THE "RURAL" CEMETERY MOVEMENT: URBAN TRAVAIL AND THE APPEAL OF NATURE

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The rural cemetery movement was a widespread cultural phenomenon in mid-nineteenth-century America. Literally a misnomer, "rural cemetery" denoted a burial ground located on the outskirts of a city that was designed according to the romantic conventions of English landscape gardening. Although historians have noted the development of these cemeteries, they have ignored their ideological background and their place in the emerging urban culture.

In The Making of Urban America, John W. Reps expresses surprise that the cemeteries were used more as pleasure grounds than as places for burial, and concludes that this "must have astounded and perhaps horrified their sponsors." On the contrary, this phenomenon neither surprised nor outraged anyone. A visit to the local cemetery was considered de rigueur for the tourist, and the popular press carried numerous articles on these romantic burial grounds. Many accounts and engravings depict middle-class Americans resorting for pleasure to these park-like cemeteries, empty or nearly empty of graves for many years. America's rural cemeteries were explicitly designed both for the living and for the dead, and the assumptions underlying their widespread popularity were central to mid-nineteenth-century American ideas about the

1 Rural cemeteries were built in every major and in most minor nineteenth-century American cities. For a partial list of the more important cemeteries, with brief descriptions, see Spring Grove Cemetery: Its History and Improvements... (Cincinnati, 1869), 129-133.

2 Neil Harris's The Artist in American Society: The Formative Years, 1790-1860 (New York, 1966), 200-208, 377-380, is a notable exception. When this article was in proofs, another useful discussion of the cultural significance of rural cemeteries appear → Stanley French, "The Cemetery as Cultural Institution: The Establishment of Mount Auburn and the 'Rural Cemetery' Movement," American Quarterly, XXVI, 97-59 (March, 1974).

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relation of cityscape and landscape in an urbanizing society.

America's first rural cemetery was Mount Auburn, outside Boston. Dr. Jacob Bigelow was the driving force behind its establishment, and many of Boston's elite supported his five-year campaign which culminated with the opening of Mount Auburn in 1831. Bigelow's motives are not entirely clear. His familiarity with European medical literature probably alerted him to the potential menace to public health of cemeteries in the center of densely populated cities. He was also moved by a traditional desire to express respect for the dead through an appropriately serene burial site.4

Whatever Bigelow's motives, consecration addresses and other commentary on the cemeteries reveal that rural cemeteries were intended to offer far more than resting places for the dead. Mount Auburn and its imitators were expected, from the beginning, to serve the needs of the living. A month after the consecration of Mount Auburn, Henry Bellows, in his oration at the Harvard Exhibition on October 18, 1831, declared that rural cemeteries "are not for the dead. They are for the living."5 Writing in 1849, Andrew Jackson Downing asserted that thirty thousand persons visited Mount Auburn in a single season.6

Clearly, rural cemeteries had some larger significance for


If the rural cemetery was a key element in the mid-nineteenth-century American effort to develop an ideology that would give meaning, coherence, and some comfort in a rapidly urbanizing and industrializing society, the role of Bigelow is suggestive. According to Perry Miller, Bigelow coined the word "technology" and, along with Joseph Story, who was also involved in the establishment of Mount Auburn, was a leader in accommodating the American mind to the values of a civilization of machines. (Perry Miller, The Life of the Mind in America [New York, 1965], 289-293, 298.)

5 Quoted by Neil Harris, The Artist in American Society, 201. At the time of the consecration, the Boston Courier predicted that Mount Auburn "will soon be a place of more general resort." (Reprinted in Joseph Story, An Address Delivered on the Dedication of the Cemetery at Mount Auburn, September 24, 1831 [Boston, 1831], 27.)

6 [Andrew Jackson Downing.] "Public Cemeteries and Public Gardens," The Horticulturist, iv, 10 (July, 1849).
mid-century Americans. But what is the relationship between the cemetery movement and more general changes in American society? How was the American attitude toward the rural cemetery related to thought and feeling about America’s increasingly urban environment?

The consecration address delivered by Joseph Story at Mount Auburn suggests the nature of these relationships. After explaining that the “magnificence of nature” in the rural cemetery would be more comforting to the mourner than the “noisy press of business” surrounding a city churchyard, Story made broader claims for the significance of Mount Auburn.7 “All around us,” he observed, “there breathes a solemn calm, as if we were in the bosom of a wilderness.” Yet “ascend but a few steps, and what a change of scenery to surprise and delight us.... In the distance, the City—at once the object of our admiration and our love—rears its proud eminences, its glittering spires, its lofty towers, its graceful mansions, its curling smoke, its crowded haunts of business and pleasure.” Story then proceeded to refine these images of cityscape and landscape into counterpoints:

There is, therefore, within our reach, every variety of natural and artificial scenery.... We stand, as it were, upon the borders of two worlds; and as the mood of our minds may be, we may gather lessons of profound wisdom by contrasting the one with the other.8

A view of the city, Story continued, encourages us to “indulge in the dreams and hope of ambition.” The influence of the cemetery’s natural landscape, however, will serve as a counterbalance. “The rivalries of the world will here drop from the heart; the spirit of forgiveness will gather new impulses; the selfishness of avarice will be checked; the restlessness of ambition will be rebuked....”9 Story was suggesting that the influence of the rural cemetery could purify the city without compromising its urbanity.

8 Story, Address, 17-18.
9 Story, Address, 20.
Mount Auburn's attraction for the living encouraged imitators. Following the Boston example, Philadelphia established Laurel Hill Cemetery in 1836, and New York City opened Greenwood in 1838. By 1842 New England had several rural cemeteries, including the one opened in Lowell, Massachusetts, in 1841.

The popular image of Lowell, America's first industrial city, illustrates the pertinence of rural cemeteries to the mid-century-American concern about the relationship of the natural and artificial elements of the urbanizing environment. Although it was merely the site of a dozen small farms in 1820, only twenty years later Lowell was acknowledged as "the American Manchester." Because the landscape was altered so rapidly by urbanization, and because the city was a self-conscious and highly visible pioneer of American industrialism, Lowell provides an excellent example for this study.

When Lowell was founded in 1821, the dominant concept of the American landscape was that of "an immense wilderness [turned] into a fruitful field." Art and Nature were blended to define the landscape. Americans assumed that something artificial could be "introduced into the natural order [showing] that man has interposed in some way to improve the processes of nature." However, an extreme departure from nature could not be accommodated within this ideology without upsetting the balance by shifting from the "cultivated" and the good, to the "dissipated and corrupt."

Lowell and other early factory towns were merged within this framework through the use of a factory-in-the-forest image. In 1825, the editor of the Essex Gazette emphasized the harmony between the factories and the natural landscape at

10 Reps, The Making of Urban America, 326; Walter, Mount Auburn, 11.
Lowell. “It seemed,” he wrote, “to be a song of triumph and exultation at the successful union of nature with the art of man, in order to make her contribute to the wants and happiness of the human family.” After two decades of urban growth, however, it appeared that instead of blending with nature, the city was about to overwhelm it. In 1841, a mill-girl poet wrote: “Who hath not sought some sylvan spot/ Where art, the spoiler, ventures not.”

When mid-century Lowellians, and Americans in general, abandoned the inadequate imagery of a factory in the forest, they began to visualize the cityscape and natural landscape in terms of the imagery adumbrated by Story. Instead of trying to blend city and country, Americans granted cities their essential urbanity, but insisted upon easy periodic access to nature. In place of a continuous middle landscape, the American landscape would be defined as a counterpoint between Art and Nature, city and country. The rural cemetery movement provides the earliest and most revealing insight into this new ideology in Lowell and in America.

Oliver M. Whipple, the self-made gunpowder manufacturer and civic leader, was the leading spirit in founding Lowell’s rural cemetery. The Proprietors were incorporated on January 23, 1841, and through Whipple’s generosity, a scenic forty-five-acre site on the outskirts of the city was acquired.

14 Essex Gazette, Aug. 12, 1825, quoted in John O. Green, “Historical Reminiscences,” Proceedings in the City of Lowell at the Semi-Centennial Celebration of the Incorporation of the Town of Lowell, March 1, 1876 (Lowell, 1876), 67-68.

15 Adelaide, “Alone With Nature,” The Operatives Magazine (June, 1941), 37. (According to Harriet Robinson, the pseudonym “Adelaide” was used in the Lowell Offering by Lydia S. Hall. (Robinson, Names and Noms De Plume of Writers in the Lowell Offering [(Lowell, Mass.:?), 1902], ii.) Since it is known that Lydia S. Hall was associated with The Operatives Magazine, she was probably “Adelaide” in this case.) See also Anon., “Lowell,” [a poem] Lowell Mercury, Sept. 5, 1844; F., “Lowell as it was, and as it is,” Lowell Courier, April 14, 1846; A. R. A., “Pawtucket Falls,” Literary Repository, 1, 128 (1840); and Ella, “The Window Darkened,” Lowell Offering, v, 265-267 (Dec., 1845).

The cemetery was laid out in the romantic style by George P. Worcester. He had been influenced by the famous French cemetery, Père-Lachaise, and some commentators believed that Lowell Cemetery, as well as Mount Auburn, were imitations of it. The American cemeteries had indeed imitated the French one to a certain extent, but there was an important difference in their relationship to nature. Père-Lachaise was an old garden dedicated to a new purpose when it was opened as a cemetery. Mount Auburn and Lowell cemeteries, however, were established on sites of natural beauty with the intention of conserving their original aspect. Mount Auburn and Lowell Cemetery were to be enclaves of natural beauty adjoining the artificial urban environment.

The Reverend Amos Blanchard's consecration address on June 20, 1841, at Lowell reveals the significance of a rural cemetery in an urban society. Although he touched upon such themes as the need for a new burial place in rapidly growing Lowell, and the respect that should be shown for the dead by making burial places beautiful, Blanchard also addressed himself to larger questions. Midway, he began to explain the role of rural cemeteries in enhancing the urban environment. The thrust of his remarks was that America's rapidly growing cities, marked by visual monotony and social chaos, generated distress that could be assuaged through the influence of romantically designed cemeteries.

Blanchard characterized Lowell and, by implication, other American cities as "cities of strangers." Life in the city was impersonal, ever in flux, and more concerned with the next commercial opportunity than with a proper attention to the permanent roots of community life. Urban living seemed more like hotel life than the traditional community of fond memory. Blanchard and his generation were jarred by the discovery that even the bones of the dead, man's sacred link with his com-

17 Charles Cowley, Illustrated History of Lowell (Boston, 1868), 123.
18 Hans Huth, in Nature and the American, 67, makes this point about Mount Auburn.
19 Blanchard, Address, 7.
moral past, were not safe from the next wave of residential and industrial expansion or financial promotion. He informed his audience that "a tomb-stone, in one of our large cities, was lately seen covered with gairish [sic] handbills, announcing schemes of business, and of the idlest of fashionable amusements and follies."[20]

The physical removal of burial places from downtown locations to rural cemeteries would reduce the risk of such desecration. Blanchard further hoped that "the aspirations of vanity, and the pride of distinction in place, wealth, and power [would] here receive an effectual rebuke."[21] Possibly a rural cemetery would remind a society uprooting itself, conquering a continent, and covering it with cities that the past could not be entirely ignored. Blanchard also revealed his "secret wish that when death shall have torn his beloved ones from his embrace, and when himself shall have died, they might repose together, where they should never be disturbed by the encroachments of a crowded and swelling population of the living. . . ."

In a dynamic society, the rural cemetery could plausibly serve as a focus for the "cultivation of home attachments towards the city of our abode." Six months after Blanchard's address, the Lowell Courier echoed this sentiment, assuring its readers that the cemetery will provide "a new and more sacred and binding tie to this city as our home."[22] In this sense, the rural cemetery movement reflected an anxious search for a sanctuary from the "go a-head" spirit of the age.

But the attraction of the rural cemetery went beyond the

20 Blanchard, Address, 15. This issue is prominent in nearly all the rural cemetery commentary of the time. See Story, Address, 12; F. W. S. Rev. Frederick William Shelton, "Rural Cemeteries," Knickerbocker, xii, 538 (Dec., 1838); and Anon., The Cincinnati Cemetery of Spring Grove (Enlarged edition; Cincinnati, 1862), 45.

21 Blanchard, Address, 19.

22 Blanchard, Address, 8; Lowell Courier, Dec. 9, 1841. See also Blanchard, Address, 6. For more general comments on this point, see Story, Address, 5; N. P. Willis, Rural Letters and Other Records of Thought at Leisure (New York, 1849), 154; Theodore Dwight, Travels in America (Glasgow, 1848), 144-146; [Andrew Jackson Downing.] Rev. of Designs for Monuments and Rural Tablets . . ., by J. J. Smith, in The Horticulturist, 1, 329-330 (Jan., 1847); and Harris, The Artist in American Society, 205-206.
conflict between memory and desire in an age of progress. Blanchard explicitly linked the rural cemetery to a complex of beliefs emerging in the middle of the nineteenth century in response to increasing urbanization. The key elements of this ideology were expressed three months before Blanchard’s consecration address in a poem entitled “Alone With Nature,” written by a Lowell mill girl who signed herself “Adelaide.”

Alone with nature—will not ye
Who all her beauty daily see,
Beneath your native, ‘house-hold tree,’
   Enjoy them for the roving stranger!
I can not relish half her sweets
Till taught by bustling, crowded streets,
To sigh for nature’s calm retreats,
   Then task them for the city-ranger.23

In the poem, and in the mid-century American mind, the city is sharply distinguished from the natural landscape, and natural beauty is held to be more necessary for urbanites than for rural dwellers.

As the nation became increasingly urban, Americans who had moved from the country to the city tended to romanticize nature. Only an urban society can afford such romanticizing: in a frontier society trees are not scenic; they are potential houses. Roderick Nash argues that the urban “literary gentleman wielding a pen, not the pioneer with his axe,” idealized nature.24 The example of “Adelaide,” the pen-wielding mill girl, suggests that the urge to romanticize nature came from more than heavy draughts of Byron and Wordsworth in a library. An intensely felt need was causing gentleman and mill girl alike to turn to the conventions of romanticism to cope with the emergent city. As the urban environment became paved over, more hurried, and commercial, a change of scenery

23 The Operatives Magazine (June, 1841), 37. For identification of the author, see note 15 above.

24 Roderick Nash, Wilderness and the American Mind (New Haven, 1967), 44. For a perceptive treatment of one of these intellectuals and the problem of city and country in America, see Michael H. Cowan, City of the West: Emerson, America, and Urban Metaphor (New Haven, 1967).
reminiscent of the rural past, a readily accessible natural sanctuary within close proximity to the city, became necessary. A romantic landscape was sought as a counterbalance to the disturbing aspects of the cityscape. This was the attraction of the rural cemeteries on the outskirts of most American cities.\textsuperscript{25} Blanchard understood this when he said that the Lowell Cemetery is "accessible at all times, yet so remote from the marts of business as not to be liable to be encroached upon by the spreading abodes of the living: sequestered from the din and bustle of active life. . . ."\textsuperscript{26}

Throughout his address Blanchard endeavored to set off the solitude and romantic beauty of the rural cemetery against the bustle and aesthetic barrenness of the city. He contrasted the praiseworthy Roman custom of burials along country highways with the modern notions that until very recent times preferred the location of cemeteries "by the city church-yard, crowded, noisy, and grassless, . . . and never visited by the dew, and the sunshine, and the showers of heaven."\textsuperscript{27} This imagery was noted by the editor of Lowell's liveliest nineteenth-century newspaper, the \textit{Vox Populi}. He found the passage in the printed version of Blanchard's address so striking that he checked his copy of Wordsworth's "Essay on Epitaphs," where he found remarkable parallelism, if not outright plagiarism. The editor noted that numerous other expressions in Blanchard's address were nearly identical with passages in the standard romantic authors. Blanchard explained the instances of parallelism by asserting that the boy who had set the type for the printed text must have omitted the quotation marks.\textsuperscript{28}

\textsuperscript{25} Andrew Jackson Downing makes this point in his "Public Cemeteries and Public Gardens," 9-10.

\textsuperscript{26} Blanchard, \textit{Address}, 8. For similar expressions with reference to Mount Auburn, see Theodore Dwight, \textit{Travels in America}, 198; and Story, \textit{Address}, 12-16, 20. All of the consecration addresses that I have been able to read stress this point. Readily available samples may be found in the excerpts reprinted in Brazer's review of several of them in his "Rural Cemeteries," 385-412.

\textsuperscript{27} Blanchard, \textit{Address}, 13-14.

\textsuperscript{28} \textit{Vox Populi} [Lowell], July 17, 24, 1841. The expressions Blanchard borrowed from Wordsworth can be found in Alexander B. Grosart, ed., \textit{The Prose Works of William Wordsworth} (London, 1876), 11, 25-40. The lines here at issue appear on 32-33.
The incident illustrates the manner in which urban Americans like Blanchard turned to a corpus of romantic writings, largely British, borrowed the vocabulary of romantic nature, and used it to cope with American problems.29

Americans had been using European romantic conventions to celebrate nature for nearly a half-century, but by 1850 they were using them with a significant difference.30 Formerly, they had used these conventions to identify America as a rural republic, but now they located the American identity within a counterpoint of romantic nature and the city. The American landscape was no longer visualized as of a piece. For mid-century city dwellers, there was an urban "inside" and a rural "outside." They had developed an adaptive mechanism that would allow them to retain a commitment to nature in an urban and industrial nation. Americans thus avoided an unpalatable choice between city and country. As Frederick Law Olmsted put it, "no broad question of country life in comparison with city life is involved; it is confessedly a question of delicate adjustment" between the natural and the artificial.31

A visitor to Lowell in 1843 used the cemetery to describe the city within this new vocabulary. From the city's "busy streets," he passed "through romantic woods" into the cemetery grounds where he was filled with "deep peace." "You stand as it were, beyond the world, beyond its cares, its strifes, its false, ignis fatuus hopes, and its griefs. You have entered a realm of quietude, melody and beauty. . . ."32

29 For comments on this "borrowing" tendency in American intellectual history, see Ward, Andrew Jackson, 30, 225n; and Nash, Wilderness and the American Mind, 44, 50.


31 Frederick Law Olmsted and Calvert Vaux, Report of the Landscape Architects and Superintendents to the President of the Board of Commissioners of Prospect Park, Brooklyn (1868), reprinted in Landscape into Cityscape: Frederick Law Olmsted's Plans for a Greater New York City, Albert Fein, Editor (Ithaca, N. Y., 1967), 160.

Two years later, John Greenleaf Whittier expressed his feelings about the American Manchester's rural cemetery. Whittier, who lived in Lowell for nearly a year as editor of the antislavery *Middlesex Standard*, recorded his impressions of the city in *The Stranger in Lowell* (1845). Lowell stretched "far and wide its chaos of brick masonry and painted shingles." It is the home of the "Wizard of Mechanism," and "work is here the Patron Saint." Everywhere the slogan "work or die!" glared at the population. After thus describing his first impressions, he wrote of his visit to Lowell's rural cemetery. It is "a quiet, peaceful spot; the city, with its crowded mills, its busy streets and teeming life, is hidden from view... All is still and solemn..." The cemetery, he further observed, is not the resort of only the "aged and the sad of heart," but also of "the young, the buoyant," who relax under its "soothing influence."

Twenty years later, J. W. Meader similarly portrayed the romantic cemetery as a sanctuary within an urban-industrial society. The cemetery, he wrote, is "a symbol of the solitude, though now adorned and beautiful, which covered all this realm around the fine falls of Concord, when it was invaded by the all-subduing and all-conquering Divinity of Mechanism..." Meader's use of "invaded" and "all-conquering" suggests the defensive nature of the counterpoint concept as manifested in the rural cemetery and later park movement. In the early stages of the introduction of the machine into the forest, Americans regarded it as a sort of technological sublime. Both nature and the machine benefited from the blending of the two. By mid-century, however, the dynamic of the machine and the city's power to obliterate the landscape prompted Americans increasingly to use metaphors suggesting conquest instead of conciliation to describe the machine in the garden. Nevertheless, the counterpoint strategy was not developed to

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roll back technology, or even to prevent further progress; it was designed only to prevent total victory by the "wizard of mechanism." Mid-century Americans attempted to preserve as much of nature as was possible in a nation of cities and machines.

The counterpoint ideology was quickly expanded beyond its connection with the rural cemetery and became the foundation of the American park movement. Dr. Elisha Huntington, several times Mayor of Lowell, realized what increasing numbers of Americans were recognizing: the attractions of cemeteries for the living could be provided in the form of a public park. In his annual address for 1845, Huntington declared: "We have grown up to a city of twenty-six or seven thousand inhabitants, and with a fair prospect of increasing numbers—we are being hemmed in by walls of brick and mortar, shutting out the pure air of heaven..." It is possible, he observed, to walk out of the city "and seek the green, shady fields on our outskirts," but too often one is met with a sign reading "No Trespassers Allowed." The situation demands the establishment of a "public mall or promenade" near the central part of the city. "The value of such, I will not say luxury, but such a necessary of life, as free, open public grounds, is incalculable; we cannot estimate it."  

A month later the City Council responded by authorizing the purchase of land at each end of the city where North and South Commons, parks of nine and twenty acres respectively, were subsequently established. The idea of a common, going back to the seventeenth century, took on an added dimension in the mid-nineteenth century. No longer simply the physical

36 For example, see Downing, "Public Cemeteries and Public Gardens," 11.
37 Elisha Huntington, Address of the Mayor of the City of Lowell, on the Organization of the Government, April 7, 1845 (Lowell, 1845), 14-16. Quotations from 14-15. This portion of the address is reprinted and accompanied by a favorable editorial in the Vox Populi, Lowell, April 11, 1845.
38 Hill, Lowell Illustrated, 10; and A Handbook for the Visitor, 33. North and South Commons were located at what were then considered the Northern and Southern ends of the city. They are shown on H. S. Bradley's map of Lowell (1848) which is printed in F. Hedge, Pictorial Lowell Almanac, 1850 (Lowell, 1849).
and symbolic center of the community, the common now served as a counterpoise to the visual monotony and social routine of emerging forms of urban life.

Faced with the reality of urbanization, Lowellians turned away from the strategy of blurring city and country; they now defined them as distinct entities counterbalancing each other. In the 1820's and 1830's the machine, or factory, in the forest seemed like a benign development. What Leo Marx has called the "middle landscape" was preserved, even enhanced. But as machines increasingly dominated life and the cityscape threatened to annihilate nature, rather than reciprocate with it, Americans began to wonder where progress might end. The counterpoint ideology enabled them to draw a line which would not necessarily arrest further development, but would simultaneously ensure an easily accessible natural sanctuary within the larger urban environment. This ideology seems to have taken hold at mid-century and enjoyed success not only in Lowell, but throughout America—most notably in Frederick Law Olmsted's Central Park in New York City.

The mid-century pattern of visualizing the urban environment as a counterpoint of the urban "inside" and the non-urban "outside" began to break down with the approach of the twentieth century. It is clear that by 1893, when James Bayles wrote about contemporary Lowell, the role of the cemetery as a contrast to urban life had been abandoned. He made no mention of "picturesqueness" or the lack of it in his description of Lowell's burial places. In fact, his praise for the cemetery that Blanchard had consecrated as a counterbalance to urban materialism focused upon "the evidence of the expenditure of vast amounts of wealth" to be found there.

39 The Machine in the Garden (New York, 1964), by Leo Marx is an essay in definition of this term; brief explanations of it can be found on 23, 138-140, 226.

40 For a broader discussion of this ideology and Olmsted's relation to it, see Thomas Bender, Discovery of the City in America: The Development of Urbanism in 19th-Century Social Thought (Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Davis, 1971), Chap. 7.

41 James Bayles, Lowell, Chelmsford, Graniteville, Forge Village, Dracut, Collinsville of To-Day ... (Lowell, 1893), 104-110, quotation from 108. In his apparent abandonment of the older role for the rural cemetery, Bayles went farther than most professional cemetery planners of his generation. The profes-
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As Americans became more engrossed in the idea of a civilization of machines and as suburban expansion obscured the divisions between city and country, the vitality of the counterpoint perspective was sapped. It had arisen partly in response to a fear that the city and the machine would overwhelm man and nature, but for a generation that often used machine metaphors to describe the good society, this motive was lacking. Further, for this interpretation of the American landscape, city and country had to be distinct. But in 1906, Frederick W. Coburn, an art critic and the historian of Lowell, noted that city and country were being blurred in suburbia. He observed that since the advent of the streetcar and the automobile, the region stretching from Washington, D. C. to Portland, Maine was becoming one "five-hundred-mile city," essentially urban in character with ubiquitous reminders to suburbanites that they had "not left the city universal behind." America was

sional literature at the turn of the century reveals a tendency to at least give lip-service to the older ideal (it was within this tradition that the profession had developed) while emphasizing ideas of keeping cemeteries away from areas of potential industrial expansion, economical land use, and efficient disposal of the dead. These men, while using a lingering rhetoric, saw their task as planners of cemeteries for the dead, not the living. For example, see Alfred Farmar, "The Modern Cemetery," Overland Monthly, n.s., xxix, 443 (April, 1897); Howard E. Weed, Modern Park Cemeteries (Chicago, 1912), 15, 25, 94-95, 119-122; Louis Windmuller, "Disposal of the Dead in Cities," Municipal Affairs, vi, 473-477 (Fall, 1902); O. C. Simonds, "Landscape Cemeteries," in The Standard Cyclopedia of Horticulture, Liberty Hyde Bailey, Editor (3 vols.; continuously paged; New Edition; New York, 1925), 111, 1807-1811; and W. D. Cromarty, "Cemeteries of Yesterday and Today: Their Location and Layout in Relation to the City Plan," Park and Cemetery, xxx, 320-321 (Feb., 1921).


again becoming a middle landscape, but this one was primarily urban, whereas the earlier one had been essentially arcadian.44

In his study of urban planning in America, John W. Reps wondered "why it did not occur to some daring mind that the picturesque curving lines of the local cemetery might serve as a pattern for a successful residential subdivision."45 The rural cemetery example undoubtedly influenced the romantic suburb movement that began with A. J. Davis's Lewellyn Park (1852) and ended with Riverside (1869), designed by Frederick Law Olmsted and Calvert Vaux.46 Later suburban development, however, is another matter. Given the nature of late-nineteenth and twentieth-century suburban expansion, the rural cemetery could not serve as a model. The assumptions underlying most of this suburban development were quite different from those at the base of the rural cemetery movement. Suburban expansion in the 1880's and 1890's was spurred by population densities that could not be humanely provided for within the compact city through existing building technology.47 The result was an extension of the city, whereas the rural cemetery, the park, and the romantic suburb had been designed as counterbalances to the city. The parks and suburban developments in the late-nineteenth and twentieth centuries, despite an occasional curved lane, have been as artificial as the cities of which they are a part.

When the counterpoint scheme lost its force, a new idea emerged. A rural-urban continuum was now thought to provide optimum living and conditions, a concept resulting in a homogenization of the landscape. With the muting of dif-


46 On this movement, see Christopher Tunnard, "The Romantic Suburb in America," Magazine of Art, xl, 184-187 (1947). In his The City of Man (New York, 1953), 195, Christopher Tunnard designates Riverside as the last of the "romantic" suburbs.

ferences, the city lost some of its urbanity and the landscape some of its natural beauty. There is no longer any natural sanctuary abutting the city where one might ease the social, psychological, and visual tensions engendered by urban life. To cope with this twentieth-century problem, the nineteenth-century ideology has been reworked, and it now provides the rationale for the wilderness movement.\textsuperscript{48} Since there are no longer enclaves within or near the urban area to obtain an alternative to the urban landscape, men periodically leave megalopolis entirely and seek out primitive areas. Suburban sprawl, the bane of social critics, is lost between the antipodal attractions of the city and the wilderness.

\textsuperscript{48} Roderick Nash does not explicitly make this argument, but the evidence he presents in \textit{Wilderness and the American Mind} would support it. See also George Butler, "Change in the City Park," \textit{Landscape}, \textit{viii}, 10-13 (Winter, 1958-1959); and Sigurd Olson, "The Meaning of Wilderness for Modern Man," \textit{The Carleton Miscellany}, \textit{iii}, 99-113 (Spring, 1962).