica became a city in 1832, Syracuse became a village in 1825 and a city in 1847, Rochester, a center of horticulture, became a city in 1834, and Buffalo became a city in 1832.

Rochester had a population of less than a thousand before 1825, but with the opening of the Erie Canal, its population soared to 15,000 by 1835, and to 20,000 in the 1840s, after the 1839 opening of the railroad. Improvements in the transportation system made it possible to transport farm crops from as far West as Ohio, which had plentiful fertile land. Consequently, Rochester switched its agricultural focus from flour to flowers.[62] Along with Baltimore and Buffalo, it prospered as a center of horticulture and flour mills.

Rochester produced one of the pioneer journals of horticulture, the *Genesee Farmer.* Luther Tucker, a competent journalist and horticulturist, founded the publication in 1831. The year Mount Auburn Cemetery opened, the magazine carried a complimentary article saying that if the citizens of Boston continued with the projected rural cemetery, "they will give us another example of their steady perseverance in the march of improvement." [63]

Fanny Kemble, an English actress and writer, visited Rochester in the 1830s. She wrote about the shock she felt when she saw Genesee Falls turning the wheels of "a thousand dingy looking mills and manufactories." She praised the mills and steam engines, but she did not overlook the fact that the growing industry was destroying the beauty of nature.[64] Nature was not the only thing industry had been destroying. As Rochester grew rapidly, the number of dockworkers and bars increased, which was taken as a threat to the city's morality. David Charles Sloane pointed out the vigorous religious and local activities that had been developed to improve the barren environment.[65] The first garden cemetery in New York State, Mount Hope Cemetery, was established in 1838 in Rochester, which underwent the greatest change of all the booming cities. The garden

cemetery seems to have functioned as a bulwark against the degradation of morality in the booming cities.

In New York the garden cemetery movement, which began in Rochester in 1838, spread to Albany in 1841 and Syracuse in 1859. According to Sloane, in addition to these big cities, the impact of garden cemeteries also extended to smaller cities, including Cortland (48 km south of Syracuse), Cooperstown (50 km southeast of Utica), and Cambridge (42 km northeast of Troy).[66] These cities followed the model of the garden cemetery that was already well established. For example, the members of the Cambridge Rural Cemetery Association visited Tory, Albany, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Cincinnati and Boston to see their garden cemeteries.[67]

In 1852, Niagara Falls, a village with a population of only 1,500, established Oakwood Cemetery. Rural cemeteries had spread even to such small villages, indicating that urban overcrowding was no longer the force behind the establishment of rural cemeteries.

Cincinnati was a booming city west of New York. As with Mount Auburn, the local horticultural society was closely involved with the establishment of the garden cemetery. Cincinnati had grown into the sixth largest city in the U.S. in half the century since its first settlement in 1788. The population in 1840 was 46,000, which increased to 70,000 in 1845, and 115,000 in 1850. Like wealthy Bostonians, the wealthy people of Cincinnati began to flee the city and build their mansions on the surrounding hills, which provided fresh air and panoramic views.

The gentlemen who accumulated money in the fast-growing economy became interested in horticulture, and the Cincinnati Horticultural Society was established in 1843. This society was modeled on the Massachusetts Horticultural Society. The members arranged their natural surroundings on the model of English landscape gardening. They also actively worked to improve the city environment, and improvement of burial places was a part of these efforts. In those days, Cincinnati had 23 small denominational graveyards, none of which permitted the indulgence of beautiful memories. After studying the garden cemeteries of the East, the Cincinnati Horticultural Society wanted to replace these unattractive sites and create a garden cemetery worthy of Cincinnati. The charter of the Cincinnati Horticultural Society gave it the power to purchase up to 300 acres of land to be used as a public burying-ground. Cincinnati, as a

later entrant, could learn from Mount Auburn. In order to avoid the problems of combining the experimental garden with the cemetery, the Cincinnati Horticultural Society took a different approach and appealed to the citizens to organize a voluntary association to establish a garden cemetery with a separate charter from the Society. When they began to design the garden cemetery, they wrote to the garden cemetery organizations in the East for information. Officers of the Society visited Laurel Hill Cemetery in Philadelphia and Green-Wood Cemetery in New York as well as Mount Auburn. [68]

What motivated them to establish garden cemeteries? Stephen Duncan Walker, who proposed the establishment of a rural cemetery in Baltimore, stated his motive as follows:

> It is said that Baltimore is the Boeotia of the United States, and that any enterprise connected with literature or classic embellishment, might at once be abandoned, as an undertaking useless and desperate.
>
> Under the development of our pecuniary resources, we believe a new and more auspicious era to be opening, and we trust to see an impetus given to all our institutions for popular culture and improvement. . . .[69]

The same mechanism by which the cities of the East promoted rural cemeteries as proof of a refined taste that would ensure escape from the disgrace of lacking the art and letters of Europe also worked again among the smaller cities of the U.S. The rapidly growing cities of the West and South promoted rural cemeteries as an indicator of their cultural status as measured against the established cities in the East. This seems to explain the rapid spread of rural cemeteries beyond regional barriers. In speeches boasting of local rural cemeteries, speakers always referred to Mount Auburn, praising its beauty, but never forgetting to add that theirs exceeded Mount Auburn in terms of beauty and size.

CONCLUSION

Promoters of horticulture and garden cemeteries were also promoters of the "improvement" of the new republic which had undergone unprecedented socioeconomic changes. Improvement, however, did not always mean change for the better. D.D.

Barnard said in his address at the consecration ceremony of the Albany Rural Cemetery in 1844, "In our country, particularly, the march of improvement has been rapid -- in cities, as everywhere else -- and changes are sudden and striking, and sometimes ruthless."[70] They were aware of both the bright and dark sides of improvement. They expected that horticulture, which was not only a promising industry but also had an aesthetic and non-productive aspect, could resolve the paradox inherent in improvement and realize progress that was not "a barren splendour." They believed, as the pioneer Boston industrialist Nathan Appleton said at the Massachusetts Horticultural Society's dinner in 1831, cultivation was "the only process of obtaining Fruit, whether applied to Mind or Matter."[71]

Such mission of horticulture were given a visible form through garden cemeteries. Promoters of garden cemeteries expected that the beautifully arranged, quiet cemeteries would correct the ills of civilization. While the march of improvement that cleared forests and promoted civilization represented the deathless virtues of the Father Country, the garden cemetery was Mother Earth, which accepted death quietly and used it to reproduce life.

Life and death, mind and matter were not separate things, but were rather combined in the minds of horticulturists and garden cemetery promoters. Garden cemeteries, therefore, offered not only botanical knowledge, but also the opportunity for a mysterious communion with the departed through plants. A guidebook of Laurel Hill Cemetery in Philadelphia stated:

> . . .with melancholy pleasure, the visitors to these and kindred spots trimming the shrubbery and flowers that sprout up from the graves of their kindred, and, as they handled the yielding branches, we also imagined that the dead stretched forth their leafy arms from the earth, to embrace once more those whom they had so fondly loved.[72]

The combination of horticulture and cemeteries created a multidimensional world of science and aesthetics that reflected the thinking and values of early nineteenth century Americans.

NOTES

1 Daniel Boorstin, *The National Experience* (New York: Vintage Books, 1965), 323.

2 Alexander H. Everett, *An Address Delivered before the Massachusetts Horticultural Society at the 5th Annual Festival, Sept. 18, 1833* (Boston: J. T. Buckingham, 1833), 6-8, 10.

3 Zebedee Cook Jr., *An Address Pronounced Before the Massachusetts Horticultural Society in Commemoration of Its Second Annual Festival, the 10th of September, 1830* (Boston: Isaac R. Butts, 1830), 5-6.

4 Tamara Plakins Thornton, *Cultivating Gentlemen: The Meaning of Country Life among the Boston Elite, 1785-1860* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1989), 170.

5 The word, "rural cemetery," was used for the new type of cemetery in the U.S. However, I used the word, "garden cemetery," in this paper as it sounds more relevant to horticulture.

6 Everett, 4

7 U. P. Hedrick, *A History of Horticulture in America to 1860* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1950), 499.

8 David Charles Sloane, *The Last Great Necessity: Cemeteries in American History* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1991), 46.

9 See Thornton's *Cultivating Gentlemen.*

10 Henry A. S. Dearborn, "General Dearborn's Report to the Massachusetts Horticultural Society on the Establishment of an Experimental Garden and Rural Cemetery" in Appendix I of *The Picturesque Pocket Companion, and Visitor's Guide, Through Mount Auburn* (Boston: Otis, Broaders, 1839); also in *New England Farmer*, 49, June 22, 1831, 385.

11 Jacob Bigelow, *A History of the Cemetery of Mount Auburn* (Boston: James Munroe, 1860), 5.

12 Bigelow denied that he suggested of combining a cemetery with an experimental garden in his *A History of the Cemetery of Mount Auburn*, 6.

13 "General Dearborn's Report," 385.

14 Andrew Jackson Downing, *Rural Essays* (New York: Leavitt & Allen, 1856), 155, 156.

15 *Ibid.*, 103.

16 Edward Everett, "The Proposed Rural Cemetery," written address prepared for the Boston papers, 1832, included in *A History of the Cemetery of Mount Auburn*, 134.

17 For details, see Blanche Linden-Ward, *Silent City on a Hill: Landscapes of Memory and Boston's Mount Auburn Cemetery* (Columbus, Ohio: Ohio State University Press, 1989), 171.

18 I have discussed how the geographical features of garden cemeteries contributed to the creation of a sacred place in my paper, "The Rural Cemetery Movement in the 19th Century America: Creating an American 'Sacred Place,'" in *The American Review*, 32(1998), 145-61.

19 "General Dearborn's Report," 385.

20 For the details of the split, see *Silent City on a Hill*, 206-11.

21 Hedrick, 256.

22 Downing, 156.

23 Colleen McDannell, *Material Christianity : Religion and Popular Culture in America* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1995), 109.

24 Downing, 158.

25 Monique Mosser and Georges Teyssot, eds., *The Architecture of Western Gardens: A Design History form the Renaissance to the Present Day* (Cambridge, Mass.: The MIT Press, 1991), 378-79.

26 J. S. Curl, "The Architecture and Planning of the Nineteenth-Century Cemetery," *Garden History* 3:3 (Summer 1975), 29.

27 E. Digby Baltzell, *Puritan Boston and Quaker Philadelphia* (New York: The Free Press, 1979), 173.

28 George E. Ellis, *Memoir of Jacob Bigelow, M.D., LL.D.* (Cambridge, Mass.: John Wilson and Son, University Press, 1880), 60.

29 Hedrick, 422.

30 Barbara Rotundo, "Mount Auburn: Fortunate Coincidences and an Ideal Solution," *Journal of Garden History* 4: 3 (July-September 1984), 255.

31 Barbara Rotundo, "Cemeteries for the Dead and Living," included in Anne F. Roberts and Judith A. VanDyk, eds., *Experiencing Albany: Perspectives on a Grand City's Past* (Albany: The Nelson A. Rockefeller Institute of Government, State University of New York, 1986), 204.

32 Sloane, 73.

33 Ralph Waldo Emerson, "Address to the Inhabitants of Concord at the Consecration of Sleepy Hollow, September 29, 1855," *The Complete Works of Ralph Waldo Emerson,* 11 (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin and Company, 1903-1904), 433.

34 Cook, 23.

35 Henry A. S. Dearborn, *An Address Delivered before the Massachusetts Horticultural Society, on the Celebration of their First Anniversary, Sept. 19, 1829*, 2nd ed. (Boston: J. T. Buckingham, 1833), 17.

36 Ellis, 39.

37 *Ibid.*

38 Cook, 25.

39 *An Address Delivered before the Massachusetts Horticultural Society, on the Celebration of their First Anniversary, Sept. 19, 1829*, 1-5.

40 *The Picturesque Pocket Companion, and Visitor's Guide through Mount Auburn* (Boston: Otis, Broaders and Company, 1839), 193.

41 Cook, 6.

42 Quoted in French Stanley, "The Cemetery as Cultural Institutions: The Establishment of Mount Auburn and the 'Rural Cemetery' Movement," *Death in America*, ed. David E. Stannard (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1975), 86-87.

43 "Cemeteries for the Dead and Living," 205.

44 "General Dearborn's Report," 385, 386.

45 Lydia Sigourney, "Horticulture," *Godey's Lady's Book*, XXI (October, 1840), 179, quoted in Martha V. Pike, and Janice Gray Armstrong, *A Time to Mourn: Expression of Grief in Nineteenth Century America*, exhibition catalogue (Stone Brook, New York: Museum at Stone Brook, 1980), 43.

46 Nathaniel Parker Willis, *Rural Letters* (New York: Scribner, 1849), 154, quoted in John F. Sears, *Sacred Places: American Tourist Attractions in the Nineteenth Century*

(New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), 113.

47 Kenneth T. Jackson, *Crabgrass Frontier: The Suburbanization of the United States* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985), 20.

48 Hedrick, 148.

49 *Ibid.*

50 *Ibid.*, 149.

51 *An Address Delivered before the Massachusetts Horticultural Society, on the Celebration of their First Anniversary, Sept. 19, 1829*, 12.

52 Robert F. Dalzell, Jr., *Enterprising Elite: The Boston Associates and the World They Made* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1987), 117.

53 *An Address Delivered Before the Massachusetts Horticultural Society, on the Celebration of Their First Anniversary, September 19, 1829*, 7.

54 Isaac Goodwin, "An Address Delivered before the Worcester Agricultural Society, Oct. 13, 1824; Being Their Anniversary Cattle Show and Exhibition of Manufactures," *New England Farmer* (December 10, 1824), 153.

55 *Ibid.* Goodwin said that "A degree of mental cultivation is essential to the happiness of a Farmer, as well as a security for his rights."

56 *Ibid.*, 154.

57 Cook, 5.

58 *Ibid.*, 13.

59 *Ibid.*, 12.

60 *Ibid.*, 13.

61 Cornelia W. Walter, *Mount Auburn Illustrated* (New York: R. Martin, 1847), 16.

62 Sloane, 57; "Rochester" in *The New Encyclopedia Britannica* 15th edition (Chicago, 1992), and *The Encyclopedia of American Facts and Dates* (New York: Harper Collins Publishers, 1993), 207.

63 "Mount Auburn: Fortunate Coincidences and an Ideal Solution," 257.

64 Quoted in Sears, 88.

65 Sloane, 57.

66 *Ibid.*

[67] *Ibid.*, 92.

[68] Blanche M. G. Linden, *Spring Grove: Celebrating 150 Years* (Cincinnati, Ohio: Spring Grove Cemetery & Arboretum, 1995), 4-12.

[69] Stephen Duncan Walker, *Rural Cemetery and Public Walk* (Baltimore: Sands & Neilson, 1835), 10.

[70] D. D. Burnard, "Address," contained in *Albany Rural Cemetery Association: Its Rules, Regulations, &c* .(Albany: Printed by C. Van Benthuysen and Co., 1846), 25.

[71] Quoted in Thornton, 170.

[72] Quoted in McDannell, 114.